CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

CULTURE, CONGRESSIONAL IMAGES AND DECISION-MAKING:

The Case of California from 1840 to 1850

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography

by

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The thesis of Janice Daniels Harwell is approved:

California State University, Northridge

December, 1974
DEDICATION

To Irving, Josephine, Semour, Melindy, Stanley, Rufus and Ozgood; all friends past and present
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ABSTRACT

CULTURE, CONGRESSIONAL IMAGES AND DECISION-MAKING

The Case of California from 1840 to 1850

by

Janice Daniels Harwell

Master of Arts in Geography

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Throughout the 1840's, United States' Congressmen collectively perceived California to be a land of contrast. In the Congressional mind's eye, California was viewed either as a land without economic rival or as a no-man's land. To Congressmen, then, not only did California represent an Asiatic paradise, a potential commercial empire and the territorial fulfillment of America's drive to the Pacific, but also a vacuous desert which was inhabited by a mottled population. These particular images as well as others generated by Congressmen during the 1840's, however, were not formed in isolation nor did they exist in isolation. Instead, these images reflected the early Nineteenth-Century American cultural environments, and later, influenced the type of Congressional legislation which was enacted to change California geography from one of Hispanic to one of Anglo-American cultural dominance.

It is the purpose of this thesis to analyze the nature of Congressional images as they were vocalized in debate during the 1840's.
Through the use of measurement techniques called content analysis and construct elicitation, the specific content and structure of these images are re-defined. Moreover, the cultural bases upon which these images were initially formed are described as is imagery influence on the Congressional decision-making process.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is no other land so lovely, so constant, so generous. It lies between the desert and the sea—God's two sanatoriums for weary flesh and weary mind. The Sierra's eternal snows, the desert's clean hot breath, the ocean's cool winds and the warmth of the sinuous current of Japan winding through it, all combine to make a climate hopelessly unrivalled by even the more favored shores of the Mediterranean. It is a land of artist's dreams, endless with flower-flamed uplands, singing lomas and majestic mountains. It changes with every color of the day and is soft and sweet and unspeakably under low hanging stars and great shining moons. (John S. Groaty, 1911)

As indicated by the above quotation, California represented a land of promise to the most casual dreamers. Not only was its land beautiful beyond compare, but its temperate climate promised health; its resources, fortune and fame. Yet, because millions of immigrants came to California to take advantage of these amenities, this once virgin land was transformed into a megalopolis replete with never-ending cement highways and contaminated air.

California's transformation was accomplished in a relatively short time period primarily by Anglo-American efforts. In direct contrast, Hispanic immigrants preceding the Anglo-American influx exerted little influence on California's transformation. Essentially, the pueblos, missions, and rancheros that were introduced by Spaniards and Mexicans were too few in number and spatially too distant from each other to make a significant impact on the land. Once California was ceded by Mexico to the United States and California's gold discovered,
however, marked landscape transformation commenced. As large numbers of Anglo-Americans came to California, small family farms appeared, industrial and manufacturing enterprises developed, and towns conglomerated to form urban places. As a consequence of these superimposed Anglo-American cultural institutions, California's land became divided, fenced, and plowed; its minerals extracted and its forests sheared; its golden hills graded and paved. In sum, the influence of Anglo-American cultural institutions has been so intense that many of California's once positive attributes have been effectively negated.

In a different light, even more significant than the profound influence of Anglo-American culture on the Californian landscape is the very fact that the United States acquired California when it did. During the 1840's, the decade in which California was acquired, the United States was in the midst of an economic depression. Moreover, the nation had in the preceding forty years increased territorial holdings threefold with the purchase of Louisiana Territory and Spanish Floridas. Indeed, the United States was neither in a strong economic nor political position to expand territorial boundaries to the Pacific Ocean during the 1840's.

Yet, because America's political leaders did desire territorial inclusion of California millions of dollars were expended and thousands of lives were sacrificed to acquire California through war with Mexico. Moreover, once California was acquired, the United States was forced to expand political control from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In retrospect, then, California must have appeared to possess extremely favorable attributes for national leaders to decide not only to send the country to war but also to subsequently broaden governmental control.
Ironically, on the eve of the Mexican-American War only a few Americans and not a single national leader had actually seen California beyond its coastal environs. Mountaineers and members of the Army's Topographical Corps had ventured overland to California, but exploration before 1846 and until the Gold Rush was limited both in scope and in the amount of data generated. Based on sparse data gleaned from the travels of a few, therefore, national leaders were forced to form images of the overall character of California geography and to infer how their decisions in turn would affect that geography.

Mental processes involved in forming images of California's land and in subsequent decision-making were more complex than merely assimilating and acting upon exploratory information. Processes of image formation involved a mental comparison of exploratory information about California's geography with information about known environments having similar or dissimilar geographic characteristics. Decision-making, on the other hand, involved matching formed mental images with a set of feasible political alternatives. In both cases, the mental processes involved in image formation and in decision-making also included cultural considerations. Basically, the cultural milieu determined the manner in which national leaders compared similar or dissimilar environments with that of California. Moreover, this milieu determined the types of political alternatives that were developed. By virtue of these mental processes, then, national leaders were able to "visually know" a landscape never experienced and to make critical decisions which eventually changed California's geography from one of Hispanic to one of Anglo-American organization.

While there seemed to be little economic or political warrant
for California's acquisition during the 1840's, California was nevertheless acquired and Anglo-American culture introduced. Indeed, economic and political disadvantages of acquiring California during a depression and of overextending governmental control were overridden by perceived acquisitional advantages. Ironically, advantages were only believed to exist since national leaders did not have access to a great deal of reliable information about California's geography until after the war with Mexico and the subsequent Gold Rush. Clearly, for national leaders to set the nation on a course of war and to incorporate this distant region into the nation, California must have been believed to be a land worth possessing.

Purpose and Scope of Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to reconstruct the mental images of California as they were held by national leaders in the years immediately prior to and following United States' acquisition of California. More specifically, geographical images of California as held by Congressmen during the 1840's will be detailed as will cultural bases upon which these images were formed, and in turn, the influence of these images on Congressional decision-making processes.

In order to accomplish this task, it is important to understand the early Nineteenth-Century American cultural environment since cultural constructs, their social realities and early public images of the West played a critical role in the formulation of California images and in subsequent Congressional decision-making processes. Once the American cultural environment has been established, geographical images of California as held by Congressmen during the
1840's shall be reconstructed by referring to Congressional proceedings during this time period. In particular, by using the techniques of content analysis and construct elicitation, the Congressional Globe will be analyzed so that Congressional images of California can be verbally described and mapped. Lastly, imagery influence on subsequent Congressional decisions regarding California will be detailed.

Consequently, to fulfill the above objectives of study, the following questions must be examined:

1. What cultural constructs, social realities and public images of the West were evident in the cultural environment of early Nineteenth-Century America?

2. What specific geographical images of California were held by Congressmen during the 1840's, and did these images change during this decade?

3. In what way did Congressional images of California's geography affect decision-making policies toward California?

By examining these specific questions, it will be shown that Congressional images of California which were formed during the 1840's reflected both attractive and unattractive qualities of California's land. Moreover, it will become evident that these images were related both to the cultural environment of early Nineteenth-Century America and to Congressional decisions subsequently made regarding California. More specifically, while the early Nineteenth-Century cultural environment was dominated by economic considerations, Congressional images of California and subsequent legislation enacted regarding California were also economic in focus.
Justification of Thesis

Unusual as this study of early Nineteenth-Century American culture, Congressional images of and decision-making regarding California may appear, it is indeed a justifiable focus for geographers who are interested in the way in which people relate to the land. Not only is it justifiable to assume that Congressmen held cognitive images, but also that these images represented what was thought to be true about California during the 1840's. Moreover, even though geographers have increasingly become interested in environmental imagery, research to date has only treated specific elements of imagery. The study at hand, however, deals with the full circle of imagery in an attempt to better understand the cultural climate in which Congressional images were formed, what images were held, and how these images later affected Congressional decisions.

While it cannot be positively substantiated that Congressmen living during the 1840's held cognitive images of California, assessment of Congressional discourse tentatively suggests that mental images were held. More specifically, with the goal of attaining decisions by consensus, Congressional discourse was persuasive in nature and most effective when Congressmen spoke in allegorical terms. By using vividly symbolic language, images were invoked and as such, they became common denominators of understanding. Thus, Congressmen hailing from different sections of the country and holding differing regional values or subcultural constructs were able to understand ordinarily complex concepts. The use of imagery was not only evident but common in Congressional debate during the 1840's.
An excellent example of the use of imagery comes from Illinois Representative McClernand in 1850. It was at this time that Congressional debate over slavery's extension to California was emotionally charged. Not only had consequences of sectional secession been discussed, but McClernand stated that there would be more far-reaching spatial implications of the slavery issue when he said:

The Slavery question would result [in the] destruction of political parties, and the erection upon their ruins of geographical parties; next a collision would probably insue between the people of Texas and the people of New Mexico; next with the loss of our territory--California and Oregon would probably ultimately unite and form the Republic of the Pacific. Lower California would be absorbed; this would probably provoke a war between Mexico and her young aspiring Republic on the Pacific, which would result sooner or later in the absorption of Mexico, and thus extended and fortified, the new Republic of the Pacific would become a formidable rival to us... if disunion should follow. There would be no northern and southern, no slave holding and non-slave holding states, but a Republic of the Atlantic; of the Mississippi Valley and of the Pacific, conforming to the great natural divisions of this continent.

While it is warranted, then, to presume that Congressmen held geographical images of California, it is also justifiable to assume that these Congressional images represented in detail what was thought to be true about a land few had actually seen when compared to those images held by the American public. Indeed, because Congressmen had immediate access to any and all exploratory information about California during the 1840's, and because Congressmen constantly faced legislative issues concerning this region, these leaders were able to develop detailed images. For the majority of the American people in the years prior to the Gold Rush, however, California was both psychologically and spatially distant. Any public image which did develop was vague, since exploratory data were not widely available for public consumption and since California had little significant impact
on the public's daily lives.\textsuperscript{14}

Even though it is justifiable, then, to assume that Congressmen held detailed images of California during the 1840's, the approach taken in this study to define these images is unprecedented in scope. The work at hand does have aspects similar to other works which have focused on different elements of environmental imagery such as structural characteristics and behavioral manifestations.\textsuperscript{15} Yet, in order to more fully understand environmental imagery, this study attempts to combine these approaches previously taken and to define the cultural environment in which images were formed.\textsuperscript{16} In brief, this study deals with the full circle of imagery: the cultural bases upon which Congressmen evaluated information about California; the nature or structure of Congressional images of California; and subsequent Congressional behavior as manifested in Congressional legislation regarding California.

The full circle of imagery can be treated in a satisfactory manner in this study because while secondary research can determine the evaluative and behavioral nature of Congressional images, the structural character of these images can be redefined through the use of two techniques called content analysis and construct elicitation. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter III, these two techniques helped in restructuring California images from Congressional discourse and in assessing spatial implications of these images.

\textbf{Organization of Thesis}

After this introductory chapter, the following chapters generally focus on different aspects of Congressional imagery which
are: evaluative, structural, and behavioral. The evaluative aspect is approached in Chapter II through a description of pertinent cultural constructs, their social realities and early public images of the West. The structural aspect of environmental imagery is approached in the next two chapters through a detailed discussion of the rationale and techniques used to reconstruct Congressional images of California in Chapter III, and the results, or reconstructed images, presented in Chapter IV. Chapter V focuses on the behavioral element, or on the legislative decisions made regarding California in years subsequent to the 1840's. The conclusion follows with a summary of the preceding chapters and an overview of the importance of environmental imagery to the study of how man relates to the land.
References


4 California Senators Fremont and Gwin had of course lived in California; yet, they did not become national leaders until after California Statehood in 1850.


13 Goetzmann, Army Exploration, p. 5.

14 James David Hart, American Images of Spanish California


16 Peter Gould in his work, "On Mental Maps," Michigan Inter-University Community of Mathematical Geographers, Discussion Paper No. 9, University of Michigan (September 1966), came close to combining structural and evaluative elements of images. Yet, his study not only failed to graphically depict geographical characteristics which formed the bases for residential preferences, but also to adequately define those characteristics.
CHAPTER II

THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF
EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

Introduction
American culture as it variously manifested itself during the early Nineteenth-Century provided a primary basis upon which Congressmen perceived and interpreted information about California during the 1840's. Because none but Senators Gwin and Fremont had been to California prior to 1850, there was little experiential basis for evaluating available information about California or for developing personal repertoires of responses. Hence, Congressmen were forced to rely, to a large extent, on the American cultural environment for interpretative purposes. This environment, comprised of cultural constructs, their social realities and early public images of the West, helped to pattern the way in which Congressmen filtered and assimilated information about California. In short, this cultural environment helped Congressmen to create mental stereotypes or images of California during the 1840's.¹

Cultural constructs, or shared values and attitudes, hinged on two traditions of Western intellectual thought, the Protestant Ethic and the Western Enlightenment. While the Protestant Ethic was moral in overtone and the Western Enlightenment, political, both traditions formed a basis upon which Americans could measure self-worth, view

¹
nature and assess their country's political beliefs.\textsuperscript{2}

While cultural constructs ascribed to early Nineteenth-Century America were generally espoused by the American people, it is important to note the way in which these constructs were operant within a societal context. As will become apparent through a discussion of the American social structure, sectionalist tendencies and belief in the Manifest Destiny, cultural constructs were not always operationalized in the same manner in which they were said to be held.

Early public images of the West which were formed on the basis of the social environment and cultural constructs provided a spatial context for perceiving the nature of the country that lay in the West. In general, the public held images of different kinds of landscapes which existed. There was an agrarian utopia lying in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys which was westwardly bounded by the Great American Desert while beyond and to the north was the Northwest Passage. Vaguely resting on the continent's edge was the region of California.

By reviewing these public images together with social realities and cultural constructs identified with early Nineteenth-Century America, one can attempt "to see the land with the eyes of its former inhabitants."\textsuperscript{3} In brief, by such a review, one can ascertain the cultural bases upon which Congressmen were able to form images of California during the 1840's.

