

CHAPTER THIRTEEN THE IMPENDING CRISIS

Objectives

A thorough study of Chapter Thirteen should enable the student to understand:

1. Manifest Destiny, and its influence on the nation in the 1840s.
2. The origin of the Republic of Texas, and the controversy concerning its annexation by the United States.
3. The reasons why the United States declared war on Mexico, and how the Mexican War was fought to a successful conclusion.
4. The impact of the Wilmot Proviso on the sectional controversy.
5. The methods used to enact the Compromise of 1850, and its reception by the American people.
6. The role of the major political parties in the widening sectional split.
7. The part played by Stephen A. Douglas in the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the effect of this act on his career and on the attitudes of the people in all sections.
8. The impact of the *Dred Scott* decision on sectional attitudes and on the prestige of the Supreme Court.
9. The reasons for Abraham Lincoln's victory in 1860, and the effect of his election on the sectional crisis.

Main Themes

1. How the idea of Manifest Destiny influenced America and Americans during the period.
2. How the question of the expansion of slavery deepened divisions between the North and the South.
3. How the issue of slavery reshaped the American political-party system.

Pertinent Questions

LOOKING WESTWARD (344-350)

1. Why did Texas become available for annexation? What prevented its immediate annexation?
2. What was the "empire of liberty"? How was it to be achieved, and what doubts were raised about its desirability?
3. How did Texas become available for annexation? What prevented its immediate annexation?
4. What was the history of American interest in Oregon?
5. What were the characteristics of western migrants? What problems did they face? How were these overcome?

EXPANSION AND WAR (350-355)

6. Why did Clay and Van Buren wish to avoid taking a stand on the question of the annexation of Texas? What effect did this have on their efforts to be nominated by their party?
7. How did Van Buren's position on Texas help the candidacy of James K. Polk? How did Polk's campaign catch the spirit of the time? What effect did Clay's position on Texas have on his campaign in the presidential election?

8. What were the goals of President Polk? How did he resolve the Oregon question? What tensions emerged in the Southwest that threatened to lead the United States into war with Mexico?
9. How did American interest in California develop?
10. What were the origins of the Silliman mission? What was its goal, what did it accomplish, and what was Polk's reaction to it?
11. On what grounds did Polk ask Congress to declare war on Mexico?
12. On what grounds was Polk's call for war criticized?
13. What was Polk's plan for the conduct of the war? How was it set in motion, and what was accomplished in the first offensive of the Mexican War?
14. What were the objectives of the next two offensives in the war? What did they accomplish? What were the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?
15. **THE SECTIONAL DEBATE (355-359)**
16. What was the Wilmot Proviso? What brought about its introduction, and what arguments were advanced in its favor?
17. What were the South's arguments against the Wilmot Proviso? On what points did they differ from the arguments of the North?
18. What compromises were proposed to settle the issues raised by the Wilmot Proviso?
19. What part did the issue of slavery in the territories play in the election of 1848?
20. What problems faced President Zachary Taylor when he took office? How did he propose to solve them, and what action did Congress initially take?
21. How did the South react to President Taylor's program?
22. What was the Compromise of 1850? How was it passed?
23. Who were the "younger" politicians who emerged after 1850? How did they differ from the leaders they replaced?
24. How did the Compromise of 1850 differ from the Missouri Compromise?
25. **THE CRISES OF THE 1850s (359-367)**
26. How did the political parties react to the Compromise of 1850?
27. How did the sections of the country react to the Compromise of 1850? What was the "Young America" movement? What national sentiment did it reflect? Who were its spokespersons? What did it accomplish?
28. How was it that American foreign policy objectives in the 1850s began to reflect the growing sectional divisions in the country?
29. How did the issue of a transcontinental railroad help to reopen the sectional controversy? Explain.
30. How did the North react to the Kansas-Nebraska Act? the South? What effect did it have on the Whigs? the Democrats?
31. Who were the Republicans? What caused their formation? Which groups comprised this party, and what was the party's platform?
32. What problems were faced in the attempt to organize a legitimate government in Kansas? Why did these problems arise? How was it that Kansas became a battleground for the sectional controversy?
33. Explain the maneuvering by proslavery and antislavery forces to gain control of the Kansas government. What did both sides come to believe that Kansas symbolized for the nation?

