## Sahana Sarangi

## History

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# Lecture 10: Slavery and Expansion

## Slavery's Nationwide Presence:

- Fix misnomer that slavery is only in the south
- Slavery was happening in north and south of US
- Not just southern phenomenon, spread through US before and after American Revolution
- Underpinning of southern agrarian economy
- Even in northern states, there is still economic dependence on slave labor (see lecture 7)

# Limiting Slavery's Expansion:

- Some efforts to limit slavery early on, despite slavery being embedded in constitution early on
- Northwest Ordinance, 1787 → from Articles of Confederation
  - o Sets up government for Northwest Ordinance (Midwest) region
  - Method for admitting states into the US
  - o Applies bill of rights to that region
  - o Forbids slavery in that territory
- Some states slowly begin to move away from slavery
  - $\circ$  Gradual emancipation  $\rightarrow$  ex. Have to be indentured for 24 years, then you are free
  - o Pass legislation to abolish slavery within that state
  - Some states didn't believe in slavery from the start (like puritans in Massachusetts)
- There are some steps before 1808 (gag rule)
  - o In 1800: Congress passes "Act prohibiting the importation of slaves"
  - o Makes it illegal to engage in international slave trade
  - Gives US government to right to confiscate any ship or ship cargo carrying enslaved people
  - o Doesn't come into effect until 1808 (because of gag rule)
    - Triggered automatically once this clause runs out
  - O Doesn't ban domestic slavery but bans international slave trade (slave owners start "breeding" their enslaved populations)

### Adding New states:

- Main issue between states: maintaining balance of power between slave states and free states
  - $\circ$  Free states are not necessarily 100% free  $\rightarrow$  just moving out of that direction
- "slave states" don't want to lose more power by adding more free states → lose power in congress
- "free states" don't want to lose more power by adding more "slave states" → lose power in congress and forced to accept slavery

# The Missouri Compromise:

- By 1818, there are 11 free and 11 slave states
- In 1818, Missouri asks to enter the US as a slave state → imbalance of free states/slave states
- Three defenses for Missouri's right to slavery:
  - Equal rights → If all states are supposed to have equal rights under constitution, can't impose laws on Missouri that weren't applied to other states (no special treatment/extra requirement)
  - o States' rights → Constitution allows states to create their own laws and rights, so why can't they make their own rights regarding slavery?
  - o Property rights → can't violate slave owners' property rights by saying they cannot own slaves
- Henry Clay comes up with Missouri Compromise
  - o Allows Missouri to enter as a slave states, but allows Maine to break off from Massachusetts and become a separate free states → balancing it out
  - o No future "slave states" north of latitude 36 degrees 30'
- Slavery is not just going away because of Missouri compromise → remember Nat Turner's Rebellion (see lecture 9):
  - o Southern states more defensive about slavery (more people are attacking it)
  - o Debates in congress are even hotter

## The Republic of Texas, 1836:

- Right on the heels of this, next big conversation: how to expand the country (specifically around Texas)
- Mexico gained independence from Spain → 1821
  - Norther half of their land is sparsely populated, Mexico wants to settle this territory (basically claim it)
  - Start inviting Anglo-Americans to come live there by offering them land (land grants)
    - There are two stipulations to this: Have to become Mexican citizens and have to convert to Catholicism
- A lot of these people took these offers and set up plantations with slavery
- In 1829  $\rightarrow$  Mexico outlawed slavery
  - o In the moment, Texans say they just want to ignore this law (gov. of Mexico much further south)
  - o Then, Mexican government pushes to enforce this
    - This causes Anglo-American revolt in 1836 because they want to keep their enslaved labor
    - Battle of Alamo → Mexican army wipes out Anglo-American army (they lose)
- US newspapers romanticize Battle of Alamo → these Anglo-Americans are heroes (say this is a religious martyrdom)
  - o Gives them US support (rallies them), then they win the Battle of San Jacinto later on
  - o This battle establishes Texas as an independent republic (1837)