\textbf{Cultural Constructs Ascribed to Early Nineteenth-Century America}

Shared attitudes and values which were predominately held by early Nineteenth-Century Americans developed from two bodies of Western philosophies, the Protestant Ethic and the Western
Enlightenment. Both philosophies were adopted from Europe in the Seventeenth-Century to become a part of the American intellectual tradition by the early Nineteenth-Century. While the Protestant Ethic specified ways in which individuals might evidence God's favor, the Enlightenment offered an explanation as to how God had originally ordered the universe for human benefit. Although these two philosophies differed in emphasis, they both provided Americans with a dynamic life-view which centered around a direct and personal relationship with God. Early Nineteenth-Century manifestations of this relationship were evident in American attitudes toward self-worth, nature and democracy.

American Attitudes Toward Self-Worth

Closely related to the philosophy embodied by the Protestant Ethic was the way in which early Nineteenth-Century Americans measured self-worth. In brief, an individual was believed to be worthy if he had established a strong relationship with God.

In reality, however, because Americans reasoned that an individual established a personal relationship with God, worthiness could only be indirectly measured in terms of the amount of economic wealth attained by the individual. According to this oblique American logic, if a person had a strong relationship with God, he would follow God's teachings with specified prudence, thriftiness, industriousness, self-reliance and assertiveness. By manifesting these particular behavioral traits, Americans believed that the individual would become economically wealthy, and could thus be deemed worthy.
As oblique as the economic measure of self-worth was, Americans believed that individual wealth indicated the establishment of a strong personal relationship with God. As such, Americans used this measure as a basis to judge each other and foreigners during the early Nineteenth-Century.

American Attitudes Toward Nature

Very much related to the measurement of self-worth were American attitudes toward nature. Essentially, early Nineteenth-Century Americans believed that nature existed so that they might economically profit. They could believe this because it was reasoned that Americans had been set above their environment by God who ordered and operated the universe for the sake of humans. It seemed logical to Americans, therefore, that what they extracted from nature was a gift offered by a favoring God. Moreover, Americans believed that they could do nothing to harm nature. Any damaged land would eventually recover through the will of a God who had provided Americans with limitless virgin land which awaited exploitation.

European visitor Alex de Tocqueville summarized American attitudes toward nature when he observed that,

In Europe people talk a great deal of the wilds of America, but Americans themselves never think about them. They are insensible to the wonders of inanimate nature and they may be said not to perceive the mighty forests that surround them 'till they fall beneath the hatchet. Their eyes are fixed upon another sight: Their own march across the wilds, draining the swamps, turning the course of rivers, peopling solitudes and subduing nature.

As a consequence of these attitudes which sanctified the conquest of nature, inhabitable portions of the American landscape were conquered and inalterably transformed by 1840. Wildlife was
killed and driven westward while hills and valleys were deforested, canals were dug, and streams were harnessed. By subduing nature and extracting its wealth in this manner, Americans generally saw themselves as evidencing a strong relationship with God since they had gained monetarily from nature's conquest.

Attitudes Toward American Democracy

Premised primarily on the philosophy of the Western Enlightenment as it intertwined with that of the Protestant Ethic, Americans believed that their democracy was a special form of government. Not only was it different from European governments, but it was special in the sense that Americans believed this form of government was the model which should have been followed by the rest of the world's people.

American democracy was a form of government which was dually based on the Enlightenment's political doctrine that stipulated a responsive government and on precepts of the Protestant Ethic which elevated man's position in society. Together, these qualities characterized a government which was created for the benefit of its citizenry and was dissolvable at the behest of that citizenry. Moreover, America's type of government was not only a form of social contract, but also existed as an individual in a collective sense. Thus, while Europeans remained under kingly authority, America was isolated across the Atlantic, and enabled to act independently. Because this representative form of government was unique in early Nineteenth-Century Western culture, Americans also believed that it was a divine experiment which was destined to succeed as the model for the
rest of the world. As a consequence of these attitudes toward representative government, Americans believed that they were God's chosen people. Not only had God selected Americans to participate in His experiment; but because Americans believed that they had demonstrated democracy's workability, God had selected them to spread democracy to all those who would adopt it. As an overview, such an ethnocentric attitude formed a basis for the belief in America's Manifest Destiny which became a motivating force for territorial acquisition.

In summary, these three cultural constructs, or attitudes toward self-worth, nature and American democracy played a crucial role in early Nineteenth-Century American society. Together they formed not only a life-view for Americans, but also provided Congressmen with a basis for informational interpretation during the 1840's. For example, attitudes toward self-worth became a basis upon which Congressmen measured the worthiness of California inhabitants, while attitudes toward nature provided Congressmen rationale for viewing California land in economic terms. Moreover, attitudes toward American democracy afforded Congressmen justification for the acquisition of California in order to there introduce a democratic form of government.

Social Environment of Early Nineteenth-Century America

While cultural constructs provided Americans with a theoretical basis for behavior within society, the social environment did not always correspond with this intellectual milieu. For example, because the early Nineteenth-Century social structure was inherently restric-
tive to upward socio-economic mobility, economic rewards theoretically gained by manifesting appropriate behavioral traits were difficult to realize. Moreover, various sections of the country evidenced peculiar economic and social structures which in turn demanded an attitudinal conformity from constituent members that differed from the behavioral ideal. In a similar vein, because America embarked on a mission to forcefully impose a democratic form of government on foreign cultures during the early Nineteenth-Century, integral characteristics of democracy were effectively negated. As a result, the social environment as demonstrated by American social structure, sectionalist tendencies and territorial aggressiveness noticeably differed from cultural constructs.

Social Structure

Although the cultural construct which offered a way to measure individual worthiness was deeply embedded within the American ethos, the rigidity of the social structure did not allow fluidity of movement between ranks for the majority of early Nineteenth-Century Americans. In short, individuals dispossessed of good family lineage or native-birth dating to pre-Revolutionary days could not, in general, raise their socio-economic standing no matter how strongly their behavior evidenced prudence, thriftiness, industriousness, and self-reliance. A member of an exclusive New York club summarized the situation which characterized the early Nineteenth-Century social structure when he observed,

... in the eyes of the law, let all men be equal, but not in the drawing rooms or assembledges of well-bred people. The United States must keep certain distinctions in the immutable principles of reason. ... the poor are destined to labor and the rich by
advantages of education and independence. ... are qualified for superior status. 15

Those that were qualified for superior status of the upper class were Anglo-Americans who were of good birth and who had attained an aristocratic-type grooming that included formal education and instruction in the social graces. Members of this class generally consisted of doctors, lawyers, civil servants, and clergymen. 16 Essentially, these individuals had their socio-economic position determined by birth.

Below this ruling class lay a middle class and a large lower class. The middle class was comprised of Anglo-American artisans and craftsmen who, by virtue of independence, prudence, and industriousness had been able to raise their rank from that of lower class. 17 Yet, the numbers composing this middle class remained insignificant until after the Civil War when the full impact of the Industrial Revolution was felt. 18 Lower class status was the lot held by the majority of Americans. This rank was held by two types of Americans--native Americans who were engaged in agricultural pursuits and the first few generations of European immigrants who sought industrial work.

Those Americans who lived on small family farms collectively formed the bulk of the American population during the early Nineteenth-Century. While the majority of Americans were farmers, then, these Americans also lived in rural circumstances which, according to Map 1, were located outside of towns with a population of 5,000. 19 With their lower class status passed on from generation to generation, most agrarian individuals remained to cultivate lands of their forefathers.
AMERICAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

circa 1840

SOURCES: C.O. PAULIN, ATLAS OF THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1931
P. HIGGINS, J. FALCONE, HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN THE NORTHERN UNITED STATES, 1941
B. GARNER, M. YEATES, THE NORTH AMERICAN CITY, 1972
Moreover, even if familial heritage dated to pre-Revolutionary times, the upper class held these agrarian individuals in low esteem because they lacked both the proper education and grooming.\(^{20}\)

The majority migrating to cities during the early Nineteenth-Century were Europeans who sought work in the industrializing North. Because immigrants were culturally naive upon arrival and because they were also held in low esteem, Northerners exploited these foreign workers and subjected Catholic immigrants to Protestant prejudices. While the majority of immigrants worked long hours for small monetary reward, Catholics were particularly singled out for mistreatment because Anglo-Americans believed that the Papacy had sent these immigrants to destroy American democracy.\(^{21}\) As a consequence, deep-seated Protestant prejudices were unleashed against Catholics during the 1830's and 1840's. Not only were Catholic churches burned by mob action, but anti-Catholic political parties (the Native American and the Know-Nothing parties) were formed to prohibit Catholics from attaining political power.\(^{22}\)

Those who remained outside of the social structure were Blacks and Indians. These people were unable to enter the American social system because they were deemed unfit for enfranchisement. Therefore, while Blacks were believed to be "inferior to whites in endowments of body and mind," Indians were thought to have no implicit value.\(^{23}\) Since the land that they occupied seemed to be the only commodity Anglo-Americans wanted, Indians were either transported to reservations or driven westward. Both Blacks and Indians constituted a social problem for early Nineteenth-Century Americans because these physically different people could in no way acquire social standing.
through assimilation.

As can be seen by this brief discussion of the American social structure, an obvious contradiction existed between the behavioral ideal and the nature of the social environment. Even if the majority of Americans manifested attributes of industriousness, prudence, thrift, and self-reliance, they were generally unable to raise their rank or to participate equally in the social and economic networks of society. American society was substantially closed and stagnant during the early Nineteenth-Century.

Social and Economic Sectionalism

Gaps between national ideals and their social realities were further enlarged during the early Nineteenth-Century because the United States began to socially and economically polarize into sections whose boundaries were delineated on Map 2. As a result of this sectional divergence in attitudes, individuals were forced to conform to overriding subcultural mores which were held within each section. Thus, by the early Nineteenth-Century Northern individuals typically held similar attitudes toward the accumulation of wealth, Southerners uniformly believed in the sanctity of their economic system, and Westerners generally sought to exhibit an independence of attitude.

As much of the region north of the Potomac River was beginning to be transformed into an industrial and urban center by the early Nineteenth-Century, basic attitudes toward wealth characterized this section's inhabitants. The Northern landscape initially began to change when cities like Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and
American Social and Economic Sectionalism, circa 1840

Map 2

Boston became connected by an efficient network of canals, turnpikes, and railroad lines. And while cities and businesses grew, farms deteriorated as the North grew rich through the manufacture and shipment of goods. Yet, simultaneously, Northerners traded the self-reliance of farm life for the collectivization of an industrializing society. This occurrence was aptly described by Alex de Tocqueville who observed,

... in that immense crowd which throngs the avenues to power in the United States, I found very few who displayed any of that manly candor and that masculine independence of opinion which frequently distinguishes the leading features in distinguished characters wherever they may be found. It seems, at first sight, as if all the minds of these Americans were formed upon one model; so accurately do they correspond in their manner of judging.

In effect, therefore, Northerners conformed to a single norm in order to obtain wealth; and as such, this attitude colored the way in which they came to define self-worth. In essence, Northern individuals could be deemed worthy only if they had acquired wealth through successful competition in the marketplace.

Attitudes manifested in the South were initially different from those of the North. Southerners prided themselves on their individuality and its manifestations in their self-sufficient agrarian units. During this period, the South was economically prosperous as indicated by the growth of river cities such as Charleston, Richmond, New Orleans, Mobile, and Savannah which sprouted to transport Dixie's plantation produce. After 1830, however, the South began to feel both economically and politically threatened by the North which was likewise becoming prosperous. As the North began to impose its economic will through political means, Southern individuality vanished as individuals began to assume common attitudes
that focused on a united defense of plantation economies. As the North applied more and more political pressure, Southern attitudes became almost baronial in aspect as freedom of expression was curtailed. 30

To the west of Northern and Southern sections lay a region whose inhabitants characteristically held independent attitudes. Indeed, the West, lying in the Ohio Valley, attracted non-conformists. So many were drawn to this section prior to 1840 that many Easterners feared that "the older states must certainly be drained of their inhabitants." 31 Come they did, and with axes and rifles they made the Trans-Appalacian West inhabitable. Pulled to the West primarily because it offered a fluid social structure and availability of fertile land, yeoman farmers achieved personal independence through agrarian self-sufficiency. 32 As de Tocqueville again noted,

A traveller should go West when he desires to see universal freedom of manners. The people of the West have a comfortable self-complacency equally different from the arrogance of the South and the timidity of the North . . . their self-confidence probably arises from their being remarkably energetic and have testified to this by the conquest of nature which their mere settlements in the West evinces. 33

As yeoman farms prospered, river towns of Cincinnati, Detroit, Fort Dearborn, and Cleveland grew to actuate a vigorous export trade that amounted to a million dollars in annual revenue. With the growth of such towns, however, trappings of a more rigid society developed. As a result of this pressure and because of the Far West's attractiveness, a second migration wave to the Pacific coast was realized in the mid-1840's. 34

As an overview, the early Nineteenth-Century was one of transition. As the North became an industrial core, the South became
baronial, and the West became a receptacle for non-conformists. As a consequence of this social and economic sectionalism, each section's inhabitants constructed their own measure of individual worthiness which markedly differed from measures constructed in other sections and from that espoused at the national level. Yet, individuals within each section ironically believed that they were carrying out God's mission not only through the conquest of nature, but also through the realization of a democracy.

**Manifest Destiny**

Implicit in God's experiment to create a government whose members realized full political liberties was the conversion of all people within America's natural boundaries. While the full impact of the belief in Manifest Destiny was not realized until the turn of the Twentieth-Century, this belief provided justification for territorial aggrandizement during the early part of the Nineteenth-Century. As can be seen on Map 3, this aggrandizement was continuously westward.

The rationale for territorial expansion rested in the theory that God had demarcated natural boundaries to which American culture could expand. Since Americans had demonstrated democracy's workability, the original natural borders of the Appalachians had been expanded by a favoring God to such an extent that Americans felt divinely justified in their acquisition of the Louisiana Territory and the Spanish Floridas. Once they again showed democracy's workability within these new borders which extended to the Rocky Mountains, Americans believed they were entitled to land ranging to the Pacific Ocean. While peaceful ways such as political bribery and legal
Territorial Growth of the United States to 1850

Map 3

purchase were tried in order to acquire this territory, war was finally declared so that all those remaining ignorant of democracy could be enlightened. 36

Inherent, then, in the belief in the Manifest Destiny was a quest for western territory. Instead of remaining isolated from other cultures, Americans attempted to aggressively spread their political beliefs by encroaching westward into foreign lands. 37 Like the American social structure and tendency toward sectionalism, aspirations to spread American democracy pointed out discrepancies between cultural constructs held within the intellectual milieu and social realities of early Nineteenth-Century America.

