Chapter 13
The Impending Crisis
Looking Westward

- By the 1840s, the United States acquired more than a million square miles of new territory
  - Greatest wave of expansion since the Louisiana Purchase
- New ideology emerged that justified white Americans quest for expansion in North America = Manifest Destiny
American nationalism and social perfection influenced reform movements during the 19th century.

Manifest Destiny - the idea that territorial expansion of America westward was inevitable and destined by God and history.
John L. O’Sullivan - an influential Democratic editor who named the period of expansion

Racial Justification - an argument for expansion by claiming the superiority of the “American race” (white superiority)

- Territories consisting of non-white people could not be absorbed into the American republic system
- O’Sullivan believed “racial purity” was the key for triumph of the nation
Manifest Destiny (cont.)

- The idea of Manifest Destiny spread throughout the nation by the “penny press”
- Advocates for Manifest Destiny had different ideas on how far and by what means the nations would expand
  - Henry Clay feared the movement would create more tension between territories
Early 1820s, the Mexican government tried an experiment to encourage American immigration into Texas

- Mexicans hoped allowing American immigration would...
  - **Strengthen** their economy
  - Increase tax revenue
  - Serve as a buffer against U.S. expansion
Americans in Texas (cont.)

- Colonization law of 1824—designed to attract American settlers by promising the newcomers cheap land and a 4-year tax exemption
  - Population of Americans living in Mexico was 2x the number of Mexicans there
- Stephen F. Austin—established the first legal American settlement in Texas in 1822
  - He encouraged American settlers to move to Texas in exchange for land grants
Tensions between the United States and Mexico

- Tension continued to grow as American settlers wanted slavery legalized.
- In the mid-1830s, **General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna** seized power as a dictator.
  - Increased the national government’s power while limiting the state government’s power.
- In 1836, Texans proclaimed their independence from Mexico.
Tensions between the United States (cont.)

- Santa Anna led a large army in Texas to defeat their revolts
  - Americans were unorganized and unable to create a solid defense
- Battle of San Jacinto - A surprise attack by Texans on Santa Ana's camp on April 21, 1836. Santa Anna's men were overrun in 20 minutes. Santa Ana was taken prisoner and signed an armistice securing Texas independence.
Oregon

- Both Britain and America claimed sovereignty in the Oregon region
- **Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1818** diffused diplomatic claims by allowing citizens of each country equal access to the territory (joint occupation) for 20 years
- Most significant white settlements were by fur trading posts established by John Jacob Astor’s company and the British Hudson Bay Company
American interests grew in Oregon for evangelical efforts in the 1820s and 1830s
  ○ Missionaries were motivated by the desire to counter Catholic missions in Canada, they believed were threatening American hopes for annexation

Missionaries encouraged white emigration after Native American resistance
● White American emigration outnumbered British settlements
  ○ Native American population suffered because of a mass measles epidemic
  ○ The Cayuse tribe blamed the Whitman mission and attacked it and killed 13 whites including Marcus and Narcissa Whitman
Westward Migration

- Families undertook dangerous journeys in search of various opportunities
  - California Gold Rush, cheap land the government was selling, and religious missions (e.g. Mormons)
Life on the Trail

- Migrants generally gathered in major depots in Iowa and Missouri
  - They joined wagon trains led by hired guides
- Oregon Trail—an historical route extending from the Missouri River to Oregon and the West coast.
  - Santa Fe Trail
  - California Trail
Life on the Trail

● Multiple hardships
  ○ Difficult mountain and desert terrain
  ○ Disease-Cholera
  ○ Irrational fear of conflicts with Native Americans

● Often migrants traveled with groups of friends, neighbors, or relatives
  ○ Traveling with no other human contact led to breakdown of character and internal conflicts in migratory companies.
The Democrats and Expansion

- Original leading candidates for the 1844 election
  - Henry Clay and former President Martin Van Buren
- Main topic of interest: annexation of Texas
- Henry Clay-Whig Party
  - Mild sentiments over expansion
- Many Southern Democrats were strong supporters of annexation, so the party passed Van Buren’s nomination over to James K. Polk
The Democrats and Expansion (cont.)

