

Chapter 13 Outline: A House Divided, 1840–1861

I. Statue of Freedom

II. Fruits of Manifest Destiny

A. Continental Expansion

1. In the 1840s, slavery moved to the center stage of American politics.
 - a. Territorial expansion
 - i. Oregon and California

B. The Mormons' Trek

1. The Mormons were founded in the 1820s by Joseph Smith.
2. The absolute authority Smith exercised over his followers and the refusal of the Mormons to separate church and state alarmed many neighbors.
 - a. Polygamy
3. Smith's successor, Brigham Young, led his followers to Utah.

C. The Mexican Frontier: New Mexico and California

1. Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821.
 - a. The northern frontier of Mexico was California, New Mexico, and Texas.
2. California's non-Indian population in 1821 were vastly outnumbered by Indians.
 - a. Californios verses Indios

D. The Texas Revolt

1. The first part of Mexico to be settled by significant numbers of Americans was Texas.
 - a. Moses Austin
2. Alarmed that its grip on the area was weakening, the Mexican government in 1830 annulled existing land contracts and barred future emigration from the United States.
 - a. Stephen Austin led the call from American settlers demanding greater autonomy within Mexico.
3. General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna sent an army in 1835 to impose central authority.
4. Rebels formed a provisional government that soon called for Texan independence.
 - a. The Alamo
 - b. Sam Houston
5. Texas desired annexation into the United States, but neither Jackson nor Van Buren acted on that.

E. The Election of 1844

1. The issue of Texas annexation was linked to slavery and affected the nominations of presidential candidates.
 - a. Clay and Van Buren
2. James Polk, a Tennessee slaveholder and friend of Jackson, received the Democratic nomination.
 - a. Supported Texas annexation
 - b. Supported "reoccupation" of all of Oregon

F. The Road to War

1. Polk had four clearly defined goals:
 - a. Reduce the tariff
 - b. Reestablish the Independent Treasury system
 - c. Settle the Oregon dispute
 - d. Bring California into the Union
2. Polk initiated war with Mexico to get California.

G. The War and its Critics

1. Although the majority of Americans supported the war, a vocal minority feared the only aim of the war was to acquire new land for the expansion of slavery.
 - a. Henry David Thoreau wrote *On Civil Disobedience*.
 - b. Abraham Lincoln questioned Polk's right to declare war by introducing a resolution in Congress requesting the president to specify the precise spot where blood had first been shed.

H. Combat in Mexico

1. Combat took place on three fronts.
 - a. California and the "bear flag republic"
 - b. General Stephen Kearney and Santa Fe
 - c. Winfield Scott and Central Mexico
2. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848

I. Race and Manifest Destiny

1. A region that for centuries had been united was suddenly split in two, dividing families and severing trade routes.
 - a. "Male citizens" were guaranteed American rights.
 - b. Indians were described as "savage tribes."
2. The spirit of manifest destiny gave a new stridency to ideas about racial superiority.
3. Race in the mid-nineteenth century was an amorphous notion involving color, culture, national origin, class, and religion.

J. Redefining Race

1. Mexico had abolished slavery and declared persons of Spanish, Indian, and African origin equal before the law.
2. The Texas constitution adopted after independence not only included protections for slavery but denied civil rights to Indians and persons of African origin.

K. Gold Rush California

1. California's gold rush population was incredibly diverse.
2. The explosive population growth and fierce competition for gold worsened conflicts among California's many racial and ethnic groups.

L. California and the Boundaries of Freedom

1. The boundaries of freedom in California were tightly drawn.
 - a. Indians, Asians, and blacks were all prohibited basic rights.
 - b. Thousands of Indian children, declared orphans, were bought and sold as slaves.

III. A Dose of Arsenic

A. The Wilmot Proviso

1. Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania in 1846 proposed a resolution prohibiting slavery from all territory acquired from Mexico.
2. In 1848, opponents of slavery's expansion organized the Free Soil Party.
 - a. Martin Van Buren

B. The Free Soil Appeal

1. The free soil position had a popular appeal in the North because it would limit southern power in the federal government.
2. Wage-earners of the north also favored the free soil movement.
3. The Free Soil platform of 1848 called both for barring slavery from western territories and for the federal government providing homesteads to settlers without cost.
4. To single out slavery as the one form of property barred from the West would be an affront to the South and its distinctive way of life.

5. The admission of new free states would overturn the delicate political balance between the sections and make the South a permanent minority.
- C. Crisis and Compromise
1. 1848 was a year of revolution in Europe, only to be suppressed by counterrevolution.
 2. With the slavery issue appearing more and more ominous, established party leaders moved to resolve differences between the sections.
 - a. The Compromise of 1850
- D. The Great Debate
1. Powerful leaders spoke for and against compromise:
 - a. Daniel Webster
 - b. John Calhoun
 - c. William Seward
 2. President Taylor died in office and Millard Fillmore secured the adoption of the compromise.
- E. The Fugitive Slave Issue
1. The Fugitive Slave Act allowed special federal commissioners to determine the fate of alleged fugitives without benefit of a jury trial or even testimony by the accused individual.
 2. In a series of dramatic confrontations, fugitives, aided by abolitionist allies, violently resisted capture.
 3. The fugitive slave law also led several thousand northern blacks to flee to safety in Canada.
- F. Douglas and Popular Sovereignty
1. Franklin Pierce won the 1852 presidential election.
 2. Stephen Douglas saw himself as the new leader of the Senate after the deaths of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster.
 3. Douglas introduced a bill for statehood for Nebraska and Kansas so that a transcontinental railroad could be constructed.
 - a. Slavery would be settled by popular sovereignty.
- G. The Kansas-Nebraska Act
1. The *Appeal of the Independent Democrats* was issued by antislavery congressmen.
 2. The Kansas-Nebraska bill became law, but shattered the Democratic Party's unity.
 - a. Whigs collapsed.
 - b. South was solidly Democratic.
 - c. Republican Party emerged to prevent the further expansion of slavery.
- IV. The Rise of the Republican Party
- A. The Northern Economy
1. The rise of the Republican Party reflected underlying economic and social changes.
 - a. Railroad network
 2. By 1860, the North had become a complex, integrated economy.
 3. Two great areas of industrial production had arisen:
 - a. Northeastern seaboard
 - b. Great Lakes region
- B. The Rise and Fall of the Know-Nothings
1. In 1854 the American, or Know-Nothing, Party emerged as a political party appealing to anti-Catholic, antislavery sentiments.
- C. The Free Labor Ideology

