CLASS AND PARTY:

VOTING BEHAVIOR IN THE

LATE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH

Volume II

A Dissertation

by

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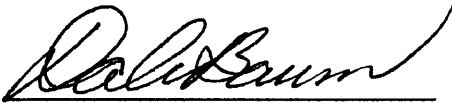VOTING BEHAVIOR IN THE

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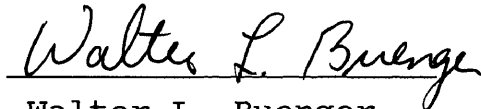
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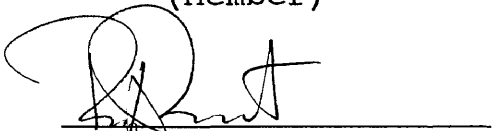
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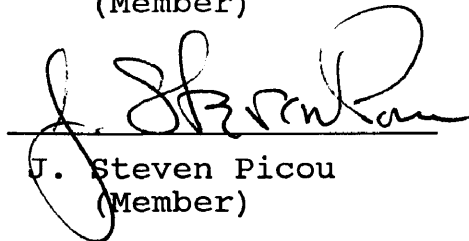(Chair of Committee)
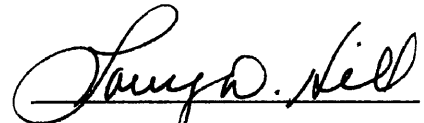
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CHAPTER VII

THE BATTLE FOR THE UNION: THE SECESSION CRISIS

IN THE UPPER SOUTH

In late November of 1860 the Raleigh Register, a former Whig political organ, announced with dismay South Carolina's decision to leave the Union and form an independent state.[1] In North Carolina and the rest of the Upper South, more public concern was expressed at the possibility of the dissolution of the Union than their compatriots in the lower South.[2] One Virginia politician became so enraged at the actions of South Carolina that he suggested that if he had the power he would sink it "into the depths of the fathomless ocean never again to be resurrected."[3] Although voters in every state of the upper South except Tennessee gave Breckinridge their electoral votes, they instructed their political leaders in the early months of 1861 to seek

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[1]"A Most Untenable Position," The Raleigh Register, November 21, 1860.

[2]"Southern Independence," The Arkansas State Gazette, January 12, 1861. For a discussion of the differences between upper and lower South see Terry G. Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid-Nineteenth Century Texas," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 57 (December 1967), 667-68, 672, 677.

[3]William Frazier to James Dorman Davidson, January 6, 1861, quoted in Bruce S. Greenawalt, ed., "Unionists in Rockbridge County: The Correspondence of James Dorman Davidson Concerning the Virginia Secession Convention of 1861," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 73 (January 1965), 82.

compromise instead of confrontation. Citizens in the upper
South found themselves in a precarious position in 1861: if
they chose to remain in the Union they risked being dominated
by a "hostile" political party, whereas if they joined the
southern Confederacy their economic and political interests
were subjugated to the power of the cotton states.[4]

Following the formation of the Confederate States of
America, special elections giving voters the opportunity to
voice their opinions on the possibility of secession were
held in February of 1861 in Virginia, North Carolina, and
Tennessee.[5] In contrast to national presidential elections
of the previous two decades, there was a distinct absence of
party labels in the secession balloting. Voters in these
three states resolved two questions on their secession
ballots: They selected delegates to discuss their state's
position in the crisis in special conventions, and they voted
on what authority the conventions would have.[6]

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[4]"The Proposed Southern Confederacy," The Republican
Banner, February 6, 1861.

[5]Elections were also held in Arkansas but the votes
showing the breakdown by county unfortunately do not exist.
For a complete discussion of the Arkansas secession movement
from a traditional approach see Michael Woods, Rebellion and
Realignment: Arkansas's Road to Secession (Fayetteville, Ak.,
1987); Ralph A. Wooster, "The Arkansas Secession Convention,"
Arkansas Historical Quarterly, 13 (Spring 1954), 172-95; and
James J. Johnston, ed., "Letter of John Campbell, Unionist,"
Arkansas Historical Quarterly, 29 (Summer 1970), 176-82.

[6]For a discussion of the secession crisis in the upper
South see Daniel W. Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins
of Opposition to Secession in the Upper South," unpublished
paper presented at the Southern Historical Association

The partisan press in the upper South during the crises

winter months of 1860 and 1861 expressed opinions that

coincided with positions taken earlier during the November

presidential contest.[7] The Raleigh Register presented a

"conditional Union" stance arguing that Lincoln had been

fairly elected by a majority in the electoral college and as

a result his administration deserved an impartial trial.[8]

Along with other opposition newspapers in the upper South,

the editors of the Register refused to consider joining a

southern Confederacy merely because of Lincoln's election.[9]

Citing the possible deterioration of economic conditions if

secession occurred, opposition editors called for compromise

Meeting, Louisville, Ky., November 2, 1984. In Virginia
Democrats opposed the provision on the ballot to refer action
of the convention to the people as unnecessary and useless.
See also, "To the People of Virginia," The Richmond Enquirer,
January 15, 1861.

[7]See David Porter, "The Southern Press and the
Presidential Election of 1860," West Virginia History, 33
(October 1971), 1-13.

[8]"The Presidential Elections," The Raleigh Register,
November 14, 1860; Effects of Disunion Talk," ibid., November
14, 1860; "The Presidential Election," Arkansas State
Gazette, November 10, 1860; and "Let Every Man Think About
His Acts," ibid., November 24, 1860.

[9]"Effects of Disunion Talk," The Raleigh Register,
November 14, 1860; "A Most Untenable Position," ibid.,
November 21, 1860; "The Proposed Southern Confederacy," The
Republican Banner, February 6, 1861; "Why the People Voted
Down the Convention," ibid., February 13, 1861; "What Has
Democracy Done?" Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, November 17,
1860; and "Let Every Man Think About His Acts," The Arkansas
State Gazette, November 24, 1860.

with the northern states.[10] While admitting to the secessionists the value of cotton as an article of commerce, William G. Brownlow, Tennessee pastor and editor of the Knoxville Whig, reminded lower South secessionists "that Kentucky and Missouri Hemp, as a necklace for traitors, is an article of still greater value for home consumption."[11]

In contrast, some supporters of the "Southern Rights" Democracy praised South Carolina's decision to leave the Union and called for citizens to awake to the dangers of "Black Republicanism" and to "abolish the Union!"[12] The Richmond Enquirer suggested that in the new administration William H. Seward, who it referred to as "His Satanic Majesty," would be "incredibly the conservative." It further suggested that the unwillingness of Lincoln and his party to protect the slaveholder in his right of property left it no

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[10]"Southern Independence," The Arkansas State Gazette, January 12, 1861; "What Will the Expense of Governing Arkansas in the Event of Separate Secession?" ibid., January 12, 1861; "The Proposed Southern Confederacy," The Republican Banner, February 6, 1861; and "Union Men on Your Guard!" Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, November 17, 1860. The Raleigh Register suggested the formation of a 27 state confederacy excluding only the "abolitionist" New England states. See "A Confederacy of Twenty-Seven States," The Raleigh Register, December 19, 1860.

[11]"Union Men Be on Your Guard!" Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, November 17, 1860. See also W. G. Brownlow, Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession; With a Narrative of Personal Adventures Among the Rebels (Philadelphia, 1862).

[12]"Ought the Southern States to Secede?" The Richmond Enquirer, January 11, 1861. See also "The Public Meeting on Thursday Night," The Richmond Enquirer, January 1, 1861; and "To the People of Virginia," ibid., January 15, 1861.

choice but to call for the immediate dissolution of the Union.[13] John Goode, a delegate to the Virginia Secession Convention and Breckinridge Democrat, noted that southerners would not tolerate Lincoln's belief that "the [N]egro is the equal of the white man" and that the master had no right to govern his slaves by a set of rules.[14] Similar to cotton states' compatriots, upper South secessionists were convinced that a Republican administration would bring about the economic dissolution of the slave plantation system in the South. The separationist fears of the potential harm posed by Lincoln to southern institutions in 1860 drove them to secede from the Union to prevent any future structural changes in the social and economic institutions in their region.[15]

Voters in the upper South, however, unequivocally rejected the path of secession chosen by their neighbors to the south until the firing on Fort Sumter in April of 1861. On February 4, 1861, Virginians overwhelmingly approved, over

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[13]"Seward a Conservative!!" The Richmond Enquirer, March 12, 1861; and "The Government Under Which We Now Live," ibid., March 12, 1861. The editors of The North Carolina Standard argued that the election of a Republican was an overt act of aggression perpetrated on the South by northern voters. For a note on the position of the Standard see Donald E. Reynolds, Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis (Knoxville, 1970), 25.

[14]George H. Reese, ed., Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861, Volume 1 (Richmond, 1965), 181.

[15]James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York and London, 1988), 245.

the objections of secessionists, a provision referring action of the convention to a popular referendum (103,236 to 46,386). Five days later, Tennessee voters gave over 100,000 votes to "unionist" delegates, while secessionists received less than 30,000 votes. In North Carolina, three weeks later, voters gave anti-secessionist delegates a 54,781 to 36,341 victory. In addition, both Tennessee and North Carolina voters chose narrowly to deny permission for the conventions to assemble.[16] The margin of victory for "conditional unionism" in the upper South suggests that the 1861 secession elections forced voters to carefully evaluate their previous political affiliations and ultimately their relationship to the Union. In January and February of 1861, voters in the Upper South straddled a middle ground waiting for future events to affect their further interest in the Union.

The estimates of individual voting relationships between the 1856 and 1860 presidential elections and subsequent voting in upper South secession elections suggest that previous presidential preferences--assuming that unionism represents a logical continuation of support for John Bell and Stephen Douglas and secession represents a continuity of a John Breckinridge vote--were relatively poor indicators of subsequent voter choices made in February of 1861 (see Table

[16]For the source of election returns for the secession elections see the note for Table 7.1.

7.1).[17] Upper South Democrats suffered the most from disaffections during the secession balloting. In contrast to the lower South, only slightly more than half of former Buchanan-Breckinridge supporters in the upper South returned a ballot for secessionist options in 1861. Twice as many Buchanan-Breckinridge core voters, partisans who supported the same party in successive elections, cast ballots opposing immediate secession in the upper South than in the cotton states. One out of every four Democrats who supported the Democracy in the 1856 and 1860 presidential elections opted to preserve ties to the Union. Core-voting Democrats divided over what course their states should take in early 1861. Unwilling to accept Lincoln's election as absolute cause for secession, some former southern Democrats decried South Carolina's actions in December of 1860. One editor suggested that South Carolina acted with "insufferable arrogance, and conceited self-importance," and for over forty years proved to be a "constant source of annoyance and disquietude to the whole country."[18] Closer in proximity to the northern states and with fewer ties to the plantation system, Buchanan-Breckinridge supporters in the upper South were severely divided over secession in the early months of 1861.

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[17]See Henry T. Shanks, The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861 (Richmond, 1934), 115-17; Marc Kruman, Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836-1865 (Baton Rouge and London, 1983), 212-213.

[18]The Daily Herald, November 9, 1860.

TABLE 7.1

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VOTING ON THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION
AND PRIOR VOTING IN THE 1856 AND 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
UPPER SOUTH

Voter Group	Estimated Percentage of 1861 Electorate	Percentage of Voter Group		
		For Secession	Against Secession	Not Voting
Buchanan and Breckinridge	32%	53%[A]	25%[A]	19%
Buchanan and Opposition	4%	0%	50%	50%
Buchanan and Not Vot. 60	0%	0%	0%	0%
Fillmore and Breckinridge	0%	0%	0%	0%
Fillmore and Opposition	26%	12%	88%	0%
Fillmore and Not Vot. 60	1%	0%	100%	0%
Not Vot. 56 Breckinridge	1%	0%	0%	100%
Not Vot. 56 Opposition	8%	0%	75%	25%
Not Vot. 56 Not Vot. 60	28%	0%	0%	100%
All Voters	100%	19%	44%	37%

Note: The voting returns were analyzed by multiple "ecological" regression, taking the percentages of choices of potentially eligible voters in the secession elections(i.e., "for secession," "against secession," and not voting) as the dependent variables. The independent variables, analyzed separately for each choice, were: (1) the proportions of the electorate voting for Buchanan, Fillmore, Breckinridge, and Opposition (i.e., vote for Douglas and Bell), and (2) all first-order interactions among these variables. To avoid multicollinearity, the 1856 and the 1860 nonvoting percentages were not used. For instance, to estimate the proportion of Buchanan/Breckinridge voters who favored secession, the intercept of the equation for the secessionists was added to the slopes for "proportion voting for Buchanan in 1856," "proportion voting for Breckinridge in 1860," and the appropriate interaction. This sum estimated the proportion secessionists in 1861 for a hypothetical county composed solely of Runnels and Breckinridge voters: in otherw words, the proportion of such voters favoring secession. All variables used in the regression equations were weighted by the adult white male population.

TABLE 7.1 (CONTINUED)

Source: Returns for the secession balloting in North Carolina were taken from Marc W. Kruman, <u>Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836-1865</u> (Baton Rouge and London, 1983), 276-278. Returns for Tennessee and Virginia were provided by Daniel Crofts and are kept in the data archives at Trenton State University.

In addition, upper South Democrats in 1861 experienced internal divisions among core voters that had begun when the national Democratic party split into two factions during the 1860 campaign for the presidency. Referring to Stephen A. Douglas as a "traitor" to the South and to her institutions, state's rights Democrats bolted from the party and initiated their own course of action by supporting the Breckinridge/Joseph Lane ticket.[19] Democratic voting patterns exhibited a distinct split in the secession elections of early 1861. In direct contrast to the Buchanan-Breckinridge forces, former Buchanan supporters who subsequently cast ballots for either Bell or Douglas in 1860 staunchly refused to vote for secessionist positions in 1861. It appears that they agreed with Douglas' admonition that "the election of any man on earth is no reason to break up the Union."[20] Approximately one-half of the Buchanan-Opposition men voted against immediate secession while the remainder, perhaps disillusioned by the victory of Lincoln and the poor showing of Douglas in the presidential race, remained on the sidelines during the secession balloting. Douglas Democrats were the least likely group to be found in

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[19]"The Conspiracy to Break Up the Union," Arkansas State Gazette, August 4, 1860. Also see Lionel Crocker, "The Campaign of Stephen A. Douglas in the South, 1860," in J. Jeffrey Auer, ed., Antislavery and Disunion, 1858-1861: Studies in the Rhetoric of Compromise and Conflict (Gloucester, 1968), 262-78.

[20]Quoted in Crocker, "The Campaign of Stephen A. Douglas," Antislavery and Disunion, 1858-1861, 264.

the secessionist camp.

Nevertheless, upper South secessionists received over ninety percent of their support in 1861 from former Democratic "Southern Rights" core voters. Slightly over one-half of the former supporters of both Buchanan and Breckinridge cast ballots for secessionist delegates (see Table 7.1). Like many of States' Rights Democrats in the lower South, some upper South Buchanan-Breckinridge supporters felt that Lincoln intended to use the federal government as an "agent to repress and extinguish African slavery," and consequently they argued that secession provided the only way to protect their "sacred" institutions.[21] In January 1861 one "Southern Rights" editor proclaimed that the arguments concerning slavery had been exhausted and called for his readers to "abolish the Union!"[22] The secession movement in the upper South received the bulk of its support from former Buchanan-Breckinridge men.

The upper South anti-secessionist movement in February of 1861 pulled supporters from most segments of the electorate. Former Fillmore men who supported candidates other than Breckinridge in 1860 provided the greatest number of votes

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[21]"Hopes Doomed to Disappointment," The Richmond Examiner, December 12, 1860.

[22]"Ought the Southern States to Secede?" The Richmond Enquirer, January 11, 1861; and "The Progress of Revolution," ibid., January 4, 1861.

for unionist alternatives in the secession elections. Almost
nine out of every ten of the Fillmore-Opposition supporters
cast ballots against secession. Similar to their lower South
counterparts, former Fillmore-Opposition men, while
expressing their commitment to southern culture and slavery,
questioned whether Lincoln would harm slavery in the South
and suggested that the issue of slavery in the territories
was settled.[23] Furthermore, Union supporters in the upper
South suggested that Lincoln deserved a "fair trial" since he
had been constitutionally elected.[24] In addition, in both
the upper and lower South, former Fillmore-Opposition men
turned out and voted in the secession elections at much
higher rates than former supporters of the Democracy.

Antisecessionist arguments in the upper South appealed to
the majority of voters who came to the polls.
Antisecessionists in the upper South drew twice as many
former Buchanan-Breckinridge men into their camp than the
cotton states. One out of every four previous "Southern
Rights" Democrats in the upper South opposed secession in
early 1861. In addition, the antisecessionists convinced
some peripheral voters of the wisdom of remaining in the

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[23]"A Most Untenable Position," The Raleigh Register,
November 21, 1860.

[24]"The Presidential Elections," The Register, November
14, 1860; "Effects of Disunion Talk," ibid., November 14,
1860; "The Presidential Election," Arkansas State Gazette,
November 10, 1860; "Let Every Man Think About His Acts,"
ibid., November 24, 1860; and "The Proposed Southern
Confederacy," The Republican Banner, February 6, 1861.

Union. More than seventy percent of inactive voters in 1856 who entered the 1860 active electorate and cast ballots for Bell or Douglas voted against secession (see Table 7.1). One Union supporter suggested that, because of antisecessionist editorials, upper South males had become concerned about the difficulties of establishing independent economic status.[25] With closer economic ties to the North and in a region less dependent on slavery, peripheral voters and some former "Southern Rights" Democrats believed that, at least for the moment, remaining in the Union proved to be a safer option than joining the Confederate States of America.[26]

Previous voter alignments in the 1856 and 1860 presidential elections proved to be relatively poor indicators of subsequent support for secession in the upper South. A separate examination of the contingency cell estimates for Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee further illustrates the varieties of opinions expressed by partisans and peripheral voters in the secession balloting in early 1861.

The pattern of political support for the issue of secession in Virginia suggests that the state mirrored developments in the upper South (see Table 7.2 and 7.3). Buchanan and Breckinridge men cast most of the votes for

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[25]"Southern Independence," Arkansas State Gazette, January 12, 1861.

[26]"Effects of Disunion Talk," The Raleigh Register, November 14, 1860.

TABLE 7.2.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
AND SUBSEQUENT VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN
VIRGINIA.

1856-1861

	Dem. 1856	Amer. 1856	Non Voters	Entering Voters	Percent of Electorate
Secession	15	0	3	0	18
Opposition	18	24	0	0	41
Not Voting 1861	4	0	30	7	41
All Voters	37	24	32	7	100

Note: Actual N = 124.

TABLE 7.3.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
AND SUBSEQUENT VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN
VIRGINIA.

1860-1861

	So. Dem. 1860	Dem. 1860	Cons. Union	Non Voters	Percent Of Electorate
Secession	17	0	1	0	18
Opposition	6	7	21	6	41
Not Voting 1861	7	0	9	27	41
All Voters	30	7	31	32	100

Note: Actual N = 128.

secession in Virginia. But in terms of voter choices made in 1856, over one-half of the former Buchanan supporters in the state subsequently voted against the convening of a secession convention in early 1861. Defections proved to be most acute in extreme western Virginia where former 1856 Buchanan men cast few ballots for secession. Given the previous support in western Virginia for Democratic presidential candidates in 1856 and 1860 the subsequent vote for secession in the region fell far below expectations.[27] Northwestern Virginia, isolated from the rest of the state by the Blue Ridge mountains but retaining good transportation access to northern states, developed economic and social ties with nonslaveholding states and therefore Democratic partisans in the region found little reason to ponder secession in February of 1861.[28]

Some former Breckinridge and Douglas men also supported antisecessionist options in the secession balloting. Approximately twenty percent of the Breckinridge voters and all of the former Douglas men voted against consideration of secession and chose a more cautious approach to the problems facing the Union. Senator Robert Hunter, a prominent

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[27]Residual predictions from the regression equation for secession in Virginia suggest that the vote for secession in the counties of Doddridge, Gilmer, Marion, Monongalia, Preston, Rockinghan, Russell, Scott, Tyler, Wetzel, Wirt, and Wood fell far below expectations given the divisions of the electorate in 1856.

[28]See Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins."

Virginia Democrat and ardent supporter of state's rights
doctrines, voted against disunion in February of 1861 and
resigned his position in Congress in March of 1861 when he
felt all possible hopes of compromise had been exhausted.
Hunter even pushed the Virginia delegation in Congress to
approve of the appointment of Seward as Secretary of State,
because he felt the action would erase tensions.[29]

The strongest support for antisecession forces in Virginia
came from former Fillmore and Bell supporters. Virtually all
of the former Fillmore men and two-thirds of the Bell men
voted to remain in the Union (see Table 7.2 and 7.3).
William Massie, a slaveholder and noted Whig in Virginia,
suggested to his political peers that secession had to be
avoided. Massie even advocated forming a middle confederacy
excluding only the northeastern states and the lower South
and noted to one friend that he had almost as much disdain
for the cotton state southerners as he did for the "Yankee
abolitionists."[30] Voters west of the Blue Ridge mountains
provided the most ardent support for Unionist positions in
early 1861. In terms of previous support for 1860

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[29]James Laverne Anderson, "Robert Mercer Taliaferro
Hunter," Virginia Calvacade, 18 (Autumn 1968), 11-12; and
Jeffrey J. Crow, "R. M. T. Hunter and the Secession Crisis,
1860-1861: A Southern Plan for Reconstruction," West Virginia
History, 34 (April 1973), 275, 281, 288-82, 289. See also
William S. Hitchcock, "Southern Moderates and Secession:
Senator Robert M. T. Hunter's Call for Union," Journal of
American History, 59 (March 1973), 871-74.

[30]William Massie to William C. Rives, February 8, 1861,
Correspondence, William Massie Papers, University of Texas.

presidential candidates, some extreme western counties in Virginia went far beyond expectations in supporting the Union cause.[31]

Antisecessionists in the state also gained the support of some peripheral voters. Previous to 1860, nonvoters apparently interpreted the presidential election as simply another partisan contest, but now viewed the secession elections quite differently.[32] The question of Virginia's position in the Union motivated twenty percent of the voters who sat out the 1860 presidential balloting to come to the polls and support the Union.

Virginia's active electorate experienced significant changes between November of 1860 and February of 1861. In addition to the nonslaveholders entering the electorate, large numbers of Virginia partisans, both Democrats and their opposition sat out the secession election. Torn between their love for the Union and their desire to protect the rights of the South, many Virginia core voters apparently failed to come to the polls. Nevertheless, the 1861 Virginia

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[31]Given the 1860 presidential vote patterns in Virginia the following counties fell far outside the norm in terms of support for secession in 1861: Augusta, Calhoun, Doddridge, Gilmer, Marion, Ritchie, Tyler, and Wetzel.

[32]See Crofts, "Secession Crisis Voting Behavior in Southampton County, Virginia," unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Southern History, The Citadel, S.C., April, 1987. Crofts gained access to the oral voting records in Southhampton county and was able to tell exactly in terms of previous political alignments, the social position, and economic power of Southhampton county males who voted in 1860 and 1861.

election produced a new alignment of Democrats, former Whigs, and previous nonvoters to insure that Virginia maintained her position in the Union.[33] Most voters in the state before Fort Sumter probably agreed with Waitman Willey, secession convention representative from Monongalia county, who reminded his fellow delegates that George Washington's farewell address encouraged citizens to regard the "Union as the palladium of our liberties" and suggested that Virginians should distrust any man who would teach anything else.[34]

The election of delegates to a secession convention in North Carolina bore strong resemblances to traditional voting patterns (see Tables 7.4 and 7.5). Like the rest of the South, the estimates presented here strongly suggest that in terms of previous political alignments in 1856 and 1860, the support for secession delegates came from former "Southern Rights" Democrats. North Carolina Buchanan and Breckinridge men accounted for all of the votes cast for the disunion candidates in late February of 1861.[35] Furthermore, although one-third of the "Southern Rights" Democrats sat out the secession balloting, none voted for antisecessionist

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[33]Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins," 33-35.