Yet, even though the social environment indeed differed from cultural ideals held during the early Nineteenth-Century, this environment afforded another basis upon which Congressmen could form images of California in the 1840's. While the nature of the social structure provided Congressmen with a way of perceiving the character of California Indians and of Mexicans who were Catholic by faith, the belief in America's Manifest Destiny encouraged the aggressive acquisition of this region. Moreover, because America was polarized into sections by the early Nineteenth-Century, representative Congressmen were influenced by subcultural mores which in turn colored the way in which information about California was interpreted.

**Early Public Images of the West**

Developing almost coincidently with the belief in the Manifest Destiny were regional public images of what existed in the West. Characteristically American in nature because they reflected
both national ideals or cultural constructs and their social realities, these images affected both migration and governmental policy toward specific Western regions. Thus, while images of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys encouraged migration, those of the environs between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains discouraged travel. Moreover, images of an oceanic passage through the United States and availability of good Pacific ports served to justify inclusion of British and Mexican territories. By the early Nineteenth-Century, then, all regional images except the image of California were well developed in the minds of the American public as their interest turned westward.

**Image of an Agrarian Utopia**

To the west lay an agrarian utopia which was far from the rigidity of the Atlantic Seaboard. In pre-Revolutionary times, this good earth could be found just over the rise of the Alleghenies, and later, in the vastness of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, so grand in dimension that some believed a thousand years would pass before these valleys would fill. The likes of legendary Daniel Boones and Davey Crocketts led the way by conquering the wilderness. Yeoman farmers followed to cultivate the earth and build a utopia. Because the popular image of an agrarian utopia possessed both spatial dimension and emotional significance, countless would-be frontiersmen were motivated to seek a new life style in this environ.

The idyllic mental picture included a farmhouse with a pasture in the foreground and,

... a twisting brook with cattle grazing nearby, then a clump of elms on a rise in the middle distance, and beyond that, way off on
the western horizon, a line of dark hills. 39

It was here that the yeoman and his family were believed to live an independently moral life. Not only could each family survive well on its own by cultivating the earth, but could do so without infringing on the rights of others. 40 Because self-sufficiency could be realized in an agrarian society, it was believed that full equalitarianism would follow. 41 Many also believed that by maintaining this type of society, America's future strength would be insured. As Thomas Jefferson noted,

... those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God if ever He had chosen people ... while we have land to labor, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at the workbench ... for the mobs of great cities add just so much support of pure government as sores do to the strength of the human body. 42

The public image of an agrarian utopia was particularly strong during the early Nineteenth-Century. It began to fade as technology changed life styles by forcing Americans to become less self-sufficient. Yet, during its existence, this image encouraged westward migration for those in search of a new life style. It pulled Americans only as far, however, as the desert which was thought to bound the agrarian utopia.

Image of the Great American Desert

Beyond the Mississippi River, the Nineteenth-Century yeoman's utopia stopped, for westward from the river stretched a vacuous wasteland to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. 43 Washington Irving aptly described this frontier region which to him resembled,

... one of the ancient steppes of Asia. ... it spreads forth into undulating and treeless plains and desolate sandy wastes, wearisome to the eye from their extent and monotony ... it is a land which no man permanently abides, for at certain seasons
of the year there is no food for the hunter or his steed. Such is the nature of this immense wilderness of the far west which apparently defies cultivation and habitation of civilized life. It is more like the wastes of the ocean or the desert of Arabia.

It is as yet unclear how this desert image originated. Some claim that Sixteenth-Century Spanish, French, or British explorers germinated it, while others accredit American politicians desirous of a geographically compact constituency. It is clear, however, that Americans exploring this area solidified the image in the American public's mind during the early Nineteenth-Century. Indeed, because these explorers' expeditionary maps were imitated in educational textbooks printed between 1830 and 1850, a generation of Americans learned about the trans-Mississippi desert.

As ridiculous as this desert image may seem today, it was not completely unfounded given mental constructs of Nineteenth-Century Americans. Soil fertility to them undoubtedly meant a landscape which was filled with trees, rivers, and wildlife. Since accounts of America's middleland specified none of these elements, it was reasonable for Americans to presume that this frontier was similar in nature to the infertile Arabian desert which likewise had no trees, rivers, or wildlife.

During the mid-Nineteenth-Century, however, Americans began to believe that soil fertility was not necessarily a function of these elements. These American constructs began to change primarily because entrepreneurs saw fit to build a Pacific-bound railroad across the Middle West. Both Asa Whitney and William Gilpin reasoned that by creating a more positive image of the Middle West, construction workers as well as federal funding could be acquired easily.
Thus, through their public relations efforts, the Great American Desert became known as the Great Plains, a region which was no longer perceived as desolate, but one which resembled a fertile prairie. Image of the Northwest Passage

Whitney and Gilpin were not the only ones in history to desire a trade route to the Pacific. Dreams of such a passageway had spurred men's imaginations since the Fourteenth-Century when Marco Polo returned to Europe telling tales of Cathay's spices, trinkets of turquoise and pearls, francolin partridges, and carpets of silk and gold. As a consequence, for hundreds of years West European governments sought an accessible passageway to acquire Asiatic riches. First attempting an unsuccessful eastern sea route, search was turned in the Fifteenth-Century to western routes with Columbus' ill-fated voyage. By the 1600's, Western societies began to believe that a passageway to Asia wound its way through the middle of the North American continent. But because the illusive Northwest Passage's existence became less than real by the early Nineteenth-Century, Americans sought to create their own thoroughfare.

Maritime search for the Northwest Passage continued into the early Nineteenth-Century when Thomas Jefferson dispatched Lewis and Clark overland to find the passage. Although their expedition proved that no northern passage existed, their reports of the Northwest indicated vast trade potentialities. Soon after these reports reached New England, lucrative trade relations were established between America and China. Sailing around Cape Horn to the West coast, New Englanders bartered for the Northwest's sea
otter pelts to be exchanged in Canton for Oriental treasure. Trade was so brisk that by the late 1830's America had become competitive with Britain at Western ports. Soon dreams of America as the center of trade between Europe and Asia took over, and at this point, ideas of geopolitical power began to shape the motives of men.

Having discovered no Northwest Passage, Americans proposed the construction of an artificial passageway. Proposals initially called for the cutting of a canal large enough for a ship's passage between the high points of the Missouri and Columbia rivers. When this idea was deemed infeasible, others proposed a railroad line which would run from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Columbia. Whether transported by ship or train, Americans envisioned that European goods would be carried across America to the Pacific Ocean where they would be taken to China by American merchant ships. Transportation time would be so drastically reduced that Americans believed that Europeans would be forced to deal with American middlemen. As a consequence of these trading activities, America would become rich and powerful by virtue of geographic position. Although only enclaves pressed for the construction of a canal or railroad, resulting public relations efforts caused the public to envision a passageway in replication of the Northwest Passage and to turn its attention to the Pacific coast. Not only did this coast possess a storehouse of resources, but it was also psychologically close to the Orient in the minds of the American public.

Early Images of California

Along with the public pressure exerted for a canal or railroad,
American explorers began writing about their adventures to the West coast in the early Nineteenth-Century. As a result, the American public became aware of the West coast as a spatially distinct entity. Whether California was singled out as being distinct in the public mind, however, is speculative. It is thought, however, that while California had previously been perceived as an island or peninsula, new information generated by the literary works of Shaler, Pattie, and Irving may have changed this image prior to the Gold Rush. While this fact cannot be substantiated conclusively, those who read these literary works discovered recurring themes about California geography. Although California inhabitants were always described in negative terms, this negativism was offset by positive characterization of the land.

Once the mystery surrounding this island or peninsula began to unravel, California climate became inviting, "dry and temperate and remarkably healthy." The coastal regions were teeming with a multitude of wildlife. Immense quantities of seals, sea otters, whales, anchovies, sardines, crabs, and clams seemed to be awaiting harvest. The harbors of San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego were capacious enough to hold fleets which might seek anchor there. Beside this coast lay fertile valleys and plains backed by mountains covered by forests of oak. Beyond, however, lay an almost terra incognita which was interspersed with, mountains, the peaks and ridges of which are in many places covered with perpetual snow. Their passes and defiles present the wildest scenery, partaking of the sublime rather than the beautiful, and abounding with frightful precipices.

The inhabitants of this potentially valuable landscape were not equally well regarded. While California Indians were viewed as
dull and stupid people, Mexicans did not measure up to American standards of worthiness. They, like Indians, were thought to be lazy people who had failed to utilize California's resource base as Americans would. They had failed in the necessary, 

... skill and industry to cultivate the fertile tracts along the coast; nor to prosecute that foreign commerce which brings all the resources of a country into profitable action.

For Americans who encountered California inhabitants, conquest of California was thought to be easy since both Indians and Mexicans were thought to be too indolent to protect their own land.

Such was the composite image of California geography as revealed in books that were widely read by literate Americans before 1840. Yet, it is probable that the average Americans had little conception of California other than that it was a distant place in the far western horizon. It would not be until gold was discovered and the Gold Rush commenced that California would begin to have real meaning and imagery for the majority of Americans.

In sum, images of California as well as those of the Northwest Passage, the Great American Desert, and the agrarian utopia turned public attention to the West. Not only did these images represent regions where democracy and self-worth could be realized, but they also depicted areas where nature's wealth might be harnessed and utilized. Moreover, although the reality of the American social environment often barred cultural constructs from becoming fully operational, images of the West provided the public with a hope—if only in the mind's eye—that these constructs might somewhere be realized.
Conclusion

As a general overview, public images as well as other aspects of the cultural environment offered a basis upon which Congressmen could interpret information and form images of California during the 1840's. As is apparent, this cultural milieu was intertwined with economic considerations that were manifested in the ways in which Americans judged individual worthiness and viewed nature; in the American social structure and sectionalist tendencies; and in public images of the West. While these economic considerations were less obviously apparent in American attitudes toward democracy and the Manifest Destiny, these cultural attributes were also economic in nature since the spread of political systems also implied a concurrent imposition of economic institutions. As will be seen in Chapter IV, the kinds of Congressional images which were formed of California coincided with the early Nineteenth-Century cultural environment in their economic focus.
References


6 Perry, Characteristically American, p. 39.

7 Arieli, Individualism and Nationalism, p. 206.


13 Nye, This Almost Chosen People, p. 164.
14 Nye, This Almost Chosen People, p. 164.
24 Leonard, American Nativism, p. 29.
29 Mohl, Urban America, p. 141.
30 Bates, This Land of Liberty, p. 46.
31 Brown, Historical Geography, p. 212.


34 Parkes, The American Experience, p. 175; and also Nye, The Cultural Life, p. 119.


41 The type of egalitarianism to be reached in the agrarian utopia was complete equality. Not only would political and legalistic equality be reached, but also social and economic equality.


50. U.S. Congress, Congressional Globe, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., 3 August 1842, p. 898; U.S. Congress, Congressional Globe, 28th Cong., 2nd sess., 13 February 1845, p. 356. In these particular sessions public petitions were presented for the construction of a ship canal.


58 Pattie, The Personal Narrative, p. 156.


CHAPTER III

TECHNIQUES OF STUDY

Introduction

Congressmen serving terms during the 1840's held many of the same general attitudes and public images ascribed to early Nineteenth-Century Americans. They also held sectional and political, or subcultural, mores as well as peer group attitudes cultivated by Congressional membership. Consequently, exploratory information about California's geography was interpreted by Congressmen on the basis not only of the cultural milieu, but also on the basis of subcultural and peer group attitudes.

As indicated in Chapter II, Americans living in different sections of the country characteristically held differing socio-economic priorities. Within these various sections, furthermore, there were political parties which similarly represented varying points of view. When attitudes of the North, South, and West were combined with those of the Whig, Democrat, and anti-Catholic political parties (Native American and Know-Nothing parties) subcultural constructs were precipitated. Congressional leaders not only represented but held these basic subcultural constructs.

Moreover, because Congress constituted a group which was both formal and functional, members tended to hold common attitudes which were developed by virtue of group membership. Such constructs were
common not only because Congressional members hailed from upper socio-economic classes, but also because members were formally engaged in a common task of representing and legislating for their constituents. Furthermore, because interaction was inherent among Congressmen functioning to gain consensual decisions, members tended to conform personal attitudes to those of the majority in order to pass legislation. When sectional or party attitudes varied, conflict was resolved either by attitudinal change or by compromise. Conflict was indeed apparent in the 1840's with Congressmen voicing party sentiments in the early part of the decade and later, sectional attitudes. Yet, through formal and informal discussion, Congressional agreement was generally reached either because members gained access to new information which changed opinion or because they acceded to majority views.

To gain insight into these peer group attitudes and more specifically into group images, content analysis and construct elicitation were employed as techniques to bridge the gap of space and time. Because direct observation of the 1840's Congressional proceedings was impossible, these techniques facilitated analysis of what was said in Congressional chambers in order to determine why it was said. More explicitly, both techniques assume that language is a function of recoding what exists in the mind. Each technique, however, focuses on different aspects of this language recoding process. Content analysis concentrates on the basis upon which words are encoded. Alternatively, construct elicitation focuses on how information is initially decoded and categorized. As will be explained below by detailing premises and applications, content
analysis was used in this study to evaluate the way in which Congressmen verbalized California images while construct elicitation was employed to aid graphic reconstruction of these images.  

**Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a systematic technique traditionally used to analyze a variety of printed material such as diplomatic exchanges and transcribed political speeches. Recently it has been used by political scientists and journalists to reconstruct environmental images. This technique is based on specific premises which determine the manner in which it is applied.