34. What were the "immediate, sweeping, and ominous consequences" of the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
35. What type of society did northerners wish to create? How did "free soil" and "free labor" fit into their plans? Why did they feel that the South was holding them back?
36. How did the "free-soil" ideology manifest itself in the Republican Party? What diverse views did it unite?
37. What were the elements of the South's proslavery response? Who were its major spokespersons?
38. What effect did the depression of 1857 have on political divisions in America? How did it increase the tension between the North and South? What did both sides see as the significance of this economic decline?
39. What were the origins of the Dred Scott case? What issues were involved, and what decision was handed down by the Court? How did the reaction to this case add to sectional tensions?
40. How did President James Buchanan respond to the Kansas question? What were his reasons, and what was the outcome? What does this tell you about the possibility of compromise on the issue of slavery in the territories?
41. Why did the Lincoln-Douglas debates take place, and why did they draw so much attention? How did Lincoln and Douglas differ on their solution to the question of slavery in the territories?
42. What were the goals of John Brown's raid, and why did it have such an impact on the South?
43. What caused the split between northern and southern Democrats in 1860, and what was the result of this division?
44. What was the Republican platform in 1860? To what specific political groups were the Republicans trying to appeal, and how did this platform propose to appeal to them?

16. forty-niners
17. William H. Seward
18. Millard Fillmore
19. "omnibus bill"
20. Franklin Pierce
21. Ostend Manifesto
22. Gadsden Purchase
23. Pottawatomie Massacre
24. "The Crime Against Kansas"
25. Preston Brooks
26. "slave power conspiracy"
27. "positive good" thesis
28. John C. Breckenridge
29. John Bell

PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE (362)

45. What role did the Lyceum play in educating the American public, especially with regard to public controversies of the period?
46. What sort of people took part in the Lyceum movement?

Identification

Identify each of the following, and explain why it is important within the context of the chapter.

1. John L. O'Sullivan
2. "penny press"
3. Antonio de Santa Anna
4. San Jacinto
5. Oregon Trail
6. "re-occupation" and "re-annexation"
7. "fifty-four forty or fight"
8. John C. Fremont
9. Zachary Taylor
10. Stephen W. Kearny
11. General Winfield Scott
12. Nicholas Trist
13. "All Mexico"
14. Lewis Cass
15. Free-Soil Party

Document 1
Below is an excerpt from a statement made in 1837 by John C. Calhoun that outlines his views on slavery. Note his comparison of the lot of slaves with that of European (and northern?) workers. How might William Lloyd Garrison have responded to this?

I hold that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States between the two is, instead of an evil, a good—a positive good. I feel myself called upon to speak freely upon the subject where the honor and interests of those I represent are involved. I hold them, that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other. . . . I may say with truth that in few countries so much is left to the share of the laborer, and so little exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention paid to him in sickness or infirmities of age. Compare his condition with the tenants of the poor houses in the more civilized portions of Europe—look at the sick and the old and infirm slave, on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poor house.

Document 2

One of the most outspoken critics of the Mexican War was the Massachusetts poet James Russell Lowell. Like so many of his fellow New Englanders, he believed that the conflict was part of an effort to advance the interests of the South, a view he set forth in The Bigelow Papers, a collection of observations that Lowell attributed to one Hosea Bigelow. In the following poem, Bigelow confronts a recruiting sergeant and explains, in Yankee vernacular, his opposition to the war.

What does Bigelow see as the main purpose of the war with Mexico? Whom does he blame, and why? What role does he see the North playing in the war, and what does he feel the results will be? Look at the final verse. What solution does he propose? Remember this when we get to 1860. With such sentiments being expressed in the North, why will the northern states be willing to fight to preserve the Union?

'T would n't suit them Southern fellers,

They're a dreffle graspin' set,

We must ollers blow the bellers

Wen they want their irons het;

May be it's all right ez preachin',

By my narves it kind o' grates,

Wen I see the overreachin'

O' them nigger-drivin' States.

They may talk o' Freedom's airy

Tell they're pupple in the face,--

It's a grand gret cenary

Fer the barthrights of our race;

They jest want this Califony

So's to lug new slave-states in

To abuse ye, an' to scorn ye,

An' to plunder ye like sin.

Aint it cute to see a Yankee

Take sech everlastin' pains

All to git the Devil's thankees,

Helpin' on 'em weld their chains?

Wy, it's jest ez clear ez figgers,

Clear ez one an' one make two,

Chaps that make black slaves o' niggers

Want to make wite slaves o' you.