[34]Reese, Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861, Volume 1, 138.

[35]Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, The Secession Movement in North Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1939), 225, 226; and Kruman, Parties and Politics, 212-13. Both Sitterson and Kruman suggest that previous political ties were extremely important in the election of secession delegates.

TABLE 7.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
AND SUBSEQUENT VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTION IN
NORTH CAROLINA.

1856-1861

	Dem. 1856	Amer. 1856	Non Voters	Entering Voters	Percent of Electorate
Secession	24	0	0	0	24
Opposition	0	25	13	0	38
Not Voting 1861	9	0	21	7	38
All Voters	33	25	34	7	100

Note: Actual N = 73.

TABLE 7.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
AND SUBSEQUENT VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN
NORTH CAROLINA.

1860-1861

	So. Dem. 1860	Dem. 1860	Cons. Union	Non Voters	Percent Of Electorate
Secession	24	0	0	0	24
Opposition	0	2	26	10	38
Not Voting 1861	10	0	5	23	38
All Voters	34	2	31	33	100

Note: Actual N = 74.

delegates. Former supporters of Buchanan and Breckinridge clearly preferred to leave the Union or keep silent during the secession balloting rather than to back actively the Union cause. In contrast, Douglas Democrats in North Carolina embraced the Union cause and voted for antisecessionists. Like many Douglas supporters, William Holden, editor of the North Carolina Standard, insisted upon giving the Lincoln admininstration an opportunity to govern the nation.[36] Finally, North Carolina Fillmore and Bell men backed the Union cause and gave little support to advocates of secession.[37] In contrast to Virginia, the secession debate in North Carolina exhibited distinctive "partisan" divisions. The party system and party organization in the state clearly carried over into the secession balloting.[38]

In spite of strong secessionist support from Breckinridge Democrats and antisecessionist backing from Bell and Douglas men, the Union victory in North Carolina resulted from factors other than the mere maintenance of 1860 partisan lines. First, almost a third of the "Southern Rights" Democrats sat out the balloting in 1861 (see Table 7.5). The inability of the Breckinridge forces to mobilize their core voters crippled the secession effort in North Carolina. A

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[36]See Holden quoted in Porter, "The Southern Press and the Presidential Election of 1860," 4-5.

[37]"The Presidential Elections," The Raleigh Register, November 14, 1860.

[38]Kruman, Parties and Politics, 212.

closer examination of voting patterns in North Carolina
counties suggests that intrastate geographic and economic
divisions influenced voting patterns in the secession
balloting. In five counties in northwest North Carolina
bordering Virginia, relatively few Democrats came to the
polls and cast ballots for secession.[39] Evidently,
significant numbers of Breckinridge Democrats in counties
near the Virginia border felt cross-pressured in February of
1861. Unable to choose between allegiance to party and the
economic and social ties with Virginians, they remained on
the sidelines during the convention balloting.[40] Similarly,
Union support dropped below expectations in two distinct
geographical regions. Several counties bordering South
Carolina, where voters had developed bonds with their "fire-
eating" neighbors, expressed surprising low levels of
Unionist support given previous presidential voting patterns
in the region.[41] In northeastern coastal counties, home to
large tobacco plantations, former Bell supporters also failed

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[39]The secessionist vote in Caswell, Forsyth, Stokes,
Surry, and Yadkin counties fell far below predictions given
previous Democratic turnout in presidential races.

[40]Kruman, Parties and Politics, 210-213. Kruman suggests
that Democratic counties bordering Virginia were more likely
to support the Union and perhaps experience lower levels of
voter turnout. He concludes that social and economic
intercourse across state lines influenced the way citizens
cast ballots in the convention balloting.

[41]Five counties in southern North Carolina fell far
below predications for Union support: Catawba, Cabbarrus,
Lincoln, Mecklenburg, and Richmond.

to come to the polls and support the Union.[42] In addition, then, to partisan alignments in previous presidential contests, social and economic considerations in different parts of the state dramatically affected voter turnout in the secession balloting.

Previous 1860 nonvoters also played a key role in the North Carolina secession balloting. Roughly one out of every four Union ballots came from peripheral voters who entered the active electorate in 1861. Unionist appeals to put aside party labels in order to concentrate on preserving the Union apparently appealed to nonpartisan portions of the electorate.[43] In extreme western portions of North Carolina voters came to the polls in unprecedented numbers given voting patterns established in the 1860 presidential balloting.[44] The self-sufficient farmers of the western mountains of North Carolina, with little economic stake in slavery, entered the active electorate in hopes of maintaining North Carolina's ties to the Union.[45]

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[42]The Northeastern counties falling outside regression predictions included: Camden, Craven, Greene, Franklin, and Hertford.

[43]"The Union Candidates for Wake County," The Raleigh Register, February 21, 1861.

[44]Western counties that exceeded turnout expectations in the regression equation by more than ten percent included: Burke, Haywood, Madison, Yadkin, and Yancey.

[45]For descriptions of the western portion of North Carolina see Rupert B. Vance, Human Geography of the South: A Study in Regional Resources and Human Adequacy (Chapel Hill, 1935), 31-34; and Sitterson, The Secession Movement in North

This combination of 1860 Democratic and opposition dropouts and the entrance of nonvoters on the side of the antisecessionists brought perhaps a short-lived but new political alignment in the North Carolina. A narrow Democratic victory in 1860 was followed by a stunning defeat for secession in 1861.[46] This substantial change in the electorate in 1861 was certainly more important in determining the outcome of the 1861 convention delegate election than the tendency of partisans to repeat similar patterns of political behavior or the maintenance of two party competition in North Carolina.[47]

Political developments in Tennessee on the eve of the Civil War presented some complexities in the secession elections missing in either North Carolina or Virginia. In addition to a voter's choice of abstaining, Tennesseans selected from secessionist delegates and slates of broadly defined unionist delegates. In middle Tennessee secession balloting became more complex, although not less interesting, when Democrats and old Whigs compromised on slates of "conditional Union" delegates. The Democrats substantially

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Carolina, 1, 17. See also Kruman, Parties and Politics, 210-13. Kruman ignores the entrance of nonvoters into the active electorate in 1861.

[46]Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins," 34, 43. Crofts notes the Democratic dropouts and the importance of new voters entering the electorate.

[47]For an example of this emphasis see Kruman, Parties and Politics, 212-13.

outnumbered old Whigs in middle Tennessee, although several prominent slaveholding Whigs held both political and economic power. As a result, Democrats and Whigs in the area formed a bipartisan coalition which pledged opposition to immediate secession.[48]

Regional economic and geographical divisions help explain some of the complexities of Tennessee secession. Geographic features divided the state into three divisions: east, middle, and west Tennessee. The line separating eastern and middle Tennessee split the Cumberland Plateau almost equally between the two regions, while the northwest portion of the Tennessee River separated middle from western Tennessee.[49] Economic and political divisions had developed within all the three sections long before the Civil War. By the election of William Henry Harrison, middle Tennessee dominated the rest of the state in population and economic prosperity and became the bastion of support for the Democracy. Through most of the second party system, voters in eastern and western Tennessee formed an alliance opposing the party of Andrew Jackson. The self-reliant farmers of the eastern highlands and the cotton planters of western Tennessee united in opposition to the political power of the Democrats in the

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[48]See Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins," 33-36.

[49]See Vance, Human Geography of the South, 34-37; Charles C. Colby, Source Book for the Economic Geography of North America (Chicago, 1921), 255-57; and Mary Emily Campbell, The Attitude of Tennesseans Toward The Union, 1847-1861 (New York and Washington, 1961), 11-33.

central region.[50]

Similar to the rest of the upper South, estimates presented here suggest that, when comparing the outcome in the Tennessee secession delegate election with 1856 and 1860 political alignments, support for secession came primarily from Buchanan and Breckinridge men (see Tables 7.6 and 7.7). But in contrast to Virginia and North Carolina, fewer Democratic presidential core voters turned out to support the secessionist cause. Only one-third of the Tennessee "Southern Rights" Democrats cast ballots for delegates favoring secession. Following voting trends established elsewhere in the upper South, regional social and economic ties affected voting patterns in the secession balloting. For example, secessionists delegates in several middle Tennessee counties bordering Kentucky and in the rugged mountain counties of eastern Tennessee obtained significantly fewer votes than would be expected given previous Democratic presidential voting patterns, and unionist delegates received surprisingly high levels of support.[51] Perhaps following the lead of Tennessee Senator Andrew Johnson, some Democratic voters in middle Tennessee cast their ballots for

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[50]See Bergeron, Antebellum Politics in Tennessee, 7-8; Vance, Human Geography of the South, 35-36; and Carrol Van West, "The Democratic and Whig Political Activists of Middle Tennessee," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 42 (Spring 1983), 3-17.

[51]Particularly the counties of Fentress, Jackson, and Overton.

TABLE 7.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
AND SUBSEQUENT VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTION IN
TENNESSEE.

1856-1861

	Dem. 1856	Amer. 1856	Non Voters	Entering Voters	Percent of Electorate
Secession	13	1	2	0	15
Opposition	11	18	0	0	29
Union	6	13	4	0	23
Not Voting 1861	8	2	15	7	32
All Voters	37	34	22	7	100

Note: Actual N = 75.

TABLE 7.7.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
AND SUBSEQUENT VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTION IN
TENNESSEE.

1860-1861

	So. Dem. 1860	Dem. 1860	Cons. Union	Non Voters	Percent Of Electorate
Secession	10	3	2	0	15
Conditional Un.	12	1	17	0	29
Union	4	0	13	6	23
Not Voting 1861	8	3	4	17	32
All Voters	34	6	37	23	100

Note: Actual N = 79.

Breckinridge but in 1861 considered secession too drastic a measure.[52]

Douglas Democrats reacted quite differently to the secession crisis in Tennessee than they had in the rest of the upper South. The estimates presented here suggest that one in two former Douglas supporters voted for secession delegates in 1861 (see Table 7.7). In the 1860 presidential balloting Douglas' voting strength came in counties dominated by the plantation system in west Tennessee.[53] In the February secession balloting, several southwestern Tennessee counties that had slave populations over 5,000, and which gave Douglas at least twenty percent of their total vote in 1860 supported secessionist delegates in numbers much greater than would be expected on the basis of voting trends established in antebellum presidential balloting.[54] Although Douglas received significant backing from some western plantation counties in 1860, regional economic interests in slavery led voters in the Tennessee cotton belt to vote for

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[52]George C. Rable, "Anatomy of a Unionist: Andrew Johnson in the Secession Crisis," <u>Tennessee Historical Quarterly</u>, 32 (Winter 1973), 333; and Campbell, <u>The Attitude of Tennesseans Toward the Union</u>, 151-53.

[53]Bergeron, <u>Antebellum Politics in Tennessee</u>, 163-65.

[54]<u>ibid</u>., 164. The two counties were Fayette and Tipton. Bergeron asserts that these western counties gave Douglas over thirty-five percent of the vote. The discrepency between Bergeron's figures and the ones presented here derives from the fact that Bergeron computed his political data by ballots cast not potential voters. Note: Fayette's slave population was exceeded only by Shelby. See Campbell, <u>The Attitude of Tennesseans Toward the Union</u>, 16.

secessionist delegates.

Mirroring political patterns in the rest of the upper South, former Fillmore and Bell men staunchly supported Union delegates in Tennessee. The estimates suggest that over eighty percent of the voters who cast ballots for Fillmore and Bell subsequently voted for the Union (see Tables 7.6 and 7.7). Unionist support in several counties in eastern Tennessee exceeded expectations when former Democrats joined old Whigs to maintain Tennessee's ties to the Union. Yeoman farmers in east Tennessee, the poorest agricultural region in the state in terms of cash value of farms, put aside previous partisan affiliations and cast ballots for unionist delegates in the secession election.[55] Counties least affected by the plantation system in Tennessee provided unexpected backing for unionist delegates.

In addition, roughly another third of the Union backers came from voters who had remained on the sidelines during the 1860 presidential election. Voter interest in the secessionist balloting appeared to be the strongest in eastern Tennessee counties near Kentucky where turnout far exceeded the 1860 turnout trends.[56] Like North Carolina,

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[55]See Campbell, The Attitude of Tennesseans Toward the Union, 24-25. In at least the eastern counties of Greene and Morgan the Union vote increased beyond expectations while the secessionist support exhibited substantial declines given previous voting patterns in presidential contests.

[56]For example the counties of Campbell, Hancock, Morgan, and Scott were especially prominent.

peripheral voters in mountain regions of Tennessee, having no stake in plantation agricultural, came to the polls in February and voted to retain ties to the Union. In the secession balloting Tennessee and in the rest of the upper South, voters weighed past political ties with regional economic and social concerns before casting their ballots for secession or the Union.[57]

The secession crisis provoked a reexamination of the importance of the Union and caused a shift in voter participation and response. What forces guided voters' choices in the upper South as they made and pondered the difficult decision of disunion? Churches in the South had traditionally avoided official pronouncements in the political arena during the antebellum period.[58] One evangelical editor noted that the church needed to stay out of politics and had no right to "enter into the merits of any political controversy."[59] The issues at stake in the secession crisis provoked some churchgoers to change their

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[57]See Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins," 44-49.

[58]See W. Harrison Daniel, "Southern Protestantism and Secession," The Historian, 29 (May 1967), 397; Haskell Monroe, "Southern Presbyterians and the Secession Crisis," Civil War History, 6 (December 1960), 360; John Lee Eighmy, Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists (Knoxville, 1972), 22; and "Religion in Politics," The Independent, October 4, 1860.

[59]"Duty of Christians in Reference to the Political Crises," The Gospel Advocate, February, 1861. See also "Prayer for our Country," Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, November 10, 1860.

policies. Evangelical church leaders in the lower South responded to the election of Lincoln by encouraging their congregants to support the immediate separation of the cotton states from the Union. Indeed, the Alabama Baptist State Convention resolved to support the state of Alabama in its plans to secede from the Union only a few days after Lincoln's election.[60] In contrast, evangelical leaders in the upper South expressed concern over the political involvement of their brethren to the south and encouraged compromise and moderation in the secession crisis.[61] The Brownlow's Knoxville Whig exemplified this sentiment when it attacked preachers and congregants in the lower South "who have been lying and slandering their brothers with a view to promote Breckinridge and Disunion." These men, it claimed, were "numerous, and there never was a greater necessity for them to offer up prayers."[62]

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[60]"Postscript," The Southwestern Baptist, November 15, 1861.

[61]Edward Crowther Riley, "Southern Protestants, Slavery and Secession: A Study in Religious Ideology, 1830-1861," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Auburn University, 1986), 308-19; W. Harrison Daniel, "Southern Protestantism and Secession," The Historian, 29 (May 1967), 397; and Clarence C. Goen, "Broken Churches, Broken Nation: Regional Religion and North-South Alienation in Antebellum America," Church History, 52 (March 1983), 21-35.

[62]"Prayer for our Country," Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, November 10, 1860. In addition two Baptists newspapers, The Biblical Recorder in North Carolina and The Tennessee Baptist expressed the hope that Alabama Baptists would withdraw their statement of support for disunion. See Daniel, "Southern Protestantism, 397; and idem, "Protestant Clergy and Union

The tendency of churchmen in the upper South to promote calm and compromise reflected the political and economic temperament of their sections. Evangelicals in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia accepted the positive good of the institution of slavery as much as did the brethren in the cotton states.[63] Leaders noted that the key to the troubles between North and South lay in the challenge to the "property rights" of southerners.[64] Nevertheless, they differed with evangelicals in the lower South on the necessity of immediately dissolving the Union before compromise attempts had been made. The editors of the Tennessee _Baptist_ suggested to their readers that it was "preposterous" to dissolve the Union before Lincoln had the opportunity to perform his duties as president.[65] But the Baptist paper in Richmond refused to allow readers to express openly "political" opinions concerning "civil policy" during

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Sentiment in the Confederacy," _Tennessee Historical Quarterly_, 23 (September 1964), 284-90.

[63]See Drew Gilpin Faust's discussion of the beliefs of Thornton Stingfellow in "Evangelicalism and the Meaning of the Proslavery Argument: The Reverend Thornton Stringfellow of Virginia," _Virginia Magazine of History and Biography_, 85 (January 1977), 3-17.

[64]The Tennessee _Baptist_, November 24, 1860; and The _Christian Advocate_, January 10, 1861.

[65]"Our Country," The Tennessee _Baptist_, November 24, 1860; "The State of Our Country," _ibid._, November 24, 1860; "Summary," _ibid._, January 26, 1861; and "The Country," The _Christian Advocate_, November 29, 1860.

the height of the secession crisis.[66] Methodist editors in Nashville also noted that "disunion is an evil, a terrible remedy," and they called for cooperation in an effort to bring the nation together.[67] In general, evangelicals in the upper South maintained positions that encouraged voters and political leaders to preserve and restore the Union.[68]

The estimates of citizen religious affiliation and voting in the 1861 secession elections suggest that evangelical congregants in the upper South reflected the Union spirit of the entire region (see Table 7.8). Methodists and Presbyterians cast more than twice as many ballots against versus for secession. Baptists gave over a third of their support for secession positions, but still had substantial numbers of congregants (twenty-nine percent) who cast votes for the opposition. In addition, significant numbers of evangelical congregants in the upper South remained on the sidelines during the secession balloting. Of the three major

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[66]"Our Duty in the Present Crisis," The Religious Herald, December 6, 1860. See also "Presidential Election," The Religious Herald, November 15, 1860; "Southern Movements," ibid., November 22, 1860; "An Appeal for Moderation," ibid., November 29, 1860. Before the presidential election of 1860 the paper had commented that "we would receive no dictation from others as to our own vote, we would dictate to no others as theirs . . .", "A Christian Politician," ibid., October 11, 1860.

[67]"The Grievances of the South, and Proposed Modes of Redress," The Christian Advocate, December 5, 1860; and "The Troubles of the Times," ibid., January 10, 1861.

[68]For example see the Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, 1861 (Richmond, Va., 1863), 15, 16.

TABLE 7.8.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
UPPER SOUTH

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	53	47
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0-50	0	50-100
Lutheran	50	50	0
Disciples of Christ	0-50	50-100	0
Baptist	38	29	33
Methodist	18	45	39
Presbyterian	25	58	17
All Other Churches	20	40	40
All Voters	19	44	37

Note: Actual N = 354. The use of church seating accommodations is, admittedly, a crude measure of the percentage of adult white males who were formally affiliated with a specific church. Catholics, moreover, are underrepresented by just counting "seats." Catholic masses probably served three or four groups of parishioners in the same church building, whereas there was relatively less duplication among Protestant denominations. Systematic undercounting of Catholics, however, would make no difference in the above estimates from what they would be if, for example, Catholic seats were doubled or tripled and all ofther church seatings were left unchanged.

The estimates of the political affiliation of religious congregants in the lower and upper South were analyzed by multiple "ecological" regression, taking the percentage of religious church seating accomodations as the dependent variables. The independent variables, analyzed separately for each choice, were the proportions of the electorate voting for Douglas, Bell or Opposition, and Breckinridge. To avoid multicollinearity, the 1860 nonvoting percentages were not used. The estimates presented above are individual voting choices derived from aggregrate data. All variables used in the regression equations were weighted by the adult white male population.

denominations, the Presbyterian congregants turned out at the highest rate: more than two-thirds voiced an opinion in the secession elections. The relative wealth and status of many Presbyterians in the upper South perhaps compelled them to come to the polls and vote for the maintenance of ties with the Union.[69] In contrast to the lower South, evangelicals in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia supported the Union in much greater numbers. Although the evangelicals in both regions of the South held similar theological beliefs, their voting patterns in the secession crisis differed significantly.

The numerically smaller denominations in the upper South exhibited patterns similar to those evidenced in the cotton states (see Tables 6.6 and 6.7). The Catholic church in the United States, more concerned with the spiritual development of its parishioners, neither condemned slavery nor sought to reform society. Catholic parishioners, with divided loyalty to the Union and to their southern cultural heritage, sat out the secession balloting.[70] Lutheran and Disciple of Christ

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[69]Monroe, "Southern Presbyterians and the Secession Crisis," 351, 360; and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, "The Old South Considered as a Religious Society," National Humanities Center Newsletter, 6 (Summer 1985), 5-6.

[70]See Richard R. Duncan, "Catholics and the Church in the Antebellum Upper South," in Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture (Macon, 1983), 87, 98; Jon L. Wakelyn, "Catholic Elites In The Slaveholding South," in ibid., 211-39; "The Catholic Church and the Question of Slavery," Metropolitan, 3 (1855), 265-73; Peter J. Parish, "The Instruments of Providence: Slavery, Civil War, and the American Church,"

congregants split ballots almost equally between secession

and opposition, probably reflecting the patterns of

slaveholding within a particular church.[71] Episcopalians in

the region tended to vote for secession or sit out the

balloting in 1861.[72] The position of the unchurched in the

secession balloting represents the most substantial

difference between upper and lower South voting patterns and

religious affiliation. Over one-half of the nonchurchgoers

in the upper South supported the opposition camp in the

secession elections, in contrast to the lower South where

they tended to sit out the balloting (see Tables 6.6 and

6.7). Representing approximately thirty-five percent of the

population in the upper South, the unchurched accounted for

Studies in Church History, 20 (1983), 296; and Thomas T.
McAvoy, "The Formation of the Catholic Minority in the United
States, 1820-1860," in John M. Mulder and John F. Wilson,
eds., Religion in American History: Interpretive Essays
(Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1978), 254-69.

[71]For comments on the Lutherans see L. Richard Bradley,
"The Lutheran Church and Slavery," Concordia Historical
Institute Quarterly, 44 (February 1971), 32-41. The newspaper
organ of the Disciples of Christ in Nashville expressed
strong sentiment for the Union in the secession crisis. One
article suggested that "the right or wrong of enslaving our
fellow creatures, is not absolute, but incidental, . . .",
"The Higher Law," The Gospel Advocate, March, 1861. See also
"The Mission of the Church," The Gospel Advocate, October,
1860; and "Duty of Christians in Reference to the Political
Crises," ibid., February, 1861. In the February issue the
editor noted that the Disciples could exist in any form of
government.

[72]For Episcopalian positions on secession see Leonard I.
Sweet, "The Reaction of the Protestant Episcopal Church in
Virginia to the Secession Crisis: October 1859 to May, 1861,"
Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 41
(June 1972), 137-51.

almost forty percent of all ballots cast for maintaining the Union (see Table 7.8). Nonchurchgoing frontiersmen, concentrated in the upper South mountain country of east Tennessee, southwestern Virginia, and western North Carolina, held stronger ties to the Union than to the plantation economy of the South.[73]

Religious affiliations apparently had little affect on voting choices in the upper South. Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists appear to have cast ballots in accord with the political, economic, and social interests of their particular region.[74] The evangelicals as well as other religious groups in the upper South, counseled compromise with the North and preservation of the Union. When Lincoln threatened the South with "armed coercion", there was almost unanimous support for disunion. Churchmens' position on the Union, for or against, reflected cultural and economic conditions of their region.[75]

Class divisions in the upper South electorate proved to be

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[73]Daniel, "Protestant Clergy and Union Sentiment in the Confederacy," 286-87.