**Premises of Content Analysis**

Content analysis offers a host of interpretative tools which provide a means of evaluating the language encoding process. These tools are based on the assumptions that words index the speaker's internal environment and that the number of times and the manner in which words are annunciated indicate the strength of these inner feelings. In operation, content analysis consists of classifying words and phrases into categories which are then subjected to quantitative and qualitative measurement. The types of categories and measurements utilized are determined by the purpose of study and by the nature of the written materials to be analyzed. In this way, content analysis objectifies communication study to afford better understanding of why thoughts are annunciated. Yet, analysis of communications cannot be isolated from the initial context; the particular circumstance in which words were verbalized or written and the social and intellectual climate of the times must be constantly cross-referenced.
in order to validate analysis.\textsuperscript{14}

Applications of Content Analysis to This Study

There are various analytical systems and measurement techniques which can be employed in content analysis of written material. Yet, for the purposes of this study and in view of the data analyzed, a trend-type content analysis, augmented by various measures of frequency counts, time allotment counts, and attitudinal focus indices was chosen. As will become evident through a discussion of why and the manner in which trend analysis along with these specific measurement techniques were imposed, this particular methodological combination was well suited to this study of Congressional images of California's geography.

A trend-type content analysis was chosen to deal with this study's data because it can delineate beliefs such as attitudes, perceptions, or images which are held over a specific period of time.\textsuperscript{15} As applied, a priori subject matter categories are initially established which theoretically reflect a set of beliefs encompassed within the data source during a specific time span. Sentences, phrases, and paragraphs contained within these data are then categorized according to subject matter and date announced in order to establish a temporal trend of beliefs. With this completed, quantitative and qualitative measurement techniques can be applied to the temporally categorized trend of beliefs in order to determine importance of these beliefs to holders and when these beliefs change.\textsuperscript{16}

As actually applied in this study, a priori subject matter categories were created in accordance with images initially believed
to be contained in the *Congressional Globe* during the 1840's. They were: Congressional images of California's physical geography; California inhabitants; the Mexican-American War as it related to California; and the Gold Rush. These particular categories were deemed appropriate since they related to physical attributes, cultural character, and historical events which pertained to California's geography during the 1840's.

After a perusal of the *Globe's* contents during the 1840's, however, it was found that the initially established subject matter categories did not totally represent focal points of Congressional debate regarding California. In order to more accurately reflect these focal points, subject matter categories were adjusted. While new subject matter categories were added, all except the category referring to California inhabitants were combined with other categories.

As adjusted, new subject matter categories of Congressional images of the British vis-à-vis California, the Manifest Destiny vis-à-vis California, a commercial landscape, and slavery's extension to California were added. While the category of California inhabitants was retained, the remaining initially established categories were deleted. Congressmen did refer to these subjects. Yet reference was only tangential to and supportive of other more important Congressional issues such as British encroachment into California, America's Manifest Destiny, California's commercial potential, slavery's extension to California, and California's inhabitants. Once this determination was made, these deleted categories of California's physical geography, the Mexican-American War, and the Gold Rush were
combined to form minor topics which were encompassed within the added or retained subject matter categories.

Once truly reflective subject matter categories were established, trend analysis commenced. Each time a Congressman spoke about one of the established imagery categories, the reference, whether a phrase, paragraph, or entire speech was copied verbatim and then categorized according to subject matter. The speaker's name, Congressional affiliation (member of House or Senate), date, and Congressional session in which the speech was made was also included in the reference. Since the Globe did not include Congressional party affiliation or state represented, library work was done to obtain these details. Once this work was completed, the categorized data were temporally organized in order to establish a trend of images held by Congressmen during the 1840's. Figure 1 is an example of the manner in which imagery references were categorized and organized. Following the identifying information on this index card, the Congressman's political party and state represented are indicated. To the upper right the subject matter category appears (Manifest Destiny) as does a minor topic (Mexican-American War). The chronological order in which this referenced speech was made appears as a number (65) in the lower right corner.

In order to complete the task of a trend analysis, specific measurement techniques were employed in order to refine the retrieved data. As selected, they were frequency counts, time allocation counts, and attitudinal focus counts. These particular measures were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, these measures are general techniques. For this reason, they can accommodate a flexible or less precise data base.
"The cry of its advocates is that we must 'revel in the Halls of Montezuma.' The churches will be stripped of their silver before any sacrilegious (sic) Anglo-Saxon robber can reach them. The adventurers who imagine they shall find the real El Dorado in Mexico and can fill up their knapsacks with gold and silver by going there will be sadly disappointed. But suppose we conquer Mexico, what then...we shall seize the Californias and the northern unpeopled Territory of Mexico and hold it. For what purpose? We do not want it now."
such as the Congressional Globe. Secondly, as general in nature as they are, however, when combined, frequency, time, and attitudinal focus counts worked well together to determine when Congressional images became important to holders and when these images began to change.

Other measurement techniques such as those used for measuring semantics and word intensity could have been employed in this study, but there were specific limitations to the use of these sophisticated linguistic measures. Firstly, the Congressional Globe was not transcribed verbatim during the 1840's. Stenographers often substituted their own words for those used by Congressmen. Moreover, Congressmen often "mailed-in" their speeches to be read by their colleagues. As a result of these two problems, finer meanings of words and significances of phrases could not be measured.

Because of inadequacies of the data base, the three measures of frequency, time, and attitudinal focus counts were used in this study because of their general nature. By definition, frequency counts specify the number of times a topic is discussed, time allotment counts indicate how long the topic was discussed, and attitudinal focus counts refer to the opinion taken toward the discussed topic. Even though they are general, when combined to measure the same data, these techniques can define changes in topics as well as the importance of the topic. For example, when Congressmen spoke frequently about a subject for long periods of time and held a favorable or unfavorable attitude, the growth in the topic's importance was indicated. Alternatively, when discussion and time allocated dwindled, and attitudes became less firm, the subject was judged as becoming less
Specific application of frequency, time, and attitude measurements involved a three step procedure. After all Congressional references were temporally categorized according to subject, the number of times these subjects appeared during each Congressional session was itemized. Then the time allocated to the subject was measured. Time, in the instance of Congressional speeches, was measured in terms of amount of page space allocated in the Globe. As can be seen in the 35% reduced reproduction (Figure 2), the Globe's page format was divided into three columns, each of which is approximately $2\frac{1}{2}\times10$". Time or space measurements were made in terms of columnar approximations ($1/4$, $1/2$, $3/4$, etc.). Length approximations were then itemized along with frequency counts. Lastly, attitude taken toward the topic was determined and itemized in a similar manner. As measured, Congressmen either spoke in favorable (positive), unfavorable (negative), or non-committal (neutral) terms about a subject.

In order to best illustrate how attitudes were determined, Figure 3 illustrates three typical Congressional speech quotations. The first quote was determined to be in favor of slavery's extension to California by Federal imposition. Representative Bowdon was opposed to the pending antislave bill which sought to exclude slavery from those territories acquired from Mexico, which in this case was California. The next example was judged to be neutral in attitude. In presenting this House resolution, Representative Pickens merely voiced facts and gave no indication as to his particular opinion regarding the subject. The last example is a quote from Senator Severance. In his speech, the Senator denounced American War efforts
Figure 2

PUBLISHED BY BLAIR AND RIVES, AT ONE DOLLAR PER SESSION, IN ADVANCE.

CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE.

VOLUME XI. No. 36.

MONDAY, MAY 6, 1844.

FROM CONGRESS, S. 33.

[Text continues on page 51.]
"Such is the anti slavery feature of this bill, sustained by the majority under the pretext of constitutional power without reference to the principle of concession. The adaption of the soil and climate of Oregon to slave labor, and the precedent furnished by the Missouri Compromise, can now have no influence upon our course. We have forced a vote upon an isolation proposition, involving the power of the Federal Government over the subject of slavery. We are now about to establish a precedent to embarrass us hereafter, and aid our opponents in their wild crusade against southern institutions, carried on under the mask of philanthropes, but really instigated by the double forces of agrarianism and a lust of dominion. Why has slavery been denounced as a dark current, rolling over the continent and withering everything sacred in its march? Why has the doctrine been boldly announced that California and New Mexico must be added to the Union, with a perpetual prohibition as to slavery, to surround the South with a corridor of free states?"

Pickens, House, January 7, 1840, 26th Cong., -British 1st sess., p. 172 (Democrat, S. Carolina) -Commercial

Resolved: That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the House any information in his possession respecting the condition of citizens of the United States doing business during the past year with China, the state of American trade in that country, the interests of the people and commerce of the United States, as affected by recent measures of the Chinese Government for the suppression of the contraband or forcible introduction of opium into China. Also whether the British Government has given notice to that of the United States of a purpose to blockade the ports of China.

"The cry of its advocates is that we must 'revel in the Halls of Montezuma.' The churches will be stripped of their silver before any sacrilegious (sic) Anglo-Saxon robber can reach them. The adventurers who imagine they shall find the real El Dorado in Mexico and can fill up their knapsacks with gold and silver by going there will be sadly disappointed. But suppose we conquer Mexico, what then...we shall seize the Californias and the northern unpeopled Territory of Mexico and hold it. For what purpose? We do not want it now."
for the sake of fulfilling America's Manifest Destiny. Severance's tone was deemed to be unfavorable toward the Manifest Destiny.

Once itemization for each subject matter category was completed, graphs were drawn in order to visually organize the total counts of these three measurement techniques as they had been applied to the categorized data. These graphs which appear in Chapter IV were compiled by Congressional session so that the growth or decline of imagery importance could be accurately ascertained. Thus, time is denoted along horizontal axes by Congressional session rather than by year. With these graphs as indicators, verbal reconstruction of Congressional images could be completed. Each set of references pertaining to subject matter categories was re-read in chronological order while the subject matter graphs and itemization tabulations were constantly cross-referenced to determine Congressional sessions in which the images grew or declined in importance. Rationale for the image's growth was elicited both from specific quotations and from the context in which speeches were made.

As reconstructed by this method, Congressional images are presented in Chapter IV. Since the reconstructed images temporally overlapped, image presentation is sequentially ordered according to the year in which they became most important in Congressional discourse. The citations following the text in Chapter IV and the itemization tables and graphs appearing in Appendix 1 and in Chapter IV respectively all help to validate and substantiate the reconstructed images.

The citations which appear at the end of Chapter IV reference footnotes contained within the text of this chapter. These citations are lengthy because they indicate all Congressional speeches occurring
during the 1840's which made mention of categorized images or image elements. In short, citations refer to speech quotations which were initially taken verbatim from the *Congressional Globe* and then analyzed to establish a temporal trend of images.

The itemized tables which comprise Appendix 1 offer an explanation of the manner in which measurement techniques were applied to the categorized data. They are chronologically ordered by political party and section represented by Congressmen whose speeches were analyzed to determine when subcultural biases prevailed.

The subject matter graphs which appear in Chapter IV provide the visual basis upon which image importance and change were determined. These graphs represent the totals of frequency, space and attitudinal foci counts tabulated for each table. While the numbers which appear along vertical axes represent totals of each type of count, time, or, in this case, Congressional session is indicated along horizontal axes in abbreviated form. For example, the 29th Congress, 1st session appears as 29-1 and the 26th Congress, 2nd session is illustrated as 26-1, etc. Abbreviated forms were used because it would have been graphically cumbersome to depict particular Congressional time spans which are equivalent to this schema:

- 26th Congress, 1st session=December 1839 to July 1840
- 26th Congress, 2nd session=December 1840 to March 1841
- 27th Congress, 1st session=May 1841 to September 1841
- 27th Congress, 2nd session=December 1841 to August 1842
- 27th Congress, 3rd session=December 1842 to March 1843
- 28th Congress, 1st session=December 1843 to June 1844
- 28th Congress, 2nd session=December 1844 to March 1845
- 29th Congress, 1st session=December 1845 to August 1846
- 29th Congress, 2nd session=December 1846 to March 1847
- 30th Congress, 1st session=December 1847 to August 1848
- 30th Congress, 2nd session=December 1848 to March 1849
- 31st Congress, 1st session=December 1849 to September 1850
Construct Elicitation

Once images of California were obtained and refined by the technique of content analysis, spatial implications were determined by a method called construct elicitation. Construct elicitation, like content analysis, deals with language as a process of recoding what is in the mind. Yet, the former differs from content analysis in that it concentrates on the way in which information is mentally decoded and categorized. Thus, while content analysis focuses on information output, construct elicitation concentrates on information input by focusing on positional attributes of imagery elements. Like content analysis, however, construct elicitation has specific premises from which it works and a rationale for application to this study.

Premises of Construct Elicitation

Construct elicitation is premised primarily on the notion that individuals create mental images of their environment in an attempt to order that environment. These mental images are internalized abstractions and simplistic replications which afford individuals a basis for dealing with new environmental information. Instead of being constantly bombarded with fresh and detailed information at each moment individuals can anticipate the nature of this new information by referencing their mental stereotypes. Although new information may be similar in nature to old and previously categorized information, it is never identical. As a consequence, stereotypes are modified to assimilate new information. Modification continues until the stereotype is invalidated since it is no longer compatible with incoming information. At this point, a new image is created to better
categorize the barrage of new information. 20

Construct elicitation is utilized to decipher the assimilative or filtering process by which new information is mentally incorporated. Essentially, construct elicitation presumes that when individuals are confronted by new information, mental images are referenced to determine in what ways this information resembles or differs from information previously categorized. 21 For example, an individual may perceive Texas as being more similar to Pennsylvania than to Rhode Island because both Texas and Pennsylvania are territorially large. Alternatively, another individual might perceive Texas as more like Rhode Island than Pennsylvania because both Texas and Rhode Island border on the sea. As illustrated here, construct elicitation presumes that individuals make a tri-part antagonistic comparison which in these illustrated cases is manifested in antagonistic constructs of large-not large, maritime-not maritime. After this mental search to discover similarities and differences, construct elicitation further presumes that individuals categorize this new information into an appropriate image to become an additional component element of that image. 22

Implicit in this mental filtering process is an organizational hierarchy of component elements—or constructs—with the highest inferring lower constructs. 23 Thus, because Rhode Island and Texas border on the sea, the fishing industry may be well developed, while in Pennsylvania it may be lacking. The ways in which individuals perceive these spatial relationships, however, depend on the mental organization of constructs and upon the types of mental images previously created.