Ef I'd my way I hed ruther

We should go to work an' part,--

They take one way, we take t'other,--

Guess it would n't break my heart;

Men hed ough' to put asunder

Them that God has noways jined;

An' I should n't grely wonder

Ef there's thousands o' my mind.

James Russell Lowell, The Bigelow Papers (London: Trubner, 1859), pp. 4-9.

Document 3

In 1846, President James K. Polk requested an appropriation of \$2 million to pay expenses incurred in negotiations with Mexico. David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, introduced an amendment to that bill and, in so doing, set off a new round of debate over the question of slavery in the territories. The following is a description of what took place.

Wilmot was a Democrat, and the Democratic Party depended on the South for much of its support. Why would he have introduced such an amendment? What does this tell you about divisions within the Democratic Party? What alternatives were offered, who offered them, and what resulted? What happened to the amendment in the House, where it was introduced? in the Senate? What does this tell you about the position of the South with regard to the rest of the nation? What would have been the future for the South had it become law?

On motion of Mr. McKay the committee proceeded under the resolution just adopted, limiting the time for debate of each member to ten minutes, to the consideration of the President's message, and of the following bill, introduced this morning by Mr. McKay:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a sum of \$2,000,000, in addition to the provision heretofore made, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, for the purpose of defraying any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred in the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations, to be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States, who shall cause an account of the expenditure thereof to be laid before Congress as soon as may be.

... Mr. Wilmot regretted that the President had not disclosed his views. He disliked to act in the dark on this or any subject. If this had been done, and it had been inexpedient to have received and deliberated upon it publicly, they might have gone into secret session. He would vote for this appropriation in case the amendment he intended to offer was adopted. He disagreed with some of his friends that this was an unnecessary war; he believed it a necessary and proper war. He believed it not to be a war of conquest; if so he was opposed to it now and hereafter. If this country was now to be forced into such a war, he pronounced it against the spirit of the age, against the holy precepts of our religion; he was opposed to it in every form and shape. But he trusted it was not to be a war of conquest. He trusted that the President was sincerely ready to negotiate for an honorable peace.

But the President asked for two millions of dollars for concessions which Mexico was to make. We claim the Rio Grande as our boundary--that was the main cause of the war. Are we now to purchase what we claim as a matter of right? Certainly she was not to be paid for the debt she owes our citizens.

Mr. W. took it, therefore, that the President looked to the acquisition of territory in that quarter. To this he had no objection, provided it were done on proper conditions. On the contrary, he was most earnestly desirous that a portion of territory on the Pacific, including the bay of San Francisco, should come into our possession by fair and honorable means, by purchase or negotiation--not by conquest.

But whatever territory might be acquired, he declared himself opposed, now and forever, to the extension of this "peculiar institution" that belongs to the South. He referred to the annexation of Texas, and to his affirmative vote on the proposition connected with it at this session; he was for taking it as it was: slavery had already been established there. But if free territory comes in, God forbid that he should be the means of planting this institution upon it.

He concluded by offering the amendment . . . providing against the establishment of slavery, or involuntary servitude, in any territory which may be acquired.

Provided, That, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.

The first section of the bill was still under consideration, and, after some conversation, the amendment of Mr. WILLMOT was received as an amendment to this section.

Mr. DOBBIN rose to a point of order. He contended that the amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WILLMOT] was not in order, the subject of slavery having no connexion with the bill.

The CHAIRMAN overruled the point of order. The bill (he stated) appropriated a certain sum of money to be put at the disposal of the President. It was certainly competent on the part of the House to adopt a provision limiting the application of the money, and providing that it should be applied only on certain conditions.

Mr. DOBBIN appealed from the decision.

The question on the appeal was taken by tellers, and the decision of the Chairman was sustained--ayes 92, noes 37.

Thus the amendment was decided in order.

Mr. WICK moved to amend the amendment by inserting therein after the word "territory," the words "north of 36°30' north latitude."

The amendment to the amendment was disagreed to--ayes 54, noes 89.

The question recurring on the original amendment of Mr. WILLMOT, tellers were asked and ordered, and, the question being taken, it was decided in the affirmative--ayes, 83, noes 64.

So the amendment was adopted.

Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., 1213-1217.