[74]Crowther, "Southern Protestants, Slavery and Secession," 307, 319. Ethnocultural historians have often argued that religious or theological ties in northern states were more deeply rooted than political or economic identification and therefore determined voting choices. For an example see John F. Reynolds, "Piety and Politics: Evangelicalism in the Michigan Legislature, 1837-1861," Michigan History, 61 (Fall 1977), 350.

[75]See Jack P. Maddex, Jr., "`The Southern Apostasy' Revisited: The Significance of Proslavery Christianity," Marxist Perspectives, 7 (Fall 1979), 132-41; and Fox-Genovese and Genovese, "The Old South Considered as a Religious Society," 1-6.

more decisive than religious affiliations in determining

support for secession or antisecession. Slaveholder status

represents a good indicator of wealth and power divisions

within the electorate in the upper South.[76] The estimates of

how slaveholders and nonslaveholders voted in the secession

elections reveal, assuming voting continuity between

Breckinridge to secession and Bell or Douglas to

antisecession, substantial changes from the previous

political behavior of the two groups (See Tables 6.9, 6.10,

and 7.9). In the convention elections, slaveholders cast

over half of all ballots supporting secession positions.

Although many for Fillmore in 1856 and Bell in 1860, their

representation in the opposition or unionist camp in 1861 was

negligible. The secession crisis served to divide voters in

both the lower and upper South along class lines as

slaveholders backed secession and nonslaveholders formed the

bulk of the opposition camp (for the lower South see Tables

6.9 and 6.10).[77] Most slaveholders advocated secession to

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[76]See Frederick A. Bode and Donald E. Ginter, "A
Critique of Landholding Variables in the 1860 Census and the
Parker-Gallman Sample," Journal of Interdisciplinary History,
15 (Autumn 1984), 277-95. Bode and Ginter suggest that the
best measure of wealth in the South would be a combination of
real and personal property estimates.

[77]Daniel W. Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins of
Opposition to Secession in the Upper South," an unpublished
paper presented at the Southern Historical Association
Meeting, Louisville, Ky., November 2, 1984, 18-20. For
comments on class divisions in the upper South also see Paul
D. Escott, Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in
North Carolina, 1850-1900 (Chapel Hill, 1985), xvii-xviii.

TABLE 7.9.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
UPPER SOUTH

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	3	3	2	2	9	19
Opposition	1	1	0	0	42	44
Nonvoters	5	3	2	1	27	37
All Voters	9	7	4	2	78	

Note: Actual N = 331. The estimates of the political affiliation of slaveholders in the lower and upper South were analyzed by multiple "ecological" regression, taking the percentage of the various categories of slaveholders as the dependent variables. The independent variables, analyzed separately for each choice, were the proportions of the electorate voting for Douglas, Bell or Opposition, and Breckinridge. To avoid multicollinearity the 1860 nonvoting percentages were not used. The estimates presented above are individual voting choices derived from aggregrate data. All variables used in the regression equations were weighted by the adult white male population.

assure their property and economic positions would be
protected.[78]

In spite of slaveowners support for secession in the upper
South, they sat out the balloting in 1861 in much greater
numbers than their counterparts in the lower south (see Table
7.9). Approximately half of the slaveholding classes in
North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia remained on the
sidelines during the crucial elections in February compared
with only one in four of their counterparts in the lower
South (see Tables 6.9 and 6.10) Slaveholders who owned less
than four slaves stayed away from the polls at higher rates
than any of the other slaveowner groups. The precarious
economic position of the small slaveholders placed them in
closer relationship to the yeoman farmer than to the wealthy
plantation slaveholder.[79] Small slaveowners apparently felt
cross-pressured in the secession crisis since significant
numbers voted for secession to protect slavery while others

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[78]See a letter from J. C. Hunt to William Massie,
January 25, 1861, William Massie Papers, The University of
Texas. Hunt comments to Massie: ". . . although I have been
very conservative I see no other chance or hope to carry
conservative measures into effect and fear that we shall all
be compelled to become secessionists . . . I guess we can get
on with a Southern Republic very well." See also The Richmond
Enquirer, March 12, 1861.

[79]Donald Schaefer, "Yeoman Farmers and Economic
Democracy: A Study of Wealth and Economic Mobility in the
Western Tobacco Region, 1850-1860," Explorations in Economic
History, 15 (October 1978), 435. Shaefer suggests that small
slaveholders had a more than even chance to lose their slaves
over a ten-year period, probably a direct result of the high
costs of slaves. Also see Paul D. Escott, Many Excellent
People, 5-8.

remained indifferent to the outcome of the convention elections. Nevertheless, slaveholders as a group abstained from voting in the secession elections at much higher rates than their counterparts in the cotton states.

Of the states under consideration, Virginia exhibited the greatest polarization among slaveholders and nonslaveholders in the secession convention balloting (see Table 7.10). The estimates suggest that slaveholders in Virginia accounted for seven of every ten votes cast for consideration of secession in 1861.[80] In addition, the opposition camp came entirely from nonslaveowners. By way of contrast, the slaveholding class had given Bell one half of his support in 1860 (see Table 7.11). Virginia also exhibited similar trends [evident in its sister states of the upper South] when over half of all slaveholders owning less than 10 slaves chose to remain on the sidelines during the secession balloting (see Table 7.10). The perceived economic class interests of slaveholders in both lower and upper South forced a realignment of voters along lines that cut across previous partisan identifications. Slaveholder support for the Union was mitigated by property interests as much in the upper

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[80]For a discussion of the tendency of large slaveholders in the upper South to vote in greater proportions for secession see Ralph A. Wooster, Secession Conventions of the South, (Princeton, 1962), 266. Also see Daniel Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins of Opposition," 26-33.

TABLE 7.10.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
VIRGINIA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	4	4	3	2	4	15
Opposition	0	0	0	0	41	41
Nonvoters	6	3	1	0	31	41
All Voters	9	7	4	2	78	

Note: Actual N = 129. For an explanation of methods used in this analysis see Table 7.9.

TABLE 7.11.

SlAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
VIRGINIA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	0	0	0	0	7	7
Breckinridge	2	2	2	2	22	30
Bell	5	5	3	2	15	30
Lincoln	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nonvoters	2	0	0	0	30	32
All Voters	9	7	4	2	78	

Note: Actual N = 137. For an explanation of methods used in this analysis see Table 7.9.

South as in the Cotton states.[81]

The significance of slaveholder support for secession in the upper South is also uncovered by regression procedures using counties as the basic units of analysis. Five indicators of social and economic characteristics of counties were entered as independent variables into regression equations. The goal was to predict votes for secession and maintenance of the Union as well as nonvoting in the secession elections in the upper South (see Table 7.12). The number of slaveholders in the electorate proved to be a better predictor of the secessionist vote than any of the other four variables entered into the equation. Indeed, the slaveholding indicator in the upper South had more influence (.11) on the secession vote than did the same indicator in the Cotton states (.09) (see Table 6.11). Perhaps more significant, in areas where slaveholders dominated the economic system, the vote for the opposition positions radically decreased. Large numbers of slaveholders within a county produced a very high negative relationship compared to the other independent variables, in respect to the Unionist

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[81]Gavin Wright, The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1978), 147-150. Hunt and James to William Massie, February 6, 1861, William Massie Papers. Hunt and James suggest to Massie, "We also incline to the opinion that we shall be better off without the Yankees. Then we can again be with them." For an study of county voting in Virginia see Daniel W. Crofts, "Secession Crisis Voting Behavior in Southampton County, Virginia," unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Southern History, The Citadel, 1987.

TABLE 7.12.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTION IN THE UPPER SOUTH

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession	Slaveholders	.52	.49	.06	8.85	.27	.11
	Religion1	.05	.07	.04	1.21	-----	.03
$[R^2=.27]$	Religion2	.06	.04	.10	.92	-----	.01
$\sigma^2=.13$	Wheat	.03	.02	.09	-.07	-----	.00
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.01	.00	.14	-----	.00
	Constant	.05					
Opposition	Slaveholders	-.74	-.53	.08	-9.84	.27	-.16
	Wheat	.24	.11	.11	.76	.01	.03
$[R^2=.29]$	Religion2	-.27	-.12	.13	-.99	.01	-.02
$\sigma^2=.18$	Religion1	-.05	-.06	.05	-1.56	-----	-.03
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.05	.00	-.97	-----	.00
	Constant	.65					
Not Voting 1861	Slaveholders	.22	.24	.05	4.23	.04	.05
	Wheat	-.27	-.19	.08	-1.00	.02	-.03
	Religion2	.22	.15	.09	.49	.02	.02
	Cotton Man.	.00	.08	.00	1.22	.01	.00
$[R^2=.08]$	Religion1	.00	.00	.04	.67	-----	.00
$\sigma^2=.19$	Constant	.31					

Note: Actual N = 271. Here and elsewhere the voting units are weighted by voting population to ensure that smaller counties are not overrepresented in the analysis. Standard errors, however, are computed according to the original, unweighted number of counties and are thus essentially the standard deviations of actual voting percentages from voting percentages predicted by the regression lines. The regression coefficients, when written in additive equation form, describe the relationship of the independent variables to a voting decision as a mathematical function. The procedure used was the SPSSX regression program in which the variables were entered into the equation on the basis of their partial correlation coefficients.

vote in the region (see Table 7.12). Thus absence or
presence of slaveholders within a county proved to be a
relatively more important indicator--the only one with real
statistical importance with a T Score > 2.0--of support for
secession or unionism than any other variable entered into
the equation. Furthermore, levels of slaveholding in the
upper South more accurately described pockets of secessionist
strength than the same indicator in the lower South (see
Table 7.12 and 6.11). The plantation system, less dominant
in the upper South, served as the epicenter of secessionist
support in the region.[82]

Convention balloting in North Carolina revealed acute
economic divisions in an upper South electorate in 1861 (see
Table 7.13).[83] Slaveholding counties, consistent throughout
the region, had the highest positive impact on the secession
vote and a strong negative impact on the unionist vote, and
wheat-growing regions of the state exactly the opposite.
Regions containing large numbers of yeoman farmers and few
slaves opposed the slaveholding powers of the state in 1861
as they had previously. Slaveholding areas in North

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[82]See Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, The Secession Movement
in North Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1939), 190-91; Crofts, "The
Political and Social Origins of Opposition," 24-30; Kruman,
Parties and Politics, 211-12; and Crofts, "Secession Crisis
Voting Behavior."

[83]The slaveholder/nonslaveholder dichotomy was also
present in Virginia and Tennessee, but the division was most
acute in North Carolina. For a discussion of these trends see
Crofts, "The Political and Social Origins of Opposition," 24-
30; and Crofts, "Secession Crisis Voting Behavior," 1-25.

TABLE 7.13.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTION IN NORTH CAROLINA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession	Slaveholders	.58	.37	.16	3.06	.23	.14
	Wheat	−.30	−.35	.11	−2.57	.04	−.08
[R^2=.34]	Religion2	.57	.34	.24	2.00	.07	.05
	Religion1	.08	.08	.13	.48	------	.06
	Cotton Man.	.00	−.02	.00	.30	------	.00
	Constant	.09					
Opposition	Slaveholders	−.56	−.33	.17	−3.23	.20	−.13
	Wheat	.35	.37	.11	2.82	.08	.09
[R^2=.32]	Religion2	−.48	−.27	.25	−1.46	.02	−.04
	Religion1	−.20	−.18	.13	−1.40	.02	−.16
	Cotton Man.	−.00	−.03	.01	−.66	------	.00
	Constant	.65					
Not Voting 1861	Religion1	.12	.25	.07	1.90	.05	.09
	Religion2	−.09	−.12	.13	−.88	.03	−.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.12	.00	.75	.03	.00
	Wheat	−.05	−.12	.06	−.75	.01	−.01
[R^2=.15]	Slaveholders	−.02	−.03	.08	.64	------	.00
	Constant	.25					

Note: Actual N = 72. For an explanation of methods see Table 7.12.

Carolina, in contrast to the rest of the South, had
consistently identified with the Democratic party in past
presidential elections (see Table 4.8). In this respect the
convention balloting in the state represented a continuation
of the class conflict already present to some extent in the
state's political system. Nevertheless, slaveholding regions
in North Carolina and the South in general provided much of
the strength behind the move toward secession, while yeoman
farmers valued the Union initially more than the slave
system.[84]

In contrast to the Cotton states, slaveholding areas also
produced a small positive impact on levels of nonvoting in
the secession balloting. Although secessionist sentiment ran
stronger among upper South slaveholding counties, voter
participation in secession balloting was also lower in
plantation regions. The regression estimates of turnout
decline from the presidential election three months earlier
suggests how voter participation in "Black Belt" counties
decreased from turnout levels in the 1860 presidential
balloting (see Table 7.14). The concentration of
slaveholding had a significant impact on relative voter
turnout decline from the 1860 presidential election to the
secession convention balloting. Voters in counties dominated
by the plantation system, convinced of the "Black Republican"

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[84]Paul D. Escott, Many Excellent People, xvii-xviii, 5,
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TABLE 7.14.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON THE DECLINE IN VOTER TURNOUT
IN THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN THE UPPER SOUTH

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Turnout	Slaveholders	.33	.46	.05	7.89	.14	.07
Decline	Wheat	-.12	-.11	.07	-2.33	.01	-.01
1861	Religion1	-.05	-.10	.03	-.78	.01	-.01
	Religion2	-.08	-.07	.08	-.30	-----	.00
[R^2=.16]	Cotton Man.	.00	.01	.00	-.17	-----	.00

Note: Actual N = 270. Turnout Decline was calculated by subtracting the turnout in the 1861 secession balloting from the average rate of voter turnout in the 1856 and 1860 presidential elections.

threat to the institution of slavery and the inevitability of
the separation of the Union, found little reason to cast
ballots in the secession elections. In both regions of the
South, slaveholding counties tended to produce lower turnout
levels, resulting in a depression of the secessionist forces
in plantation counties where the outcome was never in
doubt.[85]

The class divisions in the upper South electorate in 1861
remained significant even when previous political alignments
were introduced into the equations (see Table 7.15).
Breckinridge counties influenced the secession vote
positively more than any other social or economic variable,
but the relationship between the vote for secession and
slaveholding regions remained strong even while controlling
for previous political affiliations. The relationship
between slaveholding and secession was not a spurious
relationship that disappeared when controlling for previous
political affiliations. In addition slaveholding counties
retained their impressive negative impact on the unionist
vote, after entering the vote for Bell and Douglas into the
equation. The Bell and Douglas forces in the upper South
provided the foundation for the unionist vote but convention
balloting forced substantial changes in voting patterns in
the region as slaveholding and nonslaveholding areas aligned

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[85]For an opposing view see David M. Potter, <u>Lincoln and
His Party in the Secession Crisis</u> (New Haven, 1942), 213-17.

TABLE 7.15.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN THE UPPER SOUTH

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession	Breckinridge	.45	.46	.03	10.52	.29	.15
	Slaveholders	.45	.42	.05	8.72	.19	.10
$[R^2=.48]$	Wheat	.05	.03	.05	.67	-----	.01
$\sigma^2=.11$	Religion2	.04	.02	.07	.50	-----	.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.02	.09	.59	-----	.02
	Religion1	.00	.00	.00	.66	-----	.00
	Constant	-.06					
Opposition	Slaveholders	-.81	-.57	.06	13.35	.27	-.18
	Bell and Douglas	.79	.54	.06	12.21	.28	.30
$[R^2=.56]$	Religion1	.07	.08	.04	-.31	.01	.02
$\sigma^2=.14$	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.06	.00	-1.47	-----	.00
	Wheat	.03	.02	.09	.13	-----	.00
	Religion2	-.02	-.01	.11	-.41	-----	.00
	Constant	.29					
Not Voting 1861	Nonvoters '60	.69	.75	.05	12.31	.45	.21
	Slaveholders	.38	.41	.04	8.78	.14	.08
	Wheat	-.10	-.08	.06	-1.39	-----	.00
$[R^2=.59]$	Religion1	-.03	-.06	.03	.09	-----	-.02
$\sigma^2=.09$	Cotton Man.	.00	.06	.00	1.20	-----	.00
	Religion2	.03	.02	.07	.48	-----	.00
	constant	.09					

Note: Actual N = 270. For an explanation of methods used see Table 7.12.

against each other. Finally, slaveholding regions, in addition to the areas of nonvoting in 1860, continued to positively influence the rate of nonvoting in 1861. The absence and presence of slaveholders in the electorate proved to be a formidable indicator of voting patterns in the crisis elections of 1861.[86]

The Richmond Enquirer noted in March of 1861 that "the people of Virginia must now realize the humiliating and alarming fact that they are living under Black Republican rule; the rule of men who would as soon see a conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it as to protect the slaveholder in his right of property."[87] Slaveholders in the upper South apparently agreed with the newspaper's assessment of the situation as they cast their ballots during the convention balloting of February of 1861. Although many slaveholders had cast ballots for anti-Democratic presidential candidates in the past, few voted for unionist delegates in 1861. The convention elections tended to force voters in the region to take stands that went beyond previous political alignments. While certainly the importance of the

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[86]This is in contrast to Marc Kruman who suggests that the secession balloting in the upper South continued the political relationships that had been established during the second party system. Kruman, Parties and Politics, 211-14. For an opinion more in accord with information presented here see also Henry T. Shanks, The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861, 119-41.

[87]"The Government Under Which We Now Live," The Richmond Enquirer, March 12, 1861.

Breckinridge support for secession and the Bell and Douglas support for the Union must be admitted, numerous voters chose to step outside the bounds of party identification and vote their economic and regional interests in 1861. Some peripheral and former Democratic voters in the mountains of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia felt compelled to support the Union in the secession balloting. Former anti-Democratic slaveholding regions, especially in Tennessee, disproportionately voted to join the lower South in the newly formed, Confederate States of America. The secession elections provided citizens with the opportunity to voice opinions that lacked definition by party leaders.[88] The secession crisis thus caused a substantial realignment of voters along class lines in the electorate of the upper South.[89] Yet the realignment of voters in the 1861 secession elections that enabled the Union forces to achieve victory in February of 1861 dissolved in the face of Federal action at Fort Sumter.[90]

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[88]Seymour Martin Lipset, _Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics_ (Baltimore, 1981), 375.

[89]_ibid._, 377.

[90]"The Administration Policy," The _Republican Banner_, April 9, 1861; "The Position of This Paper," The Raleigh _Register_, April 17, 1861; "What Should North Carolina Do Now?" _ibid._, April 17, 1861; and "A United South," _ibid._, April 17, 1861.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This analysis of southern presidential elections from 1828 to 1860 suggests that the strength of political party identification was an element of predictability in national elections held in the South during the "second party system." Once voters developed allegiances to Andrew Jackson or his political opponents, their partisan affiliations rarely changed. Ties to the Democratic and opposition party organizations endured in spite of different campaign personalities or the candidates' positions on significant local and national issues. Nevertheless, narrow focus on the vacuous repetition of partisan votes in presidential elections in the South hides changes in voter turnout that took place from election to election. Differentials in voter participation shaped at times electoral outcomes. Historians who have emphasized core voter consistency and the maintenance of partisan lines have neglected to observe previous nonvoters, immigrants to the South, and males eligible to vote for the first time who occasionally moved into the active electorate. In brief, peripheral and new voters in the antebellum South provided a measure of volatility in an otherwise loyal partisan electorate. The ability of Democrats or the opposition to maintain core voter support and attract substantial numbers of peripheral and new

voters into their fold proved crucial in shaping the outcome
of presidential races in the antebellum South.

The repetition of party votes was less important in
presidential elections from 1836 to 1848 to forging outcomes
than the emergence of new voters into the active electorate.
Whether supporting the Democratic or opposition candidate in
antebellum presidential elections, new and previous nonvoters
examined issues and candidates and decided at times to enter
the active electorate. For example, neither William H.
Harrison in 1840 nor James K. Polk in 1844 could have carried
the popular vote in the lower South without the backing of
peripheral and new voters. Similarly, the newly formed Whig
party in the upper South developed a larger core voter base
of support than the Democrats when substantial numbers of
peripheral and new voters entered Harrison's fold in 1840 and
remained within the party. The successful recruitment of
previous nonvoters and new voters by the upper South Whigs
during the early stages of the second party system enabled
them to sustain a narrow popular vote margin over the
Democrats in presidential elections until 1852. While issues
and personalities may have had little impact on the
presidential choices of the partisan faithful, issues and
personalities could have provided the impetus for the
movement of new residents to the South, inactive voters, and
young men into the active electorate.

By 1840 there existed in both the lower and upper South

states a vigorous, competitive two-party system. The competitiveness in the political arena was reflected in both high rates of voter participation and the relative closeness of the contests for the presidency. The estimates of party competition suggest that the second party system penetrated the region in the presidential election of 1836 and continued to provide closely contested national elections in the lower South until 1852 and the upper South through 1860. The second party system, according to the estimates of voting presented here, emerged in the South as both a function of Democratic dissatisfaction with Van Buren and the Whig appeals to voters who, for one reason or another, had never been a part of the active electorate. Democratic bolters, some former National Republicans, previous nonvoters, new residents, and young males filled the Whig ranks in 1836 and 1840, and provided the primary impetus to the creation of a viable Democratic opposition in the antebellum South.

In terms of party competition, the second party system had a more significant influence on politics in the upper South than it had in the cotton states. The political system established in the upper South by 1840, with the exception of Arkansas, fortified a pattern of stable party competition which lasted until Buchanan's election in 1856. Upper South Democrats, who lost their popular presidential vote edge in the region to the Whigs in 1840, regained their numerical advantage when opposition partisans dropped out of the

electorate during the unpopular candidacy of Scott. Arkansas, because of its unique party evolution, developed partisan patterns similar to the lower South where the Democratic opposition experienced difficulties competing with the Democracy. Democrats in Arkansas grabbed power quickly and maintained their strength throughout antebellum period.

In contrast, the second party system penetrated the lower South only briefly, from 1836 to 1848, when the national debate over the institution of slavery handicapped the Democratic opposition in the region in the 1850s. Lower South voter turnout dropped dramatically in 1852 (over twenty percent) when compared to the previous election in 1848. Both parties in the lower South suffered substantial declines in partisan support in 1852. Disenchanted with national party positions on slavery, some Democratic and opposition party core voters sat out the presidential balloting in 1852. Although many partisans returned to the polling places in 1856, the Democratic opposition was never able to produce a competitive race for the presidency in the region again in the antebellum period.

Unlike the rest of the cotton states, the second party system permeated Louisiana from 1828 to 1860. In contrast to most of the South, Louisiana already possessed a competitive two-party system in 1828 and 1832 and the emergence of party competition in the rest of the cotton states appears primarily to have stirred voter interest in the state. The

estimates presented here suggest that turnout in Louisiana doubled between 1836 and 1840. Furthermore, unlike the rest of the lower South, presidential elections in the Louisiana remained competitive through the 1860 presidential election. In sharp contrast to Louisiana, Texas, which emerged as a state during the crucial national debates over the extension of slavery, failed to develop a competitive two-party system before the Civil War.

The Franklin Pierce-Winfield Scott presidential contest proved crucial in determining partisan competitiveness in national elections in the South from 1852 to 1860. Some Whig and Democratic voters dropped out of the active electorate in 1852 when they perceived that their parties refused to take cognizance of their sectional interests. Most prominently, some Whig voters, in the aftermath of the Compromise of 1850 and the party's seeming unwillingness to appeal to the southern vote, left their party permanently and some Whigs, particularly disaffected Whigs in Georgia, bolted to the Democratic camp. The Whig party's poor showing in the 1852 presidential balloting and its subsequent dissolution on a national level left anti-Democratic voters in the South without a political voice. Southern Democrats, benefitting from Whig disaffections, surged in the 1852 presidential election to a popular vote victory in the upper South and bolstered their core voter advantage in the lower South.

