Chapter 13
A House Divided, 1840-1861

This chapter examines the escalating differences between non-slavery states in the North and the slave states of the South during the decades of the 1840s and 1850s. Westward expansion during these decades provoked increasingly strident and difficult debates about slavery. The rise of a new political party, headed by Abraham Lincoln, resulted in the decision of some Southern states to leave the union and form their own separate country.

INTRODUCTION

I. FRUITS OF MANIFEST DESTINY

II. A DOSE OF ARSENIC

III. THE RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

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V. THE IMPENDING CRISIS
INTRODUCTION

STORY:
In 1855, while the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. was under construction, a controversy emerged over the design of a statue intended to sit atop the Capitol dome. The sculptor proposed a female figure wearing a “liberty cap”—a hat commonly associated with the American Revolution. But Southerners objected because they associated the “liberty cap” with the freeing of slaves in ancient Rome. The statue was redesigned and the female figure that can still be seen above the Capitol dome wears a feathered helmet not a “liberty cap.”

THEMES:
1. Debate over slavery influenced all aspects of American life during the decades of the 1840s and 1850s.
2. During this time period, the United States dramatically expanded its geographical boundaries.
3. Westward expansion provoked a series of crises over the issue of slavery.
4. These series of crises destroyed the party system that had dominated America since the early 19th century.
5. The birth of a new political party, the Republican Party, and the victory of its presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln, resulted in the decision of some Southern states to secede from the Union.
### I. FRUITS OF MANIFEST DESTINY

**FOCUS QUESTION:** What were the major thrusts of territorial expansion west in the 1840s?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Continental Expansion</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. In the 1840s, slavery moved to the center stage of American politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Territorial expansion</td>
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<td>b. Oregon and California</td>
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<th>B. The Mormon’s Plight</th>
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<td>1. The Mormons had been founded in the 1820s by Joseph Smith</td>
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<td>2. The absolute authority Smith exercised over his followers, and the refusal of the Mormons to separate church and state, alarmed many neighbors</td>
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<td>3. Smith’s successor, Brigham Young, led his followers to Utah</td>
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<th>C. The Mexican Frontier</th>
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<td>1. Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821</td>
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<td>a. Northern frontier was California, New Mexico, and Texas</td>
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<td>2. California’s non-Indian population in 1821 was vastly outnumbered by Indians</td>
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<td>a. Californios versus Indios</td>
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**STUDY HINT**

You should have a basic understanding of territorial expansion during the 1840s. For example, you should know that Texas, Oregon, California, and Utah became part of the United States during this time. There will be no detailed questions on the exam about Utah, the Mexican frontier, or the California Gold Rush.
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 López 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. Polk and Expansion

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

3. 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

4. Polk initiated war with Mexico to get California

**F. The Mexican War**

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’s *On Civil Disobedience*

2. Combat took place on three fronts

   a. California and the “bear flag republic”
   b. General Stephen Kearney and Sante Fe
   c. Winfield Scott and Central Mexico

3. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848

**G. 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

**H. 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

**I. 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

3. The boundaries of freedom in California were tightly drawn

a. The Indians were particularly hurt

**STUDY HINT**

You should be able to compare and contrast the ideas about race in the United States and the ideas about race in Mexico.
II. A DOSE OF ARSENIC

FOCUS QUESTION: Why did the expansion of slavery become such a divisive political issue in the 1840s?

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 to provide homesteads to settlers without cost

C. Crisis and Compromise

1. 1848 was a year of revolution in Europe, only to be suppressed by counter-revolution

2. With the slavery issue appearing more and more ominous, established party leaders

STUDY HINT
You should understand the Free Soil idea and why it appealed to many northerners.
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 recapture

3. The fugitive slave law also led several thousand northern blacks to flee to safety in Canada

**F. The Kansas-Nebraska Act**

1. Franklin Pierce won the 1852 presidential race

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

4. The Appeal of the Independent Democrats was issued by antislavery congressmen

5. 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
III. THE RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

FOCUS QUESTION: How did the Republican Party emerge from the social and political divisions of this period?

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 Growth of Immigration

1. Economic expansion fueled a demand for labor, which was met, in part, by increased immigration from abroad
   a. Ireland and Germany
   b. Settled in the northern states

2. Numerous factors inspired this massive flow of population across the Atlantic
   a. European economic conditions
   b. American political and religious freedoms
   c. Refugees from disaster
   d. Irish potato famine

STUDY HINT
You should understand how the economy in the North changed and the role immigration played in the society of the North.
3. The second largest group of immigrants, Germans, included a considerably larger number of skilled craftsmen than the Irish

C. The Rise and Fall of the Know-Nothings

1. While immigrants from England were easily absorbed, those from Ireland encountered intense hostility
   a. Catholic Church

2. The Irish influx thoroughly alarmed many native-born Americans
   a. “Nativists” claimed the Irish posed a threat to democratic institutions

D. 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. 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
E. Bleeding Kansas and the Election of 1856

1. “Bleeding Kansas” seemed to discredit Douglas’s 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
### IV. THE EMERGENCE OF LINCOLN

**FOCUS QUESTION:** How did Lincoln emerge as president from the divided politics of the 1850s?

#### 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
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

STUDY HINT
You should be able to describe Lincoln’s ideas about slavery before the Civil War.

ID & S
Lincoln-Douglas Debates
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
## V. THE IMPENDING CRISIS

**FOCUS QUESTION:** What were the final steps on the road to secession?

### 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 fired upon Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, Lincoln called for 75,000 troops to suppress the insurrection