

John D. P. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848." *MVHR*, XXI (June, 1934) 31-48

Early in war, wide view that it for sl. expansion. But by fall 1847, when absorption of Mex by U.S. seemed imminent, sl question no longer important and large plans of expans. could be devel. Not as much opposit in S. to Wilmot Proviso as reported, though noted.

John A. Campbell of Ala, ltr to Calhoun: all Mex ten "wholly unfit for a negro population." annexat of Mex ten would mean "increase of the strength of the non-slaveholding states and a corresponding diminution [sic] of our own." Concl that "Mr. Polk's war... [was] likely to produce the most disastrous consequences to the Southern States."

Sl-owners not a unit on Mex annexat.

see globe Dec/47: "Mr. C., [Calhoun] with a great portion of the slave influence, have no doubt, determined to oppose the extension of our borders. Our country is coming to a pretty pass between the Abolition Wilmot humbuggers and the slave-holders of the South."

National Era Jan 20/48 (a-sl paper) "the policy of the annexation of the whole of Mexico is regarded as a most formidable Anti-Slavery measure."

Truth is that common myth of a pro-slavery drive for Mexican territory is based on evidence drawn largely from a-sl Whig sources. But a-sl expansionists saw no diabol. scheme of sl-holders to extend area of sl. they realiz opposit from some sl-holders was their most powerful obstacle. ~~this~~ true of such Whig a-sl champions as Giddings, Hale, Tuck, Palfrey, Sumner opposed war as expans of slav. But not all sl-holders supported war. For most part the charge that sl-holders were engaged in a war to promote spread of sl. was advanced by anti-expans who happened at some time to oppose slavery. Not certain whether opposit to expans or to slavery more imp among Hale-Sumner-Giddings group.

As further evid that interests of slav + expansion not identical, early in 1848 appeared demand for all of Mex from a-slav sources. N.Y. Herald, Jan 6/48: "the abolitionists will scarcely offer it a serious opposition. Mexico will all be free, and consequently the North will have no interest in opposing her annexation."

Thus chief support for annexat of Mex come from N + W and from those whose atit. on sl. was not a prime considerat. there was a belief that expansion would prove injurious to slave interests. Lack of time for expans. sentiment to develop was chief cause of U.S. failure to annex Mex. in 1848. Still suffic. demand in Feb-Mar 1848 to have wrecked Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo but for opposit. of pro-sl Dems led by Calhoun (others: Butler of S.C., Hunter and Mason of Va, Yulee of Fla.) To these is due most of credit for fact that Mexico is today indep.



W. Edwin Hemphill, "The Jeffersonian Background of the Louisiana Purchase." MVHR, XXII  
(Sept 1935) 177-190.

Pres. Jeff. worked for years before 1800 to get La. Study of geogr convinced him of its importance. Even as Gov. Va, as Amer minister to Paris, 1784-89, saw need; felt that U.S. could make use of Eur. unrest to get from Engl. control of N.W. ports; from Spain favorable settlement on Miss.

1786, to Archibald Stuart: "we should take care, too, not to think it for... [our] interest... to press too soon on the Spaniards. those countries [La + Fla] cannot be in better hands. My fear is, that they are too feeble to hold them till our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them, piece by piece. the navigation of the Mississippi we must have. this ~~is~~ <sup>will be</sup> all <sup>we</sup> are, as yet, ready to receive."

Wash choice of Jeff as Lee State reasoning gesture to West. John Jay also a logical choice.

Remark attribut to Montesquieu reflected Amer sentiment: "It is happy for the commercial powers that God has permitted Turks and Spaniards to be in the world, since of all nations they are the most proper to possess a great empire with insignificance."

As Jeff learned gradually that France intended to control La instead of fostering its independence, hostile became open. To Robert R. Livingston, Apr 18, 1802: "there is on the globe one ~~spot~~ single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy, it is New Orleans. ... France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. ... We ~~must~~ <sup>must</sup> make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for the tearing up of any settlement [in La.] she may have made. ... this is not a state of things we seek or desire. ...

"If France considers Louisiana, however, as indispensable for her views, she might perhaps be willing to look about for arrangements which might reconcile it to our interests. If anything could do this, it would be the ceding to us the island of New Orleans and the Floridas."