Unlike the massive partisan realignment already underway

in the northern states in 1856, the Buchanan-Fillmore contest
in the South witnessed few voters crossing party lines. The
voting patterns in the Buchanan-Fillmore contest in the South
proved to be similar to the presidential contests of the
previous sixteen years. Attempts to define Buchanan or
Fillmore supporters in the South in terms of social or
economic characteristics of the region proves to be illusive.
County-wide differences in religion, slaveholder strength,
investment in cotton manufactures, and levels of wheat
production were relatively poor indicators of voter choices
in the 1856 presidential balloting in the South.

The bulk of old Whig voters quickly moved into the Know-
Nothing camp in order to continue their antagonism to the
Democrats. The Know-Nothing party, with its anti-Catholic and
nativist agenda, failed to attract former Pierce men or a
majority of southern Protestant evangelicals into its ranks.
Southern voters in 1856 continued to frame their choices in
terms of previous political affiliations. Like the Creole
Catholics of New Orleans, who were faced with the choice of
an anti-Catholic party or the Democratic alternative, most
old Whigs who were Catholics preferred the former. The
American party disproportionately obtained the support of
many wealthy slaveholders in the lower South, but slaveholder
partisan choices were more likely to be the result of past
political frames of references than of any social, economic,
or cultural factor present in the region.

The pivotal presidential election of 1860 in the lower South produced the beginnings of a major realignment in southern politics. The rift in the Democratic party in 1860 combined with the continuation of an strong anti-Democratic coalition headed by Constitutional Unionist John Bell cut significantly into previously building Democratic party strength in the region since the 1852 presidential election. In Louisiana, Breckinridge carried the state's electoral vote by only a small margin over Bell. A successful combination of the Douglas and Bell votes there could have defeated the Breckinridge forces. Breckinridge and the Southern Rights Democracy, willing to sacrifice even the Union to preserve southern institutions, broke national Democratic unity and forced a realignment of core voters in the cotton states.

The upper South exhibited similar voting patterns in 1860, although presenting a much more competitive electoral race between the forces of Breckinridge and Bell. Throughout the upper South, Breckinridge defeated Bell by less than 15,000 votes. Bell supporters claimed prior to the election that many former Democrats would switch affiliations and rally under the banner of the Constitutional Union party. However, estimates presented here suggest that few former Democrats supported Bell's candidacy in the upper South. Douglas' ability to convince roughly ten percent of former Buchanan supporters to cast ballots for him enhanced the chances of the Constitutional Unionists, for the split in the Democratic

party enabled Bell to draw extremely close to Breckinridge in terms of the popular vote.

In contrast to the lower South where Democratic candidates drew substantial support from previous nonvoters and new voters, the Constitutional Unionists in the four states of the upper South obtained the bulk of the peripheral and new voters who entered the active electorate in 1860. With fewer slaves and slaveholders in the upper South, previous nonvoters and new voters held stronger ties to the Union and proved to be unwilling to support a party accepting disunion as a means of protecting southern institutions. In the upper South the election of 1860 also marked a significant change when the rift in the Democratic party produced more dramatic shifts in power than it had in the cotton states.

The 1860 results were strikingly similar for both the upper and lower South. Previous political choices in 1856 were better predictors of voting behavior in 1860 than any of the social or economic variables tested in the analysis except in the case of Douglas. Similar to voting patterns in 1856, Protestants evangelical were perhaps more likely to support the Democratic party and slaveholders the opposition, but voters' religious affiliations and their economic status were relatively poor indicators of voter choices in the 1860 presidential balloting. The vast majority of voters in the election of 1860 continued to support the candidate of their party or voted against their traditional opponents. Thus

former Whigs solidly backed Bell and Democrats voted for
Breckinridge. The slightly different postures of Bell and
Breckinridge on how best to protect southern Rights reflected
past political positions rather than any new formulation of
policy. Even in the critical presidential election of 1860,
southern voters continued for the most part, the same
habitual voting patterns they had established a decade
earlier.

In the aftermath of Lincoln's election Breckinridge
supporters found consolation only in a "preemptive" counter-
revolution through disunion. One southern Democratic editor
exemplified this spirit as he called for southern men to
prepare to act for "if Lincoln is elected, the irrepressible
conflict predicted by him and Seward, will commence, whether
we wish it or not."[1] Therefore southern institutions could
only be preserved by taking decisive action before Lincoln
had the opportunity to "violate and destroy" slavery, and
with it the South's economic and social well being. In the
election of 1860 in both the upper and lower South, the
Breckinridge forces had already called for action outside the
normal bounds of partisan expression by bolting from the
national Democratic party. The foundations of the Democratic
party in the South were shaken. In the upper South some
former Buchanan men questioned the wisdom of disunion and

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[1]"Southern Men Awake, and Prepare for the Conflict!" The
Federal Union, October 9, 1860.

found more in common with Douglas and Bell than they did with
Breckinridge.

The secession elections in the lower South marked a
significant change in partisan voting patterns. Voters who
continually came to the polls and cast ballots for their
party's presidential candidates during the period from 1840
to 1860 questioned the validity of the Union and the wisdom
of secession and redefined their political allegiances. While
certainly most voting southerners accepted slavery as a
positive good they disagreed as to how the institution could
best be protected. To vote for the dissolution of the Union
was not an easy choice for many southerners to make. The
lower South, led by the pro-Breckinridge forces, chose to
accept a pre-emptive secessionist counter-revolution to
preserve slavery and the status quo in the plantation South.
The secessionists attempted to seal off the South from a
Northern president bent on inflicting some future harm to
southern interests.

During the crisis winter of 1861, supporters of Douglas
and Breckinridge in the lower South continued to voice
different views in the secession convention and referendum
elections as voters questioned and registered their
commitment to the Union. Of the Democratic voters who
supported Buchanan and subsequently supported Breckinridge
only about sixty-four percent voted for delegates pledged to
immediate secession. Approximately thirteen percent of the

former Buchanan-Breckinridge men opted for cooperationist slates, while the remaining twenty-three percent chose to sit out the secession balloting altogether. Former 1856 Democrats who voted against Breckinridge in 1860, clearly favored cooperation as the best option for the states of the lower South. Following the lead of Douglas, the national Democrats in the South refused to give their support to the disunionists. The crack in the southern Democratic party that emerged in 1860 began to widen as voters divided over the most appropriate form of action for the cotton states.

The Know-Nothings and Constitutional Unionists in the lower South were equally in disarray in 1861. Approximately two-thirds of the Fillmore men who subsequently voted for Bell or Douglas cast ballots for anti-secessionist options in the early months of 1861. Former Fillmore-Opposition men and Buchanan-anti-Breckinridge men formed the base for the cooperation and anti-secession vote in the cotton states. Nevertheless, a substantial number of former Fillmore-Opposition men, roughly thirty percent, supported the immediate secessionist cause. Although the dominant majority of consistent partisans in the lower South exhibited continued support for divergent causes, they found the choices much more difficult in the secession elections.

In February of 1861 voters in the upper South reacted to the secession of the lower South states by overwhelmingly defeating secessionist delegates and proposals at the polls.

Nevertheless, like the lower South, some voters moved outside the previous partisan alignments when they voted in the secession elections. In the upper South, Democrats suffered the most from disaffections during the secession balloting. In contrast to the lower South, only slightly more than half of former Buchanan-Breckinridge supporters in the upper South returned a ballot for secessionist options in 1861. Moreover, twice as many Buchanan-Breckinridge core voters cast ballots opposing immediate secession in the upper South than in the cotton states. One out of every four Democrats who supported the Democracy in the 1856 and 1860 presidential elections opted to preserve ties to the Union. Core-voting Democrats divided over what course their states should take in early 1861. Unwilling to accept Lincoln's election as absolute cause for secession, some former southern Democrats decried South Carolina's actions in December of 1860. Closer in proximity to the northern states and with fewer ties to the plantation system, Buchanan-Breckinridge supporters in the upper South were severely divided over secession in the early months of 1861.

The upper South anti-secessionist movement in February of 1861 pulled supporters from most segments of the active electorate. Former Fillmore men who supported candidates other than Breckinridge in 1860 provided the greatest number of votes for unionist alternatives in the secession elections. Almost nine out of every ten of the Fillmore-

Opposition supporters cast ballots against secession. Similar to their counterparts in the lower South, former Fillmore-Opposition men expressed their commitment to southern culture and slavery, but they questioned whether Lincoln would harm slavery in the South and suggested that the question of slavery in the territories was settled. Furthermore, Union supporters in the upper South suggested that Lincoln deserved a fair trial since he had been constitutionally elected. In addition, in both the upper and lower South, former Fillmore-Opposition men turned out and voted in the secession elections at much higher rates than former supporters of the Democracy.

During the secession balloting voters in both the upper and lower South polarized, to some extent, along class lines. Many slaveholders had cast ballots for anti-Democratic presidential candidates in the past, but few voted for unionist delegates in 1861. Conversely, many nonslaveholders, especially in the wheat growing and subsistence farming regions of the upper and lower South, who had supported Breckinridge allied with the anti-secessionist forces in 1861. As a class, the slaveholders viewed the social and economic benefits of slavery much differently than did their nonslaveholding counterparts. The question they now addressed was foremost one of economics. The success of Lincoln in the presidential race convinced many slaveholders that their property would not be protected during his administration and

as a result they wanted to leave before their property in slaves became worthless. The economic institution of slavery separated the slaveholders from the rest of southerners on the basis of wealth and power as well as framed the South's system of social and cultural values that differentiated it from the northern states. Some slaveholders supported the opposition camps in the months following Lincoln's victory, but as a group they were, more than nonslaveholders, willing to dissolve the Union rather than risk the loss of their property and power.

This study of southern presidential voting patterns from 1828 to 1860 and secession balloting in early 1861 provides the political historian with a new window to political behavior in the region. It accounts for varying levels of voter turnout from election to election, and the subsequent movement of previous inactive voters and new voters into the active electorate, and uncovers important popular vote shifts in southern presidential balloting in spite of apparent core voter stability. The "party of nonvoters" and new voters contributed the bulk of support to the anti-Democratic forces in the South in 1836 and 1840, making the second party system a viable entity in the region. In addition, Democrat or opposition recruitment of peripheral and new voters often enabled the parties to obtain a popular vote victory in southern presidential balloting until 1852.

Previous political affiliations also played significant

roles in determining voter support from election to election. Prior to the secession elections, partisan alignments were relatively more important than any ethnic, religious, or economic factor in determining voter selections in presidential elections. Ultimately voter choices in the South were framed by their former political allegiances. But, in the secession balloting, when these allegiances sharply conflicted with the particular economic circumstances of slavery, some voting citizens pried themselves away from their political frameworks and cast ballots that reflected their perceived economic interests.

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APPENDIX A

NOTES ON REGRESSION PROCEDURES

To identify in the South the Democrat or Opposition party
social bases of support of the various indicators of wealth,
religion, and ethnicity were created and subsequently
introduced into regression analyses.[1] Multiple regression
equations measure the influence of each independent variable
on the dependent variable while controlling for the effects
of the other independent variables. The statistical measures
produced by the resulting equations, regression coefficients,
beta coefficients, standard errors, and T scores suggest the
strength of the relation between independent and dependent
variables and show whether the relationship is a positive or
negative one.

One significant problem in multiple regression,
multicollinearity, occurs when independent variables entered
into an equation are almost linear combinations of other

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[1]Variables created for possible introduction into
regression equations included the following; indices for
horses, sheep, swine, cattle, wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco,
rice, barley, milk cows, mules, wool, cane sugar, cane
molasses, wine; foreign born; acres unimproved; per capita
value of farms and home made manufactures; slaveholders; per
capita investment in livestock, animals slaughtered, cotton
goods, printing establishments, lumber, turpentine, leather,
and cotton ginning; church accomodations for Baptists,
Methodists, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterian, Episcopal,
Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran; number of
manufacturing establishments; and males between twenty and
thirty. Unless otherwise noted, all variables are percentages
of the population.

independent variables.[2] Perhaps the most common way of detecting multicollinear variables has been to examine large coefficients signaling the prescence of multicollinearity in the bivariate regression correlation matrix. For example, the upper South variables corn and mules correlate highly (r=.81), suggesting that the variables are linear combinations of each other (see Table A.1). In the lower South, several variables were also highly intercorrelated, including "cotton" and "mules" (see Table A.2). Some historians have attempted to solve the problem of multicollinearity by arbitrarily excluding varibles that are correlated at .70 or above.[3] But mere exclusion of independent variables correlated at .70 or higher provides little assurance that the equation has been made statistically sound.

Multicollinearity can exist unfortunately even when none of the correlation coefficients is very large.[4] An additional strategy, employed in this study, includes an examination of

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[2]Marija J. Norusis, <u>SPSSX: Advanced Statistics Guide</u> (New York, 1985), 54-57.

[3]See Peyton McCrary, Clark Miller, and Dale Baum, "Class and Party in the Secession Crisis: Voting Behavior in the Deep South, 1856-1861," <u>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</u>, 8 (Winter 1978), 454; Dale Baum, <u>The Civil War Party System: The Case of Massachusetts, 1848-1876</u> (Chapel Hill and London, 1984), 80-7; William E. Gienapp, <u>The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856</u> (New York, 1987), 478-80.

[4]Norusis, <u>SPSSX: Advanced Statistics Guide</u>, 55; Jarol B. Manheim and Richard C. Rich, <u>Empirical Political Analysis: Research Methods in Political Science</u> (New York and London, 1986), 288-9.

TABLE A.1

CORRELATIONS OF ECOLOGICAL DATA, 1861

	Slave-Holders	Mules	Tobacco Index	Gini Index	Cotton Index	Wheat Index	Cotton Manufac.	Evangel-icals	Litur-gicals	Corn Index
Slave-Holders	1.00	.51	.51	-.13	.19	.41	.08	.27	.19	.53
Mules	.51	1.00	.20	.19	.33	.07	.03	.09	-.04	.81
Tobacco	.51	.20	1.00	-.24	-.10	.43	-.00	.16	.05	.20
Gini	-.13	.19	-.24	1.00	.10	-.55	.01	.16	-.24	.06
Cotton	.19	.33	-.10	.10	1.00	-.13	.12	.03	-.09	.24
Wheat	.41	.07	.43	-.55	-.13	1.00	.01	.07	.35	.22
Cotton Manuf.	.08	.03	-.00	.01	.12	.01	1.00	.06	-.01	-.05
Evange-licals	.27	.09	.16	.16	.03	.07	.06	1.00	-.25	.21
Litur-gicals	.19	-.04	.05	-.24	-.09	.35	-.01	-.25	1.00	-.05
Corn	.53	.81	.20	.06	.24	.22	-.05	.21	-.05	1.00
Animals slaugh.	.66	.65	.28	-.03	.26	.20	-.06	.30	-.04	.78

TABLE A.2

CORRELATIONS OF ECOLOGICAL DATA, 1861

	Slave-Holders	Mules	Swine Index	Gini Index	Cotton Index	Wheat Index	Cotton Manufac.	Evangel-icals	Litur-gicals	Corn Index
Slave-Holders	1.00	.64	.71	-.57	.45	-.01	.09	.44	-.17	.71
Mules	.63	1.00	.62	-.38	.82	-.09	.07	.13	.02	.90
Swine	.71	.62	1.00	-.58	.51	.03	-.04	.51	-.42	.73
Gini	-.57	-.37	-.58	1.00	-.28	-.34	-.04	-.60	.44	-.49
Cotton	.45	.82	.51	-.28	1.00	-.10	-.01	.13	-.08	.73
Wheat	-.01	-.09	.03	-.34	-.10	1.00	.01	.22	-.35	-.02
Cotton Manuf.	.08	.07	-.04	-.04	-.01	.01	1.00	.02	.05	.03
Evange-licals	.44	.13	.50	-.60	.13	.22	.02	1.00	-.56	.31
Litur-gicals	-.17	.02	-.42	.44	-.08	-.35	.05	-.56	1.00	-.17
Corn	.71	.90	.73	-.48	.73	-.02	.01	.31	-.17	1.00
Animals slaugh.	.77	.53	.82	-.63	.43	.18	.01	.62	-.45	.70

variable tolerance which also indicates interdependency between variables. A variable with a high R^2 value, when compared to the rest of the independent variables in the equation, and a variable that has subsequently a small tolerance (the proportion of variability not explained by the other variables), suggests that variables in the equation may be interrelated. For example, when the eleven variables in the correlation matrix were introduced into equations predicting the secession vote in the upper and lower south, "slaveholders," "mules," "corn," and "animals slaughtered" all had relatively low tolerance levels (see Table A.3). The low tolerance measures alert the historian to the obvious interrelationship between slaveholding, use of mules, corn production, and the slaughtering of livestock on plantations in the antebellum South. The statistical relationship suggests a common agricultural enterprise that historians immediately recognize.

This study of antebellum southern politics and secession followed several approaches to correct the problem of multicollinearity. First, correlation matrices were examined to identify variables that were obviously intercorrelated (see Tables A.1 and A.2). Variables with large coefficients (.70) were examined and dropped from the analysis. In the lower South "mules," "animals slaughtered," "swine," and "corn" were immediately dropped from consideration. The remaining variables were then introduced into a regression

TABLE A.3.

INDIVIDUAL TOLERANCE SCORES FOR VARIABLES ENTERED INTO EQUATIONS
EXAMINING SECESSION VOTING BEHAVIOR

	Upper South	Lower South
Slaveholders	.36	.29
Mules	.28	.10
Tobacco	.62	----
Gini Index	.59	.43
Cotton Index	.81	.30
Wheat Index	.62	.72
Cotton Manufactures	.94	.95
Evangelicals	.74	.44
Liturgical	.73	.49
Corn Index	.21	.12
Animals Slaughtered	.28	.19
Swine Index	----	.24

equation (see Tables A.4 and A.5). The resulting equations still exhibited signs of multicollinearity. In the upper South slaveholders had a high R^2 value but a relatively low tolerance level (see Table A.4). In addition, the variable, "animals slaughtered," correlated at .66 with slaveholding and had regression coefficients near zero in each of the three equations. The problem became apparent when "slaveholders" was dropped from the equation and subsequently the regression coefficients for "animals slaughtered" jumped significantly. In the equation predicting levels of nonvoting in the lower South secession crisis, the slaveholding variable had a positive affect on nonvoting, but when the gini index was dropped from the equation a high negative relationship appeared (see Table A.5).[5] Thus, low tolerance levels helped identify regions in the South that had a similar economy. Many of the variables coded reflected the interrelationship and dominance of the plantation agricultural system in the South.[6]

After the examination of correlation coefficients and tolerance levels, variables that appeared to be similar were combined into a single measure. For example, the dominance of Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches in the South prevented independent use in the equations predicting

[5]Compare with Tables 6.11-6.13.

[6]See Sam Bowers Hilliard, <u>Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860</u> (Carbondale, 1972).

TABLE A.4.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN THE UPPER SOUTH

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Tolerance	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession $[R^2=.27]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Slaveholders	.34	.32	.37	.27	.07
	Animals Slght.	.00	.22	.50	.02	.00
	Religion2	.13	.08	.74	.00	.01
	Religion1	.03	.05	.78	.00	.02
	Tobacco	.04	.03	.63	.00	.00
	Cotton Man.	−.00	.02	.94	.00	.00
	Wheat	.04	.03	.51	.00	.00
	Gini	.02	.01	.66	.00	.00
	Cotton	.04	.01	.84	.00	.00
	Constant	.01				
Opposition $[R^2=.31]$ $\sigma^2=.18$	Slaveholders	−.87	−.61	.37	.27	−.19
	Animals Slght.	.00	.16	.50	.02	.00
	Gini	−.21	−.07	.66	.01	−.10
	Religion2	−.24	−.10	.74	.00	−.14
	Wheat	.20	.09	.51	.00	.02
	Religion1	−.05	−.06	.78	.00	.00
	Tobacco	−.08	−.05	.63	.00	.00
	Cotton Man.	−.00	−.03	.94	.00	.00
	Cotton	.06	.01	.84	.00	.00
	Constant	.71				
Not Voting 1861 $[R^2=.23]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Slaveholders	.52	.57	.37	.03	.30
	Animals Slght.	−.01	−.51	.50	.15	−.13
	Wheat	−.23	−.17	.51	.03	−.02
	Gini	.20	.11	.66	.01	.09
	Religion2	.12	.08	.74	.00	.01
	Tobacco	.04	.05	.63	.00	.00
	Religion1	.02	.03	.78	.00	.01
	Cotton Man.	−.00	.03	.94	.00	.00
	Cotton	−.10	−.02	.84	.00	.00
	Constant	.28				

Actual N = 271.

TABLE A.5.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN THE LOWER SOUTH
(With Texas)

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Tolerance	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession $[R^2=.21]$ $\sigma^2=.16$	Gini	-.32	-.22	.44	.16	-.17
	Slaveholders	.21	.20	.53	.03	.06
	Religion2	-.11	-.08	.62	.01	-.01
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.06	.99	.00	.00
	Religion1	.02	.05	.50	.00	.01
	Cotton	.05	.01	.77	.00	.00
	Wheat	-.04	-.01	.77	.00	.00
	Constant	.43				
Opposition $[R^2=.26]$ $\sigma^2=.16$	Wheat	2.09	.30	.77	.18	.04
	Gini	-.42	-.26	.44	.03	-.22
	Slaveholders	-.26	-.22	.53	.03	-.07
	Cotton Man.	.00	.12	.99	.01	.00
	Religion1	.08	.16	.50	.01	.05
	Cotton	-.17	-.05	.77	.00	-.01
	Religion2	.03	.02	.62	.00	.00
	Constant	.43				
Not Voting 1861 $[R^2=.45]$ $\sigma^2=.16$	Gini	.73	.41	.44	.35	.39
	Wheat	-1.99	-.25	.77	.07	-.04
	Religion1	-.10	-.18	.50	.02	-.06
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.06	.99	.00	.00
	Slaveholders	.05	.04	.53	.00	.01
	Religion2	.08	.05	.62	.00	.01
	Cotton	.12	.03	.77	.00	.00
	Constant	.14				

Actual N = 349.

political support. More than sixty percent of all southerners identified with the three churches and at the county level, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian church accommodations were highly interrelated. Thus, considering some theological and cultural similarities between the churches, they were combined into one measure of evangelical churches. In addition, the slaveholding variable, after numerous regression runs, was selected as best representing the plantation economy in the South. Thus, all variables that appeared to be a description of the plantation system in the South, other than slaveholding, were dropped from the regression analyses.[7]

Finally, in an attempt to combine independent variables that appeared interrelated, selected variables were entered into a factor analysis in order to create "factor indices" as a common score for a group of interrelated variables.[8] In

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[7]Dropping variables from the equation can produce specification error. To avoid misspecification, one highly intercorrelatied variable was dropped from the equation and then another. The resulting equations were examined to get an estimate of possible damage done by misspecification. The results presented in this study do not appear to have been affected by misspecification.