For geographers interested in space perception, construct
elicitation is a useful tool because it can indicate how information about spatial phenomena is processed into mental images. By deciphering or eliciting antagonistic (large-not large), yet characterizing constructs, geographers can gain insight into spatial relationships within mental images. Once spatial relations are determined, images with their component elements can be mapped to afford a greater understanding of spatial implications of environmental images.

Application of Construct Elicitation to This Study

To determine spatial relationships of California images held during the 1840's, construct elicitation was applied and results of the analysis were mapped. Application involved a two-step process which included interpretative analysis and graphic manipulation. More specifically, as applied to this study, once Congressional images were verbally reconstructed through content analysis, they were analyzed in order to ascertain antagonistic constructs and the hierarchical arrangement of spatial imagery elements. Once this step was completed, the spatial elements were cartographically manipulated in order to graphically reconstruct Congressional images.

While this process may appear complicated, explanation as to how one Congressional image was analyzed and graphically reconstructed may help crystallize an understanding of the procedures involved in construct elicitation. The example presented pertains to the Congressional image which opposed slavery's extension to California. Congressmen holding this image stated that slavery's extension to California would be both unprofitable and inappropriate. To this
Congressional faction, slave labor could not develop California's virgin soil as profitably as could free labor. In addition, these Congressmen perceived California, as well as the region west of the Rockies, as culturally affiliated with and physically attached to Asia, while the region east was influenced by Europe. Thus, for many Congressmen slavery's extension west of the Rockies into alien, Asiatic terrain was inappropriate. For this reason, God had placed the Rockies in the center of the North American continent to prohibit westward expansion of slavery. Lastly, since this faction believed that California's physical geography was an extension of that characterizing the Great American Desert, they reasoned that plantation crops were unadaptable in California.

Through analysis which was primarily subjective in nature, a focal construct was determined for the image opposed to slavery's extension. In this case, "deleterious utilization" was deemed to be the construct upon which all anti-slavery arguments hinged: slave labor was unprofitable; California was culturally and physically distinct from Southern states where slave economics existed; God had confined slavery by His placement of the Rockies; plantation crops could not grow in Californian soils. This construct's opposite (or antagonist) was then determined to be "profitable utilization," a construct which related to arguments favoring slavery's extension. In short, this antagonistic construct summed up arguments advocating slavery's extension.

Spatial implications of the image opposed to slavery's extension were then determined in a tri-part comparison (one object is more similar to a second than it is to a third). As defined, spatial
implications were two-fold. Firstly, Congressmen opposed to slavery seemed to perceive the United States as being divided. Western regions were more attached to the Asian continent and more culturally similar to Asia than to Eastern regions. Alternatively, the Eastern United States was more similar to Europe than it was to Western regions. The Rocky Mountains demarcated this cultural and physical differentiation perceived to exist between West and East. Secondly, California's terrain appeared to be more similar to that of the Great American Desert than to that which characterized the remaining regions of the United States.

These spatial elements hinging on the construct of deleterious utilization were then ordered in terms of importance to Congressmen. This importance was determined by re-referencing the number of times discussed, space allocated, and attitude taken towards these spatial elements as generated by content analysis. As they ranked, the Asiatic character of California appeared to be more important than the similarity of California's physical geography to that of the Great American Desert.

The organizational schema devised for this first step in analyzing the image opposed to slavery's extension appears in Appendix 2 along with charts which organize spatial implications for the remaining images. The focal construct appears directly beneath the subject matter or imagery category. Below are listings of the tri-part comparisons which are hierarchically ordered in terms of their vocalized importance.

Once this analytic process was completed, spatial elements were then cartographically manipulated in order to finalize graphic
reconstruction of the image opposed to slavery's extension. Basically, a cartogram was drawn to recapture Congressional imagery elements. Hence, regional shapes, areal extents, and other geographical phenomena were graphically gerrymandered. In reconstructing this particular image, there were four specific graphic considerations made in order to compile a cartogram. They were: appropriate type of hemispheric projection; manipulation of regional shapes and areal extents; specific proximity of regions; and geographical barriers. Moreover, there was a general attempt to make this map cartographically authentic.

The initial cartographic step taken was the compilation of a suitable projection. In the case of the image opposed to slavery's extension (see Map 9, Chapter IV, p. 101), two hemispheres were drawn so as to meet in the approximate center of the United States. Next, world regions were drawn to conform with their perceived spatial importance. The North American continent was thus elongated and the United States areally enlarged. Asiatic and European continents were also enlarged to indicate their importance, while Latin America and Africa were drawn to appear as appendages. Proximities of continents were then altered by moving the Asian continent with its sphere of islands toward North America and attaching North America to Asia. The European continent was also moved toward North America but was not attached since Congressmen spoke in terms of influence rather than spatial attachment. Barriers were the last to be considered. The Rockies were drawn to appear as formidable barriers and to cut the North American continent into two--East and West. The Great American Desert was then demarcated according to its perceived location, and extended by speckled symbolization into California.
Images of California inhabitants were not subjected to graphic reconstruction because focal constructs had no spatial implications.

As determined, images of the British encirclement, Manifest Destiny, and commercial landscape contained the first set of antagonistic constructs. Because the image of the British stipulated the encroachment of British power into United States' territory and into potential spheres of interest, the focal construct was determined to be "spatial constriction." This construct's antagonist or "spatial expansion," related primarily to the image of America's Manifest Destiny, and by implication to the image of a commercial landscape. While the image of Manifest Destiny focused generally on the expansion of territorial power and range, the image of a commercial landscape specifically related to a way in which the expansion of territorial power could be realized.

The second set of antagonistic constructs elicited related to Congressional images of slavery's extension to California. As previously discussed, antagonistic constructs relating to these images were determined to be "deleterious utilization" and "profitable utilization" since referential images vocalized by Congressmen focused on disadvantages and advantages of extending slavery to California.

Once this first step in construct elicitation was completed and spatial implications were established in hierarchical order, cartograms were drawn in order to represent each verbally reconstructed image. Generally, the same procedures were followed as detailed for the graphic reconstruction of the image opposed to slavery's extension. Specific cartographic considerations were made and there was a general attempt to both replicate cartographic techniques used in
the early to mid-Nineteenth-Century and to use then available base maps. These specific and general considerations will be detailed in Chapter IV in order to explain each map which accompanies the verbally reconstructed Congressional images.

Conclusion

In summary, construct elicitation as well as content analysis as applied to this study efficiently reconstructed images of California as they were vocalized in Congress between 1840 and 1850. While content analysis aided verbal reconstruction of these images by focusing on the manner in which information about California was vocalized, construct elicitation helped to graphically dimensionalize each image by re-establishing mental categories into which this information was initially placed. Results of these two techniques, or the verbal and graphic reconstructions of Congressional images of California, are presented in the following chapter.
References

1 Although Chapter III's subject matter may be methodologically considered part of Chapter I, it has become a chapter in itself and is placed here for several reasons. Firstly, since the subject matter in Chapter III mandated a detailed and technical format, it was thought unwise to unduly complicate Chapter I. Secondly, by placing the subject matter in Chapter III, the reader may better understand how the Congressional images and maps included in Chapter IV were generated. Lastly, in order for the reader to understand group constructs as presented in Chapter III, he must first understand the cultural environment from which group constructs were formed. Hence, Chapter III's material was placed after that included in Chapter II.


9 Techniques of content analysis and construct elicitation can be employed on written communication such as the Congressional Globe because according to Roman Jakobson, "Verbal Communication," Scientific American 227 (September 1972), p. 80, written language is a transformation of verbal speech.


12 Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences, p. 71.


15 Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences, pp. 146-8.

16 Budd, An Introduction to Content Analysis, p. 15.

17 These particular units of frequency, time allotment, and attitudinal focus were suggested by Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences, p. 107; by Budd, An Introduction to Content Analysis, pp. 16, 23-25; and by Merrill, "The Image of the U.S."


19 For a discussion of how man attempts to order his environment by anticipating events and hence controlling them, see Bannister, Inquiring Man, p. 39; Silzer, "Personal Construction Elicitation,"


CHAPTER IV

CONGRESSIONAL IMAGES OF CALIFORNIA, 1840-1850

Introduction

Congressional images of California held during the 1840's were multi-faceted and subject to change. Not only were these aspects consequential of the cultural and subcultural American environments, but they were also a result of differing issues which faced Congress. The combined effect of the above diverging cultural forces, international and domestic issues created an assortment of Congressional images that characterized both advantageous and discouraging aspects of California geography.

In the early years of the 1840's, Congressmen dealt primarily with international issues which focused on the region of California. It was during this time between 1840 and 1846 that Congressmen believed Great Britain to be encroaching economically into California, then an area regarded by Congress as a potential sphere of American political and economic influence. Images which were generated depicted California as a strategic area which was threatened with British domination, and focused on America's inherent right to acquire California in order to culturally dominate indigenous Californians. As is illustrated by Graph 1, the region of California was, in the main, favorably characterized by Congressmen between the 26th Congress, 1st session and the 29th Congress, 1st session. In fact, it was
Graph 1: CUMULATIVE RESULTS FROM A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 1840-1850
during these Congressional sessions that the geographical qualities of California assumed semi-mythical proportions.

When actual territorial acquisition of California appeared evident after 1846, Congressmen became embroiled in domestic issues which concerned slavery and its legal extension to California. Subsequent images generated in Congress characterized the specific nature of California's physical geography and inhabitants in such a way that subcultural economic interests were supported. By virtue of these characterizations, Congressional attitudes were deemed to be mixed in aspect. As can be again seen in Graph 1, description of California was either favorable, neutral, or unfavorable as Congressmen frequently spoke about California. In short, images of California voiced after 1846 and until 1850 portrayed a landscape which had questionable value.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a detailed discussion of Congressional images of California as they were voiced between 1840 and 1850. Each image is verbally reconstructed in terms of when each image became important; when and how each image changed. The graphic reconstructions which follow explain basic considerations made while compiling each map and guide map interpretation.

**Image of British Encirclement**

Verbal Reconstruction

Throughout the early years of the 1840's and until war was declared on Mexico in 1846, Congressmen stated that Great Britain was a potent enemy which was advancing into every corner of the globe and was looming greedily over American borders. According to Congressmen,
Britain had recently colonized vast areas of the world in order to establish a mercantilistic system. Across the Atlantic, British power extended to the Mediterranean, down the Levant into Africa, and around the globe through the Middle East, China, and Polynesia. From the East, British influence crossed the Pacific to Hawaii, swung up to Canada, around to Bermuda, and down through the Caribbean. Great Britain was said to have encircled the United States. Hence, to Congressmen, America was neither assured of maritime sovereignty nor secured from internal subversion. To many Congressmen, . . . there never before existed on this globe a nation that presented such a spectacle as Great Britain does at this moment . . . she appears to be actuated . . . by a spirit of conquest and domination not surpassed by Rome in the haughtiest days of the Republic.

By 1840, Congress seemed convinced that America's Far Western frontier was England's next target. Although an 1818 treaty provided for joint occupation of Oregon, Americans had done little to validate their claim, and the British Lion was believed to be moving in to acquire full territorial privilege by American remission. Congressmen also voiced a fear that British hegemony would not stop at Oregon but would wind its way down the coast to Mexican California and beyond in order to capture the trade of much of the American West Coast.

It is not so much as a few acres of land that Great Britain wants as it is a monopoly of the . . . pearls and gold of Panama and Choco, minerals of Peru, hides of California, whale fisheries, and in time the whole trade of . . . the western shores of Mexico and Central America.

With the Oregon question unsettled and Mexican-American relations over possession of Texas in a state of deterioration, Congressional concern shifted forcefully to California in 1842. Congress began to suspect conspiratorial activities between Mexico and England,
and, as outlined, if Britain aided Mexican efforts in retrieving Texas from American influence, Mexico would cede California to England. Tangible evidence of this conspiracy surfaced by 1845 in reports which indicated that England was indeed training Mexican combat troops and in return, British subjects had been deeded valuable tracts of California land. Congressmen envisaged national calamity if English aggression were not halted. With California and Oregon potentially controlled by Britain, and Chinese ports subject to British control, not only would America's Pacific commercial relations be threatened, but also continental expansion would be halted and possibly rolled back east beyond the Rockies.

Late in 1845 and early in 1846, on the eve of the Mexican-American War, Congressional discussion of the California conspiracy ceased. The rationale for the silence emerged in a December 1845 Congressional speech which exposed American intentions to break out of the British encirclement through the acquisition of California.

Senator Magnum of South Carolina queried,

Do we propose to attain California? It would in that case be wise and judicious if the executive would bring the project to maturity without publicizing it abroad. To make it the theme of speculation and controversy by announcing it here would have the effect of setting all the powers of Europe to work in anticipation of our purpose, and affording them the opportunity to counteract it.

Subsequent Congressional silence on the subject of California's acquisition indicated the extent of Congressional concern. As the preceding quote of Senator Magnum suggests, had specific designs for California been detailed before actuation, American acquisition could have been thwarted by a prepared Mexico supported by world condemnation.
As Graph 2 indicates, while Congressional concern about England's activities did continue into the war years (1846 through 1848), interest was retrospective with debate focused on whether or not England had been an actual threat in California. Thus, even though Congressional concern was maintained in terms of the number of times mentioned and the space allocated to a discussion of the British encroachment, after war was declared in 1846 active interest began to dwindle and by late 1848 (30th Cong., 2nd session) it disappeared as other issues became more important to Congressmen.

Graphic Reconstruction

During active Congressional discussion regarding Britain's nefarious activities, an image was generated which focused on the spatial implications of British hegemony. As vocalized by Congressmen, British power seemed to consume a great deal of the world outside and within the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, as Senator Linn of Missouri stated in 1841, this "dense black cloud of danger" surrounded the United States and encroached in territories into which the United States wished to expand--specifically into California. For Congressmen, then, the United States seemed to be a mere dot on a world map since it was territorially contained and constricted by British power.

Map 4, "Congressional Image of the British Encirclement," was compiled to graphically portray both the manner in which the United States was territorially constricted and the spatial implications related to Britain's all-consuming power. In compiling this map, several specific and general cartographic considerations were made in
Graph 2: CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS WHICH INDEX THE CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF THE BRITISH ENCIRCLEMENT.
order to reconstruct the image of British hegemony.

