

# UNIT IV

## DIVISION AND REUNION

### CHAPTER 9 Expansionism and Sectionalism

In the 1840s, U.S. expansion westward came to be thought of as the *manifest destiny* of the nation. This phrase expressed the belief that Americans had a God-given right to take over new territories all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

#### EXPANSIONISM

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*Expansionism* (the policy of continually increasing the size of a country) was the major issue in the election campaign of 1844. The Whigs nominated Henry Clay. The Democrats ran a little-known Tennessee politician, James K. Polk.

Clay argued that the United States should not annex Texas without the consent of Mexico. Polk came out strongly in favor of the “re-occupation of Oregon” and the “re-annexation of Texas.” (These terms suggested that the two regions had once belonged to the United States.) Since antislavery forces still opposed adding Texas to the Union as a slave state, the Democrats focused on the Oregon issue. Their slogan “Fifty-four forty or fight!” meant that the United States would use force if Britain objected to its taking over the entire Oregon Country. A majority of American voters opted for Polk and expansionism.

**1. Annexation of Texas.** Even before Polk took office, the Democrats, who had a majority in Congress, acted to acquire Texas. In December 1844, President Tyler recommended that Congress pass a

joint resolution authorizing *annexation*. (A joint resolution, requiring only a simple majority in both houses, is easier to pass than ratifying a treaty, which needs a two-thirds majority in the Senate.) The resolution was adopted, and Tyler signed it just before leaving office. Texans later voted in favor of annexation, and the new state joined the Union in December 1845.

Meanwhile, Mexico had broken off diplomatic relations with the United States. The break resulted not only from the annexation but also from a dispute over the size of the Lone Star Republic. The United States claimed that the southern and western boundaries of Texas lay along the Rio Grande. Mexico contended that Texas comprised the area north and east of the Nueces River, a region about half as big as the U.S. claim.

**2. Dividing Oregon Country.** As trouble with Mexico loomed, Polk's new administration backed down on its claim to Oregon Country. The British suggested that the territory be divided along the 49th parallel. The northern part (including Vancouver Island) would go to Canada, and the southern part to the United States. The Senate approved the British proposal and ratified the resulting treaty in 1846.

In 1848, a territorial government was set up in the Oregon Territory. In 1859, the southern part of the area was admitted to the Union as the state of Oregon. In the late 1800s, Washington and Idaho and parts of Montana and Wyoming were formed from this territory.

**3. Troubles in California.** Until the 18th century, the main residents of California were a relatively small number of Native Americans. In the late 1760s, however, settlers from Mexico arrived. Franciscan priests (notably Father Junípero Serra) founded a chain of Roman Catholic missions, from San Diego in the south to Sonoma in the north. Here they taught farming and other skills to their Native-American converts.

When Mexico became independent in 1821, the new nation included California and the intervening territory in the Southwest. Mexican control meant few changes for the Spanish-speaking Californians. But for Native Americans it was a disaster. Mexico transferred the Catholic missions to private owners. No longer protected by missionaries, the Native Americans were victimized by white settlers.

Americans began to travel to California in the early 1840s. Explorer John C. Frémont, guided by Kit Carson, traveled throughout the region and wrote glowing reports about it. At various times, the U.S. government tried unsuccessfully to buy California from Mexico.