Jeff. prepared for 20 yrs for 1803 culminat. War author and chief administ. of policy which led to purchase.



Richard R. Stenberg, "The Motivation of the Wilmot Proviso." *MVHR*, XVIII (Mar 1932) 535-41.

Aug 8/46, David Wilmot, Dem Rep from Bradford dist in NE. Pa, offered Proviso to Pres. \$2 Million bill, prohib sl in terr to be acquired from Mex. Motive never satisf expl. Jacob Brinkerhoff of Ohio long that to be princ. author of Proviso; but Wilmot had the initiative, and his contemporaries did not impugn his authorship. Of several drafts presented in caucus, that of Brinkerhoff was adopted as best, but idea was that of Wilmot.

Char. B. Goring, biogr of Wilm, ascribes Proviso to humanist moral oppo to sl. Previously pro-S. But ulterior motive must be deduced from pol circumst. More than ethical, for sincere and radical free-sail conscience never sprouted and blossomed in a day. If mere pressure vs. slav, was uncalled for.

Brinkerhoff supposedly piqued at pro-S. bent of Polk admin; as at odds over repudiat of "bargain of 1844" made at Balto Conv, when S. men pledged "all of Oregon" in return for N.W. promise of immed annexat of Tex. Yet Tex annexed, and Oregon limited to 49° N.

these reasons could hardly have motivat Wilm; as he supported Admin even on Tariff. Said he, "I am no croaker against the South. I have suffered alone for her constitutional rights. ... I am not insensible to the claims of the South upon my affection and respect."

But Wilm support of Walker Tariff, July 1846, put him in diffic situat. Was his last Adm support vote. Pa was a protectionist stronghold + pivotal pres. election state. In vote for Walker Tariff Wilm disregarded Pa legial Tariff resalts. Jid. Weller. noted that Wilm "was severely censured by many from his own state. ... On many accounts Mr. Wilmot was not entirely satisfied with the position in which he was placed... and felt most strongly, what he conceived the injustice of southern Democrats to their associates of the North. ... the laudations of southern papers and southern men increased his doubts, and made him anxious to show them and the country, by some final act that he was not a devotee to southern policy, and that he felt the injustice that had been in his estimation manifested towards those whom he esteemed the worthiest and best Democrats of the North. these views led him in concert with others to introduce that celebrated proviso."

W. had made fearful error which required stroke of n. policy to enable him to regain lost ground in his district. Notorious as "doughface" now warned that he might not win in 1846 election. Described as "the only member from that state who voted for the British tariff, and who has been much lauded therefor since then as the only true friend of the south from the northern states," but this brought critics from home. A.V. McLure: "He was mercilessly criticised by the Whig journals and creators of the State and by very many of his own party leaders, some of whom earnestly urged the policy of defeating him in his own district." Near bald stroke to save career in 1846 election. Hence Polk's request for \$2 Mill to conclude Mex War came as godsend, just as Kansas-Nebraska bill smothered derelict free-sailers in 1854. Wilmot immed conferred w/ N. colleagues and moved the proviso.

that saved his seat in Congr. Dems generally lose in Pa in 1846. because of Dem Tariff. Only 7 Dems elected out of 24; Wilmot only winner w/ vote for the Tariff. Proviso had effect which he anticip when he introd. it. R. H. Gillett "Some insisted that the real motives of Mr. Wilmot and his friends were to secure and continue in their positions in Congress by the aid of abolition votes."

Once committed, Wilmot joined free-sailers. Enjoyed notoriety and fame. Feb 1/47 offered Proviso to \$3 Mill bill. After that was in the van of a-sl.



Lynn W. Turner, "Thomas Jefferson through the Eyes of a New Hampshire Politician." MVHR, xxx (Sept 1943), 205-214.

Sen. Wm Plumer of N.H., in con. descr visit to White House, Dec 9, 1802:

"a tall highbrowed man came into the room; he was drest, or rather undrest, with an old brown coat, red waistcoat, old corduroy small clothes, much soiled - woolen hose - + slippers without heels. I thought this man was a servant... I tarried about twenty minutes - he is easy of access, + conversed with great ease and freedom."