The four specific cartographic considerations made were: selection of an appropriate projection, placement of continents, symbolization of British power, and signification of place names. A one-hemispheric world projection was used in order to compile this map since the image of the British inferred one world . . . a world dominated by Britain. Continents were then placed within the confines of this projection in such a way that the United States appeared to be surrounded by British power. Accordingly, the United States was positioned in the optical center of the projection, while European and Asiatic continental areas were moved toward the Americas. A graytone overlay was then applied to places where British power was said to have existed and where it actually existed but was not mentioned to be by Congressmen. Next, areas that were said to be controlled by England were labelled with a type face whose size was just noticeably larger than type faces used to denote places where British power actually was during the 1840's but not referred to by Congressmen.

The general considerations which were made in order to replicate techniques used and base maps available during the Nineteenth Century were three-fold. Firstly, in keeping with the cartographic style used in the mid-Nineteenth-Century, Map 4 was drawn in a detailed fashion. Hence, the projection was graphically symbolized with three lines, and tic-marks, used to visually differentiate land from the sea, were drawn in to increase the map's intricacy. Secondly, the place name schema used to symbolize cities, regions, countries, and islands includes similar type-face styles, placement techniques, and place name spellings to those used by Nineteenth-Century cartographers. Lastly,
Map 4

CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF THE BRITISH ENCIRCLEMENT

a Mercator projection was used as the original base map because this type of projection, which really enlarges specific regions to the detriment of others, was generally available during the Nineteenth-Century.

As finalized, Map 4 depicts the stated and actual extent of British power during the early 1840's. Not only did British power exist in Asia and its sphere of land and island complexes, in Europe, the Mediterranean region, and coastal regions of Africa, but it also extended into the American continent to such a degree that the United States seemed to be encircled. As portrayed, the United States was a tiny nation when compared to the territorial expansiveness of Great Britain.

**Image of America's Manifest Destiny**

**Verbal Reconstruction**

In reaction to their image of a British encirclement Congressmen advocated a philosophical rationale for breaking British control. This rationale was premised on the territorial inclusion of the Pacific coast and henceforth the entire Western Hemisphere within the United States. To the composite Congressional mind, God had granted every inch of the continent to the Americans. Britain, therefore, could never halt the westward expansion of the United States to the Pacific because Americans had an unfulfilled mandate which "would yet appear upon the great charts of human destiny." In short, Americans

... would pour like a cataract over the Rocky Mountains ... and open the forests of that far distant wilderness to the light of the rising sun.

To Congressmen, the Pacific shores could not fall to the
British because these shores were geographically predestined part of the United States. \(^{14}\) Futuristically, Congressmen imagined that these western shores were only a beginning in the unfolding of the American empire, for "... like the Goths and the Huns of old, the nation will migrate to the Pacific."\(^{15}\) There, dividing its force it will extend along the shores of the Pacific until it includes the entire American continent from Behring's [sic] to Cape Horn.\(^{16}\)

Such lofty rhetoric riddles the Congressional Globe throughout the 1840's. As determined by the frequency, space, and attitudinal focus indices in Graph 3, interest was insignificant, however, until 1845 when during the 28th Congress, 2nd session, interest noticeably began to increase into the early years of the Mexican-American War. Voiced primarily by expansionists (Western Democrats), the philosophical doctrine of Manifest Destiny played a dual role in justifying aggression for purposes of extending American economic institutions. Until 1846 when Britain peacefully ceded Oregon to the United States, Congressmen utilized doctrines of Manifest Destiny to denounce British rights to the American continent. When war with Mexico seemed imminent, however, these doctrines were alternatively used to illustrate Anglo-Saxon superiority over Mexicans. It became almost an American duty to acquire California in order to impose an efficient economic system and to educate Mexicans in the precepts of American democracy. Until war was actually declared, Congressional discourse remained lofty, perhaps in an attempt to mobilize public support for territorial aggrandizement.

Yet, after war was declared on Mexico in 1846 during the 29th Congress, 1st session, some Congressmen became less arrogant as they began to denounce the doctrines of Manifest Destiny. To these Congress-
Graph 3: CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS
WHICH INDEX THE CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF MANIFEST DESTINY

vertical exaggeration: x4
men, America had disgraced itself by "ravaging the Halls of Montezuma" in an attempt to dismantle the Mexican Republic. Most denunciations lasted only until late 1847 and early 1848 during the 30th Congress, 1st session when it appeared evident that Americans had won the war. As attested to by the attitudinal focus index in Graph 3, Congress again became somewhat unified in attitude, perhaps in an effort to sanctify the conquest. According to these Congressmen, the Mexican-American War had actualized America's Manifest Destiny to expand to Pacific borders. It would be only a matter of time before the United States would acquire all the Americas in accordance with God's mission.

Graphic Reconstruction

In the main, Congressional rhetoric regarding the Manifest Destiny specified both the United States' territorial expansion to California and the subsequent spatial inclusion of all the Americas. As futuristically perceived, the United States would extend from the Aleutian Islands south to Tierra del Fuego with all intervening nations and territories included within the nation's borders. As such, the United States would become an empire which was greater in spatial extent and in power than the rest of the world's nations.

In order to graphically capture spatial implications of this image which focused on spatial expansion, specific and general cartographic considerations were met. As will be seen, while specific considerations adequately reconstructed the image of Manifest Destiny, general considerations provided an air of Nineteenth-Century authenticity to Map 5.

Specific considerations made dealt with the selection of an appropriate projection, the configuration of continents, and the
illusion of movement. A two-hemispheric projection was selected in order to exaggerate the Western Hemisphere's (or America's) perceived future importance vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Continental configurations contained within each hemisphere were manipulated in order to indicate comparative degrees of potential importance. Accordingly, land areas within the Eastern Hemisphere were areally decreased and generally drawn while land in the Western Hemisphere was areally increased, drawn in detail, and a light graytone added to visually infer importance. Lastly, specific place names were included in the Western Hemisphere to allude to the spatial movement of Anglo-Americans to California and then concurrently north to Alaska and south to Argentina. Hence, San Francisco and San Diego refer to Pacific coast destination points while the Aleutians and Tierra del Fuego indicate northern and southern points. Capitols of intervening countries were included to indicate their inclusion within the United States' future borders.

The general considerations which followed concentrated on duplicating style used by Nineteenth-Century cartographers and on using a base map which was available to Congressmen during the 1840's. As can be seen on Map 5, the projection outline is detailed and the lines representing mountains duplicate Nineteenth-Century cartographic methods. Furthermore, the base map used for graphic compilation is a map drawn in the mid-Nineteenth-Century. This particular base map not only depicted areas which were known but also illustrated areas, such as Greenland, whose exact areal extent was still unknown.

As completed, Map 5 shows the United States territorial boundaries not only extending to include California, but also to include all nation states and territories then viable in the Western...
CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF AMERICA'S MANIFEST DESTINY

A WORLD VIEW

Map 5

Hemisphere. While these extensive boundaries allude to the future power of the United States, the fact that the United States was drawn to be contained in a separate hemisphere infers a degree of isolation which would be necessary for America to realize its destiny.

Image of a Commercial Landscape

Verbal Reconstruction

As Congressmen began to characterize the Mexican Republic within the context of Manifest Destiny in 1842, these national leaders concurrently visualized the type of economic landscape which would supplant the Mexican system in California. Not only would an "advanced" commercial landscape more efficiently utilize California's untapped resources, but also it would enhance American commercial relations. Although diverse sectional interests in Congress were apparent in the various elements of the commercial landscape envisioned, the composite Congressional image converged on California's coastal regions. From California ports, New England merchant ships would carry agricultural commodities to Asia which had been shipped to these ports from Southern and Western sections of the country.

Not only were California harbors potentially valuable re-supply and repair stations for New England merchant ships, but to Northern Congressmen, possession of California coastal regions also symbolized American control of the Pacific Ocean trade. As Senator Clarke observed,

We have the harbors of San Francisco, of Monterey and of San Diego giving our commerce free access to the finest ports of that sea, and affording a ready and direct communication with the islands of the Pacific and the ports of China and India. With the enterprise and progress of the present age, how long may it be before much of our trade with India and China will center in the ports of
California and advantageously the commerce of the whole western coast. 20

To Northern Congressmen, possession of California also meant the establishment of a manufacturing-type landscape along coastal regions. California would be, . . . an empire which in fifty years shall be a rival of New England; we want to see her commerce whitening every sea; we want to see manufacturers established there which shall be able to compete in open market. 21

Western and Southern Congressmen also envisioned a commercial landscape. Yet, their image focused on California.ports as points to which their agricultural commodities would be shipped and then carried to Asia by New England merchant ship. 22 For this Congressional faction, "... the day seemed at hand when the overcharged grainaries [sic] . . . would be emptied to the starving million of Asia." 23 Western and Southern sections were to realize, . . . golden dreams of competing with the world . . . sanguine hopes of supplying all China with tobacco and of carrying on the most profitable and extensive trade with the Sandwich Islands, the East Indies and indeed with the whole Pacific country. 24

Inferred in the commercial landscape image was an internal trade route through the United States to the Pacific which would functionally replicate the Northwest Passage. While public petitions introduced into Congress called for construction of a canal or railroad system, Senator Benton of Missouri proposed the construction of a highway to California. 25 This "great central national highway" would not be of ordinary dimension but one-hundred miles wide and sixteen-hundred miles long to extend from "... St. Louis on the Mississippi to the Bay of San Francisco on the Pacific." 26 Minor arteries would be fifty miles wide and connect both Santa Fe and the mouth of the
Columbia River to the major highway. American as well as European and Asian goods would flow along this highway. Thus, Senator Benton along with other supporting Congressmen saw a way to enhance American geopolitical power by making the United States a center for world commerce.

During the early years of the 1840's and until the beginning of the Mexican-American War, Congressional attention focused on California coastal regions. The ports of San Francisco, Monterey, and San Diego symbolized America's long sought window on Asia through which America could trade with the East. The Bay of San Francisco alone was "the most commodious and capacious harbor on the face of the earth." For many Congressmen, the entire coast was an empire in itself, worth millions of dollars and thousands of lives to obtain.

As military reports flooded Congressional chambers during the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), however, this commercial image broadened to include other ports and coastal areas of the City of Angels, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo.

Although the breadth of the envisioned commercial landscape changed during the 1840's, Congressional interest in the creation of such a landscape remained steady throughout much of the 1840's. As is illustrated in Graph 4, attitudes voiced were predominately in favor of a commercial landscape, while the image was often mentioned and much time was allocated to the image's discussion. The few negative remarks itemized during the 28th Congress, 2nd session and during the 31st Congress, 1st session were voiced by Congressmen who criticized California's commercial potential in order to denounce the Mexican-American War and efforts to legally extend slavery to California.
Graph 4: CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS WHICH INDEX THE CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF A COMMERCIAL LANDSCAPE

FREQUENCY COUNT INDEX

SPACE ALLOTMENT INDEX

FOCUS INDEX ATTITUdINAL

vertical exaggeration: 7X
Graphic Reconstruction

As is evident from the verbal reconstruction, acquisition of California was crucial to the image of a commercial landscape. By this region's acquisition, Congressmen not only reasoned that the United States could become the center of world trade, but also that potential domestic manufacturing capabilities would enhance America's economic power. In this sense, then, realization of such a commercial landscape signified a partial fulfillment of the Manifest Destiny since the United States would expand in political and economic importance.

As constructed, Map 6 attempts to portray America's future geopolitical and economic importance by virtue of several considerations. They were: selection of a suitable projection; determination of areal extents; depiction of trade routes; and utilization of Nineteenth-Century cartographic methods.

The first consideration involved the selection of an appropriate projection. As finalized, a three-hemispheric projection schema containing two peripheral hemispheres and one overlapping, centrally located hemisphere was chosen. This schema was selected so that the United States' potential geopolitical power could be emphasized while, at the same time, political positions of Asia and Europe could be de-emphasized.

Secondly, areal extents and proximities of continents were altered to graphically emphasize the importance of the United States. Thus, while America was territorially enlarged and Asian and European continents enlarged to a lesser degree, Latin America, Canada, and Africa were drawn to appear as appendages since these areas played no vocalized role in the realization of a commercial empire. Moreover,
CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF A COMMERCIAL LANDSCAPE

Map 6
European and Asian continents were drawn to overlap into the American-dominated hemisphere in order to allude to their future dependence on the United States.

The trade links which were then drawn indicate that Europe and Asia were connected by virtue of these routes which passed through the United States. Moreover, the routes were drawn in such a way that trade could appear to move either from Europe to Asia or from Asia to Europe via San Francisco and the United States. As finalized, these trade lines appear on Map 6 as a graytone overlay.

The last consideration made focused on the use of Nineteenth-Century cartographic techniques. As is apparent on Map 6, the projection was drawn in some detail while the type faces and their placement replicate styles and techniques employed in the mid-Nineteenth-Century. Even the legend was inset in a manner similar to legends commonly appearing on Nineteenth-Century maps.

Because of these cartographic considerations, Map 6 illustrates both the perceived necessity of acquiring California and the resultant realization of geopolitical and economic power. Thus, while geopolitical power would be realized because of the establishment of trade routes that converged at San Francisco, economic power would be gained by the establishment of manufacturing enterprises on California land.

Images of Slavery Landscapes

Near the close of the Mexican-American War in late 1847, Congressional interest shifted from California's narrow but economically valuable coastal area to consideration of the areal extent
of acquired territory. In almost two years, the United States had acquired territory one-third as large as that of all Europe; an area greater in extent than the thirteen original American states. California alone was "... ten times as large as New York and Pennsylvania," and embraced near $10^0$ latitude to extend from 500 to 1,000 miles into the interior. California was said to be an empire covering "... the length and breadth of Italy, in all the extent of Italy, from the Alps to the extremity of the Peninsula."