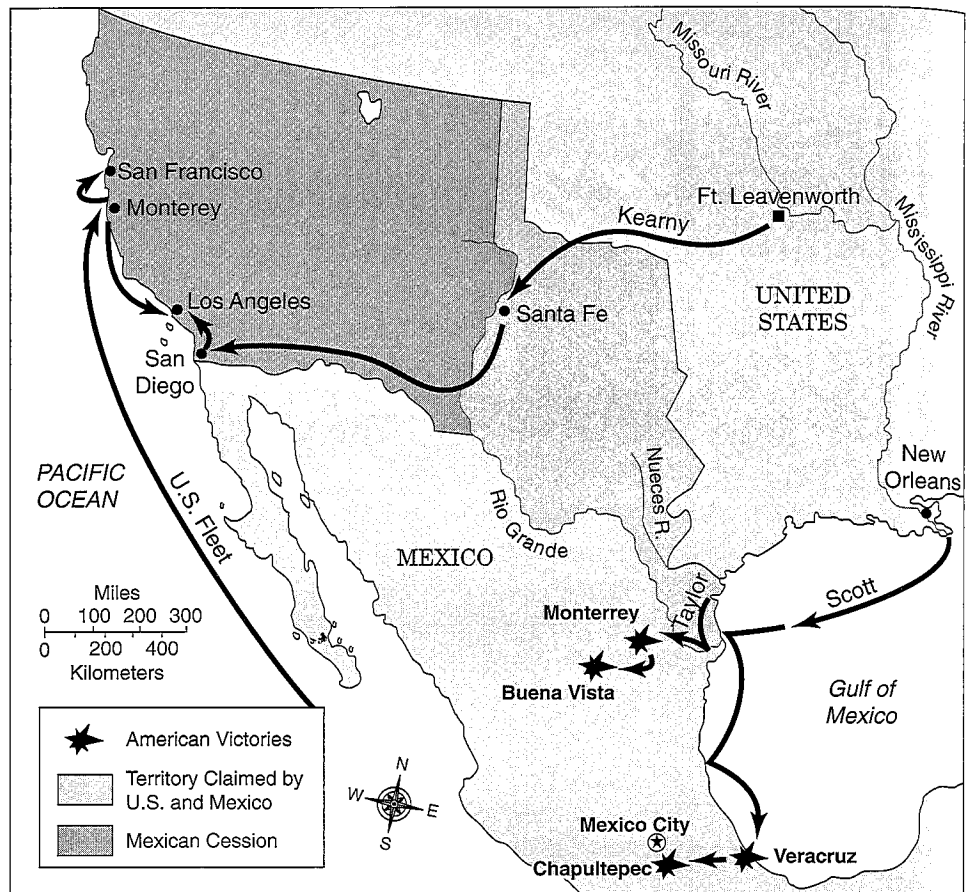
Families in covered wagons crossing the plains.

Then, in June 1846, dissatisfied American settlers at Sonoma declared California independent of Mexico. This "Bear Flag Revolt" soon became part of a larger struggle between Mexico and the United States.

**4. U.S. War With Mexico.** President Polk wanted southern and western Texas. He also wanted the rest of the Southwest and California as well. Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico City to negotiate, but the Mexican government refused to see him. Polk then ordered troops under General Zachary Taylor into the disputed area of Texas. He also ordered U.S. warships into the Gulf of Mexico and along the Pacific coast. In April 1846, using a skirmish between Mexican and U.S. troops near the Rio Grande as an excuse, Polk asked Congress for a declaration of war, which it passed on May 13.

The war with Mexico lasted until the spring of 1847, when the Americans won a decisive victory over the Mexicans and occupied Mexico City. The two countries signed a peace treaty—the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—in 1848. Mexico recognized the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas and ceded New Mexico and California to the United States. In exchange, the United States paid Mexico \$15 million in cash and agreed to pay all claims made by U.S. citizens against Mexico. The territory known as the Mexican Cession was eventually carved into the states of California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming.

## U.S. War With Mexico, 1846–1848



## SURGES OF SETTLEMENT

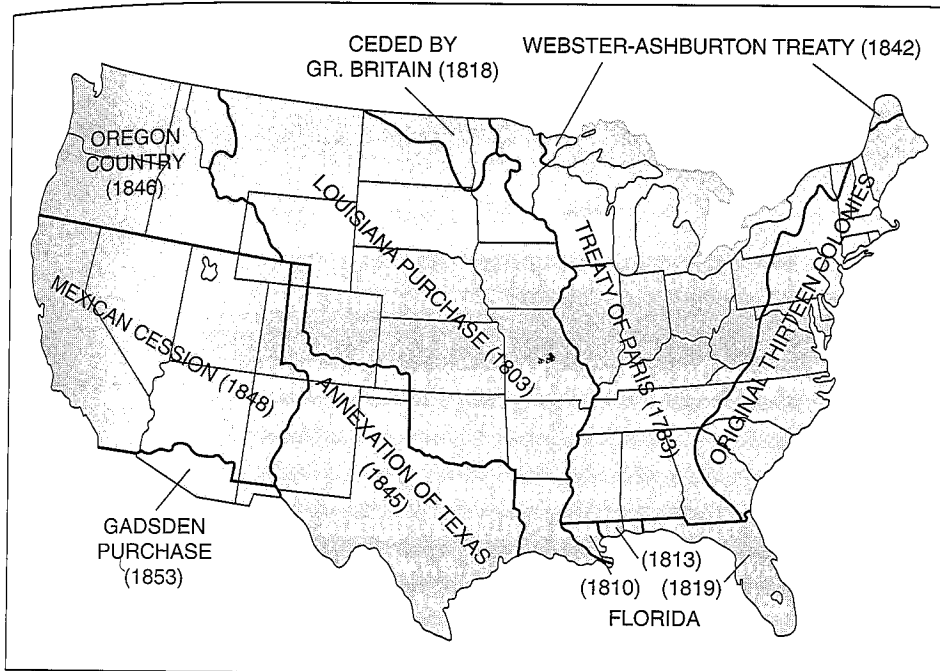
Even as war with Mexico was bringing new lands under U.S. control, waves of new settlers were moving into them.