In Plumer's view, all great measures of Congress tended "to build up + aggrandize Virginia in particular, + the state south of the Potomac in ~~particular~~ general. What portion can New England have in Jefferson, + what inheritance in the ancient dominion?" This led him into plot, hatched by Thomas Pickens (N.H. judge impeached) and other irreconcilable Feds to destroy the union. The Plumer was a deist, differed relig opinion from neighbors, but not in behavior pattern, which remained Puritan.

Jeff re-election 1804 brought Pickens-Burn conspiracy to failure. Plumer regretted his near lapse into treason, began to see Jeff. differently. Soon on close terms



Thomas P. Goran, "John M. Berrien and the Administration of Andrew Jackson."

B. of Ga, Atty Gen in first cabinet, not dominant figure, yet played vital part the friendly to Bank. One of principal reasons for virtual unanimity of support for J. in Ga, Tenn, Ala, Miss. was widespread hostility to Indian policy of Adams. (Ga: Jackson 19, 363 - Adams O: Tenn, 44, 293-2, 240; Ala: 17, 138-1938; Miss 6, 772-1, 581.) J. committed to policy of remove Indians W of Miss.

Berrien in agreement, advised on all phases of Indian problem. Otherwise little infl on admin. Ex-Atty for Savannah branch BVS; left cabinet before squabble began. B. + Calhoun almost always opposed in polit.; B. always opposed those in Ga. who desired elect. of Calh. to Pres.

Resigned June 15, 1831, on friendly basis w/ Pres. By July 28, personal break w/ Pres. over effort to drive Eaton out of Cabinet. Did not break pol w/ J, for Ga too strongly for him; but secretly desired to prevent re-election of Pres. Pres veto of Bank bill, Wanted to be Sen from Ga, publicly supported J. Also interested in breaking tariff - Anti tariff meeting Nov 13, 1832. Some under Forsyth, favored tariff; withdrew in a body when they could not infl. action. Other group, Judge Clayton, favored nullification, but were a minority. Berrien's group adopted resol condemning tariff, call meeting of S. States to decide proper means of redress, then refer action to people for ratification.

Cons. did not meet, for issue settled by Comp. Tariff of 1833. Ga. Cons. did clarify local politics. With Indian problem no longer pressing, no longer need for unity among Ga. people; natural div into rich + poor, commercial and agrarian, became dominant in natl as well as local affairs. St Rt Party soon became Whig Party, and Berrien and other conserv. commercial men of Ga found allies in other sections.



Richard R. Stenberg, "The Jefferson Birthday Dinner, 1830".

Benton began the assault on the East because of tariff and int. imp., but Webster chose to ignore that and attack Hayne and S.C. nullific views.

Jefferson Day Dinner projected as a "love feast" by Benton and Hayne to cement alliance of S. + W.; to ground it upon strict-constr, anti-tariff, anti-int imp. & Jeff. Not a nullific conspiracy at all. Purpose: to demonstrate that S + W interests were mutually in accord w/ Jeff. principles.

Van Buren urged Pres to use his toast as "abrupt and defiant... ready guardian and Champion" of the Union vs. Calhoun and nullifiers! V.B. did not fear Calh. would threaten union, but made it seem so to draw teeth at dinner.

Calh from 1828 to his death tried to restrain S.C. fire-eaters.

V.B. left publ work of destr Calh to Jackson, feign innocent friendship to those whose throats he would cut. Made J. choose shifty and selfish polit like V.B. for the succession, rather than statesman like Calh.

P. 343: Webster to Clay, May 29, 1830: "Parties must now, necessarily, be sorted out, anew; and the great ground of difference will be Tariff and Internal Improvements. You are ~~not~~ necessarily at the head of one party, and Gen. J. will be, if he is not already, identified with the other."



1 (Aug 1935) 293-319

Thomas P. Martin, "Cotton and Wheat in Anglo-American Trade and Politics, 1846-1852."

