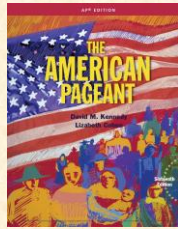


Chapter 17

Renewing the Sectional Struggle, 1848–1854

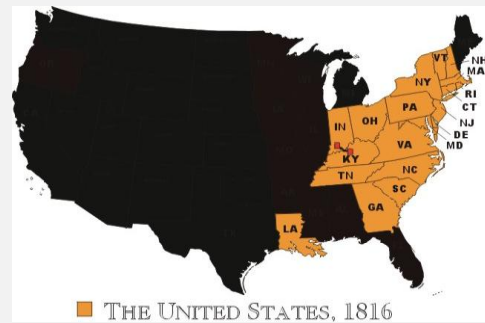


The 1850s: Road to Secession

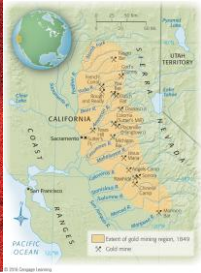
By: Ms. Susan M. Pajer
 Horace Greeley HS Chappaqua, NY
 Additions by M. Lynde
 Currituck County High School - Beaco, NC
 More additions by Darrell Duncan
 Merrol Hyde Magnet School - Hendersonville, TN

Let's Review How America Grows Maps of the US

Political maps – 1816-1864



III. "Californy Gold"



- Discovery of gold near Sutter's Mill, California, early in 1848, (see Map 18.1):
 - **Most reliable profits made by those who mined the miners:**
 - Charged outrageous rates for laundry & other services
 - "Forty-niners" chased dream of gold, most notably to Australia in 1851

GOLD! At Sutter's Mill, 1848



John A. Sutter

California Gold Rush, 1849



49er's



Modern Day Connection

III. "Californy Gold" (cont.)

- **California gold rush:**
 - Attracted tens of thousands of people
 - High proportion of newcomers were lawless men, accompanied or followed by virtueless women
 - Crime inevitably resulted
 - Robbery, claim jumping, & murder most commonplace

The miners came in '49
The whores in '51
And when they got together
They produced the Native Son



p384

III. "Californy Gold" (cont.)

- Majority of Californians were decent, law-abiding citizens; needed protection:
 - Struggled to erect adequate state government
 - Encouraged by President Taylor, they drafted a constitution in 1849 that excluded slavery
 - Then appealed to Congress for admission, bypassing usual territorial stage
 - Would California be straw that broke back of the Union?

Two Views of San Francisco, Early 1850s



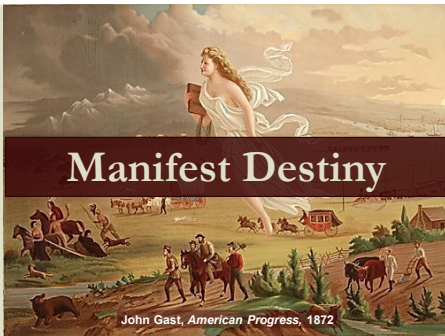
- By 1860, almost 300,000 people had traveled the Oregon & California Trails to the Pacific coast.



The Mexican War and the Compromise of 1850



Manifest Destiny



1845



by a joint resolution of Congress

DISPUTED
TERRITORY

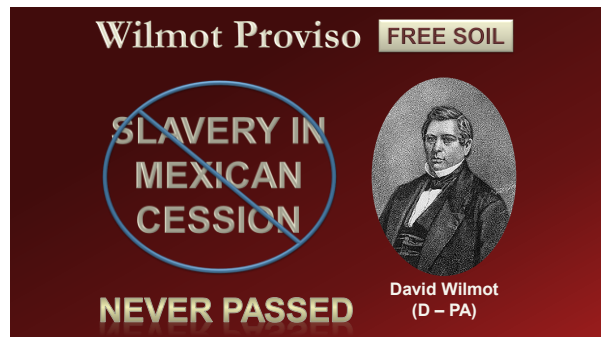


The "Bear Flag" Republic

June 14-July 9, 1846



CALIFORNIA REPUBLIC



The Popular Sovereignty Panacea 1848

- Post Mexican War & Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
 - North anti-slaverites backed Wilmot Proviso
 - South worried about slavery in western areas
 - Whig and Democratic Parties split along North South line

I. The Popular Sovereignty Panacea

- Democrats in 1848:
 - Polk pledged himself to a single term
 - National Convention turned to aging leader General Lewis Cass
 - Platform silent on burning issue of slavery
 - Cass's views were well known because he was reputed father of **popular sovereignty**

I. The Popular Sovereignty Panacea (cont.)

- **Popular sovereignty**—
 - doctrine stated the sovereign people of a territory, under general principle of the Constitution, should themselves determine status of slavery
- Had persuasive appeal:
 - Public liked it because it accorded with democratic tradition of self-determination

I. Popular Sovereignty Panacea (cont.)

- Politicians liked it because it seemed a comfortable compromise between:
 - Free-soilers' bid to ban slavery in territories
 - Southern demands that Congress protect slavery in territories
- Popular sovereignty tossed slavery problem to people in various territories
- Advocates hoped to dissolve slavery from a national issue to a series of local issues
- Yet, popular sovereignty had one fatal defect:
 - Might spread blight of slavery

II. Political Triumphs for General Taylor

- **Whigs**
 - **Nominated Zachary Taylor, “Hero of Buena Vista”**
- Platform:
 - Dodged all troublesome issues
 - Extolled virtues of their candidate
 - He would not commit himself on issue of slavery's extension

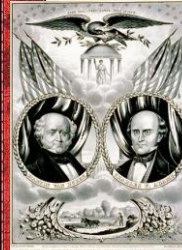
II. Political Triumphs for General Taylor (cont.)