**1. The Gold Rush.** Early in 1848, gold was discovered at the sawmill of John Sutter in Sacramento Valley, California. The news traveled quickly, not only to the eastern United States but also to Europe and Asia. People from all walks of life raced to California in what became known as the *gold rush*. An estimated 100,000 people flocked to California in 1849, thereby earning the nickname *forty-niners*. A few forty-niners quickly struck it rich in the gold-fields. Others made fortunes by selling the miners food, supplies, and services at high prices. Those who failed to get rich quickly

(the majority) turned to raising cattle, growing fruit, or moving elsewhere.

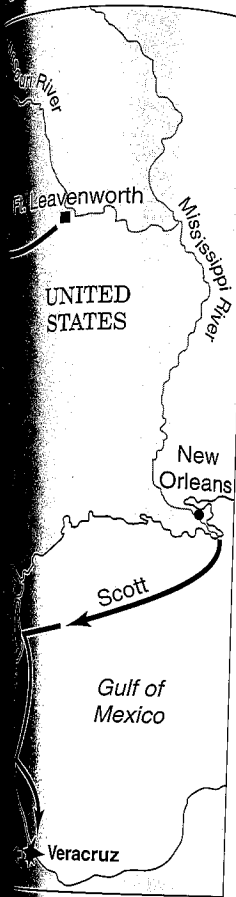
## READING A MAP

### Territorial Growth to 1853



1. How many states were ultimately created, in whole or in part, from Oregon Country? Can you name them?
2. Of the territories that were to become the 48 adjoining states, which territory did the United States acquire last?
3. From which territorial acquisition after 1783 was the largest number of states formed? How many states, in whole or in part, were created from this acquisition?

**2. The Mormons in Utah.** The Mormon Church gained many new members in the 1830s and 1840s. Led by Joseph Smith, Mormons left New York and migrated first to Ohio and then to Missouri and



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Mormon leader Brigham Young arrived at the Great Salt Lake in Utah in 1847.

Illinois. The hostility of non-Mormons in each place forced them to move on. Some disapproved of the Mormon system of owning property in common. Opposition to the sect increased after 1843, when Smith stated that Mormon men could have more than one wife. In 1844, a mob in Illinois killed Smith. Brigham Young, the new leader, led the Mormons west in search of a refuge. In 1847, Young and his followers reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake in Utah. There they founded Salt Lake City. The settlers that followed transformed the wasteland into a land of plenty. In 1850, Utah was organized as a territory, with Young as its governor.

**3. The Gadsden Purchase.** The United States was enlarged in 1853 with the addition of land along the southern boundary of New Mexico and Arizona. The United States wanted the area for a proposed railroad to the Pacific. Mexico agreed to sell it for \$10 million. James Gadsden, the U.S. representative to Mexico, arranged the agreement. The acquisition thus became known as the Gadsden Purchase.

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**IDENTIFY OR DEFINE:** manifest destiny, expansionism, Mexican Cession, Joseph Smith, Gadsden Purchase, forty-niners.

**CRITICAL THINKING:** What led President Polk to reach a compromise with Great Britain and back down from his earlier pledge to seize Oregon Country?

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## THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY

During the mid-1800s, the differences between the North and South regions of the United States increased sharply. The North had many cities and industries and a large working class. Northerners came from many different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The South depended heavily on farming. Most of its inhabitants were Protestants whose ancestors had come from the British Isles. But the chief difference between Northerners and Southerners was their attitude toward slavery.

The practice of slavery goes back to ancient times. Slavery in the United States, however, differed from other slave systems in at least two ways. Enslaved people in the United States had no legal rights. In various African kingdoms, by contrast, they could own property and had protection from abuse. Second, American slaves were racially distinct. By contrast, in ancient Greece and Rome most slaves were white, like their owners.

**1. Slave Ownership.** The first Africans came to the North American colonies early in the 17th century. Their numbers increased steadily, and by 1800 there were about a million African Americans. Sixty years later, there were about 4.5 million. Nearly 90 percent of them were enslaved.

Slavery existed at one time or another in all the colonies. After the Revolutionary War, however, Northerners gradually eliminated slavery. Some Southern areas, such as Appalachia, had few or no slaves. The majority of slaves lived in the band of states stretching from South Carolina to Texas. In the mid-19th century, three states—South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi—had more African Americans than whites. In 1860, only about a fourth of all Southern white families owned slaves. Less than 1 percent of these families owned 100 or more slaves. But this minority dominated the South.