- Polk combined stances on the occupation of Oregon and the annexation of Texas on his platform to gain votes
  - Carried the election by 170 electoral votes to 105
- Outgoing President John Tyler interpreted the election as a mandate for the annexation of Texas
  - The mandate won congressional approval in February 1845
  - On December 29, 1945—Texas became a state
Polk suggested the US-Canadian border should be at the 49th parallel; Britain refused
   ○ “54-40 or fight!”
The British government accepted Polk’s original proposal
1846- the Senate approved the boundary to be set at the 49th parallel
The Southwest and California

- Disputed boundary b/w Mexico and Texas
  - Polk believed the Rio Grande was the boundary
    - In 1845, he sent Gen. Zachary Taylor and a small army to protect the Rio Grande Border from Mexican invasion
- Polk was focused on acquiring both New Mexico and California
  - Sent troops to Texas, ordered the Navy to seize the California ports if Mexico declared war
The Mexican War

- Polk sent diplomatic minister, John Slidell, to offer to purchase disputed territories
- On Jan. 13, 1846, Polk ordered Taylor’s troops across the Nueces River to the Rio Grande after Mexico rejected their offer
- May 13, 1846 - The U.S. declared war on Mexico
The Mexican War

- Opposition of Polk’s decision regarding the war started to gain attention
- Whigs claimed he maneuvered the country into the conflict
- Others claimed the conflict was draining resources and attention of Pacific Northwest issue
  - Ulysses S. Grant believed the war was “one of the most unjust ever waged”
  - Henry Thoreau refused to pay taxes that directly financed the horrifying war
• Battle of Monterey
  ○ Sept 21-24 1846
  ○ One of the most important conflicts of the Mexican-American war
    ■ Troops under General Zachary Taylor led troops defeated Mexican troops with little American casualties
    ■ The surrender of the Mexican army on Sept. 26 was a result of the battle
The Mexican War

- In the summer of 1846, Colonel Stephen W. Kearny captured Santa Fe with no opposition.
- Kearny proceeded to California and joined a well armed exploring army called the Bear Flag Revolution.
  - Led by John C. Fremont, an American Settler.
  - By bringing the disparate American forces, he completed his conquest of California in 1846.
The Mexican War

- Polk and General Winfield launches a bold, new campaign to capture Mexico City with little American casualties
  - After the capture of Mexico City, a new Mexican gov’t took power and announced its willingness to negotiate a peace treaty
The Mexican War

● Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo-ended the U.S.-Mexican War and transferred 500,000 square miles of land from Mexico to United States ownership
  ○ Acknowledge the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas
  ○ The U.S. agreed to pay 15 million dollars to Mexico for land called the Mexican Cession
Sectional Debate
Slavery and the Territories

- Wilmot Proviso—an amendment to the appropriation bill prohibiting slavery in any territory acquired by Mexico
  - Introduced by an antislavery democrat, David Wilmot
  - Always passed the House of Representative but failed in the Senate for years.
Slave and the Territories

- Polk supported a proposal to extend the Missouri compromise line through the new territories to the Pacific coast
  - Other politicians supported the plan known as “popular sovereignty”
    - **Popular sovereignty** would allow the people of each territory to decide the status of slavery
- Polk left office without an answer to the sectional debate
Savery and the Territories

- The presidential election of 1848 avoided the slavery issue
- **Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan**
  - Dull, aging politician
- **Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana**
  - Mexican War hero but lack political experience
- Out of discontent for the candidate nominations, the **Free-Soil Party** was made
Slavery and the territories

- **Free-Soil Party**
  - Drew from the existing Liberty party, the antislavery wings of the Whigs, and Democratic parties that endorsed the Wilmot Proviso
  - Created by opponents of slavery
  - *Nominated former President Martin Van Buren*

- Taylor won with a narrow victory, Van Buren polled an impressive 10% of the votes
The California Gold Rush

- California Gold Rush—thousands of miners travel to Northern California after news reports of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in January of 1848 had spread around the world
  - Attracted “forty niners” (mainly men who abandoned their families lives for the search of gold)
  - Attracted Chinese immigrants to the West
  - Created job opportunities
  - Led to the exploitation of Native Americans
Rising Sectional Tensions