- **Free Soil party:**
 - Organized by ardent antislavery Northerners
 - Came out for Wilmot Proviso and against slavery in territories
 - Broadened appeal by advocating:
 - Federal aid for internal improvement
 - Free government homesteads for settlers
 - Attracted industrialists opposed to Polk's reduction of protective tariffs

II. Political Triumphs for General Taylor (cont.)

- Appealed to Democrats resentful of Polk's settling for part of Oregon, while insisting on all of Texas
- Harbored many northerners whose hatred was not directed at slavery as much as at African Americans:
 - Gagged at prospect of sharing new territories with blacks
- Contained some "Conscience Whigs" who condemned slavery on moral grounds

II. Political Triumphs for General Taylor (cont.)



Past President and Son/Grandson of a past President

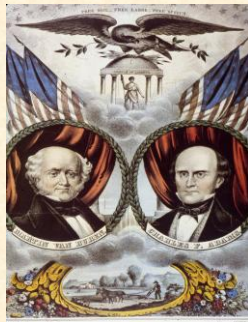
- Free soilers chose Van Buren
- Free-Soilers' party platform:**
 - Condemned slavery not so much for enslaving blacks but for destroying chances of free whites to rise up from wage-earning dependence to self-employment
 - Argued that only with free soil in West could American commitment to upward mobility continue to flourish
 - First party organized around issue of slavery and confined to single section
 - Foreshadowed emergence of Republicans

Free Soil Party

Free Soil!
Free Speech!
Free Labor!
Free Men!

- "Barnburners"—discontented northern Democrats.
- Anti-slave members of the Liberty and Whig Parties.
- Opposition to the extension of slavery in the new territories!

WHY?

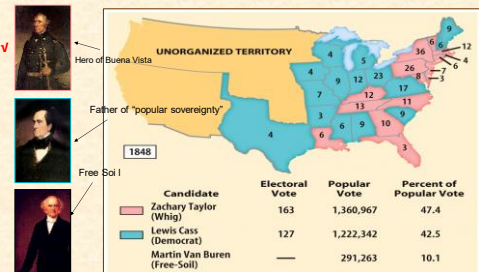


Free Soilers were not abolitionists because they did not think Congress had the power to end slavery; They were against the *expansion* of slavery into the West

II. Political Triumphs for General Taylor (cont.)

- Taylor's wartime popularity:
 - 1,360,967 popular and 163 electoral votes
- Cass:
 - 1,222,342 popular and 127 electoral votes
- Van Buren
 - 291,263 ballots and diverted Democratic strength from Cass in critical state of New York

The 1848 Presidential Election Results



Zachary Taylor
(W-LA)
Twelfth President of the U.S.
1849-1850

"Old Rough and Ready"
Mexican War Hero
Died in Office

*Last Southerner elected
president until Woodrow
Wilson in 1912*

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/z12.html>




Millard Fillmore
(W-NY)
Thirteenth President of the U.S.
1850-1853

Signed the
Compromise of 1850

Last Whig President

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/mf13.html>



Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad



Problems of Sectional Balance in 1850

- California statehood.
- Southern "fire-eaters" threatening secession.
- Underground RR & fugitive slave issues:
 - Personal liberty laws



South in 1850

SOUTH HAPPY

- Zachary Taylor as president
- Majority on Supreme Court
- Outnumbered in the House
- Equal in the Senate
- Cotton expanding- profits high

BUT SAD BECAUSE...

- 15 free and 15 slave states
- California admission is a problem
- New Mexico and Utah want admission as free state
- Texas claims part of New Mexico
- Northerners want to end slavery in Washington DC
- Runaway slaves assisted by Underground RR



V. Twilight of the Senatorial Giants

- Congressional catastrophe in 1850:
 - Free-soil California wanted admission
 - “Fire-eaters” in South threatened secession
 - Planned to meet in Nashville, Tenn. to withdraw from Union
 - “Immortal trio”—Clay, Calhoun, & Webster—met in Congress for last time

Twilight of the Senatorial Giants

The Immortal Trio



Henry Clay



John C. Calhoun



Daniel Webster

V. Twilight of the Senatorial Giants (cont.)

- **Henry Clay (73 years old)** played critical role:
 - “Great Compromiser”—replayed role he played in Missouri and in nullification
 - Urged both North & South to make concessions
 - North partially yield by enacting more feasible fugitive-slave law

V. Twilight of the Senatorial Giants (cont.)

- **Senator John C. Calhoun (88 years old and dying of tuberculosis): “Great Nullifier”:**
 - Approved Clay’s proposed concessions
 - Rejected them as not providing adequate safe-guards for southern rights
 - Impassioned plea to leave slavery alone, return runaway slaves, give South its rights as minority, and restore political balance
 - Wanted to elect two presidents; one from North and one from South, each wielding a veto

V. Twilight of the Senatorial Giants (cont.)

- **Daniel Webster (86 years old):**
 - Upheld Clay’s compromise measures
 - Urged all reasonable concessions to South, including new fugitive-slave law with teeth
 - As for slavery in new territories, he asked, why legislate when area not conducive to plantations
 - His conclusion: only solutions were compromise, concession, and reasonableness

V. Twilight of the Senatorial Giants (cont.)

- Webster’s famed **Seventh of March speech** (1850) was his finest:
 - Visibly strengthened Union sentiment
 - Pleaded banking and commercial centers of North—stood to lose millions by secession
 - Free-Soilers and abolitionists called him a traitor, worthy of bracketing with Benedict Arnold
 - Reproaches most unfair; Webster regarded slavery as evil, but disunion as worse

Twilight of the Senatorial Giants

The Immortal Trio



Henry Clay

John C. Calhoun

Daniel Webster

The "Great Triumvirate"

of the Antebellum Senate



WEBSTER

CLAY

CALHOUN

Known as the "immortal trio," Henry Clay, John Calhoun, and Daniel Webster

Henry Clay, the "**Great Pacificator**," proposed a series of compromises. He suggested that the North enact a stricter fugitive-slave law.