The slave system was profitable for owners. Although they had to feed, clothe, and house their workers, they could count on them as a steady supply of labor. This supply grew with the birth of enslaved people's children. After the overseas slave trade ended in 1808, the price of slaves rose steadily. By 1860, a strong, young male cost more than \$1,500.

**2. How Enslaved People Lived.** The majority of enslaved people did backbreaking field work. A smaller number were house servants and skilled laborers, such as masons, blacksmiths, cooks, and



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seamstresses. Enslaved people generally lived in family groups in small, dirt-floor cabins. Not recognizing their marriages, the owner split up their families when it suited him or her. It was illegal to teach slaves to read. Nonetheless, slaves led a rich cultural life centered on music, religion, and storytelling.

### READING A TABLE

#### Slaveholding Families, By Number of Slaves Held, 1850

<i>Number of Families Owning . . .</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>Maryland &amp; Wash., D.C.</i>	<i>Virginia</i>	<i>North Carolina</i>	<i>South Carolina</i>
1 slave	68,998	5,585	11,385	1,204	3,492
2-4 slaves	105,703	5,870	15,550	9,668	6,164
5-9 slaves	80,767	3,463	13,030	8,129	6,311
10-19 slaves	54,595	1,861	9,456	5,898	4,955
20-49 slaves	29,733	657	4,880	2,828	3,200
50-99 slaves	6,196	73	646	485	990
100-199 slaves	1,479	7	107	76	382
200-299 slaves	187	—	8	12	69
300 slaves or over	67	1	1	3	33
Total number slaveholding families	347,725	17,517	55,063	28,303	25,596

1. Of the states listed, which one had the most slaveholding families? How many slaveholding families did that state have?
2. In 1850, how many families in the country owned 100 or more slaves?
3. In Maryland and the District of Columbia in 1850, is it true or false to say that over half of all slaveholding families held four or fewer slaves?
4. Which state listed had the most slaveholding families with 300 or more slaves?



Slavery was harmful to both owners and owned. Having total control over other human beings tended to make the owners callous. And lack of freedom demoralized the Africans.

## THE POLITICS OF SLAVERY

At one point during the late 18th century, the decline in tobacco production had reduced the need for large numbers of field-workers. Then, in the 1790s, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin. By speeding up cotton processing, this device encouraged Southern planters to raise larger crops. The planters had a good market for their output in the factories of England and New England. Since cotton growing required many laborers, slavery became more important to the Southern economy.

Increasing cotton production wore out the soil. Therefore, cotton planters in the Southern colonies along the Atlantic coast welcomed the opening of the Old Southwest. When that region filled up, Southerners began to move to the territories made available by the annexation of Texas and the Mexican Cession in the 1840s.

As slavery spread, so did opposition to it. Some abolitionists wanted to end slavery immediately. Others favored gradual emancipation. Many people in the South favored abolition. The number of Southern abolitionists decreased sharply, however, after Nat Turner's uprising in 1831. Turner, an enslaved preacher in Virginia, led some 70 followers in an attack on whites, killing nearly 60 men, women, and children. The rebellion frightened Southern whites. Soon, abolitionist literature was no longer allowed to go through the mail in the South.

Many Southerners defended slavery as the economic mainstay of their region. They also argued that it offered protection for a race that could not provide for itself. One advocate of slavery wrote: "What a glorious thing to man is slavery, when want, misfortune, old age, debility [weakness], and sickness overtake him." Calhoun defended slavery as "a positive good." As the years passed, positions hardened. Many Northerners believed that there was a "slave power conspiracy" aimed at extending slavery to the whole United States. Many Southerners feared that radicals would seize their property and destroy their way of life.

By the early 19th century, Northern states had either abolished slavery or provided for its gradual elimination. States south of the Mason-Dixon line allowed slavery. Of the original 13 states, 7 prohibited slavery and 6 permitted it. Between 1791 and 1819, 9 new states joined the Union. Of these, 4 were free and 5 slave, thus

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equalizing the number of free and slave states at 11 each. Keeping this balance became a key issue for both North and South. Neither section wanted the other to gain control of the Senate, where each state had two votes. Equality in the Senate was especially important to the South. It was losing voting strength in the House of Representatives, where the number of votes that each state had depended on its population. The South's population was not growing as fast as that of the North.