[8]For an example of this technique see Mary Zey-Ferrell and William Alex McIntosh, "Predicting and Understanding Intent to Consume Beef Among Texas Women," Technical Report, 87-4, The Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas. For an introductory discussion of Factor analysis see Jae-On Kim and Charles W. Mueller, Introduction to Factor Analyses: What It Is and How To Do It, Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, Series No. 07-013 (Beverly Hills, Calif., and London, 1978).

this study three factor indices were created: plantation
index; grain or wheat index; and a manufacturing index (see
Tables A.6 and A.7). For the plantation index the independent
variables, slaveholding, corn, cotton, swine, and mule
indices, and percentage of animals slaughtered, were entered
into a factor analysis using varimax rotation for both the
upper and lower South. The overall factorial determination
from the analysis for the lower South was .73, indicating
that seventy-three percent of the variance among the observed
variables is determined by this one common factor.[9] This
procedure was performed for the grain and manufacturing index
in a similar manner.[10] The "plantation," "grain," and
"manufacturing" factor-loading scores for each southern
county were then reintroduced into regression equations
predicting secession voting behavior in the upper and lower
South (see Tables A.6 and A.7). The combined variables proved
to be less powerful indictators of voting behavior in the
secession crisis than the individual variables of
slaveholding and wheat.

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[9]See Kim and Mueller, Introduction to Factor Analysis,
26-28. For the upper South the common factor accounted for
only fifty-one percent of the variance between the observed
variables.

[10]The grain regional factor index included independent
variables descriptive of southern agricultural endeavors
distinct from the plantation, wheat, sheep, barley, and
sheep. The manufacturing regional factor index included per
capita investment in various industrial enterprises: lumber;
cotton ginning; cotton goods; turpentine; leather; and
homemade manufactures.

TABLE A.6.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN THE UPPER SOUTH

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession $[R^2=.19]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Plant. Fac.	.06	.33	.11	.00
	Religion2	.30	.17	.02	.03
	Religion1	.11	.16	.02	.06
	Wheat Fac.	-.02	-.12	.01	.00
	Gini	-.25	-.11	.01	-.11
	Man. Fac.	-.01	-.08	.01	.00
	Constant	.22			
Opposition $[R^2=.12]$ $\sigma^2=.20$	Religion2	-.56	-.24	.03	-.05
	Religion1	-.17	-.19	.05	-.10
	Wheat Fac.	.04	.17	.03	.00
	Plant. Fac.	-.02	-.10	.01	.00
	Man. Fac.	.01	.07	.01	.00
	Gini	-.05	-.02	.00	-.03
	Constant	.62			
Not Voting 1861 $[R^2=.14]$ $\sigma^2=.17$	Religion2	.56	.29	.05	.05
	Plant. Fac.	-.04	-.23	.03	.00
	Religion1	.14	.18	.03	.08
	Gini	.33	.13	.02	.17
	Wheat Fac.	-.02	-.10	.01	.00
	Man. Fac.	-.01	-.04	.00	.00
	Constant	.03			

Note: Actual N = 271.

TABLE A.7.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTIONS IN THE LOWER SOUTH

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession	Plant. Fac.	.03	.19	.14	.01
[R^2=.27]	Grain Fac.	.04	.26	.05	.01
σ^2=.13	Religion1	.11	.23	.05	.08
	Man. Fac.	.03	.15	.02	.00
	Religion2	-.09	-.06	.00	-.01
	Constant	.26			
Opposition	Religion1	.12	.24	.07	.08
[R^2=.11]	Plant. Fac.	-.02	-.14	.02	-.01
σ^2=.17	Religion2	-.21	-.14	.01	-.01
	Man. Fac.	-.02	-.08	.01	-.00
	Wheat Fac.	-.00	-.02	.00	.00
	Constant	.16			
Not	Religion1	-.23	-.39	.24	-.16
Voting	Grain Fac.	-.04	-.19	.05	-.01
1861	Religion2	.30	.17	.02	.02
[R^2=.31]	Man. Fac.	-.01	-.05	.00	.00
σ^2=.16	Plant. Fac.	-.01	-.03	.00	.00
	Constant	.57			

Note: Actual N = 349.

Independent variables included in multiple regression equations in this study were consistently reduced to a minimum. The strategy employed here for the elimination of multicollinearity helped insure that the five or six variables entered into the final equations predicting political behavior in the antebellum South represented different economic and social regions.

APPENDIX B

ALABAMA

TABLE B.1

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM ALABAMA, 1828-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	NV.	New Voters NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1828-1861													
1828-1832	150	14	4	40	0	58	0	0	21	3	12	6	42
1832-1836	200	22	0	50	1	73	1	0	0	21	0	5	27
1836-1840	225	21	21	30	0	72	0	0	11	17	0	0	28
1840-1844	245	27	30	24	2	83	0	2	6	4	2	2	16
1844-1848	248	28	30	28	6	92	1	0	2	1	2	2	8
1848-1852	250	27	25	16	18	86	0	0	5	4	1	4	14
1852-1856	277	31	26	22	8	76	0	0	8	4	0	1	13
1856-1860	330	35	25	26	2	88	1	1	3	6	0	1	12
1856-1861	272	20	26	22	6	74	6	0	0	11	8	1	26
1860-1861	281	21	33	26	0	80	8	0	0	3	9	0	20
Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1828-1861													
1828-1836	151	18	7	46	6	77	6	0	6	5	2	3	22
1832-1840	200	23	1	23	3	50	0	0	9	36	0	3	48
1836-1844	224	19	19	31	0	69	0	0	15	17	0	0	32
1840-1848	247	22	25	21	9	77	1	2	6	5	4	4	22
1844-1852	248	25	23	18	12	78	1	0	8	6	2	6	23
1848-1856	247	25	23	15	14	77	0	0	13	6	0	4	23
1852-1860	280	25	27	19	10	82	0	1	11	6	0	0	18
1852-1861	245	26	27	17	10	74	0	0	1	16	9	0	26

TABLE B.2.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. ALABAMA PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS AND SECESSION: 1828-1861.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1828	46	5	51	41	
1832	31	0	31	31	
1836	36	29	65	7	
1840	46	40	86	6	
1844	46	32	79	14	
1848	35	34	69	1	
1852	29	15	44	14	
1856	43	26	70	17	
1860	53	23	76	30	
1861	31	24	55	7	

TABLE B.3.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS, ALABAMA
1828-1861

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know-Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1828	16736	1878	18103	51
1832	14286	5	31996	31
1836	20638	16658	20540	65
1840	33390	29061	10344	86
1844	37401	26002	17048	79
1848	31173	30482	28151	69
1852	29021	15052	54350	45
1856	46518	28538	32851	70
1860	62287	27835	28404	76
1861	36892	28031	53603	55

TABLE B.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
ALABAMA

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	100	0	0
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	0	100
Disciples of Christ	100	0	0
Baptist	38	43	19
Methodist	48	21	30
Presbyterian	10	20	70
All Other Churches	0	0	100
All Voters	44	27	29

N = 51.

TABLE B.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ALABAMA

Denomination	Percent for Douglas	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Bell	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	36	0	64
Catholic	0	0	0-100	0-100
Episcopalian	0	0	0-100	0-100
Disciples of Christ	0	100	0	0
Baptist	3	45-54	27	16-24
Methodist	15	50-60	12	10-20
Presbyterian	40	0	40	20
All Other Churches	100	0	0	0
All Voters	11	41	24	24

Note: Actual N = 51.

TABLE B.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
ALABAMA

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	20	80
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	0	100
Disciples of Christ	100	0	0
Baptist	49	24	29
Methodist	45	27	27
Presbyterian	30	30	40
All Other Churches	0	0	100
All Voters	32	24	44

Note: Actual N = 49

TABLE B.7.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
ALABAMA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	1	1	1	0-1	8	11
Breckinridge	3	2	1	0-2	33	41
Bell	5	6	4	3-5	4	23
Nonvoters	1	0	0	0	24	24
All Voters	10	8	5	5	78	

Note: Actual N = 52.

TABLE B.8.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
ALABAMA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	5	5	4	5	12	31
Opposition	1	0	0	0	24	24
Nonvoters	5	3	1	1	35	46
All Voters	10	8	5	5	71	

Note: Actual N = 51.

TABLE B.9.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN ALABAMA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan	Religion2	-.57	-.53	.22	-2.01	.34	-.02
[R^2=.37]	Wheat	.05	.16	.05	1.38	.03	.02
σ^2=.08	Slaveholders	-.04	-.06	.08	-.06	-----	-.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.01	.00	.11	-----	.00
	Constant	.45					
Fillmore	Slaveholders	.44	.59	.09	5.11	.38	.13
[R^2=.41]	Wheat	-.07	-.17	.05	-1.61	.02	-.02
σ^2=.09	Cotton Man.	.00	.10	.00	.86	.01	.00
	Religion2	-.11	-.08	.24	-.79	------	.00
	Constant	.16					
Not	Slaveholders	-.39	-.52	.08	-4.94	.27	-.12
Voting	Relgion2	.68	.50	.24	2.55	.22	.02
1856	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.11	.00	-.95	.01	.00
[R^2=.51]	Wheat	.02	.04	.05	.37	------	.01
σ^2=.09	Constant	.38					

Note: Actual N = 51.

TABLE B.10.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN ALABAMA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. [R^2=.31] σ^2=.12	Religion2	-.62	-.43	.30	-1.10	.26	-.02
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.19	.00	-1.13	.03	.00
	Wheat	.07	-.14	.06	1.19	.01	.02
	Slaveholders	.09	.11	.11	.96	-----	.03
	Constant	.40					
Douglas [R^2=.22] σ^2=.11	Cotton Man.	.01	.38	.00	2.61	.16	.00
	Slaveholders	-.13	-.18	.01	-1.28	.03	-.04
	Religion2	.23	.18	.28	.66	.03	.01
	Wheat	.01	.03	.06	.51	-----	.00
	Constant	.12					
Bell [R^2=.37] σ^2=.10	Slaveholders	.45	.59	.09	4.82	.35	.14
	Religion2	-.16	-.13	.25	-1.10	.01	.00
	Wheat	-.02	-.04	.05	-.35	-----	-.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.01	.00	-.22	-----	.00
	Constant	.12					
Not Voting 1860 [R^2=.53] σ^2=.09	Slaveholders	-.38	-.53	.08	-4.71	.25	-.12
	Religion2	.55	.45	.23	1.69	.22	.02
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.19	.00	-1.50	.04	.00
	Wheat	-.05	-.14	.25	-1.63	.02	-.02
	Constant	.35					

Note: Actual N = 51.

TABLE B.11.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION CONVENTION ELECTION IN ALABAMA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession $[R^2=.23]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Slaveholders	.36	.45	.11	3.28	.19	.11
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.16	.00	-.67	.03	.00
	Religion2	-.08	-.06	.31	.15	.01	.00
	Wheat	.02	.05	.07	.65	------	.01
	Constant	.22					
Opposition $[R^2=.50]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Wheat	.26	.39	.08	3.65	.26	.08
	Slaveholders	-.48	-.39	-.39	-3.78	.14	-.14
	Cotton Man.	.01	.33	.33	2.48	.10	.00
	Relgion2	-.20	-.10	-.10	.03	------	-.01
	Constant	.28					
Not Voting 1861 $[R^2=.41]$ $\sigma^2=.15$	Wheat	-.28	-.49	.08	-3.97	.33	-.09
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.25	.00	-1.82	.05	.00
	Religion2	.28	.15	.39	-.15	.02	.01
	Slaveholders	.12	.11	.14	.99	.01	.04
	Constant	.49					

Note: Actual N = 49.

TABLE B.12.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, ALABAMA

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.30	.27
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.29	.16
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	2.88	8.06
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.81	.20
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.03	.06
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.37	.14
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.34	.14
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.10	.09
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.02	.03
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.01	.03
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.00	.00

TABLE B.12. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.01	.02
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.01	.03
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.15	.20
For Secession	Percentage of the electorate voting for secession convention delegates or for secession	.31	.13
Opposition 1861	Percent of the electorate for Cooperation delegates or against secession	.25	.20
Not Voting 1861	Percent of the electorate not voting in the secession elections of 1861	.44	.18
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.41	.12
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.11	.11
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.24	.12
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.24	.11
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.44	.09
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.27	.12
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.29	.11

APPENDIX C

FLORIDA

TABLE C.1

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM
FLORIDA, 1848-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	Repeating NV.	New Voters NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1848-1861													
1848-1852	20	22	15	28	8	73	0	5	5	6	1	10	27
1852-1856	21	27	13	26	0	66	0	0	13	16	0	5	34
1856-1860	26	34	25	23	8	90	0	0	9	0	0	1	10
Nonconsecutive Presidentials, 1828-1860													
1848-1856	20	19	15	18	2	54	0	1	20	15	10	46	
1852-1860	21	35	15	26	4	68	0	0	21	10	0	31	

TABLE C.2.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. FLORIDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS:
1848–1860.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1848	27	36	63	–9	
1852	38	25	53	13	
1856	40	30	70	10	
1860	44	25	69	19	

TABLE C.3.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
FLORIDA
1848-1860

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know- Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1848	3083	4120	4259	63
1852	4318	2875	6387	53
1856	6358	4833	4757	70
1860	8215	4622	5869	69

TABLE C.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
IN FLORIDA

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	0-17	83-100
Catholic	0	75	0-60
Episcopalian	0	33	25-100
Lutheran	0	0	0
Baptist	95	0	5
Methodist	35-47	53-65	0
Presbyterian	9	45	45
All Voters	41	28	31

Note: Actual N = 25.

TABLE C.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
IN FLORIDA

Denomination	Percent for Douglas	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Bell	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	0	0	100
Catholic	0-20	0-80	0	0-80
Episcopalian	0-25	25-75	0	0-50
Lutheran	0	100	0	0
Baptist	0	68	23	9
Methodist	0	76	24	0
Presbyterian	9	18	73	0
All Voters	1	25	43	31

Note: Actual N = 35.

TABLE C.6.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
FLORIDA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	0-1	0-1	0	0	0	1
Breckinridge	6	7	3-5	3-5	20	43
Bell	2	1	0-2	0-2	18	25
Nonvoters	1	0	0	0	31	31
All Voters	10	8	5	5	72	

Note: Actual N = 35.

TABLE C.7.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN FLORIDA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan $[R^2=.28]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Slaveholders	.47	.43	.22	2.14	.25	.13
	Religion2	-.10	-.11	.15	-.28	.02	-.01
	Cotton Man.	.01	.11	.01	.58	.01	.00
	Gini	.08	.05	.29	-.09	------	.04
	Constant	.26					
Fillmore $[R^2=.30]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Religion2	-.35	-.33	.18	-1.94	.10	-.04
	Cotton Man.	-.03	-.42	.02	-1.94	.11	-.02
	Slaveholders	.33	.26	.27	1.63	.07	.09
	Gini	.28	.14	.35	-.11	.02	.14
	Constant	.16					
Not Voting 1856 $[R^2=.32]$ $\sigma^2=.17$	Slaveholders	-.28	-.44	.33	-2.30	.21	-.08
	Religion2	.31	.24	.22	1.35	.06	.03
	Cotton Man.	.01	.16	.02	.71	.03	.00
	Gini	-.36	-.15	.43	.03	.02	-.18
	Constant	.60					

Note: Actual N = 24.

TABLE C.8.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN FLORIDA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. [R^2=.46] σ^2=.11	Slaveholders	.68	.59	.18	3.56	.39	.19
	Gini	-.41	-.23	.23	-2.28	.05	-.21
	Cotton Man.	.01	.15	.01	.73	.02	.00
	Religion2	-.05	-.05	.14	-.08	------	-.01
	Constant	.44					
Douglas [R^2=.14] σ^2=.02	Religion2	.05	.31	.03	.85	.07	.01
	Gini	.06	.21	.05	.75	.03	.03
	Slaveholders	-.04	-.19	.04	-.38	.04	-.01
	Constant	-.01					
Bell [R^2=.16] σ^2=.11	Religion2	-.25	-.34	.15	-1.65	.08	-.03
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.30	.01	-1.16	.05	.00
	Slaveholders	.25	.25	.20	1.27	.03	.07
	Gini	-.06	-.05	.25	-.26	.00	-.03
	Constant	.25					
Not Voting 1860 [R^2=.46] σ^2=.13	Slaveholders	-.80	-.66	.01	-4.01	.40	-.22
	Religion2	.24	.24	.16	1.40	.03	.03
	Gini	.33	.18	.28	1.99	.03	.17
	Cotton Man.	.00	.07	.01	.46	------	.00
	Constant	.32					

Note: Actual N = 31.

Table C.9.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, FLORIDA

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.09	.24
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.24	.12
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	.42	1.75
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.65	.26
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.09	.16
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.23	.16
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.35	.17
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.08	.10
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.04	.07
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.05	.11
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.01	.02

TABLE C.9 (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.00	.00
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.004	.01
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.26	.25
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.42	.14
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.01	.02
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.22	.13
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.35	.18
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.42	.13
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.31	.15
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.28	.18

APPENDIX D

GEORGIA

TABLE D.1.

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM
GEORGIA, 1836-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	Repeating NV.	New Voters NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1836-1861													
1836-1840	56	23	29	13	0	65	1	0	16	14	2	0	33
1840-1844	60	34	39	5	1	79	0	1	12	5	0	3	21
1844-1848	60	38	39	7	2	86	0	0	4	6	4	1	15
1848-1852	59	25	19	12	5	63	0	7	3	0	14	15	39
1852-1856	59	32	16	20	0	69	0	1	13	18	0	0	32
1856-1860	95	37	32	12	2	83	3	0	6	6	3	1	19
1856-1861	94	21	17	16	2	55	14	7	5	3	8	9	46
1860-1861	131	23	24	17	0	64	7	9	1	1	9	9	36
Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1836-1861													
1836-1844	56	21	26	5	2	54	0	0	25	19	2	0	46
1840-1848	60	29	34	5	2	70	0	0	14	11	2	4	31
1844-1852	59	24	16	6	11	57	2	4	7	0	14	16	43
1848-1856	60	30	28	9	3	70	3	6	10	3	3	5	30
1852-1860	59	28	14	17	3	62	2	3	18	16	0	0	38
1852-1861	58	24	14	24	9	71	5	1	8	13	1	2	30

TABLE D.2.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. GEORGIA PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS AND SECESSION: 1836-1861.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1836	29	32	62	-3	
1840	38	47	85	-9	
1844	46	44	91	2	
1848	42	45	87	3	
1852	35	19	53	16	
1856	46	34	80	12	
1860	48	33	81	15	
1861	33	31	65	2	

TABLE D.3.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
GEORGIA
1836-1861

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know- Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1836	22278	24481	28884	62
1840	31983	40339	12647	85
1844	44147	42098	8794	91
1848	44791	47539	13972	87
1852	39986	21972	54032	53
1856	56581	42440	24373	80
1860	63753	43046	25454	81
1861	44142	41632	46479	65

TABLE D.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
GEORGIA

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	50	0	50
Catholic	0	0-100	0-100
Episcopalian	0	0	100
Lutheran	0	0	100
Disciples of Christ	0	100	0
Baptist	64	30	6
Methodist	46	41	13
Presbyterian	0	66-83	17-33
All Other Churches	0	0	100
All Voters	46	34	20

Note: Actual N = 94.

TABLE D.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
GEORGIA

Denomination	Percent for Douglas	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Bell	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	33	0	67
Catholic	0-100	0	0	0-100
Episcopalian	0	0	0	100
Lutheran	0	0	0	100
Disciples of Christ	0	0	100	0
Baptist	9	48	36	7
Methodist	8	35	49	11
Presbyterian	17	17	50	17
All Other Churches	0	100	0	0
All Voters	9	33	39	19

Note: Actual N = 127.

TABLE D.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
GEORGIA

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	56	0	44
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0-50	0	50-100
Lutheran	100	0	0
Disciples of Christ	0	100	0
Baptist	34	39	25
Methodist	27	41	32
Presbyterian	33	33	33
All Other Churches	0	0	100
All Voters	33	31	35

Note: Actual N = 126.

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TABLE D.7.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
GEORGIA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	1	1	1	1	6	9
Breckinridge	2	1	0	0	35	39
Bell	7	7	5	4	10	33
Nonvoters	1	1	0	0	17	19
All Voters	11	10	6	5	70	

Note: Actual N = 127.

TABLE D.8.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
GEORGIA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	4	4	2	2	20	33
Opposition	2	2	1	1	25	31
Nonvoters	4	4	2	2	23	35
All Voters	11	10	6	5	70	

Note: Actual N = 126.

TABLE D.9.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN GEORGIA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan $[R^2=.25]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Slaveholders	-.27	-.35	.08	-2.49	.12	-.10
	Religion2	-.25	-.12	.21	.39	.08	-.01
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.22	.00	-2.16	.04	.00
	Religion1	.10	.15	.08	.31	.02	.09
	Wheat	.02	.04	.06	1.06	------	.01
	Constant	.47					
Fillmore $[R^2=.30]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Slaveholders	.28	.35	.08	2.96	.17	.10
	Wheat	.14	.27	.05	2.96	.06	.04
	Cotton Man.	.00	.25	.00	2.56	.07	.00
	Religion1	.05	.07	.08	-.28	------	.04
	Religion2	.14	.06	.21	.08	------	.00
	Constant	.15					
Not Voting 1856 $[R^2=.20]$ $\sigma^2=.13$	Wheat	-.19	-.34	.06	-3.88	.16	-.06
	Religion1	-.13	-.17	.09	-.21	.03	-.12
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.07	.00	-.47	------	.00
	Slaveholders	-.03	-.03	.09	-.56	------	-.01
	Religion2	.03	.01	.09	-.21	------	.00
	Constant	.40					

Note: Actual N = 94.

TABLE D.10.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN GEORGIA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. $[R^2=.21]$ $\sigma^2=.15$	Slaveholders	-.29	-.31	.08	-2.95	.11	-.08
	Religion2	-.59	-.25	.23	.08	.06	-.01
	Wheat	-.10	-.18	.06	-2.90	.03	-.03
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.15	.00	-1.71	.02	.00
	Religion1	.02	.02	.08	.24	------	.02
	Constant	.53					
Douglas $[R^2=.16]$ $\sigma^2=.10$	Slaveholders	.14	.22	.06	2.68	.05	.04
	Religion2	.45	.28	.06	.25	.03	.01
	Wheat	.10	.27	.04	3.93	.07	.03
	Cotton Man.	.00	.03	.00	-.15	------	.00
	Religion1	.01	.02	.16	1.62	------	.01
	Constant	-.01					
Bell $[R^2=.47]$ $\sigma^2=.11$	Slaveholders	.39	.47	.06	5.72	.30	.12
	Wheat	.13	.24	.04	3.32	.09	.03
	Cotton Man.	.00	.24	.00	2.83	.04	.00
	Religion2	-.40	.18	.18	-2.18	.04	-.01
	Religion1	.05	.06	.06	.87	------	.02
	Constant	.11					
Not Voting 1860 $[R^2=.40]$ $\sigma^2=.11$	Religion1	-.07	.06	.06	-1.28	.18	-.06
	Wheat	-.14	.04	.04	-3.12	.09	-.04
	Slaveholders	-.23	.06	.06	-4.01	.08	-.08
	Religion2	.54	.18	.08	.62	.04	.01
	Cotton Man.	-.00	.00	.00	-.49	.01	.00
	Constant	.37					

Note: Actual N = 127.