1. Republicans managed to convince most northerners that the "slave power" posed a more immediate threat to their liberties and aspirations than property and immigration.
 - a. This appeal rested on the idea of free labor.
 2. Free labor could not compete with slave labor, and so slavery's expansion had to be halted to ensure freedom for the white laborer.
 3. Republicans cried "freedom national," meaning not abolition but ending the federal government's support of slavery.
 - a. Republicans were not abolitionists.
- D. Bleeding Kansas and the Election of 1856
1. Bleeding Kansas seemed to discredit Douglas' policy of leaving the decision of slavery up to the local population, thus aiding the Republicans.
 - a. Civil war within Kansas
 - b. Charles Sumner
 2. The election of 1856 demonstrated that parties had reoriented themselves along sectional lines.
- V. The Emergence of Lincoln
- A. The *Dred Scott* Decision
1. After having lived in free territories, the slave Dred Scott sued for his freedom.
 2. The Supreme Court justices addressed three questions:
 - a. Could a black person be a citizen and therefore sue in federal court?
 - b. Did residence in a free state make Scott free?
 - c. Did Congress possess the power to prohibit slavery in a territory?
 3. Speaking for the majority, Chief Justice Roger A. Taney declared that only white persons could be citizens of the United States.
 4. Taney ruled that Congress possessed no power under the Constitution to bar slavery from a territory.
 - a. The decision in effect declared unconstitutional the Republican platform of restricting slavery's expansion.
- B. The Decision's Aftermath
1. Rather than abandoning their opposition to the expansion of slavery, Republicans now viewed the Court as controlled by the slave power.
 - a. LeCompton Constitution and Stephen Douglas
- C. Lincoln and Slavery
1. In seeking reelection, Douglas faced an unexpectedly strong challenge from Abraham Lincoln.
 2. Although Lincoln hated slavery, he was willing to compromise with the South to preserve the Union.
 3. Lincoln's speeches combined the moral fervor of the abolitionists with the respect for order and the Constitution of more conservative northerners.
- D. The Lincoln-Douglas Campaign
1. Lincoln campaigned against Douglas for Illinois's senate seat.
 2. The Lincoln-Douglas debates remain classics of American political oratory.
 - a. To Lincoln, freedom meant opposition to slavery.
 - b. Douglas argued that the essence of freedom lay in local self-government and individual self-determination.
 3. Lincoln shared many of the racial prejudices of his day.
 4. Douglas was reelected by a narrow margin.
- E. John Brown at Harpers Ferry
1. An armed assault by the abolitionist John Brown on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, further heightened sectional tensions.
 - a. Brown had a long career of involvement in antislavery activities.

2. Placed on trial for treason to the state of Virginia, Brown's execution turned him into a martyr to much of the North.
- F. The Rise of Southern Nationalism
1. More and more southerners were speaking openly of southward expansion.
 - a. Ostend Manifesto
 - b. William Walker and filibustering
 2. By the late 1850s, southern leaders were bending every effort to strengthen the bonds of slavery.
- G. The Democratic Split
1. The Democratic Party was split with its nomination of Douglas in 1860 and the southern Democrats nomination of John Breckinridge.
- H. The Nomination of Lincoln
1. Republicans nominated Lincoln over William Seward.
 2. Lincoln appealed to many voters.
 3. The party platform:
 - a. Denied the validity of the *Dred Scott* decision
 - b. Opposed slavery's expansion
 - c. Added economic initiatives
- I. The Election of 1860
1. In effect, two presidential campaigns took place in 1860.
 2. The most striking thing about the election returns was their sectional character.
 3. Without a single vote in ten southern states, Lincoln was elected the nation's sixteenth president.
- VI. The Impending Crisis
- A. The Secession Movement
1. Rather than accept permanent minority status in a nation governed by their opponents, Deep South political leaders boldly struck for their region's independence.
 2. In the months that followed Lincoln's election, seven states, stretching from South Carolina to Texas, seceded from the Union.
- B. The Secession Crisis
1. President Buchanan denied that a state could secede, but also insisted that the federal government had no right to use force against it.
 2. The Crittenden plan was rejected by Lincoln.
 3. The Confederate States of America was formed on March 4, 1861.
 - a. Jefferson Davis as President
- C. And the War Came
1. In time, Lincoln believed, secession might collapse from within.
 2. Lincoln also issued a veiled warning: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war."
 3. After the South's firing on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, Lincoln called for 75,000 troops to suppress the insurrection.