**1. The Missouri Compromise.** In 1819, Missouri (a slaveholding territory) applied for statehood. Northern politicians opposed this request for two reasons: (1) It would upset the balance between free and slave states. (2) It would officially establish slavery in the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase. If slavery were allowed there, additional states made from the Louisiana territory might also allow slavery.

The problem was resolved when Maine requested admission as a free state. Congress then enacted the Missouri Compromise of 1820. It provided that (1) Maine would be admitted as a free state, (2) Missouri would be admitted as a slave state, and (3) slavery would be prohibited in the Louisiana Purchase north of latitude 36°30'. (This line of latitude formed the southern boundary of Missouri.)

**2. The Compromise of 1850.** Between 1836 and 1848, six more states were added to the Union—Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas. The first three were free states; the other three, slave states. The balance was thus kept at 15 states each.

The territory gained in the Mexican Cession revived the dispute about slavery. Southern leaders demanded that slavery be permitted in the region. Northern leaders insisted that it be kept out. When California, a part of the Mexican Cession, asked for admission as a free state in 1850, bitter sectional quarreling broke out. Henry Clay suggested admitting California as a free state, but allowing slavery in the rest of the Mexican Cession. By contrast, Senator William H. Seward of New York argued against admitting any new slave states.

Finally, Congress passed what came to be called the Compromise of 1850 as five separate bills:

- California was admitted as a free state.
- Texas gave up its claim to eastern New Mexico in return for \$10 million.
- The territories of New Mexico and Utah were organized on the principle of *popular sovereignty*. That is, the people of each region would decide whether they wanted slavery.

- A new, more severe *Fugitive Slave Law* imposed heavy fines on people who helped slaves to escape. (An earlier law, passed in 1793, had not been strictly enforced.)
- The slave trade (but not slavery) was abolished in the District of Columbia.

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**IDENTIFY OR DEFINE:** Missouri Compromise, Henry Clay, popular sovereignty, fugitive slave.

**CRITICAL THINKING:** How did Congress in 1850 resolve the dispute over admitting states to the Union?

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## SECTIONAL STRAINS

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The Compromise of 1850 briefly eased relations between North and South. But tensions remained. The publication in 1852 of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, an antislavery novel, aroused strong feelings. So did the new Fugitive Slave Law, which was widely disobeyed.

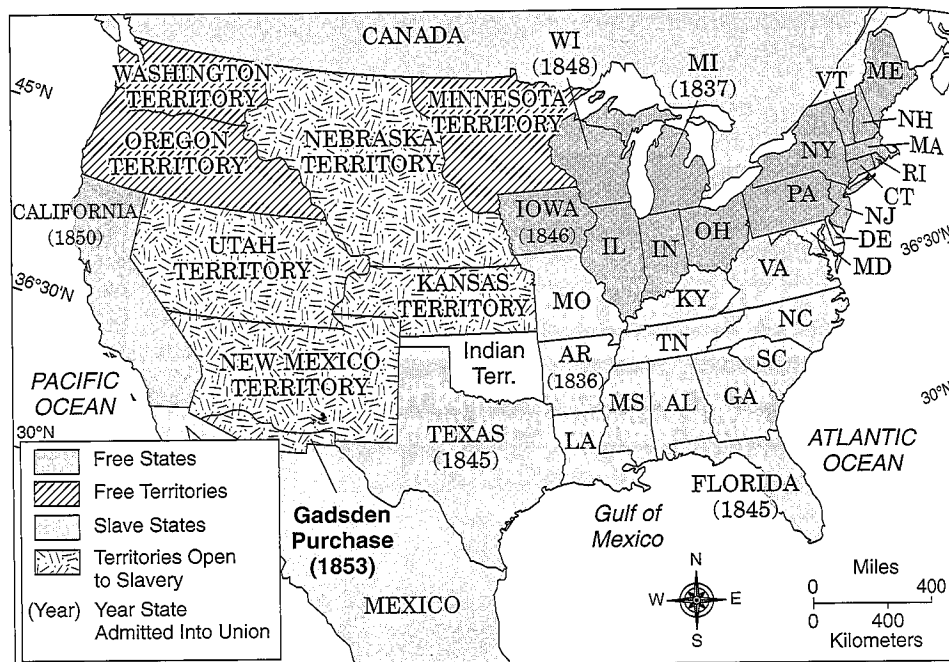
**1. The Kansas-Nebraska Act.** The West's growing population needed a railroad. Some Americans wanted a northern route to the West, starting at Chicago. This route would pass through territory that had not been politically organized. To address this problem, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, a Democrat from Illinois, sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This bill organized the region into two territories: Nebraska (in the north) and Kansas (in the south). To gain Southern support, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill provided that popular sovereignty would decide the slavery question in each territory. This bill repealed the part of the Missouri Compromise that had banning slavery north of 36° 30'. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, passed in May 1854, resulted in the formation of a new political party and an outbreak of violence in Kansas.