#### Annexation of Texas:

- Texas wants to become annexed, or become a state in the US
  - Occurs at the end of Jackson's presidency (2<sup>nd</sup> term), he doesn't want to deal with this, so he says no
  - o Van Buren is in the middle of panic of 1837, so he says no
  - o Henry and Tyler don't want to cause US/Mexico war, so they say no
- People are arguing over whether Texas should be a free state/slave state
  - o Reheats debate over slavery again
- In 1836  $\rightarrow$  Congress passes another gag rule
  - o Congress is not allowed to consider any petitions against slavery
  - o Continues to be an issue up until 1844 election
    - Tyler goes to Democratic party and asks if he could run for president for them
      - They say no, he used to be Whig, got evicted
    - Democratic party picks Jackson protégé James K. Polk
      - He is a very big supporter of Manifest Destiny
      - Argues that Oregon and Texas belong to US → US should claim them
      - Polk wins election by a small margin
    - After winning, he wants to sign joint resolution with congress to annex
      Texas and make it a state → 1845 Joint Resolution
      - This only takes a simple majority to pass
      - They annex Texas as a "slave state" (after 8 years of argument over this)

# Expansionist president Polk, 1845-1849

- Polk is such an aggressive expansionist that he is not happy with just Texas, wants to expand US to northwest and Mexico
- He picks a fight with Britain over border of Oregon Territory, says it should be theirs → "54' 40 or Fight"
  - o This includes most of northwest Canada until Alaska
  - o Really pushing for this latitude line
- Polk wants Mexico more than Oregon territory → can't go to Britain and Mexico at the same time
  - o Decides he wants to fight Mexico more, so he signs Oregon treaty with Britain
- Oregon Treaty, 1846
  - Signs this treaty with Britain (as he cannot fight both) and establishes border at the top of Washington State
  - o Instead of the 54<sup>th</sup> parallel, he gets until 49<sup>th</sup> parallel
    - The reason he can do this is because of Democratic support in Congress
  - o Turns his attention to Mexico, as he now has peace with Britain

#### Mexican-American War Causes:

- He believes US deserves Mexico
- Sends Navy to San Francisco to seize ports in that area → 1846

- Sends John C. Fremont to CA to stir up trouble
  - o Short lived CA republic (declared CA independent for a short period of time)
- Polk offers Mexico → to buy CA and NM
  - o Mexican government not even listening (like half their country)
- Nothing is working, so he sends US soldiers into disputed border land between Mexico and Texas to pick a fight
  - O Claims Mexico started it, but he had a draft of the Declaration of War before it even started (Polk attacks first)
  - o Blames Mexico and has overwhelming support from Congress and public as well (they also believe in Manifest Destiny)

#### Mexican-American War:

- Characterized by US military superiority (Mexican gov only 20 years old)
  - o Mainly fighting in California and at the border
- War doesn't stay very popular for long
  - o Very bloody (Mexico was very fiercely fighting for their independence) → largest percentage of US casualties
  - O Just seems like Polk's land grab for slavery (is this really good for the US, or are you just trying to sneak more slave states into the country?)
    - Leads to huge amounts of desertions of army and Anti-War activism
- This helps Whigs take over congress in November 1846 midterms → people not very happy with Democratic policies at this point of time
- Sends a signal to Polk to get this war over with quickly
  - Sends general Winfield Scott to the port city of Veracruz then marches into Mexico city
  - o By 1847, Scott captures Mexico city
  - Now Mexico is forced to make peace

#### Mexico signs Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848:

- Mexico forced to make peace, as they no longer have a capital
- End of Mexican-American war, highly debated within US
- Big debate: how much of Mexico to take
  - o Some people say they should take all of Mexico
  - o Other people say this is a dark-skinned Catholic, Spanish-speaking population → do they want to assimilate all these people into the US?
  - o They decide to take the sparsely populated northern region of Mexico
    - Minimum people, maximum land
- Big juxtaposition between Nativism + White supremacy vs. Manifest Destiny
  - o Did not take all the land that they could (manifest destiny) because of racism
  - o "Our is a government of the white man," which should never "welcome into the Union any but Caucasian race." -John C. Calhoun

#### Wilmot Proviso, 1846:

- If they take Mexico's land, what happens with slavery in that land?
- Division in the Democratic party

- o Wilmot Proviso brought up by anti-slavery Democrats → argue that they should ban slavery from territories gained in Mexican-American war
- Other side: expansionist Democrats and pro-slavery Whigs don't want to ban slavery
- o Pro: anti-slavery Democrats, Anti: expansionist Democrats, pro-slavery Whigs
- o Trends of slavery being talked about when more land is annexed
- O Doesn't go into effect, slavery is not abolished, but a debate produced by the war