John Calhoun, the "**Great Nullifier**," proposed to leave slavery alone, return runaway slaves, give the South its rights as a minority, and restore the political balance.

Twilight of the Senatorial Giants

Henry Clay



- Clay's last great compromise. Aided by Senator Stephen Douglas (Illinois)

John C. Calhoun



- John C. Calhoun's championed the South in his last great speech (let's elect 2 presidents!)

Daniel Webster



- Uphold Clay's measures - urged concessions like the Fugitive Slave Law. Why worry because the good Lord had decreed through geography, and climate that slavery won't last in new Mexican territories (bankers of North liked this as they won't lose investments in South)

Twilight of the Senatorial Giants



Daniel Webster

Slavery is evil but disunion is a worse evil.

He *despised* abolitionists and never joined their ranks

Deadlock and Danger on Capitol Hill

Young Guard of North speaks in the Senate
more interested in purging and purifying the nation than patching it up and preserving it

- Wm. Seward - strongly antislavery - appeal to a "higher law" than the Constitution

I'm with Seward -
I'm vetoing any
Compromise!



President Zach. Taylor

http://www.senate.gov/legislative/zachary_taylor.htm

And then

- Taylor dies
- Millard Fillmore - (lawyer from NY) takes over



http://members.tripod.com/~CARBART/Zachary_Taylor.jpg

Millard Fillmore

- Fillmore, president due to Zachary Taylor's death, supported the Compromise of 1850 and saw it as the "final settlement" of the question of slavery



Compromise of 1850

What are the concessions to both sides?



The "Great Triumvirate" of the Antebellum Senate



WEBSTER



CLAY

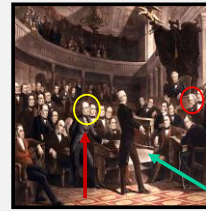


CALHOUN

The Great Compromiser at Work one last time



COMPROMISE OF 1850



Henry Clay
•The Great Compromiser, with John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster and Stephen Douglas, propose this compromise.

Most intense debate in U.S. History

John C. Calhoun

•North should honor the Constitution and enforce the Fugitive Slave Law

•South wanted California

•threatened to secede from U.S.

•U.S. should have two Presidents—one from the North and one for the South

Daniel Webster

•Secession is impractical & impossible

•How would we split the land?

•The military?

•Compromise at all cost

•Preserve the Union

Comp of 1850



What is going to happen when these 2nd Generation of "forefathers" is gone?

Will there be a 3rd Generation?

If so WHO?

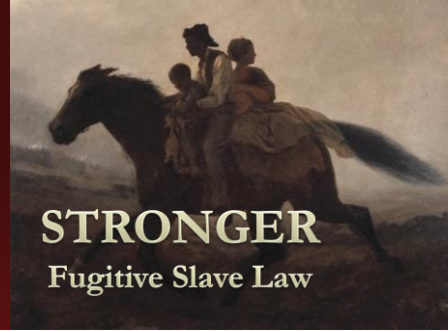
The Compromise of 1850

5 PROVISIONS

Admit
CALIFORNIA
as a
FREE STATE



STRONGER
Fugitive Slave Law



POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

Let *settlers* decide
the status of slavery in
the Mexican Cession.

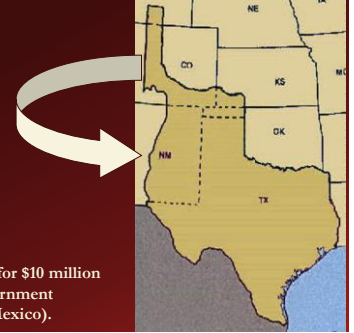
The territories of New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, and Utah would be organized without mention of slavery. (The decision would be made by the territories' inhabitants, when they applied for statehood.)



CASH
for Land



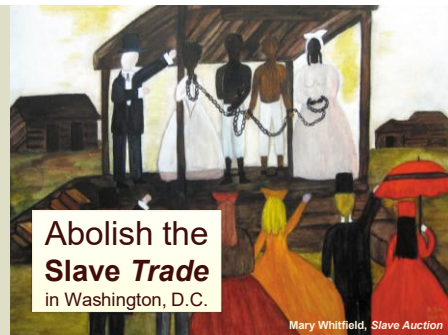
Texas ceded land in return for \$10 million
from the federal government
(to pay war debt to Mexico).



© 2010 Cengage Learning

Map 18-2 p385

Abolish the
Slave Trade
in Washington, D.C.