TABLE D.11.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION CONVENTION ELECTION IN GEORGIA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession $[R^2=.02]$ $\sigma^2=.15$	Slaveholders	.12	.13	.08	1.61	.01	.04
	Religion1	-.08	-.11	.09	-1.37	.01	-.07
	Cotton Man.	.00	-.03	.00	-.82	------	.00
	Constant	.37					
Opposition $[R^2=.34]$ $\sigma^2=.15$	Wheat	.27	.38	.06	5.16	.23	.07
	Slaveholders	-.30	-.26	.09	-3.97	.05	-.10
	Religion1	.20	.21	.09	1.50	.06	.18
	Religion2	-.32	-.11	.24	-.43	------	-.01
	Constant	.16					
Not Voting 1861 $[R^2=.27]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Wheat	-.25	-.38	.05	-4.59	.21	-.07
	Religion2	.36	.13	.22	.19	.03	.01
	Slaveholders	.18	.17	.08	2.58	.02	.06
	Religion1	-.11	-.13	.08	-.12	.01	-.10
	Cotton Man.	.00	.01	.00	.62	------	.00
	Constant	.46					

Note: Actual N = 126.

TABLE D.12.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, GEORGIA

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.30	.25
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.31	.16
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	4.00	8.57
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.87	.20
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.03	.06
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.44	.17
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.37	.12
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.06	.06
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.02	.04
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.01	.02
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.004	.02

TABLE D.12. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.01	.02
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.01	.04
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.10	.17
For Secession	Percentage of the electorate voting for secession convention delegates or for secession	.34	.14
Opposition 1861	Percent of the electorate for Cooperation delagates or against secession	.32	.17
Not Voting 1861	Percent of the electorate not voting in the secession elections of 1861	.35	.16
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.40	.15
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.09	.10
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.33	.13
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.19	.12
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.46	.12
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.35	.13
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.20	.14

APPENDIX E

LOUISIANA

TABLE E.1

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM
LOUISIANA, 1828-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	NV.	New Voters NV.	(STABILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTABILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1828-1861													
1828-1832	29	13	5	55	15	88	2	0	0	1	1	9	13
1832-1836	29	8	5	56	24	93	2	0	2	2	0	1	7
1836-1840	27	6	7	38	23	74	1	0	9	15	1	0	26
1840-1844	32	14	17	51	5	87	0	2	7	5	0	0	14
1844-1848	36	11	18	40	8	77	1	0	10	6	7	0	24
1848-1852	37	18	16	42	9	85	0	0	4	4	0	6	14
1852-1856	46	21	15	53	0	89	0	3	0	8	0	0	11
1856-1860	47	23	21	49	0	93	0	0	2	6	0	0	8
1856-1861	47	12	15	49	5	81	3	6	3	0	8	0	20
1860-1861	48	14	14	49	0	77	7	5	1	0	10	2	25
Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1828-1861													
1828-1836	29	9	5	43	33	90	2	1	0	2	1	5	11
1832-1840	27	6	5	23	38	72	2	0	9	16	0	0	27
1836-1844	30	4	6	21	31	62	0	0	19	17	2	0	33
1840-1848	32	9	15	39	15	78	0	0	10	10	1	0	21
1844-1852	36	10	11	36	10	67	2	3	11	10	4	2	32
1848-1856	37	15	10	43	9	77	2	9	2	9	0	1	23
1852-1860	46	19	15	49	0	83	0	3	9	6	0	0	18
1852-1861	46	9	12	49	8	78	5	6	6	1	5	0	23

TABLE E.2.

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM LOUISIANA (With Divisions of New Orleans), 1828-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	Repeating NV.	New Voters NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1828-1861													
1828-1832	29	13	5	55	15	88	2	0	0	1	1	9	13
1832-1836	29	8	5	56	24	93	2	0	2	2	0	1	7
1836-1840	27	6	7	38	23	74	1	0	9	15	1	0	26
1840-1844	32	14	17	51	5	87	0	2	7	5	0	0	14
1844-1848	36	11	18	40	8	77	1	0	10	6	7	0	24
1848-1852	37	18	16	42	9	85	0	0	4	4	0	6	14
1852-1856	46	21	15	53	0	89	0	3	0	8	0	0	11
1856-1860	51	22	20	48	0	90	0	1	8	1	1	0	11
1856-1861	51	12	13	49	6	80	4	8	1	1	7	0	21
1860-1861	52	14	14	48	0	76	6	6	1	0	11	2	26
Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1828-1861													
1828-1836	29	9	5	43	33	90	2	1	0	2	1	5	11
1832-1840	27	6	5	23	38	72	2	0	9	16	0	0	27
1836-1844	30	4	6	21	31	62	0	0	19	17	2	0	33
1840-1848	32	9	15	39	15	78	0	0	10	10	1	0	21
1844-1852	36	10	11	36	10	67	2	3	11	10	4	2	32
1848-1856	37	15	10	43	9	77	2	9	2	9	0	1	23
1852-1860	51	18	15	49	0	82	0	5	8	6	0	0	19
1852-1861	51	10	12	49	10	81	6	7	4	0	2	0	19

TABLE E.3.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. LOUISIANA PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS AND SECESSION: 1828–1861.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1828	18	16	35	2	
1832	13	8	21	5	
1836	10	9	19	1	
1840	15	23	38	−8	
1844	23	22	44	1	
1848	25	21	46	4	
1852	22	21	43	1	
1856	24	23	47	1	
1860	31	21	51	10	
1861	21	18	39	3	

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TABLE E.4.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
LOUISIANA
1828-1861

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know-Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1828	4605	4082	16501	35
1832	3908	2429	23260	21
1836	3842	3583	31268	19
1840	7616	11296	31198	38
1844	13782	13083	33730	44
1848	15379	18487	39117	46
1852	18647	17255	47872	43
1856	22164	20709	47878	47
1860	30306	20204	47633	51
1861	20275	17748	60120	39

TABLE E.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
LOUISIANA

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	13-26	0-9	74-79
Catholic	10-40	50	10-40
Episcopalian	0	0-40	60-100
Lutheran	0	0	100
Baptist	55-67	24-33	0-21
Methodist	25-50	50-75	0
Presbyterian	20-25	17-25	50-63
All Other Churches	0-50	50-100	0
All Voters	24	23	53

Note: Actual N = 48.

TABLE E.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
LOUISIANA

Denomination	Percent for Douglas	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Bell	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	13	11	2	74
Catholic	13	0	33	54
Episcopalian	0	0	40	60
Lutheran	0	0	0	100
Baptist	0	100	0	0
Methodist	0	25	75	0
Presbyterian	0	25–50	0–25	25–50
All Other Churches	0	0	100	0
All Voters	8	21	23	49

Note: Actual N = 47.

TABLE E.7.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
LOUISIANA

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	25	75
Catholic	7	27	66
Episcopalian	40	0	60
Lutheran	0	0	100
Baptist	78	22	0
Methodist	100	0	0
Presbyterian	50-75	0	25-50
All Other Churches	0	100	0
All Voters	25	22	53

Note: Actual N = 47.

TABLE E.8.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
LOUISIANA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	1	1	0	0	6	8
Breckinridge	4	4	3	3	9	23
Bell	1	1	1	2	15	21
Nonvoters	2	0	0	0	48	49
All Voters	9	6	3	4	78	

Note: Actual N = 47.

TABLE E.9.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
LOUISIANA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	5	5	4	6	6	25
Opposition	3	3	1	1	14	22
Nonvoters	2	0	0	0	52	53
All Voters	9	6	3	4	78	

Note: Actual N = 47.

TABLE E.10.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN LOUISIANA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan $[R^2=.28]$ $\sigma^2=.11$	Slaveholders	.30	.30	.13	2.19		.11
	Religion1	.09	.25	.06	1.60		.04
	Religion2	-.17	-.21	.13	-1.34		-.03
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.08	.00	-.61		.00
	Constant	.30				.28	
Fillmore $[R^2=.23]$ $\sigma^2=.09$	Slaveholders	.23	.31	.10	2.17		.09
	Religion1	.09	.32	.05	1.93		.04
	Cotton Man.	.00	.17	.00	1.20		.00
	Religion2	.11	.18	.10	1.08		.02
	Constant	.16				.23	
Not Voting 1856 $[R^2=.44]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Slaveholders	-.53	-.45	.14	-3.68		-.19
	Religion1	-.18	-.41	.06	-2.87		-.07
	Religion2	.06	.06	.14	.41		.01
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.04	.00	-.33		.00
	Constant	.54				.44	

Note: Actual N = 46.

TABLE E.11.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN LOUISIANA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. [R^2=.36] σ^2=.12	Religion1	.20	.50	.06	3.39		.08
	Slaveholders	.28	.26	.14	2.05		.10
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.03	.00	-.24		.00
	Religion2	-.00	-.00	.13	-.03		.00
	Constant	.20				.36	
Douglas [R^2=.12] σ^2=.08	Slaveholders	-.15	-.23	.10	-1.51		-.05
	Religion1	-.05	-.20	.04	-1.13		-.02
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.08	.00	-.57		.00
	Religion2	.03	.05	.09	.29		.01
	Constant	.15				.12	
Bell [R^2=.16] σ^2=.11	Religion1	.10	.30	.06	1.79		.04
	Cotton Man.	.00	.22	.00	1.55		.00
	Slaveholders	.15	.18	.13	1.22		.06
	Religion2	.10	.13	.12	.80		.02
	Constant	.16				.16	
Not Voting 1860 [R^2=.34] σ^2=.13	Religion1	-.24	-.54	.07	-3.57		-.09
	Slaveholders	-.30	-.26	.15	-1.97		-.11
	Religion2	-.14	-.14	.15	-.97		-.03
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.09	.00	-.73		.00
	Constant	.50				.34	

Note: Actual N = 47.

TABLE E.12.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION ELECTION IN LOUISIANA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession $[R^2=.29]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Slaveholders	.46	.41	.15	3.06		.17
	Religion1	.10	.24	.07	1.54		.04
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.14	.00	-1.08		.00
	Religion2	-.00	-.00	.14	-.03		.00
	Constant	.10				.29	
Opposition $[R^2=.08]$ $\sigma^2=.17$	Cotton Man.	.00	.23	.19	1.52		.00
	Religion1	.09	.18	.09	1.01		.04
	Slaveholders	-.19	-.15	.20	-.98		-.07
	Religion2	.11	.11	.19	.61		.02
	Constant	.26				.08	
Not Voting 1861 $[R^2=.20]$ $\sigma^2=.15$	Religion1	-.18	-.39	.08	-2.32		-.07
	Slaveholders	-.27	-.22	.18	-1.51		-.10
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.11	.00	-.78		.00
	Religion2	-.12	-.12	.17	-.73		-.02
	Constant	.64				.20	

Note: Actual N = 47.

TABLE E.13.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, LOUISIANA

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.08	.22
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.36	.13
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	10.28	68.39
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.39	.34
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.18	.16
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.14	.19
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.21	.20
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.04	.07
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.04	.07
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.14	.14
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.00	.00

TABLE E.13. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.002	.01
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.03	.08
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.40	.29
For Secession	Percentage of the electorate voting for secession convention delegates or for secession	.31	.15
Opposition 1861	Percent of the electorate for Cooperation delagates or against secession	.25	.17
Not Voting 1861	Percent of the electorate not voting in the secession elections of 1861	.45	.17
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.39	.15
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.09	.09
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.28	.11
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.26	.16
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.42	.14
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.31	.10
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.28	.16

APPENDIX F

MISSISSIPPI

TABLE F.1

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM
MISSISSIPPI, 1828-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Opp.	New Voters NV.	NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
						Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1828-1861							
1828-1832	22	11	0	18	24	53	0	0	17	0	22	8	47
1832-1836	23	16	0	33	0	49	3	0	18	30	0	0	51
1836-1840	25	22	22	9	7	60	2	1	16	7	0	0	41
1840-1844	55	32	35	13	0	80	0	2	15	2	1	0	20
1844-1848	55	35	23	9	1	68	7	1	7	11	0	6	32
1848-1852	55	28	25	11	10	74	0	5	6	0	9	7	27
1852-1856	57	35	23	23	0	81	0	0	11	8	0	0	19
1856-1860	58	42	27	15	1	60	0	2	9	3	1	0	39
1856-1861	41	27	18	21	3	69	0	4	0	4	16	6	30
1860-1861	42	28	22	17	0	67	0	3	0	0	25	5	33
						Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1828-1861							
1828-1836	23	16	5	8	17	46	0	0	19	17	7	0	54
1832-1840	24	11	0	12	3	27	2	0	28	3	0	0	73
1836-1844	25	20	18	9	5	52	0	1	29	5	0	0	49
1840-1848	55	22	25	10	2	59	2	5	15	2	3	1	40
1844-1852	55	26	17	8	15	67	3	3	9	15	7	7	34
1848-1856	54	34	31	9	10	84	0	0	13	10	0	3	16
1852-1860	58	32	21	16	2	71	0	0	20	9	0	0	29
1852-1861	42	28	17	32	10	87	2	0	3	2	2	4	13

TABLE F.2.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. MISSISSIPPI PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS AND SECESSION: 1828-1861.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1828	29	7	36	22	
1832	22	0	28	22	
1836	35	33	68	3	
1840	39	45	84	−6	
1844	50	37	86	13	
1848	43	42	85	1	
1852	38	25	63	13	
1856	46	31	77	15	
1860	52	30	82	22	
1861	31	22	53	9	

TABLE F.3.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
MISSISSIPPI
1828-1861

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know- Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1828	6763	1581	15382	54
1832	5750	0	20269	28
1836	10297	9782	29669	68
1840	17010	19515	43422	84
1844	25846	19158	52106	86
1848	26545	25911	62093	85
1852	26896	17558	71089	63
1856	35527	24191	77515	77
1860	44050	25045	84295	82
1861	16474	11702	54000	53

TABLE F.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
MISSISSIPPI

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	13	87
Catholic	0	66-100	0-33
Episcopalian	0	100	0
Lutheran	100	0	0
Disciples of Christ	0	100	0
Baptist	100	0	0
Methodist	33	42	25
Presbyterian	33	66	0
All Other Churches	0	100	0
All Voters	46	31	23

Note: Actual N = 53.

TABLE F.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
MISSISSIPPI

Denomination	Percent for Douglas	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Bell	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	33	13	54
Catholic	0	0	0-100	0-100
Episcopalian	0	0	75-100	0-25
Lutheran	0	100	0	0
Disciples of Christ	0-100	0	0-100	0
Baptist	0	93	0	7
Methodist	0	28	47	25
Presbyterian	8-16	41	41	8-16
All Other Churches	100	0	0	0
All Voters	4	48	30	18

Note: Actual N = 55.

TABLE F.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
MISSISSIPPI

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	0	44
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	0	50–100
Lutheran	0	0	0
Disciples of Christ	100	100	0
Baptist	27	39	25
Methodist	22	41	32
Presbyterian	25	33	33
All Other Churches	0	0	100
All Voters	31	22	47

Note: Actual N = 38.

TABLE F.7.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
MISSISSIPPI

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	0	0	0	0	4	4
Breckinridge	6	4	2	0	37	49
Bell	5	6	5	8	6	30
Nonvoters	2	1	0	0	16	19
All Voters	13	11	7	8	61	

Note: Actual N = 55.

TABLE F.8.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
MISSISSIPPI

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	6	5	5	6	10	32
Opposition	2	1	1	2	15	21
Nonvoters	6	5	2	1	39	53
All Voters	13	11	7	8	61	

Note: Actual N = 38.

TABLE F.9.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN MISSISSIPPI

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan	Religion2	-.52	-.46	.18	-2.38	.31	-.03
[R^2=.49]	Wheat	.05	.22	.04	1.40	.06	.01
σ^2=.08	Slaveholders	-.13	-.20	.10	-1.67	.01	-.05
	Cotton Man.	.00	.14	.00	1.44	.01	.00
	Religion1	.04	.11	.06	.58	------	.03
	Constant	.48					
Fillmore	Slaveholders	.56	.70	.11	6.50	.42	.22
[R^2=.50]	Religion1	-.12	-.25	.07	-1.70	.06	-.10
σ^2=.09	Wheat	.03	.09	.04	.84	------	.01
	Religion2	.13	.09	.19	.69	------	.01
	Constant	.18					
Not	Slaveholders	-.43	-.57	.14	-4.04	.18	-.17
Voting	Wheat	-.08	-.28	.05	-1.77	.06	-.02
1856	Religion2	.39	.30	.23	1.23	.06	.02
[R^2=.31]	Religion1	-.08	.17	.08	.92	.03	-.06
σ^2=.11	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.11	.00	-.63	.01	.00
	Constant	.34					

Note: Actual N = 53.

TABLE F.10.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN MISSISSIPPI

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. [R^2=.26] σ^2=.09	Religion2	-.74	-.52	.19	-3.22	.22	-.04
	Cotton Man.	.00	.13	.00	1.63	.02	.00
	Wheat	-.02	-.07	.04	.17	.01	.00
	Religion1	-.03	-.07	.07	-.52	------	-.02
	Slaveholders	.05	.06	.11	-.98	------	.02
	Constant	.54					
Douglas [R^2=.30] σ^2=.03	Wheat	.06	.52	.02	3.71	.25	.01
	Religion2	.10	.18	.07	1.04	.04	.02
	Religion1	-.02	-.09	.02	-.65	.01	-.02
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.07	.00	.03	------	.00
	Slaveholders	.00	.01	.04	.89	------	.00
	Constant	.02					
Bell [R^2=.44] σ^2=.09	Slaveholders	.55	.11	.11	6.34	.34	.21
	Religion1	-.13	.07	.07	-1.97	.04	-.10
	Wheat	.07	.04	.04	1.83	.05	.02
	Religion2	-.08	.19	.19	-.88	------	.00
	Cotton Man.	.00	.00	.00	-.23	------	.00
	Constant	.17					
Not Voting 1860 [R^2=.46] σ^2=.09	Slaveholders	-.57	.11	.11	-5.40	.17	-.13
	Religion2	.67	.19	.19	3.45	.12	.03
	Wheat	-.12	.04	.04	-3.48	.08	-.03
	Religion1	.16	.06	.06	2.28	.08	.13
	Cotton Man.	-.00	.00	.00	-.35	------	.00
	Constant	.27					

Note: Actual N = 55.

TABLE F.11.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION CONVENTION ELECTION IN MISSISSIPPI

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession $[R^2=.29]$ $\sigma^2=.11$	Religion1	.12	.21	.01	-.06	.16	.10
	Cotton Man.	.00	.18	.00	1.43	.06	.00
	Slaveholders	.24	.27	.15	1.07	.02	.10
	Religion2	-.26	-.18	.27	-.60	.03	-.02
	Wheat	.05	.14	.07	1.12	.02	.01
	Constant	.12					
Opposition $[R^2=.18]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Cotton Man.	.01	.28	.00	1.40	.08	.02
	Religion1	-.20	-.30	.13	-.67	.07	-.16
	Wheat	.08	.18	.09	.27	.03	.01
	Religion2	.05	.03	.34	.03	.00	.00
	Slaveholders	.02	.02	.19	1.55	.00	.01
	Constant	.34					
Not Voting 1861 $[R^2=.34]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.42	.00	-2.49	.23	-.02
	Wheat	-.13	-.29	.09	-1.14	.07	-.02
	Slaveholders	-.26	-.24	.20	-2.35	.02	-.10
	Religion1	.09	.12	.13	.70	.00	.08
	Religion2	.22	.12	.35	.45	.01	.01
	Constant	.54					

Note: Actual N = 38.

TABLE F.12.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, MISSISSIPPI

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.23	.29
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.39	.13
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	1.16	5.26
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.80	.22
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.05	.07
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.31	.20
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.36	.15
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.14	.12
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.02	.03
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.02	.04
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.006	.02

TABLE F.12. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.01	.03
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.01	.03
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.14	.22
For Secession	Percentage of the electorate voting for secession convention delegates or for secession	.31	.13
Opposition 1861	Percent of the electorate for Cooperation delegates or against secession	.20	.15
Not Voting 1861	Percent of the electorate not voting in the secession elections of 1861	.49	.19
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.50	.12
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.03	.04
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.31	.16
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.19	.13
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.46	.10
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.32	.15
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.24	.14

APPENDIX G

TEXAS

TABLE G.1.

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM TEXAS, 1848-1861

(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Opp.	NV.	New Voters NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1848-1861													
1848-1852	56	11	5	25	13	54	1	2	20	6	13	4	46
1852-1856	58	21	8	25	6	60	0	0	25	15	0	0	40
1856-1860	77	28	6	18	11	63	3	2	15	6	3	6	35
1856-1861	77	23	2	15	13	53	0	10	12	13	8	4	47
1860-1861	115	43	15	36	0	94	0	0	2	0	4	0	6
Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1848-1861													
1848-1856	58	13	0	10	12	35	4	0	33	21	0	8	66
1852-1860	58	9	5	11	21	46	0	0	38	10	6	0	54
1852-1861	58	12	1	14	21	48	0	4	31	14	3	0	52

TABLE G.2.
VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. TEXAS PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS AND SECESSION 1848-1861.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1848	33	15	46	18	
1852	33	11	43	20	
1856	46	23	69	23	
1860	47	15	62	22	
1861	46	15	60	30	

TABLE G.3.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
TEXAS
1848-1861

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know-Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1848	11644	5281	18894	46
1852	14857	5366	26968	43
1856	31995	16010	21687	69
1860	48155	15618	38646	62
1861	46175	15144	41100	60

TABLE G.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
TEXAS

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	52	0	48
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	0	100
Lutheran	0	0	100
Disciples of Christ	100	0	0
Baptist	69	31	0
Methodist	36	55	14
Presbyterian	13	74	13
All Other Churches	100	0	0
All Voters	46	23	31

Note: Actual N = 75.

TABLE G.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
TEXAS

Denomination	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Opposition	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	2	49	49
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	0	100
Lutheran	0	50-100	50-100
Disciples of Christ	33	66	0
Baptist	100	0	0
Methodist	100	0	0
Presbyterian	75	13	13
All Other Churches	33	66	0
All Voters	46	23	31

Note: Actual N = 93.

TABLE G.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
TEXAS

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	31	69
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	0	100
Lutheran	0	0	100
Disciples of Christ	33	66	0
Baptist	100	0	0
Methodist	100	0	0
Presbyterian	88	0	12
All Other Churches	0	0	100
All Voters	45	15	40

Note: Actual N = 94.

TABLE G.7.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
TEXAS

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Breckinridge	5	4	2	2	33	47
Fusion	3	2	1	0	9	15
Nonvoters	1	0	0	0	36	38
All Voters	9	6	2	3	79	

Note: Actual N = 93.

TABLE G.8.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
TEXAS

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	7	6	4	3	23	45
Opposition	1	0	0	0	14	24
Nonvoters	2	0	0	0	38	40
All Voters	9	6	2	3	79	

Note: Actual N = 94.

TABLE G.9.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN TEXAS

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan [R^2=.26] σ^2=.13	Slaveholders	.47	.38	.16	1.44	.13	.11
	Wheat	.99	.29	.43	1.92	.10	.02
	Religion2	-.14	-.13	.12	-1.24	.01	-.01
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.09	.01	-.89	.01	.00
	Constant	.32					
Fillmore [R^2=.35] σ^2=.11	Slaveholders	.62	.60	.14	3.29	.29	.15
	Wheat	.69	.24	.36	1.84	.05	.01
	Religion2	.01	.01	.10	-1.42	------	.00
	Constant	.07					
Not Voting 1856 [R^2=.39] σ^2=.17	Slaveholders	-1.02	-.55	.22	-2.76	.26	-.24
	Wheat	-1.69	-.33	.58	-2.63	.12	-.03
	Religion2	.15	.09	.16	1.56	.01	.03
	Cotton Man.	.01	.06	.01	1.03	------	.00
	Constant	.60					

Note: Actual N = 75.