By 1846, Cotton + Wheat typified sections: cotton slave labor of S., Wheat, free labor of N. + W. Cotton had stigma: free entry to Engl, while Wheat excl under Corn Laws. Engl investors in E. India trade warned of dependence upon Amer cotton, wanted protection for E. Ind. cotton. Tariff of Abem. 1828, used as occas to urge retali duties on raw cotton. Wm. Huskisson, in Parl, July 18, 1828, said as much, "to alarm the Southern States" who threatened to nullify Tariff. Amer used H. speech to justify contin of duties. Gt Brit. dependant upon raw cotton, called "Expect her to be a very quiet friend of ours for the next three or four centuries." (Balt. Gazette.)

Nors., aware of potent cotton argument in hands of Sen, allowed tariff to replace reality. Non-slave leaders soon alleged that slaveholders in contr of govt conducted for affairs in own interests and neglected agric interests of N. + W.

During 1830's, Brit cotton textile ind. expanded, suffered high prices whenever there was a shortage, or, as in 1838-9, when N. Biddle + others tried to corner cotton mkt. These events pushed the Brit. to form Br. India Soc, June 1, 1839, with substantial cotton interest support. In 1840, when Jas. G. Birney + Henry B. Stanton arrived, open to suggestion that repeal of Corn Laws would strengthen N. + W. in US. But as crisis passed, so did Br. India Soc.

By 1846, real crisis. Two short crops in US. 1845-6 prod. specul. rise in prices that if contin would stop the mills. John Bright, ldr of Anti-Corn Law League, speech in Parl May 6, 1847, urged cultiv. of cotton in India: "if we could conceive the raw material of the cotton manufactory greatly to fail, we should see calamities overspread this country to equal if not exceed that which has eventaken the population of Ireland... we ought not to forget that the whole of the cotton grown in America is produced by slave labor... whether it comes to an end by peaceable means, or otherwise, there will, in all probability, be an interruption to the production of cotton; and the calamity which must in consequence fall on a part of the American Union, will be felt throughout the manufacturing district of this country." J. D. B. De Bow exploited argument in his Review

Unusually large crop in 1849 brought end to it, but Brit. cotton trade had learned a lesson, demand cotton from India: in effect, criticism of E. Ind. Company.

Grain crop failures in Engl + continent of 1845 were but beginning of series of calamities to food crops of Old World, w/ momentous effects. Cheap bread was analogous to cheap cotton. Failure of Brit wheat caused ldrs to look abroad - to Amer West - for source.

Cincinnati newspaper, Aug 13, 1845: "The farmers of the West every few years are brought to a stand in their agriculture, owing to their surplus production, in consequence of a straitened market, falling below the point of fair remuneration. At this moment they are filled with apprehensions of loss from the low price of wheat, which they fear will go on falling... No stock-raiser now is afraid of glutting the market; our land-oil manufacturers are always hopeful. They can count on a certain and an increasing market. Great Britain has opened its ports, to our beef and lard oils. Let her corn laws be repealed, and the certainty of a market for all the wheat that could be raised would stimulate incalculably the production of our farmers."

So suggest cooper. betw. complementary Anglo-Amer economies. But needed great national catastrophe to overcome spirit of protectionism. Came in 1845; repeal in 1846; simult. reduction of Whig Tariff of 1842 by Walker Tariff of 1846. At same time: Oregon settlement.

Amer farmers prospered. 1845 increase worth about \$170,000,000. Whigs were arguing



against fate. In W Eur normal condit. was scarcity; in U.S., reverse was true. Growing demand for U.S. wheat. [some fear in Engl. that repeal would give U.S. advantage in Engl mkt, make Engl depend. for cotton and wheat.]

"Corn Panic" of 1847: late spring, large consumption due to rural scarcity.

After 1849, Russia recogn as chief competitor, but her tpn inferior, methods primitive, also used serf labor.

By 1852 people of Miss Valley had establ wheat trade on sound basis w/E + S, also gt Brit + Cont. Freight on ry lines, communic by TWX. Impor. to overestim. signif. of this developm. aft. repeal of Brit Corn Laws: comparable to invention of cotton gin. Rep smoothed out seasonal variations, made possible rural dairy, poultry, truck farms. In value + volume wheat came to equal cotton.

Jan 1849, Dem Review: "the power of cotton over the financial affairs of the Union, has, in the last few years rapidly diminished, and broadstuffs will now become the governing power."