Mary Whitfield, *Slave Auction*

The Compromise of 1850

For the North:

1. Admit California as a Free State

For the South:

2. **STRONGER** Fugitive Slave Law

The New Mexico Territory:

3. Popular Sovereignty in Mexican Cession
4. Federal assumption of Texas debt / Texas cedes western land

Slavery in Washington, DC:

5. Abolish Slave Trade in Washington, D.C.



Sen. Stephen A. Douglas (D-IL)

Designed the Compromise
although Clay took credit

Big Bill



Separate Bills

Each with different majorities to pass



Lincoln-Douglas
Debate Memorial



BEFORE

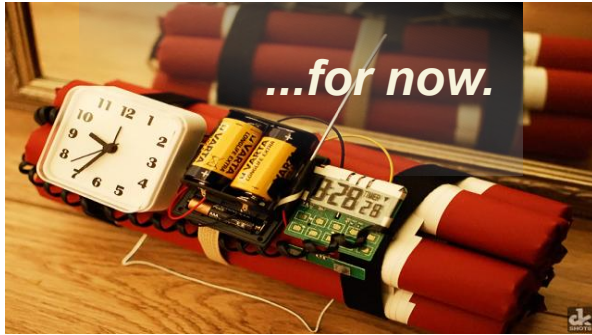


AFTER

Temporary Peace ?

- Who got the best deal?
- Fugitive Slave Law





IV. Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad

- South in 1850 was relatively well-off:
 - National leadership: Taylor in White House
 - Had a majority in cabinet and on Supreme Court
 - Cotton fields expanding
 - Cotton prices profitably high
 - Few believed slavery seriously threatened in fifteen states
- South deeply worried by ever-tipping political balance: 15 slave states & 15 free states

IV. Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad (cont.)

- Admission of California would destroy delicate equilibrium in Senate
- Potential slave territory under American flag running short
- Already agitation in territories of New Mexico & Utah for admission as nonslave states
- California might establish a precedent

IV. Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad (cont.)

- Texas had additional grievances:
 - Huge area east of Rio Grande and north of forty-second parallel
 - Embraced half of present-day New Mexico (see Map 18.2)
 - Federal government proposed to detach area from Texas, but Texans threatened violence

IV. Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad (cont.)

- Southerners:
 - Angered by agitation in North for abolition of slavery in District of Columbia
 - Alarmed by prospect of 10-mile oasis of free soil between slaveholding Maryland & slaveholding Virginia
 - More disagreeable to South was loss of runaway slaves:
 - Assisted by **Underground Railroad**
 - Amazing conductor: Harriet Tubman



IV. Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad (cont.)

- 1850: southerners demanded more stringent fugitive-slave law:
 - 1793 law inadequate to cope with runaways
 - Abolitionists who ran Underground Railroad did not profit from their lawlessness
 - Slave owners were losers
 - 1,000 runaways a year out of some four million slaves
 - Masters argued Constitution protected slavery

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

CAUTION!!
COLORED PEOPLE
OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,
 You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and
 advised, to avoid conversing with the
Watchmen and Police Officers
of Boston,
 For dare the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR &
ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as
KIDNAPPERS
AND
Slave Catchers,
 And they have already been actually employed in
 KIDNAPPING, CAPTURING, AND SELLING
 SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY,
 and the Welfare of the Fugitive among you, stand
 firm in every possible manner, to no man's
 on the track, of the most unfortunate of your race.
 Keep a Sharp Look Out for
KIDNAPPERS, and have
TOP EYE open.
 APRIL 24, 1850.

ABOLITIONISTS RESPOND

- Denounced by Abolitionists
- Harriet Beecher Stowe's, [Uncle Tom's Cabin](#) is published
- Abolitionists refuse to enforce the law
- [Underground Railroad](#) becomes more active

FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT

the Fugitive Slave Act was the most controversial part of the Compromise of 1850

It required citizens to assist in the recovery of fugitive slaves.

It denied a fugitive's right to a jury trial. (Cases would instead be handled by special commissioners -- commissioners who would be paid \$5 if an alleged fugitive were released and \$10 if he or she were sent away with the claimant.)

The act called for changes in filing for a claim, making the process easier for slaveowners.

Also, according to the act, there would be more federal officials responsible for enforcing the law.

Effects of Fugitive Slave Act

- For slaves attempting to build lives in the North, the new law was disaster.
 - Many left their homes and fled to Canada.
 - During the next ten years, an estimated 20,000 blacks moved to the neighboring country.
 - For Harriet Jacobs, a fugitive living in New York, passage of the law was "the beginning of a reign of terror to the colored population." She stayed put, even after learning that slave catchers were hired to track her down.
 - Anthony Burns, a fugitive living in Boston, was one of many who were captured and returned to slavery.
 - Free blacks, too, were captured and sent to the South. With no legal right to plead their cases, they were completely defenseless.

FURTHER EFFECTS. . .

- Passage of the Fugitive Slave Act made abolitionists all the more resolved to put an end to slavery.
- The Underground Railroad became more active, reaching its peak between 1850 and 1860.
- The act also brought the subject of slavery before the nation.
 - Many who had previously been ambivalent about slavery now took a definitive stance against the institution.

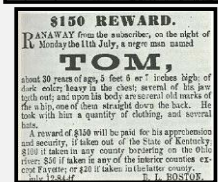
FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

RESPONSE BY ABOLITIONISTS

"An immoral law makes it a man's duty to break it, at every hazard. For virtue is the very self of every man. It is therefore a principle of law that an immoral contract is void, and that an immoral statute is void. The Fugitive Slave Law is a statute which enacts the crime of kidnapping, a crime on one footing with arson and murder. A man's right to liberty is as inalienable as his right to life....." **Ralph Waldo Emerson**

"3 millions of the American people are crushed under the American Union! The government gives them no protection – the government is their enemy, the government keeps them in chains! The Union which grinds them to the dust rests upon us, and with we will struggle to overthrow it! The Constitution which subjects them to hopeless bondage is one that we cannot swear to support. Our motto is, 'No Union with Slaveholders'....We separate from them, to clear our skirts of innocent blood....and to hasten the downfall of slavery in America, and throughout the world!" **William Lloyd Garrison**

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW



SOUTHERNERS RESPOND

- Southerners threatened secession and war
- Believed it should be enforced because the Constitution protects property and Federal law is over State law.
- 5th Amendment
- Supremacy Clause

Was the Compromise a success?