- California adopted a constitution that prohibited slavery
  - In December 1849, **Taylor urged Congress to admit California and Mexico as free states**
- Congress refused his request because of various other controversies regarding slavery
  - Antislavery forces to abolish slavery in D.C
  - Emergence of personal liberty laws in northern states
  - If the two states were states, they would be added to the northern majority in Congress
- **The South began to talk about secession.**
The Compromise of 1850

- Created by Henry Clay
- The Compromise of 1850 states
  - California to be admitted as a free state
  - Formation of territorial governments in the rest of the lands acquired by Mexico (w/o restrictions on slavery)
  - Abolition of slave trade in D.C.
  - Fugitive Slave Act
1st phase of the debate on the bill

- Led by older politician specifically Clay, Calhoun, and Webster
- Calhoun made radical points to
  - the North should give the South equal rights in the territories
  - Agrees to slaves laws
  - Stop attacking slavery
  - Create duo presidents, where one represents the North and the other for the South w/ the power to veto
Second phase of the debate on the bill

- Younger politicians such as William Seward, David, and Douglas created a group of opposition of the compromise
- Created a new compromise that cleared obstacle of Taylor after he died and Fillmore became president
- Douglas created custom and separate measures of the bill to see what they liked and didn’t
  - Gained support from backroom deals that linked the compromise to government bonds and construction of railroads
    - Personal victory of bargaining and self interest
The Crises of the 1850s

- After the compromise of 1850, sectional conflict seemed to be resolved, however this was only the **calm before the storm**.
The Uneasy Truce

- Both major parties endorsed the Compromise of 1850
- Democrat Franklin Pierce v. Whig Gen. Winfield Scott
- Division among whigs over slavery led to a swift victory for the democrats.
- Pierce tried to keep the peace, however efforts proved to be futile.
- Northern opposition to the Fugitive slave act grew after southerners came to the north to capture runaway slaves.
“Young America”

- Pres. Pierce attempted to heal sectional wounds by supporting a movement called, “Young America”.
- Liberal and nationalist revolutions of 1848 in Europe led many to dream of a Europe with governments based on that of the United States.
- 1854- Ostend Manifesto was leaked, suggesting Pierce take Cuba by military force, angering antislavery northerners
By the mid 1850s white settlement had moved beyond Missouri, Iowa, and what’s now Minnesota into the **Great Plains region** which was once seen as unfit for agriculture.

Great Plains was suitable to farming ranching
- many north westerners pleaded the government to open the area for settlement and kick out the Native American tribes
- led to issues over railroads and slavery.
Calls for a transcontinental railroad drew immense support. There was a large debate on where to place it, specifically where the eastern terminus should be.

- Northerners wanted Chicago which was in a free state.
- Southerners wanted St. Louis, Memphis or New Orleans which were all in slave states.

James Gadsden was sent to Mexico to negotiate the purchase of a strip of land to make a southern route more feasible.

- Further heightened sectional tensions.
The Kansas-Nebraska Controversy

- January 1854-Stephen A. Douglas introduced a bill to organize a new territory called Nebraska and open it to white Settlement. (Kansas-Nebraska Act)
  - Douglas inserted several provisions to appease southern democrats
    - Popular Sovereignty
    - Repealing of the Missouri Compromise
    - Division of the territory into Kansas and Nebraska (Kansas was less likely to be free)
- After much debate the bill was passed
  - unanimous support of the South and partial support from Northern democrats.
The Kansas-Nebraska Controversy pt. 2

- No bill in U.S. history cause such controversy
  - Leading to the destruction of the Whig party
  - Division of northern democrats
  - Created the Republican party
Bleeding Kansas

- Events in Kansas led to widespread political unrest in the North
  - 1885 elections --> registered voters from Missouri traveled to Kansas to vote
- Anti-Slavery Settlers elected delegates to write a constitution excluding slavery
- Pres. Pierce denounced them as traitors, threw full federal support behind the pro-slavery government.
Bleeding Kansas Pt.2

- Several months later a posse of Missourians travelled to Lawrence, Kansas to arrest anti-slavery leaders and destroyed the town.