**a. The Republican party.** Many antislavery Northerners were angered by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. They were also unhappy with the Democratic and Whig parties for not taking a strong stand against the law. The discontented Northerners deserted these older parties and formed the Republican party.

The Republican party began to take shape early in 1854. It called for repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive

Slave Law, and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The party soon added other aims, including a high protective tariff, construction of a railroad across the continent, and free land for Western settlers.

### The Free-Slave Balance, 1854



In 1856, the Republicans nominated John C. Frémont of California for president. He ran against James Buchanan, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, and Millard Fillmore of New York, the Whig candidate. Buchanan won the election, but the Republicans showed surprising strength. Frémont received a large popular vote and won the electoral votes of about two-thirds of the free states. After this election, the Whigs ceased to be a force in U.S. politics. There were now two sectional parties: The Republicans dominated the North; the Democrats, the South.

**b. "Bleeding Kansas."** Meanwhile, proslavery and antislavery forces in Kansas vied for control of the territorial legislature, which was to vote on whether Kansas would allow slavery. Violence broke out in 1855, and some 200 people were killed. John Brown led a group in Kansas in murdering five proslavery settlers at Pottawatomie Creek. "Bleeding Kansas" became a symbol of the sectionalism that threatened the whole nation. (Kansas eventually joined the Union as a free state in 1861.)

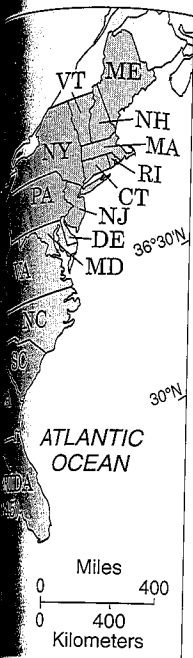
**2. The Dred Scott Decision.** Early in 1857, a Supreme Court decision aroused further sectional feeling. An enslaved person named Dred Scott had traveled with his master from the slave state of Missouri into free territory. After a few years, his master took him back to Missouri. He then sued for his freedom, arguing that since he had lived in free territory, he was no longer enslaved. In *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, the Supreme Court ruled that since Scott was not a citizen, he had no right to sue in a federal court. The Court further declared that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional because it banned slavery in the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase. Slaves were property, said the Court, and Congress had no right to deprive citizens of their property. The Dred Scott decision, in effect, made it legal to extend slavery into all U.S. territories.

**3. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.** In 1858, Republican Abraham Lincoln opposed Democrat Stephen A. Douglas in the Illinois senatorial campaign. Douglas was a powerful speaker and a nationally known U.S. senator. Lincoln challenged him to a series of public debates on the issues of the day. Among these was slavery.



In this scene of one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Lincoln spoke while Douglas (behind Lincoln) waited his turn.

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In one debate, held at Freeport, Illinois, Lincoln led Douglas into expressing a view that made him unpopular with Southern voters. The principle of popular sovereignty permitted a territory to exclude slavery. The Dred Scott decision held that slavery could *not* be excluded from a territory. Which of these two positions, Lincoln asked, did Douglas favor? Douglas answered that a territorial legislature could keep out slavery by not passing laws to protect it. Douglas won re-election to the Senate, but his "Freeport Doctrine" cost him the support of Southern Democrats when he later made a bid for the presidency. The debates made Lincoln nationally famous.

**4. John Brown's Raid.** John Brown, who had killed slavery supporters in Kansas, conceived a plan to stir up a slave uprising in the South. In October 1859, he and 18 men seized the government arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). His purpose was to obtain weapons for the enslaved people who he hoped would join his force. But no mass uprising took place, and Brown and his men were soon killed or captured. Brown was tried for treason, found guilty, and hanged. Abolitionists regarded Brown as a hero who had given his life for the antislavery cause. He confirmed the fears of many Southerners that Northerners were plotting to destroy their way of life.