- The Compromise of 1850 accomplished what it set out to do – it kept the nation united – but the solution was only temporary. Over the following decade the country's citizens became further divided over the issue of slavery. The rift would continue to grow until the nation itself divided.



Temporary Peace

Va slave captured in Boston - under heavy armed guard removed and returned to the South

"Bostonian went to bed one night an old fashioned, conservative, Compromise Union Whigs and waked up stark mad Abolitionists"

Personal Liberty Laws

Why Not Begin The Civil War in the 1850s?

South - happy to since Northerners not following laws (Fugitive) and promises

North - time to expand and create more wealth and population

Time for moral strength of the North to build

Defeat and Doom for the Whigs UPCOMING ELECTION OF 1852

GET OUT YOUR POLITICAL PARTY CHARTS

- **Democrats** - Franklin Pierce- enemyless, inconspicuous, prosouthern northerner. Endorse Compromise 1850 and Fugitive Slave Law
- **Whigs** - didn't pick Webster or Fillmore. Instead went with military guy- Gen Winfield Scott. OK with Compromise of 1850
- Whigs split and begin to die in this election.
- **End of national parties and rise of purely sectional parties.**
- **RIP Whig Party - kept Union together through electoral strength in South and through leaders like Webster and Clay**

1852 Presidential Election



✓ Franklin Pierce
Democrat

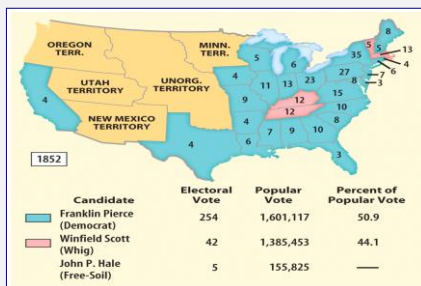


Gen. Winfield Scott
Whig



John Parker Hale
Free Soil

1852 Election Results



IX. Defeat and Doom for the Whigs

- 1852 Democratic nominating convention in Baltimore:
 - Nominated “dark horse”—Franklin Pierce, from New Hampshire
 - Weak and indecisive figure
 - War injuries caused him to be known as “Fainting General”
 - Enemyless because he was inconspicuous
 - A prosouthern northerner, he was acceptable to slavery wing of Democratic Party



IX. Defeat and Doom for the Whigs (cont.)

- Platform revived commitment to territorial expansion as pursued by President Polk
- Emphatically endorsed Compromise of 1850, incl. Fugitive Slave Law
- Whigs convened in Baltimore:
 - Having won in past with war heroes, they turned to “Old Fuss and Feathers” Winfield Scott
 - Ablest American general of his generation

IX. Defeat and Doom for the Whigs (cont.)

- Whig platform praised Compromise of 1850
- Campaign degenerated into personal attacks
- Whig party hopelessly split:
 - Antislavery Whigs in North accepted Scott as nominee but deplored his platform—which endorsed Fugitive Slave Law
 - Southern Whigs doubted Scott's loyalty to Compromise of 1850 and Fugitive Slave Law—accepted his platform but rejected candidate

IX. Defeat and Doom for the Whigs (cont.)

- General Scott, victorious on battlefield, met defeat at ballot box.
- Free-soil John Hale took northern Whig votes from Scott
- Hale took 5% of popular vote
- Pierce won with 254 electoral vote to 42;
 - Popular count was closer: 1,601,117 to 1,385,453
- Election of 1852's frightening significance:
 - Marked effective end of Whig party

IX. Defeat and Doom for the Whigs (cont.)

- Whigs' complete death:
 - Augured eclipse of *national* parties and rise of purely *sectional* political alignments
 - Won two presidential elections (1840, 1848) with war heroes
- Greatest contribution was to help uphold ideal of Union through:
 - Electoral strength in South
 - Eloquence of leaders Clay & Webster



Franklin Pierce

Expansionist Young America in the 1850s

Manifest Destiny

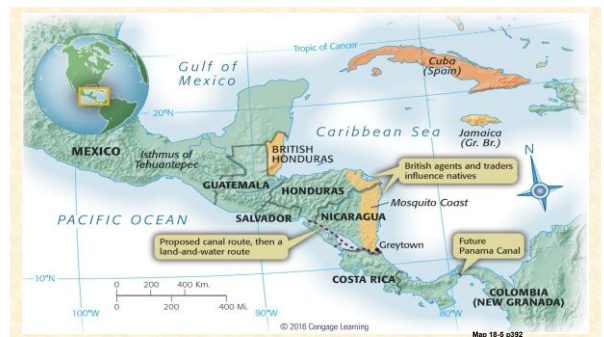
- Nicaragua - William Walker
- British challenged Monroe Doctrine



William Walker

X. Expansionist Stirrings South of the Border

- Spirit of Manifest Destiny revived:
 - A continuous Atlantic-to-Pacific transportation route would effectively sever two Americas (see Map 18.5)
 - British encroachment in area drove governments of United States & New Granada to conclude treaty in 1848
 - Guaranteed American right of transit across isthmus in return for Washington's pledge to maintain "perfect neutrality" on route—"free transit of traffic might not be interrupted"



X. Expansionist Stirrings South of the Border (cont.)

- Agreement led to:
 - Theodore Roosevelt's assertion of American control of Panama Canal in 1903
 - Led to construction of first "transcontinental" railroad
- **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** (1850) stipulated neither U.S.A. nor Britain would fortify or seek executive control over any future isthmian waterway
 - (later rescinded by Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1910; see Chap 27).