- **Pottawatomie Massacre**
  - John Brown and a band of abolitionists killed several pro-slavery settlers
    - led to more civil unrest in Kansas.
  - Guerrilla warfare was conducted by armed thugs (some more interested in material wealth than ideologies)

- “Bleeding Kansas” become a sign of the sectional controversy
In May 1856, Senator Charles Sumner gave a speech called, "The Crime Against Kansas"

- Preston Brooks brutally assaulted Sumner with a cane for insulting the South in his speech
- Sumner’s injuries were so severe that he was unable to return to the Senate for four years.
  - In the North, Sumner was viewed as a martyr,
  - In the South, Brooks became a hero too
Free Soil Ideology

- As the nation grew, each section became concerned with ensuring its own vision of America’s future
  - Northerners centered their beliefs on “free soil” and “free labor”
    - most believed slavery was more dangerous for whites than it was for blacks
  - the South was conspiring to replace northern capitalism with southern aristocracy.
  - This ideology was a large part of the newly formed Republican Party
    - To them democracy equaled capitalism
The Pro-slavery Argument

- Southerners argued that slavery was positive for various reasons
  - **Slaves** - Since working conditions were better than those of factory workers and they were genetically inferior to whites
  - **Southern Society** - it was the only way blacks and whites could live in peace
  - **The Whole Country** - the slavery based southern economy was vital for the entire nation
Buchanan and Depression

- **Election of 1856**
  - Democratic nominee - James Buchanan
  - Republican nominee - John C. Frémont
  - Know-Nothing/Whig nominee - Millard Fillmore
- Buchanan wins a narrow victory.
**The Dred Scott Decision**

- **Dred Scott** was a Missouri slave, however his owner took him to Wisconsin and Illinois where slavery was illegal.
  - He argued that his residence in free territory liberated him from slavery.
    - The original court sided with Scott, however the defendants filed an appeal, claiming Scott could not sue since he was property.
    - The court ruled that Scott was property, he couldn’t sue.
- the Missouri compromise was unconstitutional
- The decision caused joy in the South and anger in the North.
Deadlock over Kansas

- 1857-Lecompton, Kansas the pro-slavery government framed a constitution legalizing slavery, without giving voters a chance to reject it.
- The **Lecompton constitution** was submitted to voters and it was overwhelmingly rejected.
- Due to federal pressure, another vote would be held.
  - If approved - Kansas would be admitted into the Union.
  - If rejected - Statehood would be postponed.
- The constitution was rejected and Kansas would not join the union until 1961, as a free state.
The Emergence of Lincoln

• Due to the Sectional crisis, the 1858 Illinois senate election
  ○ Main issue was slavery
  ○ Abraham Lincoln (R) v. Stephen A. Douglas (D)
    ■ Douglas: Opposed all black rights and took no moral stance on slavery.
    ■ Lincoln: reflected the central view of his party (free soil) and believed slavery was morally wrong, was not an abolitionist

• Douglas won however failed to achieve his political goals.

• Lincoln lost but gained a notable following.
John Brown’s Raid

- 1859- John Brown, made plans to seize a Harpers Ferry military base and form a slave rebellion throughout all of the south.
  - His plan failed miserably and he surrendered to federal troops under the command of Robert E. Lee.
  - Brown and his followers were found guilty for treason
  - They were sentenced to death by hanging

- This event led to further division
  - Brown was seen as a martyr in the North and a criminal in the South,
  - Many southerners felt they were no longer safe in the Union.
The Election of Lincoln

- **Election of 1860**
  - Stephen Douglas (D) v. Abraham Lincoln (R)
    - Notable 3rd Party candidates: John Bell, John C. Breckinridge
  - Lincoln won the majority of the electoral votes

- After the election, many southern whites felt unrepresented in their government, and so the process of **secession** began for many southern states.
  - No party presented a candidate that the entire nation could support.
After the War of 1812, the “Era of Good Feelings occurred”

- Hoping to soothe sectional differences, by the 1850s, the efforts to calm differences were failing. Events like “Bleeding Kansas”, John Brown’s Raid, and the Dred Scott decision further drove tensions.

In 1860, Abraham Lincoln won the election with only 40% of the popular vote, as a result many Southerners began to prepare for secession.