In E. cities - Boston, N.Y., Phila, Balt, swarms of commission merchants, brokers, bankers, who catered to the new West. Capit. investn to W. instead of S., so financer. rels of S. w/ other sections and abroad rel. less imp. and the western outcri. "wheat <sup>interest</sup> boom" of Joshua Leavitt of 20 yrs earlier now able to make self felt in pol and in such way as to foreshadow the end of the dominance of the cotton and sl-holding interests in natl affairs. Had effect upon Anglo-Amer rels.... Homer's article on Negro seamen's acts illustr charge... also Nicaraguan affair.

But diplom interest was less imp phase of Anglo-Amer rels in mid-19 Cen. Bus recovery in 1848-9 accomp. by large demand for sl-prod goods: cotton + sugar. This in turn stimulat sl-trade and renewed demands for abol as only way to end sl trade. In South, new courage from fresh evidences of Brit dependence upon raw cotton, developed sense of nationality which was destined to grow until cut short by failure in Civ War. Singular combo of forces in gt Brit and U.S. which defeated S. Brit. wanted aggravation of sl probl of south; limitat. of sl ten, abol of sl itself... only means to increase cost of cotton growing which would make possible prod. in other areas, particul. in Brit India, reduce dependence of Brit. Another factor: abol of sl for pol and econ reasons peculiar to U.S. Together they defeated sl.



17 (May 1951) 162-179

Norman A. Graebner, "Thomas Corwin and the Election of 1848: A Study in Conservative Politics."

After his Mexican War Speech Feb 11/47, was popul w/ free-soil wing of Whig. But his conservatism ruined that. Sought pres. nomin. but Taylor forced ended W. Whig. Corwin was <sup>unwilling</sup> ~~unable~~ to see Whig Party destr. that ruined his career - Chase left it but Corwin could not. Taylor crowd willing to pay dearly for victory in '48 - even defeat-destr. of party.

Corwin is forgotten because he lived in age when acclaim went to those who fomented strife; when Unionism and patriotism were not in vogue.



F. L. Paxson, "A Constitution of Democracy, Wisconsin, 1847." MVR, II, 3-24. (June '95)

Pol revol of 1838 opened 12 yr period in which Miss Vall, speaking thru Jacksonian orgn, controlled destinies of U.S. Saw self as revolt vs. aristocr + autocracy: was in fact uprising of frontier against older communities. Worked self out in const law. Reflect debtor animosity vs. agencies of capital and law.

But not changes in Fed Const - little quarrel w/ nat'lism. Confined const devel to ready: of local insts. Between panics of 1837 and 1857, connected with them, was period of interm. + theory in which "ultraism of the age" (Charlton S. C. Courrier, Aug 18, 1845) sought to perpetuate self. Every state from Ky North made its const reorgn. Wisc, 1848; Iowa 1846; Ill 1847; Ky 1849; Ohio-Mich 1850; Indiana 1851. These changes lasted on avg 32 yrs. Most permanent Jacksonian dem const was that of Wisc. still in effect 1914. - wrote dictvst of legial, exer, judic into freedom law.

In Wisc model was N.Y. conv. of summer 1846. Const reveals records of hard times and prosperity, influx of immigrants, spirit of frontier and dem pty. Under control of progressive, young Dem., called "Tadpoles" or "Dawnburners", differed from "Rip Van Winkles of old Hunkerism." They opposed banks, were called "defaulters." Older residents remembered depreciation + bankruptcy of depression, opposed banks. This was a major debate; rest of const subordinate to banking provision.

Texas in 1845, with many Tenn. people, adopted exemption clause, allow each citiz a minimum of prop which no creditor could attach. Wisc. took up idea of homestead - memory of 1837. Also, allow married women right of indep control of their own property - frontier idea of improve status of women.

Conserv. Madison Angus (Mar 9, 1847) accused Dems of trying to convert state "into a Fourier phalanx - a playground for lunatics and idiots."

E.g. Ryan to Moses M. Strong, Feb 18, 1847; "The opposition may talk about married women + exemption, but here along the Lake Shore at all events, the real opposition is to the restrictions against banks, Internal Impt + State debt..."