#### 1848 Election:

- Polk declines to run again, probably because he knew he was ill (died couple months later)
- War ends 1848
- Suddenly have new party on the scene: Free Soil Party
  - o Platform is anti-slavery, but not because they believe in equality for Black people, but because it is a threat to republic and small farmers who can't afford slavery
  - o This party gets no electoral votes
- Gen. Zachary Taylor → a Whig, also general in Mexican-American war
  - o Is a slave owner but didn't support expansion of slavery
  - o Helps him win the election
  - Appealing president because he owns slaves (semi-support basically) → appeals to both parties
    - He won't end slavery, but won't expand either
  - O Dies in office in 1850 (gets half a term)
  - VP Millard Filmore becomes president → because Tyler set up that precedent (this is not a law yet)

#### California Gold Rush:

- Same year Taylor was elected president, people discovered gold at Sutter's Mill outside Sacramento, CA
- As news traveled, thousands of mostly men (everywhere) flooded into CA republic
  - o Called 49ers, as 1849 brought the largest waves of them
- Between 1838-1854 → 300k young men from east US flooded into CA and thousands of others came from
  - o Asia, Australia, Latin America
  - o Including first major groups of Chinese immigrants fleeing poverty + civil war in China
- Large influx of gold brings major boost to US economy
  - o Inspires construction of transcontinental railroads
  - Telegraph lines
  - o Things connecting coast to coast → people coming to CA, don't have easy way to get from place to place
- Expands US trade prospects in Asia
- Spread of mining leads to massive amounts of environmental damage
  - Deforestation, erosion, pollution, things that come with widespread mining → damages CA countryside

#### Racial Conflict and the Gold Rush:

- Massive influx of young white men from US increased racial tensions
  - o Already high due to US annexation of CA
  - o Led to exploitation of non-white populations
- Miners who were native US-born stole + assaulted foreign born competitors
  - o everyone wants gold, not a lot of law to keep them from doing this
- Indigenous people forced out of any area that gold is found
  - o Killed if they resisted
  - o In addition to being kicked out of homes → their homes and lands are destroyed by massive environmental impacts, massive destruction of indigenous land
- Californios → Spanish speaking residents already in CA (citizens of MX who stayed when treaty of Guadalupe gave half of MX to US)
  - o Faced with massive confiscations of their land
- Chinese especially looked down upon
  - o White miners would run them off their claims (place where they mined)
  - Violently attacked them
- After California statehood in 1850 → CA legislature passed foreign miner tax
  - Required miners who are not US citizens to pay \$20 per month (\$750 today) for the right to mine in the state
  - Tax only really collected from Chinese and Latin American miners, not Euro.
    Miners
  - o Pushes lots out of mining be they can't afford it
    - For Chinese → pushes them into other jobs like cooking and laundry
    - Seen as women's work, but provided steady source of income
    - Provided stability in establishing first long lasting Chinese communities in US

# The Compromise of 1850:

- Because of gold rush, CA is rapidly settled
- Gold found in 1848, people rush in 1849, asking for CA statehood by 1850
- Passed state constitution banning slavery, wanted to be added as free state
  - o AGAIN. LIKE USUAL. Adding another state makes giant arg. over slavery
- Request for CA statehood makes four major stances about what people should do about slavery → all in conflict, passionate debates:
  - o One was by John C. Calhoun → wanted dual presidency
    - President for north and president for south
    - Congress won't have any power to regulate slavery
  - Moderate slave owners and southerners → supported extending Missouri Compromise line (36 30, southern border of Missouri, extending all the way to the Pacific)
  - Others supported idea of squatter sovereignty
    - Allowing whatever settlers in the territory to decide status of slavery by voting → popular sovereignty
  - o Strongest anti-slavery advocates → refused to consider allowing slavery in any of new territories whatsoever
- Four strong stances → US worried about war breaking out

- o Civil war not until another 11 years, but concerned about war
- Congress avoids war by passing 5 laws (compromise of 1850):
  - Creates Utah and New Mexico territories and says they will rely on popular sovereignty to decide slavery
  - o Admits CA as a free state
  - o Ended slave trade (but not slavery) in DC
  - o Gives NM a little bit of land it was disputing with TX
  - o Passed the Fugitive Slave Act

# Fugitive Slave Act, 1850:

- Part of compromise of 1850
- Three major components that make it controversial:
  - o Federal gov. is required to support slave catchers who are hunting down escaped enslaved people (law enforcement, gov. officials)
  - US citizens required by law to turn in escaped slaves, can be accused of breaking law if they don't
  - o Establishes that enslaved people don't have right to trial by jury
- Many Black people, both enslaved and free, think this is dangerous and flee to Canada
  - For people escaping slavery in the south → now have to flee all the way to Canada, not just Massachusetts
- Abolitionists upset
  - Often broke the law to help enslaved people escape
  - o Some are outraged enough they lean towards violence
    - They should just kill slave catchers because they are evil