As the grandiose scope of acquisition became an accepted fact, the nature of the entire landscape of California began to be perceived and vocalized by those legislators concerned with the extension of slavery. With the land as the central focus of Congressional debate, vivid images characterizing both favorable and unfavorable aspects of California were expressed in Congress between 1847 and 1850 in order to support or oppose the extension of slavery to California. As can be seen in Graph 5, these characterizations were indeed numerous, and attitudes taken were firmly vocalized between the 29th Congress, 1st session and the 31st Congress, 1st session (1847 to 1850). In fact, the frequency with which the issue was mentioned and the time allotted to its discussion were quantitatively higher than those itemized for any other single issue dealt with in this study. Furthermore, because Congressmen took such firm stands in favor of and opposed to slavery's extension, compromise rather than persuasion typified the Congressional decision-making process.

**Image Favoring a Slavery Landscape**

**Verbal Reconstruction.** By 1847 it became obvious to Southern
Graph 5: CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS

WHICH INDEX THE CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF SLAVERY LANDSCAPES

vertical exaggeration: 1.35x
Congressmen that slavery's extension to the Pacific along the Missouri Compromise Line would be difficult. Consequently, these Congressmen construed various favorable arguments for slavery's extension. The image conveyed in these arguments created a mental picture of California's landscape that was indeed amenable to the institution of slavery.

Because the size of the territory imminently acquired was immense when compared to the rest of the United States, it seemed logical to Southern Congressmen that California should be divided into two states. Without such a division, not only would political administration be unwieldy but also, with its 970-mile coastline, California would monopolize West coast trade and become economically dangerous. Division at 36°30' was reasonable to Southern Congressmen because it would give South California a major port at San Diego and North California one at San Francisco. A plantation type economy would be suitable to South California because climatic characteristics in this area were similar to that of all American land lying below latitude 36°31'. For Senator Johnson of Maryland,

... the other states of this Union which lie south of that (Missouri Compromise Line) are slave states. ... Do they not profitably employ slave labor? ... The southern portions of California and New Mexico lie in the same eastern and western belts of latitude. Why then will they not yield the same agricultural products and consequently afford profitable employment for slave labor.

To Southern Congressmen, then, similar latitudinal position insured similar climatic regions and soil fertility. California, therefore, represented Southern isothermal territory.

Furthermore, slavery was not a man-made institution, but a Providential economy "... founded on the laws of God, written on the
climate and soil of the country . . . " and, as such, was the only form of economy which could profitably transform South California's landscape. 37 For historically,

Our cities were built, our canals dug, our railroads constructed, and our poor population supplied with food and raiment, all from the labor of slaves . . . to bring about the general good. 38

After gold was discovered in California in 1848, Southern Congressmen for a time stated that even North California's economic development would be enhanced if slaves were allowed to work gold mines. This was so because,

. . . the negro far excels the white in capacity to endure exposure to a scorching sun, drenching rains, and hardships peculiarly incident to the business of mining. 39

To make their pro-slavery arguments more persuasive, Southern Congressmen circuitously reasoned in 1847 and 1848 that the nation as a whole would benefit by slavery's extension to California. They stated that if such extension were not legally sanctioned, Southern citizens would be forced to migrate to California without their slaves, leaving Southern states primarily with Black populations to create potentially dangerous Black power centers. However, if Southern Whites illegally carried their slaves to California and were then forced to emancipate them in California, the freed Blacks would avenge themselves on their former masters as they had in Haiti. Afterward, these Blacks would mingle with Mexicans to create a homogeneous race of degraded people on America's southern borderlands. 40 Southern Congressmen reasoned that the nation had no alternative but to extend slavery to California. For this Congressional faction, not only would the Providential economy of slavery transform South California's landscape, but also the consequences of blocking slavery's extension would be
formidable.

Graphic Reconstruction. It is clear from the preceding arguments that the image created focused on the concept that slavery's extension to California would be profitable not only for Southern California's economic development, but for the nation as a whole. Spatial implications of this focal construct of "profitable utilization" were four-fold. Firstly, California land lying south of 36°30' could have been profitably transformed by a slave economy because this region was similar in geographic character to Southern states where slavery was economically successful. Furthermore, by dividing California along the Southern isothermal boundary, the nation as a whole would have benefited. California, as divided, would never economically endanger other regions, and Black and Zambo power blocs would not develop to endanger Anglo-American cultural domination.

In order to graphically reconstruct spatial implications of the image which favored the extension of slavery to California, two maps were drawn to illustrate the implicit profits of such an economy. Map 7, "Image of America Divided Along Isothermal Boundaries," depicts the future spatial expanses of slave and free labor economies, while Map 8 shows the potential spatial implications of forbidding the legal extension of slavery to California. In order to explain these two maps each map will be discussed separately in terms of what it illustrates and the specific considerations made while compiling it. General or overall considerations made for both maps will then be detailed.

Although Map 7 could not adequately capture the more qualitative profits accrued from slave labor, it does illustrate the
location of such an economy. As perceived, slave labor would prevail in all states and territories which lay south of parallel 36°30', and in states which employed slave labor prior to the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The isothermal area lying below parallel 36°30' would extend west from the Atlantic to the Pacific and there divide California into North and South California. Those Eastern states in which free labor prevailed prior to the Missouri Compromise and those states and territories lying north of 36°30' would have a free labor economic system. Once America's Manifest Destiny was fulfilled, slave and free economies would alternatively spread south into Latin America and north into Canada.

Specific cartographic considerations made while compiling Map 7 were two-fold. Firstly, the areal extent of California was enlarged in order to emphasize the grandiose scope of acquisition. As a consequence, territories internally set within the United States were areally decreased. Secondly, the spatial extents of regions lying south of the Missouri Compromise Line were decreased in size to illustrate that pro-slavery advocates "believed" their demand for slavery's extension was equitable and not exorbitant in terms of the territorial expanse of regions which would futuristically have free-labor economies.

Map 8 depicts population power blocs which would develop if slavery were not extended to California below parallel 36°30'. As pro-slavery Congressional advocates stated, Black power blocs, located in Southern states, would form if White Southerners left slaves behind. Alternatively, Zambo power blocs would develop in America's southwestern borderlands when freed Blacks intermingled with the Mexican
Congressional Images
in Favor of Slavery's Extension to California

Map 7

Image of America Divided Along Isothermal Boundaries

Slave States and Territory
Free States and Territory

Map 8

Image of Potential Power Blocs

Black Power Bloc
Zambo Power Bloc

population in California and in Mexican borderlands.

In conceiving this map, the specific considerations which were made involved the areal manipulation of American states, territories and borderlands so that these Black and Zambo blocs would appear to be threatening. Hence, the areal extents of states and territories using slave labor during the 1840's were areally enlarged to the detriment of states and territories then having free labor economies. Moreover, the areal extent of California below 36° 30' and northern Mexico was increased in size to the disadvantage of California north of 36°30' and of Canada. The graytone overlay signifying the Black power bloc was extended into states and territories having free economies in order to emphasize the danger of this power bloc.

General considerations involved in compiling both Map 7 and 8 focused on duplicating Nineteenth-Century cartographic methods and on using a Nineteenth-Century base map. As finalized, Map 7 and 8 were drawn in a manner similar to that used by Nineteenth-Century cartographers. Not only is this similarity of style denoted by the use of tic-lines which radiate from coastlines and by spelling and placement of geographic locations, but also by the inset character of the legend. Moreover, the mid-Nineteenth-Century base map used for compilation was drawn in such a way that the spatial extent of California as well as the entire West coast appeared larger than they are in actuality.

Image Opposed to a Slavery Landscape

Verbal Reconstruction. Northern and Western Congressmen opposed the
extension of slavery to California. According to their statements made between 1847 and 1850, this economic institution was entirely incompatible with the image they had formed of California's landscape. For these Congressmen, slave economics could not develop California's virgin land profitably. As information from Wilkes' and Fremont's explorations reached Congress, the institution of slavery was thought to be agriculturally unadaptable to a landscape perceived alternatively as an Asiatic paradise and a desert. Thus, even though California's envisioned landscape changed in the nature of its incompatibility from 1847 through 1850, each image was made to fit anti-slavery arguments.

Congressmen opposed to slavery initially believed that slavery would cause economic blight if extended to California's virgin soil. To this faction, slavery economics retarded economic progress and for this reason, they believed that Southern states were "... falling back into decrepitude and decay."\(^{41}\) It was argued that if slavery were allowed to extend to California, its economy would never develop and thus would forever be dependent on the rest of the Union.\(^{42}\) For Northern and Western Congressmen then,

Slave labor exhausts and makes barren the fields it cultivates. That labor is only profitable to the master in the production of the staples of cotton, sugar and tobacco. Crop follows crop until the soil is exhausted. When the old fields are abandoned, new and virgin soil is sought to be exhausted in the same manner, and in turn likewise abandoned. Thus, sir, sterility follows its path. Eastern Virginia, unrivalled in the fertility of its soils and the quality of its climate with navigable rivers and harbors unsurpassed in commercial importance, is this day but little better than a barren waste. The free labor of the North has commenced the work of regeneration and to this along can Eastern Virginia look for redemption..."\(^{43}\)

Sanction of slavery's extension to California soils was all but immoral to the anti-slave faction.
Who that regards the future of that favored country can desire to plant there an institution which will inevitably make it worse than an unpeopled desert?  

Northern and Western Congressmen believed that only free men could profitably develop California resources. For them, free men did three times the amount of work as did slaves, and through diligence and perseverance "... the wilderness there [would] bud and blossom as the rose." With slavery legally sanctioned, however, "... a barrier would be erected more effectual than would be the Chinese Wall."  

As the slavery question became more embittered by 1848 and 1849, those opposing slavery's extension began to employ information generated by expeditions to California in Congressional debate. California's landscape began to take on a strangeness and inhospitality to Anglo-American culture. As a consequence, Northern and Western Congressmen reasoned that the institutions of slavery would be unadaptable to California's environment.  

Based primarily on exploratory accounts by Wilke and Fremont, anti-slavery advocates pictured a California of violent contrasts. This land became "... more Asiatic than American ... mixed with snowy mountains and arid plains ..." that came from "a clime where the west dies away from the rising east." For Representative Marsh of Vermont and his supporters, California lay, 

... so far towards the setting sun that she loses herself in the East. Separated from us by an eternal and impassible barrier of waste and mountains, she is united to the coast of Asia in the freely navigable basin of the Pacific as are our Eastern shores to the European continent by the Atlantic. She belongs to another geographical and political system and their natural relations and interests bind her indissolubly to the Oriental world.  

Because California was alien in character, Northern and Western
Congressmen reasoned that Congress would violate God's "laws of nature--the law of physical geography, the laws of the formation of the earth. . ." by imposing slavery on that landscape.49

Once anti-slave arguments needed supportive evidence, Northern and Western Congressmen began to emphasize the aridity of California plains. They reasoned that slavery economics would be unprofitable since Southern agricultural crops would be unsuited to California's desert-like terrain and climate. Indeed, much of California land was seen as barren, unproductive and "... as destitute of timber as the great desert of Sahara."50 There was little question that southern California was a barren plain of sand, but even northern California--particularly the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys--presented the "parched and desolate and arid appearance of a desert."51 Because of this aridity, anti-slave advocates stated that California would remain forever sparsely populated with an economy based primarily on grazing.52

By comparing this mental picture with the one held by those favoring slavery's extension, it is apparent that Congressmen held opposing images. As a direct consequence, discourse became emotionally charged in Congressional chambers with some openly regretting California's acquisition and others voicing cries of the Union's dissolution.53 Thus, as possession of California became legislatively entangling, the domestic situation became tense, and as indicated by Representative Giddings of Ohio in 1849, verged on civil war,

Gentlemen from the South, with deep emotions, have solemnly warned us that if we persist in our determination, the Union will be dissolved. I do not doubt their sincerity. But I would rather see this Union sent into a thousand fragments than have my country disgraced and its moral purity sacrificed. . ."54

Yet, the nation was not sent into a thousand fragments in the
late 1840's. Instead, elected California state representatives convened to make the land a free territory in 1849. It was at this time that Congressional interest moderately shifted to consider the character of Californians who inhabited this new territory of the United States.

Graphic Reconstruction. As is apparent from the foregoing anti-slave arguments, the emergent image focused on why slavery would prove deleterious if extended to California. Not only was California, as well as the area west of the Rockies, culturally different from the area east of the Rockies and physically attached to Asia, but the terrain and climate of California resembled that of the Great American Desert. To extend slavery west of the Rockies would not only be inappropriate and unprofitable but, in short, also deleterious. As detailed in Chapter III, in order to graphically reconstruct these spatial implications, various specific and general cartographic considerations were made.

Briefly, the specific considerations involved the selection of a two-hemispheric projection which met in the approximate center of the United States. Because this projection was drawn in this manner, differences between areas west of and east of the Rockies could be emphasized. Secondly, the areal extent and proximities of continents were manipulated to show that the region west of the Rockies was attached to Asia while that east of the Rockies was influenced by Europe. Accordingly, continents were elongated and areally enlarged or compressed to illustrate these relationships. Lastly, the Rockies and the Great American Desert were drawn to depict migrational barriers.
While the extensiveness of the Rockies was emphasized, the speckled symbolization of the Great American Desert appearing on the land west of the Mississippi River to the Rockies and then into California was drawn in order to indicate the perceived expanse of the Great American Desert.

General considerations focused first on the use of Nineteenth-Century cartographic techniques. Thus, the projection outline was drawn in detail, and the Rockies and Great American Desert were symbolized in a manner similar to that used in the Nineteenth-Century. Secondly, a Sixteenth-Century map was used as the base for Map 9 because this base map was drawn in such a way that Asia and North America were contiguous regions.

Because of these considerations, Map 9 depicts the spatial implications involved in the image which opposed slavery. In short, slavery's extension west of the Rockies into California would have been inappropriate since the Rockies acted as a Godly imposed barrier to the westward extension of slavery into culturally and physically alien lands. Extension of slavery would also have been unprofitable since the soils and climate characterizing the Great American Desert also extended west into California.

Images of California Inhabitants:
Verbal Reconstruction

The verbally reconstructed Congressional image held during the 1840's of California inhabitants was substantially unfavorable with regard to the perceived character of indigenous Indians and Mexicans, and later, to those who sought gold in California. While the
CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OPPOSED TO SLAVERY'S EXTENSION TO CALIFORNIA

Map: 9

perceived Indian personality traits changed between 1840 and 1850, Congressmen uniformly characterized Indians in harsh terms. Critical characterization of Mexicans and Gold Rush adventurers, however, remained constant during the 1840's. While Congressmen viewed Mexicans to be indolent and unintelligent, gold miners were thought to represent the world's less-desirables who had come to seek quick fortune in California. This predominately negative Congressional attitude which was held toward all California inhabitants is reflected on Graph 6 which is a composite of the results obtained from measuring Congressional images of Indians and Mexicans and gold miners.