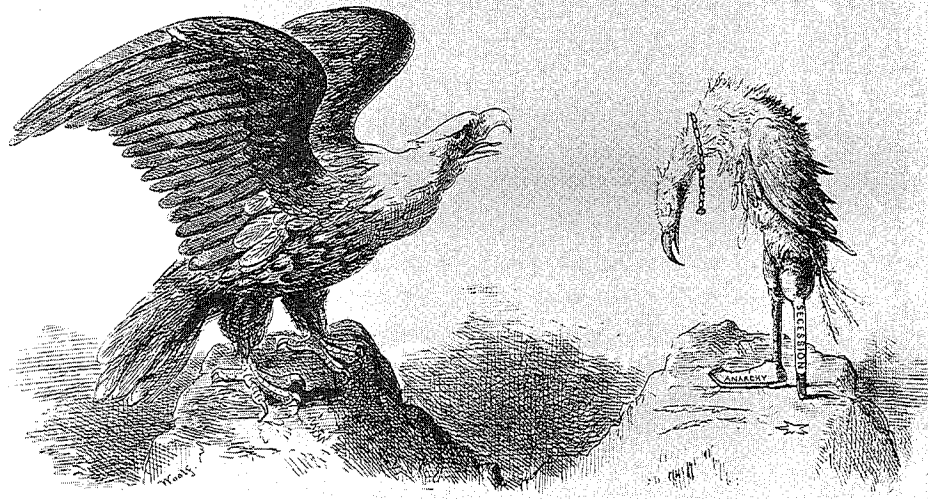
## THE ELECTION OF 1860

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Democrats split into two groups over the choice of a candidate for the 1860 presidential election. The Northern delegates chose Douglas as their presidential candidate, while the Southerners selected John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The Republicans nominated Lincoln. Aided by the split among Democrats, Lincoln won the election. His victory was clearly sectional. He won the electoral votes of every free state and not a single slave state.

**1. Secession and the Confederacy.** Early in 1860, Southern leaders had warned that they would *secede* (leave the Union) if a Republican president were elected. After Lincoln's victory, delegates to a South Carolina state convention declared in favor of secession. By February 1861, six other states had joined South Carolina: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

On February 4, delegates from the seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed the Confederate States of America.



NEGATIVE NUMBER 3088, COLLECTION OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In this anti-Buchanan cartoon, the eagle, symbol of the United States, is thriving when Buchanan takes office in 1857 and a sorry specimen four years later.

The constitution the delegates drew up was like the U.S. Constitution in many ways but had four important differences: (1) It emphasized "the sovereign and independent character" of each state. (2) It recognized and protected slavery. (3) It forbade protective tariffs. (4) It prohibited the use of government funds for internal improvements. The delegates chose Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as president of the Confederacy. Alexander Stephens of Georgia became vice president.

**2. Buchanan's Position.** During the last months of President James Buchanan's administration, secessionist forces seized most of the federal property in their states—forts, arsenals, customhouses, and post offices. They also took the New Orleans Mint, which contained \$500,000 in gold and silver. Determined to keep the peace until his term was over, Buchanan did not interfere.

**3. The Inauguration of Lincoln.** On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office as U.S. president. In his inaugural address he appealed to the South to preserve the Union. He said that he would not interfere with slavery in the states where it existed. He pointed out that no state could lawfully secede from the Union. Federal laws would be carried out in all the states, he claimed.

**IDENTIFY OR DEFINE:** Harriet Beecher Stowe, Kansas-Nebraska Act, "Bleeding Kansas," Dred Scott, John Brown, Jefferson Davis.

**CRITICAL THINKING:** Why did South Carolina and other Southern states secede from the Union after Lincoln's election?

## Chapter Review



### MATCHING TEST

#### Column A

1. "Fifty-four forty or fight!"
2. James K. Polk
3. John C. Frémont
4. Junípero Serra
5. Brigham Young

#### Column B

- a. U.S. president during Mexican War
- b. founded a chain of Catholic missions
- c. Mormon leader after Smith
- d. Democrats' slogan during presidential campaign of 1844
- e. U.S. explorer of California



### MULTIPLE-CHOICE TEST

1. U.S. claims to Oregon Country were settled by (a) an agreement with Spain (b) a war with Russia (c) a purchase from Mexico (d) a treaty with Britain.
2. The Mexican War was ended by the (a) Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (b) Great Migration (c) Battle of Buena Vista (d) Gadsden Purchase.
3. The discovery of gold in California (a) was one of the causes of the Mexican War (b) helped bring about the Bear Flag Revolt (c) helped Zachary Taylor in his campaign for the presidency (d) drew 100,000 people to the region in the following year.
4. The main issue separating North and South in the 1850s was (a) tariffs (b) immigration policy (c) slavery (d) education.