Document 4

Many people believed (and many more hoped) that the Compromise of 1850 would save the Union. But as the excerpts that follow show, the divisions were deep and healing would be difficult. The first excerpt is from John C. Calhoun's last speech. What stand did he take regarding compromise? Calhoun's views are followed by those of William H. Seward, a senator from New York who became a leading Republican and secretary of state in the Lincoln administration. What is his position? Is there room for compromise?

It is time, Senators, that there should be an open and manly avowal on all sides, as to what is intended to be done. If the question is not now settled, it is uncertain whether it ever can hereafter be; and we, as the representatives of the States of this Union, regarded as governments, should come to a distinct understanding as to our respective views, in order to ascertain whether the great questions at issue can be settled or not. If you, who represent the stronger portion, cannot agree to settle them on the broad principle of justice and duty, say so; and let the States we both represent agree to separate and part in peace, tell us so; and we shall know what to do, when you reduce the question to submission or resistance. If you remain silent, you will compel us to infer by your acts what you intend.

* * *

I am opposed to any such compromise, in any and all the forms in which it has been proposed. Because, while admitting the purity and the patriotism of all from whom it is my misfortune to differ, I think all legislative compromises radically wrong and essentially vicious. They involve the surrender of the exercise of judgment and conscience on distinct and separate questions, at distinct and separate times, with the indispensable advantages it affords for ascertaining truth. They involve a relinquishment of the right to reconsider in future the decisions of the present, on questions prematurely anticipated. And they are a usurpation as to future questions of the province of future legislators.

Document 5

The Republicans' 1860 platform was hardly the radical pronouncement that southern fire-eaters expected, for its primary purpose was to show potential supporters in the North that it was the party of moderation and progress. Still, among its declarations were statements that made it clear where the Republicans stood on the issues most crucial to the South. What follows is an excerpt from that platform. Note declaration 3. Does this give you any indication why the Republicans were willing to fight to preserve the Union? How would the South have reacted to this?

What was declaration 4 designed to do? What effects did the Republicans hope it would have on the South? How does declaration 7 relate to 4? To whom was it designed to appeal? What is the purpose of declarations 12 and 15? What do they reveal about the composition of the Republican Party? Again, what would the South's reaction have been?

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations: . . .

3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; . . . and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes. . . .

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself. . . .

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country. . . .

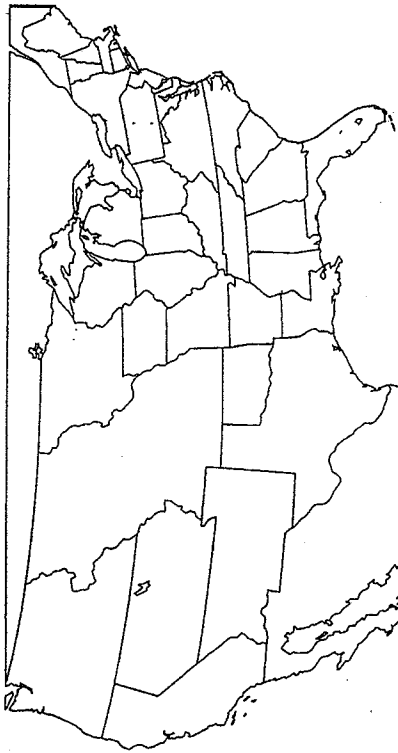
15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligations of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

New York Times, 18 May 1860.

Map Exercise

Fill in or identify the following on the blank map provided. Use the map in the text as your source.

1. Free states and territories.
2. Slave states and territories (with slave percentages of total population).
3. Areas where the decision on slavery was left to the territories.
4. Missouri Compromise line.
5. District of Columbia.



Interpretative Questions

Based on what you have filled in, answer the following. On some of the questions you will need to consult the narrative in your text for information or explanation.

1. Note the western boundary of Texas today and compare it to the map of "American Expansion into the Southwest, 1845-1853." How does the change in the western boundary reflect northern fears that may have resulted from the agreement under which Texas was annexed?
2. Study the areas that remain open to slavery. As far as the expansion of the institution is concerned, did the South gain or lose from the Compromise of 1850?
3. After studying the map, what evidence do you find to support John C. Calhoun's fear that the South would be relegated to permanent minority status?
4. How had the knowledge of land west of the Mississippi River changed since the early 1800s, and what impact did this have on settlement patterns? In the light of these changes, how would the population be expected to expand in the next few decades and what impact would this have on the balance between slave and free states in the Senate?
5. What changes did the Kansas-Nebraska Act make in the agreements reached in the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850?