X. Expansionist Stirrings South of the Border (cont.)

- Southern "slavocrats" looked to Central America:
 - Adventurer, William Walker, tried repeatedly to grab control of Nicaragua
 - Installed himself president in July 1856 and promptly legalized slavery
 - Coalition of Central American nations formed alliance to overthrow him
 - President Pierce withdrew diplomatic recognition
 - Walker died before Honduran firing squad in 1860



William Walker was born in Nashville, Tennessee,



- Walker then went to Nicaragua in 1855 as leader of a mercenary army employed by the Nicaraguan Democratic Party in its civil war against the Legitimists. He took control of the Nicaraguan government and in July 1856 set himself up as the country's president.



Walker's regime was recognized as the legitimate government of Nicaragua by US President Franklin Pierce, and it initially enjoyed the support of some important sectors within Nicaraguan society. However, Walker antagonized the powerful Wall Street tycoon Cornelius Vanderbilt by expropriating Vanderbilt's Accessory Transit Company, which operated one of the main routes for the transport of passengers going from New York City to San Francisco. The British Empire saw Walker as a threat to its interests in the possible construction of a Nicaragua Canal. As ruler of Nicaragua, Walker re-legalized slavery, although this measure was never enforced, and threatened the independence of neighboring Central American republics. A military coalition led by Costa Rica defeated Walker and forced him to resign the presidency of Nicaragua on May 1, 1857.

CUBA -

Sugar mills

Ostend Manifesto - \$120 million offered and if Spain refuses then US would be justified in taking Cuba (Monroe Doctrine)



Northern free soilers furious

– Slavery issue checked territorial expansion in 1850s

Pierce recalls the Ostend Manifesto

X. Expansionist Stirrings South of the Border (cont.)

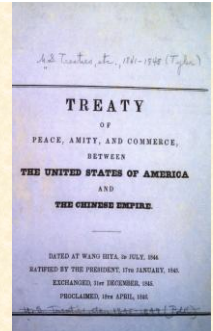
- Sugar-rich Cuba:
 - Enticing prospect for annexation
 - Already had large population of enslaved blacks
 - **Might be carved into several states, restoring political balance in Senate**
 - President Polk offered \$100 million to Spain for Cuba, but Spain refused
 - Spanish officials in Cuba later seized American steamer *Black Warrior*
 - Opportunity for President to provoke war with Spain and seize Cuba
 - Secretary of state instructed American ministers in Spain, England, & France to prepare recommendations for acquisition of Cuba
 - The three, meeting in Ostend, Belgium, drew up top-secret dispatch:
 - **Ostend Manifesto**—urged administration to offer \$120 million for Cuba
 - If rebuffed, then war justified
 - Secret manifesto leaked out
 - Northern free-soilers rose up in wrath against "manifesto of brigands"
 - Red-faced Pierce administration dropped reckless scheme for Cuba

XI. The Allure of Asia

- Could Americans tap more deeply the supposedly rich markets of Asia?
 - **Opium War**—fought by Britain for right to peddle opium in China:
 - Britain gained free access to five so-called treaty ports
 - Control of island of Hong Kong
 - President Tyler dispatched Caleb Cushing to secure comparable concession for United States
 - Cushing arrived at Macao in early 1844

XI. The Allure of Asia (cont.)

- **Treaty of Wanghia**: first formal diplomatic agreement between U.S. and China on July 3, 1844:
 - Cushing secured vital commercial rights and privileges from Chinese
 - “Most favorable rights” granted to U.S.A.
 - “Extraterritoriality”—provided Americans, accused of crimes in China, a trial before American officials, not in Chinese courts



XI. The Allure of Asia (cont.)

- American trade with China increased
- Treaty also encouraged arrival of American missionaries; thousands came
- Success in China prompted U.S. goals for Japan:
 - Japan had earlier withdrawn into cocoon of isolationism for over 200 years
 - Tokugawa Shogunate protected Japan's insularity
 - By 1853, Japan ready to emerge from self-imposed quarantine

XI. The Allure of Asia (cont.)

- President Fillmore dispatched Commodore Matthew Perry in 1852 for Japan
- His four smoke-belching “black ships” steamed into Edo (later Tokyo Bay) on July 8, 1853
- Once on shore, Perry requested free trade & friendly relations, then left promising to return next year to receive Japan's reply
- Perry returned in February 1854; persuaded Japan to sign **Treaty of Kanagawa** on March 31, 1854
 - Perry cracked open Japan's two-century shell of isolation
 - Less than a decade later, “Meiji Restoration” would:
 - End Shogunate
 - Propel Japan headlong into modern world
 - Eventually into military crash with United States



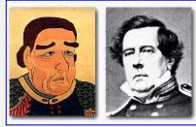
Japan



The island of Dejima was built in 1634 off Nagasaki and home to a Dutch trading outpost until 1853. The island was built because foreigners were not allowed to step foot in Japan. The government adopted a closed country isolationist policy in 1633 under the Tokugawa shogunate and was not reopened to foreigners until 1853.