Const defeated, largely on anti-bank clause, and fact of divided Dem. Pull's veto of rivers and harbors bill produced great but impr conv at Chic July 1847, made clear that NW would not assent to s. doctrines of narrow construction. Also, a-sl issue made impractical any alliance of E. + S. Dems. Tariff, Int Impr, + slavery were undigested issues for Dems. + Taylor's war record won him fame.

New constit a new document - hardly a sentence used of the old, but most were only verbal changes - + in arrangement. Provide referendum on banks; omit married women's clause, but legis soon accompl what Const could not. Exemption clause also omitted, but Bill of Rights listed exemption. New vote overwhelmingly in favor.

Dems divided, but elected compr. gov in 1848; not until 1893 did Wisc. have 2 Dem Sens. Const was high water mark of dem in N.W., before tide began to ebb.



Born Penna, son of judge, marked by enthusiasm. Lawyer, politician in Jackson mnt. Soon move to Miss. Natchez. Miss 1826 "on the make." Specul activ tremendous. Walker soon attempt wealth by land specul. Bought huge tracts on credit, soon in debt several hundred thousands. Assoc. w/ others in flush times - H.S. Foote, Jos. Davis, John A. Quitman, Wm M. Guin.

1833, after Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, over 1 Mil Acres sold in Miss. Large Co. formed - ultimately 150 from Miss Ala Tenn, ea put in \$1000. Profits \$301 on \$1000 share. Walker one of eds, much land taken in his name. Geo Poindexter, anti-Jackson Sen, made pol attack on Company. Walker defended w/ curious argument - co. attempt to prevent Ala specul from snatching land of honest settlers of Miss. Said he made \$300 on deal; did not say how much land he retained. Never gave up effort at wealth from W. mnt. Common knew of this was a handicap to him in pol. Inesistible enthr for future of W. 1840 had vision of Ry over which cross continent in 1 week. Had great hopes for future.

1849 retire from pol, more interest in land than law. Had lands in Miss, La, Wisc. Some sold profitably. Interest in Almaden quicksilver mine in Calif, from which reputed to get 1/2 mil \$. Profitable invest in Ry. 1851-2 nearly yr in Engl sell bonds for Ill Centr. But major interest 1849-57 was Pacific ry. Lobby in Texas, member of bd of Dirs of A & R Ry chartered in N.Y. 1854-5 pres of Texas western road. Recogn as S.P. Ry. April 1856 wrote "our railroad thro Texas, to the Pacific, has succeeded. Last week I bought and paid for the iron, for the first section of our road." But financ. embarr, change of Adm, litigat., panic 1857 prevent realizat. By 1861, only 27 miles built.

Most of his enthr. limited to bus. As polit, liked to work behind scene, but was popul orator. 1834, appear on natl scene when inner ring in Miss - eds Wm M. Guin - nomin for Senati. Campaign 1855 revealed platf. for yrs to come: Tex must be annexed so S. could have more Sens to protect slav. In speeches, lack delicacy; virulence of secl appeal very effective, but hardly healtly. Elected Jan/36. There was most outsp. of S.W. group. Speeches in favor of new states: claims to publ lands, preemption and lower land prices, against distrib of surplus; against prot. Tariff + Abol. Chmn Comm on Publ Lands worked to reduce surplus by reduce price of land; support indep Treas. plan; friends gave him credit for preempt bill 1841. In that yr re-elected to Sen over S.S. Proctors.

Nine yrs in Sen noted by his interest in Texas. Was expansionist, worked for annexat. Rosal Jan 11 1837 recogn Tex indep he wrote, won great applause. Inst of Walker set in Tex capital, county named for him. Worked w/ Pres Tyler 1843-5 to secure annexat. Jan/44 wrote Jackson that Sen would ratify Treaty of Annexat, asked him to have Johnston prepare one. At same time wrote Tex annexat ltr, prepare public for annexat. But Treaty not accepted - opposit to Tyler.