Summary

Between 1845 and 1860, critical events and issues seemed to come in a rush, giving Americans little time to analyze what was happening and reflect on long-range solutions. Emotion seemed to replace reason as the debate grew increasingly repetitious and loud. The question, or so it seemed, was the expansion of slavery into the territories gained during the Polk administration. But something far more fundamental was at stake—the future of the nation. Northerners had become convinced that the expansion of slavery threatened the democratic foundations of the United States and that expansion would give the South control of the government that would lead to economic stagnation, unemployment, and financial ruin—all the effect of the depression of 1837, but magnified. From this point of view, the South, and its "peculiar institution," threatened the nation's growth and progress and had to be overcome. The South, however, convinced of the legality of its position and the validity of its institutions, fought back, and with remarkable success. By combining the power in the Democratic Party (which gave it extraordinary influence in Congress and with the president) with its supporters on the Supreme Court, the slave states seemed secure. But still they were fearful. Convinced that they had given up all they could in earlier compromises, they feared future gains by those they considered to be enemies; and those they feared most were the Republicans.

Review Questions

These questions are to be answered with essays. This will allow you to explore relationships between individuals, events, and attitudes of the period under review.

1. Why did the South perceive the Wilmot Proviso as such a threat? What did the proviso indicate about the North's attitude toward slavery? Was the abolition of slavery the issue, or was it something else? Examine the proviso, its implications, and the Southern response.
2. Your text states that eventually the majority of northerners came to believe "that the existence of slavery was dangerous not because of what it did to blacks but because of what it threatened to do to whites." How did this feeling shape the northern attack on slavery, and how did southerners attempt to defend their institution?

3. As your text states, Kansas became a symbol for both the North and the South—but a symbol of what? What did both sides find in the controversy over Kansas to support their charges against their adversaries? What did Kansas come to mean to the nation? Assess Kansas as a symbol of the positions and problems that characterized the divisions in the United States.
4. One historian has claimed that a lack of leadership contributed to the inability of the nation to overcome its divisions. This argument contends that a "thundering generation" of politicians who failed to understand the nature of the divisions offered solutions that resolved issues but did not deal with the real problems. Look at the concerns expressed by both the North and the South, and look at the proposals advanced to ease these concerns. From this assessment, do you feel that the "thundering generation" theory has merit, or were these deeper, fundamental questions that even the most capable leaders could not have resolved? In short, had the conflict between North and South become "irrepressible"?

Chapter Self Test

After you have read the chapter in the text and done the exercises in the Study Guide, take the following self test to see if you understand the material you have covered. Answers appear at the end of the Study Guide.

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response which best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. The idea that God and history had selected America to expand its boundaries over the continent of North America was known as:
 - a. Manifest Destiny.
 - b. divine right.
 - c. white supremacy.
 - d. nativism.
2. When the new republic of Texas requested annexation by the United States:
 - a. the American government quickly agreed.
 - b. Americans in the North opposed acquiring a large new slave territory.
 - c. Southerners, led by President Jackson, pushed for annexation.
 - d. Mexico gave up all claims to Texas.
3. American immigrants into Oregon:
 - a. did not outnumber the British until after the Civil War.
 - b. had little impact on the few Native Americans there.
 - c. outnumbered the British by 1850.
 - d. were mostly fur trappers.
4. Immigrants going west on the great overland trails faced the least danger from:
 - a. hostile Indians.
 - b. diseases.
 - c. mountain and desert terrain.
 - d. hunger.
5. Which of the following was not part of President Polk's policy regarding New Mexico and California?
 - a. Sending troops to the Nueces River in Texas.
 - b. Informing Americans in California that the United States would respond sympathetically to a revolt against Mexico.
 - c. Instructing the Pacific naval commander to seize California ports if Mexico declared war.
 - d. Ceasing all diplomatic contact with Mexico.
6. By combining the Oregon and the Texas issue in 1844, Democrats hoped to:
 - a. start a war with Mexico and Great Britain.
 - b. attract John Tyler to the Democratic Party.
 - c. divert attention from the slavery issue.
 - d. appeal to both northern and southern expansionists.
7. The war with Mexico was criticized:
 - a. by southerners who believed Polk deliberately maneuvered the country into the conflict on behalf of northern interests.
 - b. by northerners who believed it was part of a slaveholders' plot to bring in more slave states.
 - c. by businessmen who believed it would hurt commerce with England and Mexico.
 - d. by Democrats from all sections of the nation.
8. The Wilmot Proviso:
 - a. went into law without the president's signature.
 - b. passed the House but not the Senate.
 - c. was a compromise acceptable to the South and the North but not the West.
 - d. drew very little attention outside of Congress.
9. The man on whose land the gold that led to the California gold rush was discovered was:
 - a. John C. Frémont.
 - b. John A. Sutter.
 - c. Nicholas Trist.
 - d. Lewis Cass.
10. The Compromise of 1850 included all of the following except:
 - a. California would come in as a free state.
 - b. in the rest of the lands acquired from Mexico, territorial governments would be formed without restrictions on slavery.
 - c. the national government would not pay the Texas debt.
 - d. the slave trade, but not slavery, would be abolished in the District of Columbia.
11. Which of the following did not support the Compromise of 1850?
 - a. Henry Clay.
 - b. Zachary Taylor.
 - c. John C. Calhoun.
 - d. Daniel Webster.