TABLE G.10.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN TEXAS

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck.	Slaveholders	.49	.38	.14	3.16	.18	.12
$[R^2=.26]$	Religion2	-.26	-.23	.12	-2.72	.06	-.03
$\sigma^2=.14$	Cotton Man.	-.02	-.11	.01	-1.47	.01	.00
	Wheat	.32	.09	.44	.46	.01	.01
	Constant	.36					
Fusion	Wheat	.78	.42	.23	3.95	.10	.02
$[R^2=.25]$	Slaveholders	.30	.42	.08	3.33	.15	.07
$\sigma^2=.07$	Religion2	.05	.07	.06	-.07	------	.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.03	.08	.49	------	.00
	Constant	.06					
Not	Slaveholders	-.78	-.51	.15	-4.68	.25	-.19
Voting	Wheat	-1.02	-.27	.46	-2.42	.10	-.02
1860	Religion2	.21	.16	.12	2.60	.02	.02
$[R^2=.37]$	Cotton Man.	.01	.08	.02	1.10	------	.00
$\sigma^2=.15$	Constant	.58					

Note: Actual N = 93.

TABLE G.11.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN TEXAS

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession	Slaveholders	.83	.56	.15	5.13	.35	.20
[R^2=.37]	Cotton Man.	−.02	−.12	.02	−1.65	.01	.00
σ^2=.15	Wheat	−.23	−.06	.47	−.70	------	.00
	Religion2	−.07	−.05	.12	−1.48	------	−.01
	Constant	.27					
Opposition	Wheat	1.76	.48	.39	5.01	.24	.04
[R^2=.26]	Slaveholders	−.14	−.10	.13	−.79	.02	−.03
σ^2=.12	Religion2	.09	.07	.10	1.55	------	.01
	Cotton Man.	.01	.06	.01	.89	------	.00
	Constant	.11					
Not	Slaveholders	−.70	−.49	.15	−4.63	.16	−.17
Voting	Wheat	−1.54	−.41	.46	−3.75	.16	−.03
1861	Cotton Man.	.01	.07	.02	.86	.01	.00
[R^2=.32]	Religion2	−.02	−.02	.12	.02	------	.00
σ^2=.15	Constant	.62					

Note: Actual N = 94.

TABLE G.12.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM IN TEXAS

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession	Slaveholders	.81	.53	.21	3.51	.42	.18
	Religion1	.08	.15	.07	.89	.01	.04
[R^2=.46]	Cotton Man.	-.02	-.12	.02	-1.57	.01	.00
σ^2=.12	Religion2	-.09	-.07	.13	-1.46	.00	-.01
	Upper South	-.14	-.07	.26	-.03	.00	-.02
	Wheat	.08	.02	.63	-.04	.00	.00
	Constant	.25					
Opposition	Wheat	.71	.18	.50	2.90	.23	.01
	Religion1	-.12	-.24	.06	-.94	.08	-.06
[R^2=.43]	Upper South	.87	.45	.21	2.62	.09	.10
σ^2=.11	Religion2	.19	.16	.10	2.02	.02	.02
	Cotton Man.	.01	.09	.01	1.14	.01	.00
	Slaveholders	-.13	-.09	.17	-.89	.00	-.03
	Constant	.08					
Not Voting 1861	Upper South	-.72	-.36	.26	-2.24	.29	-.09
	Slaveholders	-.69	-.47	.20	-3.05	.11	-.15
	Wheat	-.79	-.19	.62	-1.95	.02	-.02
[R^2=.42]	Religion2	-.10	-.08	.12	-.34	.01	-.01
σ^2=.12	Religion1	.04	.08	.07	.08	.00	.02
	Cotton Man.	.01	.04	.02	.62	.00	.00
	Constant	.68					

Note: Actual N = 90.

TABLE G.13.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, TEXAS

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.03	.09
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.18	.12
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	.09	.87
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.47	.30
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.10	.13
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.16	.15
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.25	.19
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.07	.10
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.02	.06
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.04	.10
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.008	.03

TABLE G.13. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.03	.06
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.03	.06
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.41	.30
For Secession	Percentage of the electorate voting for secession convention delegates or for secession	.45	.20
Opposition 1861	Percent of the electorate for Cooperation delagates or against secession	.15	.17
Not Voting 1861	Percent of the electorate not voting in the secession elections of 1861	.41	.19
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.48	.18
Fusion	Percent of the electorate voting for a joint ticket representing Stephen A. Douglas and John Bell in the election of 1860	.14	.09
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.39	.19
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.43	.15
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.22	.12
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.35	.20

APPENDIX H

ARKANSAS

TABLE H.1.

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM ARKANSAS, 1836-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	Repeating NV.	New Voters NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
					Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1836-1861								
1836-1840	20	11	7	35	0	53	0	0	24	21	2	0	47
1840-1844	23	25	19	23	9	76	0	0	16	5	3	2	26
1844-1848	22	25	15	26	12	78	0	0	4	9	5	4	22
1848-1852	24	22	18	30	22	92	0	0	7	0	0	0	7
1852-1856	28	22	13	36	5	76	0	0	18	6	0	0	24
1856-1860	46	28	14	25	1	68	2	1	17	11	0	1	32
					Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1836-1861								
1836-1844	19	9	6	33	4	52	1	0	31	16	0	0	48
1840-1848	25	16	12	16	22	66	0	0	13	12	5	4	34
1844-1852	22	23	13	16	36	88	0	0	6	5	0	0	11
1848-1856	23	17	14	23	18	72	0	0	24	5	0	0	29
1852-1860	30	17	10	24	3	54	0	0	30	17	0	0	47

TABLE H.2.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. ARKANSAS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS:
1836-1860.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1836	14	8	22	6	
1840	36	28	65	8	
1844	40	23	63	17	
1848	29	24	54	5	
1852	29	18	47	9	
1856	40	19	59	19	
1860	41	35	85	6	

TABLE H.3

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
ARKANSAS
1836-1860

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know-Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1836	2380	1334	13152	22
1840	6679	5160	64494	65
1844	9546	5604	8894	63
1848	9301	7587	14696	54
1852	12173	7404	22111	47
1856	21910	10732	22681	59
1860	34089	28732	19589	85

TABLE H.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
ARKANSAS

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	30	0	70
Catholic	0	100	0
Episcopalian	0	100	0
Disciples of Christ	50	0	50
Baptist	63	19	19
Methodist	48	24	24
Presbyterian	63	13	24
All Other Churches	0	100	0
All Voters	40	19	41

Note: Actual N = 46.

TABLE H.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
ARKANSAS

Denomination	Percent for Douglas	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Bell	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	15	0	35	50
Catholic	0-100	0	0-100	0
Episcopalian	0	0	100	0
Disciples of Christ	0	0	0-50	50-100
Baptist	0	63	25	12
Methodist	3	83	3	11
Presbyterian	0	50	50	0
All Other Churches	0	0	50-100	50-100
All Voters	7	39	27	27

Note: Actual N = 53.

TABLE H.6.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856
ARKANSAS

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Buchanan	0	0	0	0	42	42
Fillmore	5	5	2	2	6	20
Nonvoters	2	1	0	0	36	38
All Voters	7	5	2	2	84	

Note: Actual N = 47.

TABLE H.7.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
ARKANSAS

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	1	0	0	0	7	7
Breckinridge	3	2	1	0	35	40
Bell	4	4	2	2	15	28
Nonvoters	0	0	0	0	26	26
All Voters	70	5	2	2	84	

Note: Actual N = 54.

TABLE H.8.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN ARKANSAS

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan $[R^2=.17]$ $\sigma^2=.08$	Wheat	.06	.17	.07	1.32	.09	.02
	Slaveholders	−.25	−.30	.17	−.94	.03	−.04
	Religion1	.06	.21	.06	.66	.03	.03
	Cotton Man.	.02	.17	.01	1.42	.03	.00
	Religion2	.03	.02	.23	.19	-----	.00
	Constant	.40					
Fillmore $[R^2=.59]$ $\sigma^2=.06$	Slaveholders	.69	.74	.12	5.75	.50	.10
	Religion1	−.06	−.21	.04	−1.03	.04	−.03
	Religion2	.26	.18	.16	1.71	.03	.01
	Cotton Man.	−.01	−.12	.01	−1.50	.01	.00
	Wheat	−.02	−.06	.05	−.49	-----	−.01
	Constant	.12					
Not Voting 1856 $[R^2=.16]$ $\sigma^2=.11$	Slaveholders	−.44	−.39	.22	−2.38	.13	−.07
	Religion2	−.29	−.16	.29	−1.07	.02	−.01
	Wheat	−.03	−.08	.09	−.76	.00	−.01
	Cotton Man.	−.00	−.03	.01	−.30	-----	.00
	Religion1	.00	.01	.02	.05	-----	.00
	Constant	.48					

Note: Actual N = 46.

TABLE H.9.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN ARKANSAS

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. [R^2=.22] σ^2=.10	Religion1	.12	.36	.03	-2.67	.16	.08
	Slaveholders	.20	.20	.09	.91	.02	.03
	Religion2	-.21	-.15	.14	1.16	.02	-.01
	Cotton Man.	.01	.08	.01	.10	.01	.00
	Wheat	.03	.06	.04	.86	------	.01
	Constant	.30					
Douglas [R^2=.16] σ^2=.05	Religion1	-.08	-.41	.05	2.22	.12	-.04
	Religion2	.13	.13	.25	-1.09	.01	.00
	Wheat	.04	.17	.08	.56	.01	.01
	Slaveholders	.10	.17	.17	1.25	.02	.02
	Constant	.09					
Bell [R^2=.55] σ^2=.07	Slaveholders	.81	.81	.12	6.68	.50	.12
	Cotton Man.	-.02	-.15	.01	-1.94	.02	.00
	Religion1	-.05	-.15	.04	-.73	.01	-.03
	Wheat	.05	.13	.06	.59	.01	.01
	Religion2	.17	.11	.18	.87	------	.01
	Constant	.16					
Not Voting 1860 [R^2=.54] σ^2=.10	Slaveholders	-1.06	-.83	.17	-6.42	.51	-.16
	Wheat	-.11	-.22	.08	-1.41	.03	.03
	Cotton Man.	.01	.06	.01	.70	------	.00
	Religion2	-.08	-.04	.25	-.25	------	.00
	Religion1	.01	.02	.05	-.27	------	.00
	Constant	.45					

Note: Actual N = 53.

TABLE H.10.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, ARKANSAS

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.27	.21
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.15	.10
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	.20	1.08
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.53	.29
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.03	.05
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.15	.12
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.29	.18
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.07	.08
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.004	.01
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.01	.04
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.00	.00

TABLE H.10. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.02	.03
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.03	.06
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.42	.29
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.40	.10
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.07	.06
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.26	.10
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.27	.13
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.42	.09
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.19	.09
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.40	.11

APPENDIX I

NORTH CAROLINA

TABLE I.1.

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM
NORTH CAROLINA, 1828-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	NV.	New Voters NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1828-1861													
1828-1832	60	21	3	42	0	67	0	0	2	2	19	12	35
1832-1836	61	26	2	46	1	75	0	0	1	22	0	3	26
1836-1840	61	27	22	19	1	69	0	1	6	24	0	0	31
1840-1844	62	32	35	12	3	82	0	0	4	5	0	9	18
1844-1848	62	31	33	16	5	85	0	2	0	1	1	9	13
1848-1852	62	28	30	25	6	89	1	1	3	2	0	4	11
1852-1856	67	28	21	20	7	76	0	0	8	6	2	8	24
1856-1860	78	33	25	28	5	91	0	0	3	5	0	0	8
1856-1861	73	24	25	21	7	77	0	0	0	13	9	0	22
1860-1861	74	24	26	23	0	73	2	0	0	10	10	5	27
Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1828-1861													
1828-1836	60	22	4	40	1	67	10	0	0	6	6	10	32
1832-1840	61	25	5	46	1	77	0	0	1	21	0	0	22
1836-1844	61	25	20	18	4	67	0	1	10	20	0	2	33
1840-1848	62	29	30	9	12	80	1	0	2	7	0	10	20
1844-1852	62	30	27	21	9	87	1	1	1	3	0	7	13
1848-1856	62	13	30	9	12	64	1	1	13	6	3	13	36
1852-1860	66	29	24	17	13	83	0	0	6	9	0	3	19
1852-1861	67	23	25	18	13	79	0	1	1	13	5	2	21

TABLE I.2.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. NORTH CAROLINA PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS AND SECESSION: 1828-1861.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1828	39	14	54	25	
1832	26	5	31	21	
1836	27	23	50	4	
1840	34	47	81	−13	
1844	36	40	77	−4	
1848	31	38	69	−7	
1852	32	31	63	1	
1856	36	27	63	9	
1860	36	31	67	5	
1861	24	38	62	−14	

TABLE I.3.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
NORTH CAROLINA
1828-1861

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know-Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1828	37814	13918	44455	54
1832	25261	4538	68053	31
1836	26631	23521	48881	51
1840	34168	46567	19496	81
1844	39287	43232	25410	77
1848	35772	44054	35927	69
1852	39788	39043	46102	63
1856	48243	36720	49296	63
1860	51583	45129	47477	67
1861	35053	54350	54786	62

TABLE I.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
NORTH CAROLINA

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	38	38	24
Catholic	100	0	0
Episcopalian	0-100	0-100	0
Lutheran	0	0-33	66-100
Disciples of Christ	0-100	0	0-100
Baptist	70	12	18
Methodist	18	31	51
Presbyterian	0	20	80
All Other Churches	0	17	83
All Voters	36	27	37

Note: Actual N = 76.

TABLE I.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
NORTH CAROLINA

Denomination	Percent for Douglas	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Bell	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	25	63	12
Catholic	100	0	0	0
Episcopalian	0-33	0-66	33-100	0
Lutheran	0	0-33	66-100	0
Disciples of Christ	100	0	0	0
Baptist	0	55	6	39
Methodist	0	21	31	51
Presbyterian	20	10	50	20
All Other Churches	0	0	50	50
All Voters	2	34	31	33

Note: Actual N = 78.

TABLE I.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
NORTH CAROLINA

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	100	0
Catholic	100	0	0
Episcopalian	66	34	0
Lutheran	33-66	33-100	0
Disciples of Christ	0	100	0
Baptist	24	15	61
Methodist	13	28	59
Presbyterian	40	60	0
All Other Churches	33	66	0
All Voters	24	38	38

Note: Actual N = 72.

TABLE I.7.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856
NORTH CAROLINA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Buchanan	6	6	4	4	16	36
Fillmore	4	2	2	2	17	27
Nonvoters	0	0	0	0	0	37
All Voters	10	8	4	3	76	

Note: Actual N = 76.

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TABLE I.8.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
NORTH CAROLINA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	1	1	0	0	0	2
Breckinridge	5	5	3	3	18	34
Bell	3	4	2	2	20	31
Nonvoters	0	0	0	0	33	33
All Voters	10	8	4	3	76	

Note: Actual N = 78.

TABLE I.9.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
NORTH CAROLINA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	3	3	2	1	15	24
Opposition	2	1	0	0	35	38
Nonvoters	5	3	2	1	28	38
All Voters	10	8	4	3	76	

Note: Actual N = 72.

TABLE I.10.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NORTH CAROLINA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan $[R^2=.35]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Slaveholders	.61	.47	.13	4.02	.28	.16
	Wheat	-.20	-.29	.08	-2.08	.06	-.05
	Religion2	.13	.09	.20	.52	.01	.00
	Cotton Man.	.00	.05	.00	.35	------	.00
	Religion1	.02	.03	.10	.35	------	.02
	Constant	.23					
Fillmore $[R^2=.08]$ $\sigma^2=.13$	Wheat	.10	.18	.07	1.02	.04	.03
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.18	.00	-1.63	.03	.00
	Religion1	-.06	-.10	.10	-.45	.01	-.05
	Slaveholders	-.05	-.05	.12	-.07	------	-.01
	Religion2	.03	.03	.18	.46	------	.00
	Constant	.31					
Not Voting 1856 $[R^2=.62]$ $\sigma^2=.08$	Slaveholders	-.56	-.60	.08	-6.48	.41	-.15
	Wheat	.10	.21	.05	1.84	.02	.03
	Religion2	-.16	-.16	.12	-1.55	.03	-.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.13	.00	1.91	.01	.00
	Religion1	.04	.07	.06	.12	------	.03
	Constant	.45					

Note: Actual N = 76.

TABLE I.11.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NORTH CAROLINA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. $[R^2=.30]$ $\sigma^2=.17$	Slaveholders	.58	.40	.15	3.12	.21	.15
	Wheat	-.26	-.32	.09	-2.17	.06	-.07
	Religion2	.23	.15	.23	.75	.01	.02
	Cotton Man.	.00	.05	.00	.55	-------	.00
	Religion1	.03	.04	.12	.56	-------	.02
	Constant	.23					
Douglas $[R^2=.05]$ $\sigma^2=.02$	Slaveholders	.03	.18	.02	1.19	.03	.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.11	.08	.18	.01	.00
	Wheat	.01	.10	.03	.51	-------	.00
	Religion1	.01	.04	.00	.89	-------	.01
	Religion2	-.00	-.01	.01	-.01	-------	.00
	Constant	.00					
Bell $[R^2=.12]$ $\sigma^2=.14$	Wheat	.15	.25	.08	1.69	.07	.04
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.17	.00	-1.43	.02	-.02
	Religion1	-.14	-.18	.10	-1.02	.03	-.11
	Slaveholders	-.04	-.04	.13	.18	-------	-.01
	Religion2	-.03	-.03	.20	.12	-------	.00
	Constant	.41					
Not Voting 1860 $[R^2=.51]$ $\sigma^2=.09$	Slaveholders	-.57	-.62	.08	-6.82	.42	-.15
	Religion1	.10	.16	.06	.62	.05	.08
	Wheat	.09	.17	.05	1.33	.01	.02
	Religion2	-.19	-.19	.11	-1.74	.02	-.02
	Cotton Man.	.00	.11	.00	1.07	.01	.00
	Constant	.36					

Note: Actual N = 78.

TABLE I.12.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION CONVENTION ELECTION IN NORTH CAROLINA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession $[R^2=.34]$ $\sigma^2=.17$	Slaveholders	.58	.37	.16	3.06	.23	.15
	Wheat	-.30	-.35	.11	-2.57	.04	-.08
	Religion2	.57	.34	.24	2.00	.07	.05
	Religion1	.08	.08	.13	.48	------	.06
	Cotton Man.	.00	-.02	.00	.30	------	.00
	Constant	.09					
Opposition $[R^2=.32]$ $\sigma^2=.18$	Slaveholders	-.56	-.33	.17	-3.23	.20	-.15
	Wheat	.35	.37	.11	2.82	.08	.09
	Religion2	-.48	-.27	.25	-1.46	.02	-.04
	Religion1	-.20	-.18	.13	-1.40	.02	-.16
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.03	.01	-.66	------	.00
	Constant	.65					
Not Voting 1861 $[R^2=.15]$ $\sigma^2=.09$	Religion1	.12	.25	.07	1.90	.05	.10
	Religion2	-.09	-.12	.13	-.88	.03	-.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.12	.00	.75	.03	.00
	Wheat	-.05	-.12	.06	-.75	.01	-.01
	Slaveholders	-.02	-.03	.08	.64	------	-.01
	Constant	.25					

Note: Actual N = 72.

TABLE I.13.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, NORTH CAROLINA

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.25	.22
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.25	.13
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	1.56	3.96
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.80	.19
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.08	.11
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.35	.18
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.38	.15
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.08	.13
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.04	.06
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.004	.01
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.03	.09

TABLE I.13. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.01	.03
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.06	.10
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.07	.13
For Secession	Percentage of the electorate voting for secession convention delegates or for secession	.28	.19
Opposition 1861	Percent of the electorate for Cooperation delagates or against secession	.38	.20
Not Voting 1861	Percent of the electorate not voting in the secession elections of 1861	.34	.09
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.35	.18
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.02	.02
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.33	.14
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.31	.11
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.36	.15
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.28	.13
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.36	.11

APPENDIX J

TENNESSEE

TABLE J.1.

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM TENNESSEE, 1832-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	Repeating NV.	New Voters NV.	New Voters (STABILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTABILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1832-1861													
1832-1836	49	22	1	46	1	70	2	0	0	27	0	0	29
1836-1840	52	21	29	11	3	64	0	0	17	20	0	0	37
1840-1844	56	33	38	3	2	76	0	0	11	5	2	6	24
1844-1848	60	38	37	9	6	90	1	0	0	6	1	3	11
1848-1852	60	29	32	12	5	78	0	0	6	4	6	7	23
1852-1856	63	32	33	16	6	87	0	0	9	3	0	0	12
1856-1860	76	36	32	16	3	87	0	0	8	2	2	3	15
1856-1861	75	15	36	21	6	78	14	0	0	1	8	0	23
1860-1861	79	14	35	18	0	67	12	0	0	5	16	0	33
Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1832-1861													
1832-1840	49	22	1	11	3	37	0	0	16	47	0	0	63
1836-1844	52	19	26	9	4	58	0	0	24	17	0	0	41
1840-1848	56	29	33	3	5	70	1	0	11	9	2	8	31
1844-1852	60	28	28	4	8	68	0	0	7	8	8	8	31
1848-1856	58	31	32	3	14	80	0	0	9	4	2	5	20
1852-1860	65	30	31	14	9	84	0	0	13	3	1	0	17
1852-1861	64	15	31	10	13	69	5	0	0	16	10	0	31

TABLE J.2.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. TENNESSEE PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS AND SECESSION: 1832-1861.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1832	26	1	27	25	
1836	22	31	53	−9	
1840	38	48	86	−10	
1844	43	43	86	0	
1848	38	43	81	−5	
1852	35	36	71	−1	
1856	40	36	76	4	
1860	43	34	77	9	
1861	15	52	68	37	

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TABLE J.3.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
TENNESSEE
1832-1861

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know-Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1832	28078	1347	79250	27
1836	26170	36027	54591	53
1840	47951	60194	17579	86
1844	59917	60040	18157	87
1848	58142	64321	28657	81
1852	56900	58586	49030	70
1856	69704	63878	42333	76
1860	81009	65097	43019	77
1861	29230	99265	60630	68

TABLE J.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
TENNESSEE

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	17	13	70
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	100	0
Lutheran	100	0	0
Disciples of Christ	75-100	0-25	0
Baptist	27	59	14
Methodist	57	43	0
Presbyterian	47	33	13
All Other Churches	50	50	0
All Voters	40	36	24

Note: Actual N = 74.

TABLE J.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
TENNESSEE

Denomination	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Opposition	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	25	75
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	100	0
Lutheran	100	0	0
Disciples of Christ	50-100	0-50	0
Baptist	36	64	0
Methodist	53	40	7
Presbyterian	67	27	7
All Other Churches	100	0	0
All Voters	40	37	23

Note: Actual N = 79.

TABLE J.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
TENNESSEE

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	21	46	23
Catholic	0	100	0
Episcopalian	0	100	0
Lutheran	100	0	0
Disciples of Christ	0	100	0
Baptist	9	50	41
Methodist	17	60	27
Presbyterian	20	27	53
All Other Churches	0	100	0
All Voters	15	52	32

Note: Actual N = 77.

TABLE J.7.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856
TENNESSEE

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Buchanan	4	3	1	1	31	40
Fillmore	4	4	2	1	26	36
Nonvoters	1	0	0	0	24	24
All Voters	9	7	3	2	80	

Note: Actual N = 74.

TABLE J.8.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
TENNESSEE

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	1	1	1	1	2	6
Breckinridge	4	3	1	0	29	37
Bell	4	4	2	1	23	34
Nonvoters	0	0	0	0	23	23
All Voters	9	7	3	2	80	

Note: Actual N = 79.