Commodore Matthew Perry Opens Up Japan: 1853



**The Japanese View
of Commodore
Perry**

Treaty of Kanagawa: 1854



Pacific Railroad and Gadsden Purchase

- Transportation problems after Mexican War
- California and Oregon isolated
- RR promoters - where run the line? Where end it? Run it south of Mexican border?
- Gadsden Purchase 1853
- Where will that RR go?



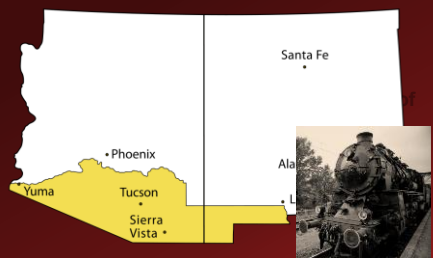
XII. Pacific Railroad Promoters and the Gadsden Purchase

- Acute transportation problems another legacy of Mexican War
 - California & Oregon: 8,000 miles west of nation's capital
 - Sea routes too long
 - Travel by wagon slow and dangerous
 - Feasible land transportation imperative
 - Transcontinental railroad only real solution

XII. Pacific Railroad Promoters and the Gadsden Purchase (cont.)

- Where to build railroad: north or south?
- James Gadsden, minister to Mexico:
 - Santa Anna still in power and needed money
 - Gadsden negotiated **Gadsden Purchase** in 1853
 - Ceded more territory to U.S.A. for \$10 million
 - Best route for a southern railroad (see Map 18.6)
- In response, Northerners wanted Nebraska organized

Gadsden Purchase 1853





Territorial Growth to 1853

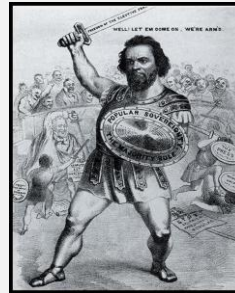


STEPHEN DOUGLAS



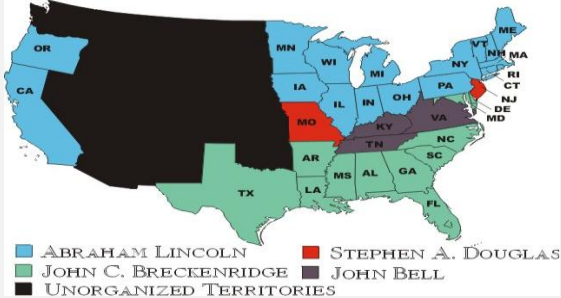
- U.S. Senator from the state of Illinois
- Solve the slavery issue was through **Popular Sovereignty**
- let the people in each territory decide through the process of voting whether they want slavery or not.
- Along with Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun they proposed the **Compromise of 1850**
 - Calif. A free state
 - enforce Fugitive Slave Law
 - Popular Sovereignty
 - stop slave trade in Washington, D.C.

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA ACT

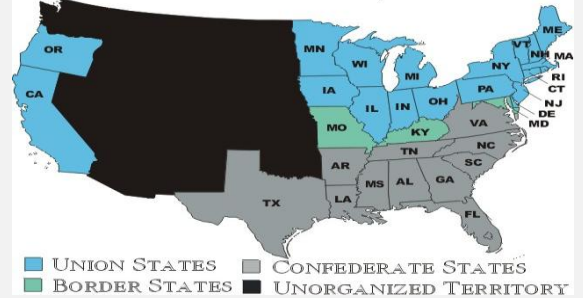


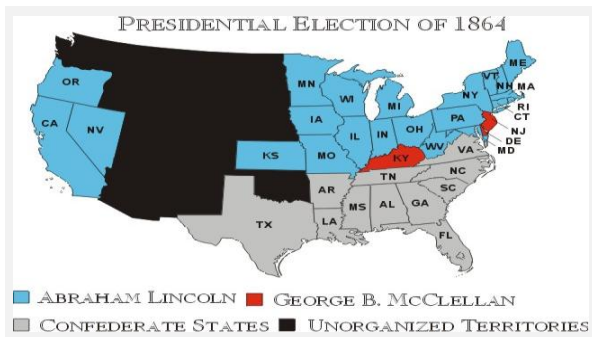
- Build a transcontinental connecting California to the East Coast either in the South or North
- Stephen Douglas wanted the railroad built in the North but had to convince the South otherwise.
- Proposed a plan that Kansas and Nebraska territories be opened up to slavery in return for building the railroad in the North.
- **Popular Sovereignty**

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860



THE UNITED STATES, 1861





VI. Deadlock and Danger on Capitol Hill

- Stormy congressional debate (1850) not over:
 - North's new Young Guard
- William H. Seward:
 - Strong antislaveryite
 - Unequivocally against concession
 - Argued Christian legislators must obey God's moral law as well as man's mundane law

VI. Deadlock and Danger on Capitol Hill (cont.)

- Appealed to exclude slavery in territories with reference to even "higher law" than Constitution
- Appeal may have cost him presidential nomination and presidency in 1860
- President Taylor bent on vetoing any compromise.
- Ire aroused by threats of Texas to seize Santa Fe

VII. Breaking the Congressional Logjam

- Taylor unknowingly helped cause of concession by dying suddenly.
- Vice-President Millard Fillmore took reins:
 - As presiding officer of Senate, he was impressed with arguments for conciliation
 - Gladly signed series of compromise measures
 - Balancing of interests in **Compromise of 1850** was extremely delicate (see Table 18.1).

TABLE 18.1 Compromise of 1850

Concessions to the North	Concessions to the South
California admitted as a free state	The remainder of the Mexican Cession area to be formed into the territories of New Mexico and Utah, without restriction on slavery, hence open to popular sovereignty
Territory disputed by Texas and New Mexico to be surrendered to New Mexico	Texas to receive \$10 million from the federal government as compensation
Abolition of the slave trade (but not slavery) in the District of Columbia	A more stringent fugitive-slave law going beyond that of 1793

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VII. Breaking the Congressional Logjam (cont.)