12. The new leaders emerging in Congress after the Compromise of 1850 were:
- less able politicians.
 - more concerned with narrow interest of self-promotion.
 - as skilled at compromise as the older leaders.
 - interested in broad national issues.
13. The question of statehood for Kansas and Nebraska became a critical issue because:
- of the question of whether they would be slave or free states.
 - of southern fear that a transcontinental railroad would be built through them.
 - of northern concern over wheat states and depressed grain prices.
 - many believed that they could never support a population sufficient to justify statehood.
14. Northerners who accepted the concepts of "free soil" and "free labor" believed:
- slavery was dangerous not because of what it did to blacks but because of what it did to whites.
 - slavery opened the door to economic opportunity for whites.
 - slavery was what made the South a glorious civilization and one that should be admired.
 - slave labor would work in northern factories and should be allowed to expand.
15. Through personal liberty laws northern states attempted to:
- use state authority to interfere with the deportation of fugitive slaves.
 - force industries to recognize labor unions.
 - allow women to own property.
 - extend the right to vote to all tax-paying adults.
16. Southerners who believed in the "positive-good" theory argued:
- slavery was good for blacks.
 - slavery was maintained, even though it was not profitable for whites.
 - northern factory workers were better off than slaves, but they deserved to be because they were white.
 - blacks were not biologically inferior, they just needed time to catch up culturally.
17. American efforts to buy or seize Cuba failed because:
- international pressure was put on President Pierce.
 - there was little nationalism in the nation by the 1850s.
 - antislavery forces in the North opposed it.
 - it was believed we had more territory than we could use.
18. The Dred Scott decision:
- affirmed the South's argument that the Constitution guaranteed the existence of slavery.
 - was a victory for the antislavery movement.
 - declared Scott a free man.
 - outlawed the interstate slave trade.

19. Abraham Lincoln:
- believed slavery was morally wrong but was not an abolitionist.
 - had been a Democrat before he became a Republican.
 - believed the expansion of slavery would hurt the spread of free labor.
 - tried to avoid the slavery issue in his debates with Douglas.
 - a. and c.
 - a. and d.
20. The single event that did the most to convince white southerners they could not live safely in the Union was:
- the election of Lincoln.
 - the Pottawatomie Massacre.
 - John Brown's raid.
 - the Dred Scott decision.

TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements "T" and false statements "F."

- The "penny press" was important because it exposed a significant proportion of the population to the rhetoric of nationalistic politicians.
- Texas was not able to get any European nation to recognize it as an independent nation.
- Missionary efforts in Oregon converted large numbers of Indians to Christianity.
- Most travelers on the Oregon Trail went as individuals, even if they joined a wagon train.
- Though a "dark horse" candidate, James K. Polk was not an obscure politician.
- The Oregon question was finally settled by Britain surrendering claims below the 54th parallel.
- President Polk told Californians that the United States would not respond sympathetically if they revolted against Mexico.
- The United States did not take all of Mexico because its invasion of that country was not successful.
- The Wilmot Proviso prohibited slavery in the territory taken from Mexico.
- The Free-Soil Party had the abolition of slavery as part of its platform.
- The South supported Taylor because he was a southerner and a slaveholder.
- The Compromise of 1850 passed, despite the opposition of Webster and Calhoun.
- After 1850 the Whig Party emerged as the one party without sectional divisions.
- The Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the antislavery provision of the Missouri Compromise.
- Northerners saw Preston Brook's attack on Charles Sumner as an example of the barbarism of the South, while southerners believed Sumner had insulted Brook's uncle and got what he deserved.
- Northerners believed that there the South was involved in a "slave power conspiracy" to take away their liberties.
- President Buchanan proved a firm and decisive president at the very time the nation needed one.
- The Republican Party became the party of the "free-soil-free-labor" ideology.
- The South thought the Dred Scott decision would hurt efforts to expand slavery.
- With Lincoln's election, the Republicans controlled both the legislative and the executive branches of the government.