Walker may have been instrum in 1844 Dem conv, when Van B. rejected + J.K. Polk nomin. Was his initiative which got from Van B. ltr decl vs. annexat; this convinced Walker, threw Dem into confusion, for many W. delegs already instr for V.B. felt that if annexat given up, Whigs would win West. Walker at head of insurgents, work to defeat V.B., nomin of expansionist who would divide bickering factions as little as possible. Polk adopted as most available when ~~Reconstruction~~ conv met, Richmond Polits led by Thos. Ritchie were in his camp. W/ Richm + Miss groups together, and retention of 7/3 rule (necess to defeat V.B.) got Polk. Then, to concil VBites, Walker would nomin Silas Wright as V-pres. Wright refused; then Walker's Penna connection (wife's uncle) Geo M. Dallas nomin.

1844 election, Walker hd of Dem campaign comm in Wash. Betrayed by own cleverness: publ pamphlet "the South in Danger" to prove Whigs identic. w/ Abols; Whigs reprinted it for use in N. Prob did more harm than good to Demr.

Last once to Tex was Feb/45, wrote compa resols which resolved Sen deadlock over annexat by give Tyler power to choose between rival plans. Benton and others furious that pres. should begin at once under these resols, felt selves deceived. Shows contin alliance betw Walker and Pres. Dec 15/44, Dallas, Buchanan's rival in Pa, recomm Walker for Sec State. But when Polk came to Wash, mid-Feb, had made no definit choice except Buchanan planned to make W. atty-gen. But Dallas-Carr group held out for more, Polk make Walker his Sec-Treas. Was only choice A Jackson could not approve - dislike specul of W. and friends.

During 4 yrs in Treas, W. great reput for hard work. First concern to secure indep or "consol" Treas system for handle public monies. Much more energy on Tariff. First annual report became classic of free trade. Tariff of 1846 strictly admin measure, put thin Sen by narrow margin, only Tar. in U.S. hist which deserves its other name title. Finance of Mex War simple and successf. Country prosperous, new Tar. productive. Total debt incr \$48 mil from Mar 4/45 to Oct 1/48. Two imp admin changes suggested by W. Warehouse system for imports; creat of Dept Interior 1849. Bill led in Sen by D Webster and J. Davis; Polk objected but signed.

Annexat Walker wanted all of Mex in fall 1847. Frighten abols. But Polk not stampeded. Tho Walker + Buchanan lobbied behind Pres back to have Trist Treaty rejected, others in Cab. approved. After retire from Cab 1849, remain Wash, gradually draw apart from Miss. slaveowners. 1856 support Buch. Wrote "Pittsburgh letter" - attack Repubs as sectional, defended non-intervention principle of Kossuth bill by argument that Kans could not be slave state anyway, and that N, gaining steadily in popul, did not need special measures to insure its predom. Buch. aptd Walker gov of Kansas 1857.



W's inaug address contained "isothermal" thesis that climatic condits would ultimately determine locat of slavery, aroused storm of protest in S. Soon became liabil to Admin because of efforts to insure that real settlers of Kansas should rule. To W, real question whether Kans "shall be a conservative constitutional, democratic and ultimately free state, or whether it shall be a republican and abolition state." If purpose to avoid Civ War in Kans, W. went none too far in concil free-state people, naturally suspicious of W. and Admin behind him. But S. unwilling to accept idea of free Kansas. Dem. arose in revolt, force Buch. to remove gov. Played some part in agitat vs. secession, eventually folwr of Dougl. At heart a Free-Sailer for years. "Slavery as a domestic institution is worse than monarchy as a political one." (1849). Freed own slaves 1838. Views of sl conditioned by imperialist view of U.S. future. 1860 stumpd for Dougl, war found him unionist tho still Dem.

Financ. knowledge made him valuable in war. Mar/63 to Europe on mission for Treas, 18 mos support Treas, undermine that of Confed. Claimed he sold \$250 Mil of Fed bonds. Tried to attack Confed by pamphlets to prove that sl, Jeff Davis, and debt repudiation were nearly synonymous terms.

After war, counsel for Seward + Russian minister in putting Alaska annex thru Congr. Died 1869. Career in one word: imperialist. Work for Texas, Pac Ry, Union, Alaska; would have taken Canada too. Creed in own words (To Chase, Apr 1/63) "I am willing to record the prediction, that at the close of this century, with the rebellion crushed and slavery extinguished, our wealth would exceed that of the whole world at this time. How we should exult in the privilege of being permitted by God, to contribute to such grand results."