TABLE J.9.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
TENNESSEE

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	1	1	1	0	11	15
Opposition	4	4	2	1	18	29
Union	1	0	0	0	22	23
Nonvoters	2	1	0	0	28	32
All Voters	9	7	3	2	80	

Note: Actual N = 77.

TABLE J.10.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN TENNESSEE

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan $[R^2=.08]$ $\sigma^2=.13$	Cotton Man.	.01	.24	.00	1.79	.04	.01
	Religion2	.41	.18	.26	1.59	.03	.02
	Religion1	.04	.08	.06	.21	-----	.03
	Wheat	-.03	-.04	.07	-1.65	-----	-.01
	Slaveholders	.11	.09	.16	.72	-----	.02
	Constant	.36					
Fillmore $[R^2=.08]$ $\sigma^2=.13$	Wheat	.12	.21	.08	2.36	.05	.05
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.13	.00	-1.53	.01	-.01
	Religion2	-.29	-.13	.27	-1.26	.01	-.01
	Slaveholders	.14	.11	.16	1.19	.01	.03
	Religion1	.01	.02	.06	-.67	-----	.01
	Constant	.32					
Not Voting 1856 $[R^2=.19]$ $\sigma^2=.08$	Wheat	-.10	-.24	.05	-1.26	.11	-.04
	Slaveholders	-.16	-.17	.10	-3.21	.04	-.03
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.17	.00	-.39	.02	-.01
	Religion1	-.05	-.15	.04	.75	.02	-.04
	Religion2	-.08	-.05	.16	-.04	-----	.00
	Constant	.32					

Note: Actual N = 74.

TABLE J.11.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN TENNESSEE

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. $[R^2=.27]$ $\sigma^2=.15$	Religion2	1.04	.37	.29	3.15	.10	.05
	Cotton Man.	.02	.27	.00	2.76	.08	.03
	Wheat	.14	.21	.08	.59	.06	.06
	Slaveholders	-.24	-.16	.16	-1.52	.02	-.04
	Religion1	.10	.16	.07	.92	.02	.07
	Constant	.20					
Douglas $[R^2=.30]$ $\sigma^2=.07$	Wheat	-.10	-.28	.04	-2.02	.12	-.04
	Slaveholders	.29	.37	.08	4.84	.09	.05
	Religion1	-.38	-.26	.03	.02	.04	-.27
	Religion2	-.06	-.19	.13	-1.93	.03	.00
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.16	.00	-1.38	.02	.00
	Constant	.11					
Bell $[R^2=.11]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Wheat	.13	.25	.06	2.61	.06	.05
	Slaveholders	.20	.18	.13	1.45	.02	.04
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.12	.00	-1.75	.01	.01
	Religion2	-.22	-.10	.24	-1.12	.01	-.01
	Religion1	-.01	-.01	.06	-1.18	-----	-.01
	Constant	.31					
Not Voting 1860 $[R^2=.49]$ $\sigma^2=.07$	Wheat	-.17	-.45	.04	-3.96	.30	-.07
	Slaveholders	-.26	-.30	.08	-4.23	.13	-.05
	Religion2	-.38	-.24	.13	-2.45	.04	-.02
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.16	.00	-1.45	.02	-.01
	Religion1	-.03	-.09	.03	.07	.01	-.02
	Constant	.38					

Note: Actual N = 79.

TABLE J.12.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION CONVENTION ELECTION IN TENNESSEE

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession	Slaveholders	.19	.18	.14	1.53	.03	.03
[R^2=.03]	Cotton Man.	.00	.06	.00	1.29	.01	.00
σ^2=.13	Wheat	-.02	-.05	.07	-.60	———	-.01
	Religion2	-.10	-.05	.06	.46	———	-.01
	Religion1	-.01	-.03	.25	.40	———	-.01
	Constant	.14					
Cooperation	Slaveholders	1.29	.64	.17	7.22	.46	.23
[R^2=.60]	Religion2	1.26	.34	.30	-4.24	.09	.06
σ^2=.15	Wheat	-.14	-.16	.08	-1.65	.03	-.06
	Cotton Man.	.01	.09	.01	1.22	.01	.01
	Religion1	-.06	-.08	.07	-.74	———	-.04
	Constant	.07					
Union	Slaveholders	-1.74	-.69	.22	-7.87	.46	-.31
[R^2=.62]	Wheat	.39	.35	.11	3.58	.12	.16
σ^2=.20	Religion2	-.79	-.17	.39	-2.38	.02	-.04
	Cotton Man.	-.01	-.10	.01	-2.04	.01	-.01
	Religion1	.06	.06	.09	-.55	———	.04
	Constant	.44					
Not	Wheat	-.20	-.49	.05	-3.33	.24	-.08
Voting	Slaveholders	.20	.21	.11	2.13	.03	.04
1861	Religion2	-.25	-.15	.19	-1.47	.02	-.01
[R^2=.29]	Religion1	-.01	-.02	.05	.94	———	-.01
σ^2=.10	Constant	.36					

Note: Actual N = 77.

TABLE J.13.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, TENNESSEE

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.40	.22
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.17	.11
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	1.17	3.32
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.71	.26
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.05	.06
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.25	.19
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.32	.15
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.15	.09
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.005	.01
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.003	.01
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.006	.02

TABLE J.13. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.04	.06
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.02	.05
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.22	.26
For Secession	Percentage of the electorate voting for secession convention delegates or for secession	.16	.13
Opposition 1861	Percent of the electorate for Cooperation delegates or against secession	.56	.19
Not Voting 1861	Percent of the electorate not voting in the secession elections of 1861	.28	.11
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.37	.16
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.05	.08
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.37	.13
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.21	.09
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.44	.14
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.37	.14
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.20	.09

APPENDIX K

VIRGINIA

TABLE K.1.

TRANSITION PROBABILITIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED ELECTIONS IN ANTEBELLUM
VIRGINIA, 1828-1861
(By Percent of Electorate)

Election Pair	N	Repeating Dem.	Repeating Opp.	Repeating NV.	New Voters NV.	(STA-BILITY)	Dem. To Opp.	Opp. To Dem.	New Dem.	New Opp.	Dem. Drop	Opp. Drop	(INSTA-BILITY)
Successive Presidential and the Secession Elections, 1828-1861													
1828-1832	90	17	8	65	4	94	0	0	4	2	1	0	7
1832-1836	90	14	4	54	3	75	0	1	6	10	7	3	27
1836-1840	92	16	14	41	4	75	0	0	11	12	3	0	26
1840-1844	104	21	22	36	6	85	0	0	6	4	3	2	15
1844-1848	104	21	19	40	6	86	0	0	2	3	4	4	13
1848-1852	104	22	21	38	0	81	0	0	12	6	0	0	18
1852-1856	119	32	26	32	3	93	0	0	7	0	0	1	8
1856-1860	130	35	23	26	6	90	3	0	3	4	0	0	11
1856-1861	124	15	24	30	7	76	18	1	3	0	4	0	25
1860-1861	128	17	21	27	0	65	13	1	0	6	7	9	36
Nonconsecutive Presidential and the Secession Election, 1832-1861													
1828-1836	91	15	5	54	6	80	0	0	4	11	2	3	20
1832-1840	90	14	6	36	4	60	0	1	12	20	6	1	40
1836-1844	92	15	13	39	8	75	2	0	13	9	0	0	24
1840-1848	104	16	16	30	12	64	0	0	8	7	6	5	36
1844-1852	104	24	21	31	7	83	0	0	10	6	0	0	16
1848-1856	104	20	20	35	0	75	0	0	19	6	0	0	25
1852-1860	119	30	25	27	5	87	0	0	7	6	0	0	13
1852-1861	114	14	25	32	7	78	14	0	4	2	2	0	22

TABLE K.2.

VOTER INTEREST AND PARTY COMPETITION. VIRGINIA PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS AND SECESSION: 1828-1861.

Year	% Democratic	% Opposition	% Turnout	Competition	N
1828	18	8	26	10	
1832	22	7	30	15	
1836	19	15	34	4	
1840	27	26	53	1	
1844	28	25	53	3	
1848	23	23	46	0	
1852	34	27	62	7	
1856	39	26	65	13	
1860	37	31	68	6	
1861	18	41	59	-23	

TABLE K.3.

VOTING RETURNS AND TURNOUT IN SELECTED ELECTIONS,
VIRGINIA
1828–1861

Election	Ballots Cast for Democrat/ "Southern Rights Democrats"/ and For Secession	Ballots Cast for Non-Dem. Canditates (Whigs, Know-Nothings, Opposition, Cooperation and Against Secession)	Estimated Number of Potential Voters Not Voting	Estimated Voter Turnout
1828	26854	12070	108324	26
1832	34243	11439	107098	30
1836	30556	23384	104368	34
1840	43757	42637	77951	53
1844	50679	44860	85002	53
1848	46739	45265	107124	46
1852	73872	58732	82367	62
1856	90083	60150	79440	65
1860	90523	76368	78772	68
1861	45126	100521	100016	59

TABLE K.4.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
VIRGINIA

Denomination	Percent for Buchanan	Percent for Fillmore	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	40	60
Catholic	0	0-50	50-100
Episcopalian	0	33-50	50-66
Lutheran	100	0	0
Disciples of Christ	100	0	0
Baptist	30	17	53
Methodist	51	23	26
Presbyterian	33	53	13
All Other Churches	88	0	12
All Voters	39	26	35

Note: Actual N = 125.

TABLE K.5.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
VIRGINIA

Denomination	Percent for Douglas	Percent for Breckinridge	Percent for Bell	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	0	0	13	87
Catholic	0	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	0	67	33
Lutheran	50	50	0	0
Disciples of Christ	0	100	0	0
Baptist	0	39	52	9
Methodist	9	43	20	28
Presbyterian	33	11	45	11
All Other Churches	13	38	13	38
All Voters	7	30	30	32

Note: Actual N = 132.

TABLE K.6.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
AND VOTING IN THE 1861 SECESSION REFERENDUM
VIRGINIA

Denomination	Percent for Secession	Percent Against Secession	Percent Not Voting
Nonchurchgoers	27	0	73
Catholic	0	0	100
Episcopalian	0	33-66	33-66
Lutheran	0-50	50-100	0
Disciples of Christ	0	50-100	0-50
Baptist	4	52	39
Methodist	23	43	31
Presbyterian	33	22	65
All Other Churches	25	50	25
All Voters	18	41	41

Note: Actual N = 122.

TABLE K.7.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856
VIRGINIA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Buchanan	0	1	1	1	34	39
Fillmore	2	2	1	0	22	26
Nonvoters	7	4	2	1	22	35
All Voters	9	7	4	2	78	

Note: Actual N = 125.

TABLE K.8.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860
VIRGINIA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Douglas	0	0	0	0	7	7
Breckinridge	2	2	2	2	22	30
Bell	5	5	3	2	15	30
Lincoln	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nonvoters	2	0	0	0	30	32
All Voters	9	7	4	2	78	

Note: Actual N = 132.

TABLE K.9.

SLAVEHOLDER VOTING PROBABILITIES IN THE
SECESSION ELECTION OF 1861
VIRGINIA

	Small Slh.	Medium Slh.	Large Slh.	Plantation Slh.	Non Slh.	All Voters
Secession	4	4	3	2	4	15
Opposition	0	0	0	0	41	41
Nonvoters	6	3	1	0	31	41
All Voters	9	7	4	2	78	

Note: Actual N = 122.

TABLE K.10.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN VIRGINIA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Buchanan $[R^2=.12]$ $\sigma^2=.12$	Slaveholders	-.28	-.40	.07	-1.73	.03	-.07
	Wheat	.37	.37	.09	1.45	.07	.06
	Religion2	-.15	-.11	.12	-.16	.02	-.01
	Religion1	.07	.11	.06	.60	.01	.05
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.03	.00	-.54	------	.00
	Constant	.36					
Fillmore $[R^2=.04]$ $\sigma^2=.10$	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.11	.00	-1.14	.02	.00
	Wheat	.15	.18	.08	.49	.00	.02
	Slaveholders	-.09	-.16	.07	-.85	.02	-.02
	Religion2	-.07	-.06	.11	.84	------	.00
	Religion1	.01	.02	.05	.67	------	.01
	Constant	.25					
Not Voting 1856 $[R^2=.20]$ $\sigma^2=.11$	Slaveholders	.38	.48	.07	2.64	.04	.09
	Wheat	-.52	-.46	.09	-2.00	.11	-.08
	Religion2	.22	.14	.12	-.62	.03	.01
	Cotton Man.	.00	.11	.00	1.66	.01	.00
	Religion1	-.08	-.12	.06	-1.27	.01	-.06
	Constant	.39					

Note: Actual N = 125.

TABLE K.11.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN VIRGINIA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Breck. [R^2=.14] σ^2=.13	Wheat	.33	.29	.10	1.20	.07	.05
	Religion1	.15	.22	.06	2.44	.04	.11
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.16	.00	-1.81	.03	.00
	Religion2	-.10	-.06	.14	.59	-----	-.01
	Slaveholders	-.05	-.06	.08	.46	-----	-.01
	Constant	.17					
Douglas [R^2=.13] σ^2=.06	Cotton Man.	.00	.30	.00	3.44	.07	.00
	Slaveholders	-.10	-.26	.04	-1.38	.04	-.02
	Wheat	.10	.18	.05	.48	.01	.02
	Religion1	-.02	-.07	.03	-.33	-----	-.01
	Religion2	-.03	-.04	.06	.31	-----	.00
	Constant	.08					
Bell [R^2=.16] σ^2=.10	Wheat	.31	.35	.08	1.58	.14	.05
	Religion2	-.13	-.11	.10	.61	.01	-.01
	Slaveholders	.05	.08	.06	1.79	.01	.01
	Religion1	.03	.05	.05	.90	-----	.02
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.02	.00	-.15	-----	.00
	Constant	.23					
Not Voting 1860 [R^2=.24] σ^2=.12	Wheat	-.72	-.53	.10	-2.66	.19	-.12
	Religion2	.23	.12	.13	-1.63	.03	.02
	Religion1	-.14	-.17	.06	-3.15	.01	-.10
	Slaveholders	.13	.14	.08	-.95	.01	.03
	Cotton Man.	.00	.02	.00	.24	-----	.00
	Constant	.50					

Note: Actual N = 132.

TABLE K.12.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLANATORY VARIABLES ON VOTING PATTERNS IN
THE 1861 SECESSION CONVENTION ELECTION IN VIRGINIA

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variables	Reg. Coef.	Beta Coef.	Standard Errors Reg. Coef.	T Score	Cha. in R^2	Level of Imp.
Secession	Slaveholders	.43	.51	.07	7.00	.47	.10
[R^2=.52]	Wheat	.34	.28	.09	2.39	.04	.05
σ^2=.11	Religion2	-.12	-.07	.12	-.69	.01	-.01
	Religion1	.04	.05	.06	.66	-----	.03
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.02	.00	-.48	-----	.00
	Constant	.03					
Opposition	Slaveholders	-.92	-.79	.10	-9.01	.45	-.22
[R^2=.48]	Wheat	.29	.17	.12	1.00	.01	.05
σ^2=.15	Religion1	.12	.11	.08	1.20	.02	.08
	Religion2	-.18	-.08	.17	.17	-----	-.02
	Cotton Man.	-.00	-.06	.00	-.65	-----	.00
	Constant	.51					
Not Voting 1861	Slaveholders	.50	.59	.07	5.30	.06	.12
	Wheat	-.63	-.52	.09	-3.64	.13	-.10
	Religion1	-.16	-.21	.06	-2.24	.06	-.11
[R^2=.29]	Religion2	.30	.18	.13	.14	.02	.03
σ^2=.11	Cotton Man.	.00	.11	.00	.11	.01	.00
	Constant	.46					

Note: Actual N = 122.

TABLE K.13.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, VIRGINIA

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.15	.15
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.24	.20
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	.99	7.14
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.69	.22
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.10	.10
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.25	.20
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.36	.18
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.08	.10
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.05	.07
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.01	.02
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.02	.05

TABLE K.13. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.02	.05
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.06	.09
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.15	.21
For Secession	Percentage of the electorate voting for secession convention delegates or for secession	.40	.22
Opposition 1861	Percent of the electorate for Cooperation delegates or against secession	.20	.16
Not Voting 1861	Percent of the electorate not voting in the secession elections of 1861	.40	.13
Breckinridge	Percent of the electorate voting for John C. Breckinridge in the 1860 presidential election	.32	.14
Douglas	Percent of the electorate voting for Stephen A. Douglas in the presidential election of 1860	.05	.06
Bell	Percent of the electorate voting for John Bell in the presidential election of 1860	.28	.11
Lincoln	Percent of the electorate voting for Abraham Lincoln in the presidential election of 1860	.006	.03
Not Voting 1860	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1860	.35	.15
Buchanan	Percent of the electorate voting for James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856	.39	.11
Fillmore	Percent of the electorate voting for Millard Fillmore in the presidential election of 1856	.25	.11
Not Voting 1856	Percent of the electorate not voting in the presidential election of 1856	.36	.11

APPENDIX L

LOWER SOUTH

TABLE L.1.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SLAVEHOLDER STATUS AND POLITICAL
AFFILIATION IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND SUBSEQUENT
VOTING ON THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION IN THE LOWER SOUTH

| Voter Group | Estimated Percentage of 1861 Electorate | Percentage of Voter Group | | |
		For Secession	Against Secession	Not Voting
Breckinridge Slaveholders	13%	75–100%	0%[a]	0–25%
Breckinridge Nonslaveholders	28%	65%	35%	0%
Opposition Slaveholders[b]	17%	30%	35%	35%
Opposition Nonslaveholders	15%	0%	65%	35%
Nonvoting Slaveholders	0%	0%	0%	0%
Nonvoting Nonslaveholders	29%	0%	0%	100%
All Voters	100%	32%	23%	45%

Note: The voting returns were analyzed by multiple "ecological"
regression, taking the percentages of choices of potentially eligible
voters in the secession elections(i.e., "for secession," "against
secession," and not voting) as the dependent variables. The independent
variables, analyzed separately for each choice, were: (1) the
proportions of slaveholders and nonslaveholders in the electorate
voting for Breckinridge, and Opposition (i.e., vote for Douglas and
Bell), and (2) all first-order interactions among these variables
[estimates were also made from equations with no interactions to insure
the validity of the regression coefficients]. To avoid
multicollinearity, nonslaveholders who did not vote in 1860 were
excluded from the equations. For instance, to estimate the proportion
of Breckinridge/Slaveholdering voters who favored secession, the
intercept of the equation for the secessionists was added to the slopes
for "proportion voting for Breckinridge in 1860," "slaveholders," and
the appropriate interaction. This sum estimated the proportion
secessionists in 1861 for a hypothetical county composed solely of
Breckinridge/Slaveholders: in other words, the proportion of such
voters favoring secession. All variables used in the regression
equations were weighted by the adult white male population.

TABLE L.1. (CONTINUED)

[a]The estimate generated by the equation for Breckinridge/Nonslaveholders voting against secession was a logically impossible negative number. The estimate presented here was forced to zero and the other categories set to their logical limits as deterimined by the table.

[b]The estimates for the Opposition/Slaveholders and subsequent voting in the secession elections were obtained by examining estimates from equations with and without interactions. The estimates presented here represent the best result from the two equations.

TABLE L.2.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, LOWER SOUTH

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.02	.03
Gini Index	Gini Index of inequality in farm land distribution based on the number of farms in 1860 within the following size brackets; 3 to under 10 acres, 10 to under to 20 acres, 20 to under 50 acres, 50 to under 100 acres, 100 to under 500 acres, 500 to under 1,000 acres, and 1,000 acres and over.	.53	.10
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.28	.15
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	2.31	15.33
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.65	.33
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.08	.11
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.29	.20
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.28	.17

TABLE L.2. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.09	.09
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.03	.05
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.04	.08
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.004	.02
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.01	.03
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.02	.04
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.25	.29

APPENDIX M

UPPER SOUTH

TABLE M.1.

ESTIMATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SLAVEHOLDER STATUS AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION IN THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND SUBSEQUENT VOTING ON THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION IN THE UPPER SOUTH

| Voter Group | Estimated Percentage of 1861 Electorate | Percentage of Voter Group | | |
		For Secession	Against Secession	Not Voting
Breckinridge Slaveholders	9%	88-100%	0%[a]	0-12%
Breckinridge Nonslaveholders	24%	25%	50%	25%
Opposition Slaveholders	12%	25%	42%	33%
Opposition Nonslaveholders	15%	0%	92%	8%
Nonvoting Slaveholders	2%	0%	0%	100%
Nonvoting Nonslaveholders	28%	4%	18%	78%
All Voters	100%	19%	45%	36%

Note: The voting returns were analyzed by multiple "ecological" regression, taking the percentages of choices of potentially eligible voters in the secession elections(i.e., "for secession," "against secession," and not voting) as the dependent variables. The independent variables, analyzed separately for each choice, were: (1) the proportions of slaveholders and nonslaveholders in the electorate voting for Breckinridge, and Opposition (i.e., vote for Douglas and Bell), and (2) all first-order interactions among these variables [estimates were also made from equations with no interactions to insure the validity of the regression coefficients]. To avoid multicollinearity, nonslaveholders who did not vote in 1860 were excluded from the equations. For instance, to estimate the proportion of Breckinridge/Slaveholdering voters who favored secession, the intercept of the equation for the secessionists was added to the slopes for "proportion voting for Breckinridge in 1860," "slaveholders," and the appropriate interaction. This sum estimated the proportion secessionists in 1861 for a hypothetical county composed solely of Breckinridge/Slaveholders: in other words, the proportion of such voters favoring secession. All variables used in the regression equations were weighted by the adult white male population.

TABLE M.1. (CONTINUED)

[a]The estimate generated by the equation for
Breckinridge/Nonslaveholders voting against secession was a logically
impossible negative number. The estimate presented here was forced to
zero and the other categories set to their logical limits as
determined by the table.

TABLE M.2.

DESCRIPTIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES
USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS, UPPER SOUTH

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Wheat	An index of wheat production calculated by taking the county with the highest ratio of bushels of wheat to white population in 1860, assigning it to a value of 1.00, and expressing the white per capita production of wheat in each of the remaining counties as a percentage of the maximum.	.10	.09
Gini Index	Gini Index of inequality in farm land distribution based on the number of farms in 1860 within the following size brackets; 3 to under 10 acres, 10 to under to 20 acres, 20 to under 50 acres, 50 to under 100 acres, 100 to under 500 acres, 500 to under 1,000 acres, and 1,000 acres and over.	.47	.07
Slaveholders	The number of slaveholders divided by the number of adult males in 1860	.21	.14
Cotton Manufactures	The total dollars invested in the production of cotton, divided by the total white population in 1860	1.24	5.66
Religion1	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian, divided by the total white population in 1860	.57	.24
Religion2	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, divided by the total white population in 1860	.08	.09
Baptist	Church seating accommodations, Baptist, divided by the total white population in 1860	.24	.18
Methodist	Church seating accommodations, Methodist, as computed above.	.33	.16

TABLE M.2. (CONTINUED)

Variable Name	Amplified Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
Presbyterians	Church seating accommodations, Presbyterian, as computed above	.12	.12
Episcopalians	Church seating accommodations, Episcopal, as computed above	.03	.05
Roman Catholic	Church seating accommodations, Roman Catholic, as computed above	.01	.02
Lutheran	Church seating accommodations, Lutheran, as computed above	.02	.06
Disciples	Church seating accommodations, Disciples of Christ, as computed above	.02	.05
All Other Churches	Church seating accommodations, all other churches, computed as above	.05	.08
Nonchurchgoers	Total white population in 1860 minus the total church seating accommodations	.19	.24