5. The Compromise of 1850 dealt with all of the following *except* (a) New Mexico territory (b) Utah territory (c) the slave trade in Washington, D.C. (d) the status of Missouri.
6. The Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed in order to (a) help build a western railroad (b) guarantee more free states (c) aid Stephen A. Douglas in his debates with Lincoln (d) provide a home for Native Americans.
7. In the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court ruled that (a) Congress had the power to abolish slavery (b) Congress could not ban slavery in the territories (c) slavery was illegal north of 36°30' (d) the slavery issue should be settled by popular sovereignty.
8. All of the following were presidential candidates in the election of 1860 *except* (a) Abraham Lincoln (b) John C. Breckinridge (c) Jefferson Davis (d) Stephen A. Douglas.
9. The secession of the first Southern states took place during the administration of President (a) Franklin Pierce (b) James Buchanan (c) Abraham Lincoln (d) Millard Fillmore.
10. The principle that allowed residents of a territory to decide whether to permit slavery when becoming a state was (a) the Wilmot Proviso (b) popular sovereignty (c) direct democracy (d) the Missouri Compromise.



### ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. How did the United States put the idea of manifest destiny into action in the 1840s?
2. What were the chief results of the conflict with Mexico?
3. (a) Why was a balance of free states and slave states important in the period before the 1860s? (b) How did this balance affect the admission of Missouri to the Union? (c) Of California?
4. How and why was sectional tension between North and South affected by *each* of the following? (a) the Kansas-Nebraska Act (b) the Dred Scott decision (c) John Brown's raid.
5. What was Buchanan's response to Southern secession? What attitude toward the South did Lincoln show in his inaugural address?

**DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION**

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This question is based on the accompanying documents (1–5). It will improve your ability to work with historical documents.

**Historical Context:**

The Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the Compromise of 1850 temporarily calmed the passions of most proslavery and antislavery Americans.

**Task:**

Using information from the documents and your knowledge of United States history, read each document and answer the question that follows it. Your answers to the questions will help you write the document-based essay.

**Document 1.** Excerpt from remarks by Elias Horry, a South Carolina plantation owner, 1826:

[My slaves] enjoy a greater share of the blessings of life than falls to the lot of the laboring poor of most countries. Their dwellings on my plantation are built in such a manner as to afford them every protection and comfort, and are generally about forty feet in length and twenty feet wide, with a double brick chimney in the centre that forms two tenements; each tenement has two rooms and a hall. . . .

Their labor is, comparatively, light and easy, so that an industrious negro can very easily accomplish his task early in the afternoon, and the rest of the time is at his own disposal.

Source: Brown, Edward. *Notes on the Origin and Necessity of Slavery*. Charleston, South Carolina: A.E. Miller, 1826, pp. 56–57.

Name *one* of the benefits that Mr. Horry claimed his slaves enjoyed on his plantation.

**Document 2.** Excerpt from the description that Harry Grimes, an enslaved person from North Carolina, gave of his escape to the North, 1850s:

In the woods I lived on nothing. . . . I stayed in the hollow of a big poplar tree for seven months. . . . I suffered mighty bad with the cold and for something to eat. One time a snake come to the tree

... and I took my axe and chopped him in two. It was a poplar leaf moccasin, the poisonest kind of snake we have. While in the woods all my thoughts was how to get away to a free country.

Source: Blockson, Charles L. *The Underground Railroad*. NY: Prentice-Hall Press, 1987.

What inspired Grimes to endure hardships as he traveled north?

**Document 3.** Excerpt from Henry David Thoreau's lecture "Resistance to Civil Government," 1848:

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government to-day? . . . I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as *my* government which is the slave's government also . . . if the law is of such a nature that it requires you to be an agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law.

Source: [www.vcu.edu/engweb/transcendentalism/authors/thoreau/civil](http://www.vcu.edu/engweb/transcendentalism/authors/thoreau/civil)

Why did the abolitionists welcome Henry David Thoreau's 1848 lecture?

**Document 4.** Excerpt from a speech of Senator John C. Calhoun protesting the plan to admit California as a free state, March 4, 1850:

I have, Senators, believed from the first the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion. . . . It can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration: How can the Union be preserved?

Source: [www.nationalcenter.org/CalhounClayCompromise.html](http://www.nationalcenter.org/CalhounClayCompromise.html)

What did Senator Calhoun say might happen to the United States if California were admitted to the Union as a free state?

**Document 5.** Study the map on page 172.

How many free states were there in 1854? How many slave states? Which territories were free and which were open to slavery?

**DOCUMENT-BASED ESSAY**

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Using information from the above documents and your knowledge of United States history, write an essay in which you:

- Explain whether you agree with the idea that in 1854 it was only a matter of time before proslavery and antislavery Americans would reject compromise as a way to deal with their differences on the issue of slavery.