#### Election of 1852:

- Free Soil Party still running on anti-slavery platform, Whig party massively divided (can't agree over slavery), this means Democrats win the presidency again
- Electing Franklin Pierce as 14<sup>th</sup> president
  - Widespread win, as Whigs are so divided (pro slavery and anti slavery)

### Franklin Pierce, 1853 – 1857:

- Pro-slavery, pro-expansionist Democrat
- Authorizes Gadsden Purchase from Mexico
  - o Brings a little piece of land into Arizona and NM
- Huge supporter of filibustering to gain control of Latin American countries (like Cuba)
- Wants to expand US economic influence in Asia
  - o Focuses on forcing Japan (closed to most foreigners for about 200 years) to sign a trade treaty to appease northern businesses
  - July 1853 → pierce orders US Naval commodore Matthew Perry to sail into Tokyo bay
    - Perry orders Japanese to open harbor to US trade ships and threatens to bombard Tokyo with cannon fire if they don't → trade with US, or we destroy capital
    - Japanese don't want capital to be destroyed, so they are fine with this

 Huge win for US businesses and US foreign "diplomacy" but also massively increases Japanese resentment

## Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854:

- Major conflict over slavery in Pierce's presidency
- Prior to 1854, great plains had been set aside as Native American Reserve
  - o Suddenly, businessmen looking at this and wanting that land for settlement
  - Maybe build transcontinental railroad
- Create huge free territory in the process
  - O Slave supporters want to extend slavery westward, so they don't like this idea at all
- Another compromise: Kansas-Nebraska act → has two parts
  - o Will create two territories instead of one big free one: Kansas and Nebraska → decided by popular sovereignty
  - Repeals Missouri compromise, as they are north of the southern border of Missouri
- Barely passed, leads to massive outbreak of violence that becomes known as Bleeding Kansas

# Bleeding Kansas, 1854-56:

- Once they say popular sovereignty will decide slavery in these states, settlers rush to Kansas and Nebraska to influence elections + vote on slavery
- Some slavery supporters encourage residents of other sates to cross into the territories, vote, then go back home (very very illegal)
- This starts a Guerilla war between abolitionists and pro slavery groups that is very violent
  - Over 200 people dying just to decide whether these states will have slavery or not
- Caused major changes in political sphere by helping create new Republican party
  - o First, radicalizes anti-slavery Whigs
    - Whig party disintegrates
  - Also splits Democratic party → those who oppose KN act say they are done with Democratic party (become republican party)
- Republican party is formed out of former Whigs (who no longer have a party), Free Soilers, anti-slavery democrats, and abolitionists
  - Only thing they actually have in common is that they are against slavery (nothing else)

#### Election of 1856:

- Newly formed republican party supports John C Fremont
- Other candidate is democrat James Buchanan
- Another candidate is former president Millard Filmore who runs for no nothing party (Native American party)
- Buchanan wins the election, becomes 15<sup>th</sup> president of US → reiterates how much issue of slavery is shaping politics
- Because all anti-slavery democrats quit democratic party, democrats are officially now the party of slavery
  - o South and states in support of slavery solidly support Buchanan

- o Helps him become president
- Super pro-slavery, super pro expansionist
  - O So much so that he tried multiple times to buy/annex Cuba to make it into another slave state

# Dred Scott v. Sanford, 1857:

- On the heels of this election and early in Buchanan's presidency, this SC case addresses question of whether Congress has constitutional authority to decide anything about slavery
- Enslaved person Dred Scott + wife sued for freedom
  - On the basis that his owner had moved him to a free state
  - o Since the state was free, Scott argued he should be free
- SC decides against Scott in 7-2 decision (not close), say no for a couple of reasons:
  - o People of African descent aren't citizens at all
  - Would violate fifth amendment (taking property without due process) → can't take property away from somebody just because they move
  - o Aren't any federal laws against slavery
  - o Only states can make laws about slavery, so it isn't in SC's hand
- Super controversial, supporters of slavery are relieved
  - Abolitionists + states without slavery are angered
    - as this allowed slavery to expand anywhere so long as the enslaved people were originally brought from a state where slavery was legal
    - takes citizenship away from enslaved people and any free black person (any person of African descent is not a citizen)
- in some cases, now seen as one of the worst SC decisions ever
- leads us up to the years right before the outbreak of the civil war