- Heat in Congress:
 - "Union savers"—Clay, Webster, Douglas—orated across North on behalf of compromise
 - Southern "fire-eaters" opposed concession
 - June 1850, southern extremists met in Nashville:
 - Took strong position in favor of slavery
 - Condemned compromise measure

VII. Breaking the Congressional Logjam (cont.)

- Second Era of Good Feelings dawned:
 - Talk of secession subsided
- Peace-loving people, both North and South, determined that:
 - Compromises should be “finality”
 - Explosive issue of slavery should be buried



VIII. Balancing the Compromise Scales

- Who got better deal from 1850 Compromise?
- North (see Map 18.3):
 - California (free state) tipped balance permanently against South
 - Territories of New Mexico & Utah open to slavery—basis of popular sovereignty
 - Nature—“highest law”—not favor slavery there



Map 18-3 p388

VIII. Balancing the Compromise Scales (cont.)

- South:
 - Urgently needed more slave territory to restore “sacred balance”
 - If not from recent conquests from Mexico, then Caribbean was one answer
 - Halted drive toward abolition in District of Columbia temporarily
 - Had to accept outlawing slave *trade* in D.C.

VIII. Balancing the Compromise Scales (cont.)

- **Fugitive Slave Law (1850):**
 - Stirred up storm of opposition in North
 - Fleeing slaves:
 - Could not testify on their own
 - Denied jury trial
 - Federal commissioner who handled case of a fugitive:
 - If runaway was freed, earned \$5
 - If not, earned \$10

VIII. Balancing the Compromise Scales (cont.)

- Northerners who helped a slave escape were liable to heavy fines and jail time
- “Man-Stealing” Law was abhorrent:
 - Touched off explosive chain reaction in North
 - Underground Railroad stepped up its timetable
 - Mass. made it a penal offense for any state official to enforce new federal statute
 - Other states passed “personal liberty laws”
 - Abolitionists protested vehemently against law

VIII. Balancing the Compromise Scales (cont.)

- Beyond question, Fugitive Slave Law a blunder by South
- Slave catchers redoubled efforts
- With delay of fighting during 1850s:
 - North forged ahead in population and wealth—in crops, factories, foundries, ships, & railroads
 - Delay added immensely to moral strength of North
 - 1850s did much to bolster Yankee will to resist secession, whatever the cost
- Thus Compromise of 1850 won Civil War for Union (see Map 18.4)



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XIII. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Scheme

- Senator Stephen Douglas in 1854 sought to offset Gadsden's expansion to southwest
 - Longed to break North-South deadlock over westward expansion
 - Invested heavily in Chicago real estate & railway stock
 - Wanted Chicago to be eastern terminus for proposed railroad
 - Wanted to get South to support his scheme

XIII. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Scheme (cont.)

- Proposed territory of Nebraska be divided into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska (see Map 18.7)
- Slavery then decided by popular sovereignty
- Kansas, west of slaveholding Missouri, presumably would choose to become a slave state
- Nebraska, west of free-soil Iowa, presumably would become a free state
- Douglas's scheme contradicted Missouri Compromise of 1820 (forbade slavery in Nebraska Territory north of 36° 30' line)



XIII. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Scheme (cont.)

- Only way to open region to popular sovereignty was to repeal Missouri Compromise
- To southerners here was chance for another slave state
- President Pierce threw support to Kansas-Nebraska Bill
- Douglas rammed bill through Congress, with strong support from many southerners
- Douglas acted impulsively and recklessly
- Predicted opposition in North, but grossly underestimated it



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XIV. Congress Legislates a Civil War

- **Kansas-Nebraska Act:**
 - One of most momentous measures to pass Congress
- Greased slippery slope to Civil War:
 - Infuriated antislavery northerners
 - Future compromise would be much more difficult
 - Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 became dead letter
 - Act wrecked two compromises—of 1820 and of 1850

XIV. Congress Legislates a Civil War (cont.)

- Northern abolitionists and southern “fire-eaters” saw less and less they could live with
- Ranks of antislaveryites gained numerous recruits
- Democratic Party shattered by Kansas-Nebraska Act
- Most durable offspring of Kansas-Nebraska blunder was new Republican Party

XIV. Congress Legislates a Civil War (cont.)

- Republican Party:
 - Sprang up in Middle West—Wisconsin & Michigan
 - Gathered dissatisfied elements, including Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, Know-Nothings, and other foes of Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - Also included Abraham Lincoln
 - Grew rapidly, but a sectional party
 - Not accepted South of Mason-Dixon line
- Union in dire peril

CHRONOLOGY

1844 Caleb Cushing signs Treaty of Wanghia with China

1848 British seize port of San Juan del Norte in Nicaragua
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends Mexican War
Taylor defeats Cass and Van Buren for presidency

1849 California gold rush

1850 Fillmore assumes presidency after Taylor's death
Compromise of 1850, including Fugitive Slave Law
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Britain

1851 Australian gold rush

1852 Pierce defeats Scott for presidency

1853 Gadsden Purchase from Mexico

1854 Commodore Perry opens Japan
Ostend Manifesto proposes seizure of Cuba
Kansas-Nebraska Act repeals Missouri Compromise of 1820
Republican party organized

1856 William Walker becomes president of Nicaragua and legalizes slavery

1868 Meiji Restoration in Japan