GENERAL DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTERS NINE-THIRTEEN

These questions are designed to help you bring together ideas from several chapters and see how the chapters relate to one another.

1. In the 1790s, two political parties emerged to struggle for control of the new government. By the 1830s, these two parties had disappeared, in name at least, and in their places were other parties competing for the same prize. What had taken place during this time? Write an essay in which you explain the rise, fall, and reorganization of the two original parties, being sure to consider not only what happened to them as organizations, but also what happened to the programs they endorsed.
2. If any one force dominated the era we just studied, it was nationalism. Almost every aspect of American life was influenced by it. The question, however, is what gave rise to this outpouring of national feeling, and what was its effect? Write an essay in which you examine domestic developments in the United States (political, economic, intellectual) during the period between 1800 and 1840; from this examination, determine what it was that convinced Americans that their nation was destined to be great, and how this conviction affected the government's domestic policies.
3. It was during this period that the West emerged as a major factor in the political and economic development of the United States. Just what influence did this section have? Consider the growth of American political institutions and attitudes along with the expansion of the nation's economy between 1820 and 1860—from the standpoint of the West—to determine just how that section shaped, or tried to shape, what took place. Also, examine how the Northeast and the Southeast reacted to the growth of the western regions.
4. Despite having a minority of the population, the south, between 1830 and 1860, was able to block most legislation it felt was not in its best interest. How was this accomplished? Explain how southern politicians protected the "southern way of life" from the will of the majority. What effect did this have on the two-party system?
5. Trace the course of American antislavery attitudes between 1830 and 1860. How did the movement evolve from one characterized by radical reformers with little support to one supported by most northerners? What changes in philosophy and action were necessary for the antislavery forces to accomplish this?
6. What factors gave rise to the reform movement of the years 1820 to 1860? How did this movement reflect Americans' image of themselves, and what effect did it have on American politics?
7. What happened to the Whigs? Examine the evolution of the Whig Party, and determine why it was never able to effectively challenge the Democrats' supremacy. What happened to the Whigs, North and South, after the national party disappeared?
8. Explain the expected and unexpected consequences of early large-scale efforts to manipulate the American landscape.
9. Explain the impact of the "waterpower era" on urban development.

TERMS, CONCEPTS, NAMES

Manifest Destiny	Mexican War	John Brown
Henry Clay	Colonel Stephen W. Kearny	Pottawatomie Massacre
Stephen F. Austin	John C. Fremont	Charles Sumner
General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna	"Bear Flag Revolution"	Senator Andrew Butler
Alamo Mission	General Winfield Scott	Preston Brooks
Davy Crockett	Nicolas Thié	"Slave power conspiracy"
Goliad	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo	Republican Party
Battle of San Jacinto	Willnot Proviso	"Positive good" thesis
Tejanos	"Popular sovereignty"	Freeport Doctrine
Oregon country	Lewis Cass	"Gag-rule"
"Joint occupation"	Compromise of 1850	James Buchanan
Old Northwest	John C. Calhoun	<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>
Mormons	Daniel Webster	Justice Roger Taney
Martin Van Buren	"Seventh of March Address"	Lectionship Constitution
James K. Polk	Stephen A. Douglas	Abraham Lincoln
"Dark horse"	Millard A. Fillmore	John Brown's Raid
"Fifty-four forty or fight"	Free-Soil Party	John C. Breckenridge
Liberty Party	Fugitive Slave Act	William H. Seward
General Zachary Taylor	Ableman v. Booth (1857)	John Bell
Samé Fe	Ostend Manifesto	California gold rush
John A. Sutter	Gadsden Purchase	Ida B. Tarbell
Annexationists	Kansas-Nebraska Controversy	"Personal liberty laws"
	"Bleeding Kansas"	