When Congressional concern initially shifted to the Far West in the early 1840's, Indians were the first inhabitants of California to be indexed in this study. In these early years between 1840 and 1846, Congressmen stated that these California Indians were fierce, tomahawk-swinging savages who were likely to kill unsuspecting Americans. As Senator Linn of Missouri described them,

... there never was a more dangerous race of Indians on this continent than those tribes in their present condition. They are more warlike and cunning and more intelligent with civilized life than any other race of Indians here-to-fore known on the western frontier. ... American citizens would not now as in former times have to contend with naked savages badly equipped with a few bows and arrows and English fowling pieces. Each Indian is furnished with an unerring rifle in the use of which he is no less expert than the whites themselves. They have trained horses, trained to their destructive mode of attack and swift retreat.

Because of their nature, Indians were perceived to be an apparent obstacle in the way of Manifest Destiny's fulfillment.

By 1846, however, the Mexican-American War had been declared and Americans began to actively implement designs to fulfill their country's Manifest Destiny. Concurrently, the image of a fierce
Graph 6: CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS WHICH INDEX
THE CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF CALIFORNIAN INHABITANTS

vertical exaggeration: 3X
California Indian population began to change as Congressmen learned more about these people by virtue of army reconnaissance missions. Although Congressmen continued to describe Indian character unfavorably between 1846 and 1849, Indians began to be described as dull-witted, degraded individuals who had allowed themselves to become enslaved by Mexicans. After 1846, California Indians thus were no longer feared for their prowess but were almost forgotten by Congressmen who saw them as less worthy than Mexicans but as having the same general slovenly character. In sum, after 1846 Congressmen became less concerned with the Indian character as focus was turned to the Mexican Republic and the Mexican-American War.

From the first time the Mexican Republic was referred to during the time period under study (1842), it was viewed with contempt. In sum, Congressmen saw the Mexican nation as weak, too weak even to defend territorial and economic interests against foreign encroachment in California. Instead, Congressmen believed that the Mexican Government had conspired with both Britain and Indians in order to recover Texas and to make American overland travel dangerous. Not only was the Mexican Government unable to mobilize her own people, but Congressmen also saw it as too feeble either to effectively govern California or to exploit California resources. To Congressmen, acquisition of California presented little difficulty and it almost became an American duty to claim that land.

When conquest appeared evident in 1847 during the 29th Congress 1st session, Congressmen transferred its contempt for the Mexican Government to the indigenous inhabitants of California. As Congressmen stated, America had acquired "... an incongruous mass of Spaniards,
Indians, and mongrel Mexicans... who knew nothing of California's potential economic value. 62 To Senator Dayton of New Jersey,

The old inhabitants of the country, the descendants of ancient Spaniards, the retired office-holders, the remnants of the old Franciscan missions are perhaps the laziest and most unenterprising population on the face of the earth... while the missions continued, the hills were covered with sheep. But they have been abandoned by the present indolent population and replaced by cattle simply because it is easier to kill and clean the latter than to scour and clean and weave the fleece of the former. Russia and England, going in different directions around the world, have actually monopolized the fur trade at the very doors of these Californians because they were too indolent to carry it on by themselves... that is the character of the Spaniard upon the soil. I need not say that the Indians who enter into this calculation... have still fewer of the essentials of an American citizen. 63

As Congressmen stated, indigenous Californians were "slothful, superstitious, brutish people." 64 They were "... marked with barbarism, ignorance and uninformed even in alphabeted learning." 65

Such was the condition of the "... miserable, cringing Mexican peon..." and degraded Indian who lived on California soil. 66

To Congressmen, these inhabitants were an unenlightened lot who could not be easily assimilated to assume responsibilities inherent in American citizenship. 67 With the onslaught of Gold Rush adventurers after 1848, additional elements were added to this already bleak Congressional image of California inhabitants.

Congressmen generally held gold miners in low esteem. In fact, these legislators stated that California gold was drawing "... all the rogues and vagabonds, scamps and scoundrels who had no other place of refuge." 68 For most Congressmen, no matter whether they were of American or of another nationality, adventurers had caught gold mania, and these "... mixed breeds and mottled races of every clime and color..." had gone to California to ravage the land for quick
fortune. Even the prospect of rich gold mines did not attenuate unfavorable Congressional attitudes towards these gold miners. To the majority of Congressmen, placers would soon be exhausted and gold would find its way out of the United States to foreign capitolis. In sum, the Gold Rush and the people it drew represented "... a fate worse than the curse of Midas." 

As images of California inhabitants and those of the effects of slavery's extension intermingled in 1849 and in early 1850, California geography began to assume a definite unfavorable characterization. When territorial population topped 50,000 in 1849 and California was constitutionally large enough for statehood, Congressional arguments became more complex as the number of times and space allotted to a discussion of California inhabitants markedly increased over that indexed for previous years during the 1840's. In brief, Southern Congressmen uniformly advocated that California's inhabitants were too uneducated to decide California's future. For these legislators, the decision to extend slavery rested with Congress. The majority of Northern and Western Congressmen argued, however, that while California's population was indeed incongruous, the extension of slavery was an issue which rested with the people of the California territory. As entangled as the issues of inhabitants and slavery were in the late 1840's, Congress acceded to California's decision to forbid slavery and, by the Compromise of 1850, admitted the territory into the Union as an equal partner.

Conclusion

With California admitted into the Union in 1850, Congressional
interest in California declined as that state's legislature assumed the primary role of legislation. Yet during the preceding decade, vivid images of California were generated as Congressmen faced international and domestic issues which concerned California. Not only had these images characterized situational advantages, but they had also focused on specific geographical attributes of California. More importantly, all of these images which were vocalized between 1840 and 1850 were economic in nature.

More specifically each image focused on potential economic gains or losses attained by the inclusion of California into the United States. For Congressmen, the British and their weaker ally Mexico posed political and hence economic barriers to the realization of America's God-given mandate to acquire California and there establish a commercial landscape. During these years, the region of California appeared to possess a substantial economic gain. Yet when these foreign barriers were removed and California was acquired, California's economic importance became questionable as extension of slavery to California became a center of Congressional debate. Not only was the economic viability of California's land conjectured, but the qualifications of California inhabitants to participate in American democracy by deciding about California's future economic landscape became subject to debate.

As can be seen by these various Congressional images of California, Congressmen were motivated by considerations which were economic in scope. These considerations, moreover, formed a basis for Congressional decisions subsequently made. As will be shown in the next chapter, decisions based on images of the British encirclement,
Manifest Destiny, commercial and slavery landscapes, and California inhabitants were also inalterably linked to these same economic considerations.
References


55 Although California inhabitants are indeed considered to be a part of California's geography, Congressmen only referred to personality characteristics of these people during the 1840's. As a consequence, spatial attributes regarding this population could not be graphically reconstructed.


CHAPTER V

BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES OF CONGRESSIONAL IMAGES

Introduction

Congressional decisions made regarding California throughout the 1840's and during immediately subsequent decades were related to the geographical images of California held during the 1840's. As will be shown in this chapter, images of California's geography provided a rationale for Congress to declare war against Mexico, to sanction construction of a transcontinental railroad, and to pass the Compromise of 1850. Moreover, these images influenced Congress to import camels for use as transportation animals in California, to create Indian reservations, to pass the Land Act of 1851, and to remain legislatively aloof from involvement with gold miner affairs. As a consequence of these decisions, Californian geography underwent considerable alteration as Anglo-American culture supplanted Hispanic culture.1

Congressional Decisions Related to the Image of the British Encirclement

The image of a British encirclement was a rather threatening assessment of English power. This image had precipitated beliefs that the British would not only halt America's westward and commercial expansion, but also that it would eventually jeopardize America's national existence. Congressmen reacted to these beliefs aggressively
by sanctioning a war which at its close seemingly removed the British threat.

During the early 1840's, Congressional dealings with England were hostile as concern grew over England's political encroachment into Oregon and California territory. War with England seemed imminent in these early years until England peacefully ceded the Oregon Territory below the 49th parallel. As Congressional concern shifted to California, however, Congressmen became concerned over British and Mexican dealings which apparently sought to secure California for England. To sabotage this 'conspiracy' Congress declared war against Mexico. At the war's end, America laid claim to these contested lands and extended its continental borders to the Pacific. Even though England still held Canada, the Mosquito Coast, British Honduras, and some Caribbean islands, Congress perceived that British threats to American expansion and territorial sovereignty had dissolved.

In retrospect, however, there is historical evidence which indicates that Congressmen had little foundation upon which to fear acquisitive British designs on California. In fact, the British government made its stance against annexation and against war over California clear in communications with California representatives. Whether Congress had access to this information can only be conjectured, yet if it had, this information would probably have seemed incredulous to Congressmen who had taken such an aggressive stand against England. Accordingly, this historical evidence clearly illustrates that Congressmen behaved according to their mental images of British intentions rather than to the reality of the situation. Instead of negotiating with Britain over title for California,
Congressmen called for war against the weaker link of the Mexican-British alliance. Because of this misfounded Congressional decision, California was acquired and the foundations were laid for formal intrusion of Anglo-American culture into California.

**Congressional Decisions Related to the Image of Manifest Destiny**

As indicated in Chapter IV, the image of America's Manifest Destiny offered justification for Congressmen to act against the perceived British ascendency of power in California and to declare war against Mexico. Justification lay in ideas of America's God-given right to the Western Hemisphere and godly mandate to educate foreigners in percepts of American democracy. As a result of these beliefs, Congress sanctioned territorial acquisition. Yet after California had been aggressively acquired, Congress shifted position to deny further acquisition. This shift in emphasis illustrates that the image of America's Manifest Destiny was only strong enough to justify decisions to acquire California.

Congress set the nation on a course of territorial expansion because of grandiose ideas about America's Manifest Destiny. As a consequence of the Congressional decision to declare war on Mexico, American borders were vastly expanded to include the territories of Texas, New Mexico, and California. Yet after the Mexican-American War, acquisitive Congressional designs were dampened. It was at this time in the late 1840's that Congress had had to grapple with problems of incorporating the Californians into the nation as equal citizens. As indicated in Chapter IV, Congressmen were, at the least, hesitant about enfranchising the "medley of mottled breeds and mixed races" with full
rights implicit in American citizenship. Moreover, it was at this time that Congress became preoccupied with domestic issues of slavery and of Far-Western economic development. The combination of assimilating more people with "impure blood" and preoccupation with domestic issues quelled further Congressional decisions to fulfill their image of Manifest Destiny. Hence, America's territorial borders were not extended during the 1850's and in the years immediately following to include the entire Western Hemisphere.

It seems, therefore, that after California had been forcefully acquired, Congress no longer premised decisions on that image. For all purposes, Manifest Destiny was a dead issue for a Congress marked by apathy and a concern for domestic issues. Frederick Merk aptly describes the defunct Manifest Destiny as "... just a rider on an aspiration to reach the Pacific--a rider that dropped off after the Americans had fixed themselves at the water's edge. . . ." 8

**Congressional Decisions Related to the Image of a Commercial Landscape**

Although further territorial expansion was thwarted after the Mexican-American War, Congressional efforts to realize the image of a commercial landscape were carried forward. This image had a dual focus in keeping with vested sectional interests: while Northern Congressmen were concerned with trade accruing at California ports, Western and Southern Congressmen emphasized virtues of California ports to which goods would be shipped. Implicit in both foci were aspirations for the development of an internal transit system which would facilitate shipment of goods across the United States to the Pacific coast from which point they would be carried to Asiatic ports. Based on this
composite image, Congressmen made various decisions to aid the realization of a commercial landscape in California. Indeed, various treaties were negotiated with Asiatic countries to open ports to American trade, and legislation was passed to construct an internal transit system.

After the Chinese Empire had signed the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 which granted England exclusive trading rights at various Chinese ports, Congress acted to secure American trading rights in the Far East. Throughout the 1840's and 1850's, Congress appropriated funds to send special American diplomatic missions to Asia. These missions culminated in various treaties which opened Chinese and Japanese ports to American trade. Once these ports were secured for American trade, Congress turned attention to the development of a transport line to carry trade across the United States for shipment to Asia.

Such a transcontinental transport line had been discussed in Congressional chambers since the early 1840's. Various types of systems—canals, national highways, and railroads—had been envisioned. By the late 1850's a railroad line had been chosen as the most optimal of all options. Yet, final route selection for the railroad became embroiled in sectional politics. While Southern Congressmen lobbied for a route along the Gila River or through southern California, Northern and Western Congressmen desired a northerly route into California or to the mouth of the Columbia River. At the close of the Civil War, a route through northern California was finally selected, and Congress appropriated funds for the transcontinental railroad's construction. In 1869 the railroad line was completed, and with its
completion America had the transit line sought for centuries. The stage was now set for the realization of geopolitical power acquired through facilitation of European trade to Asia.

Although the transcontinental railroad functionally replicated the Northwest Passage, the projected geopolitical power was not to be realized by the United States. In short, European demand for the transit system failed to materialize. In the same year that the transcontinental railroad was completed, the Suez Canal opened. Europeans thus had a more efficient oceanic route to Asia which circumvented America and American middlemen.

In consolation to these dashed geopolitical aspirations, the transcontinental railroad did aid development of California's commercial landscape. Prior to the completion of the railroad, California had been isolated and loosely connected with the bulk of the nation by merchant ship and stage coach. With the railroad's completion, however, California was directly linked with the United States. Not only were supplies easily transportable to California from the East, but an accessible market for California goods also developed on the East Coast. As a consequence, a flurry of manufacturing enterprises opened, and eastern demand for Californian agricultural produce stimulated the cultivation of viticultural and other non-perishable agricultural commodities.

Thus, even though the primary intent of these Congressional decisions was to develop America's geopolitical power, the actual impact was to enhance California's economic development. Furthermore, by directly linking California with the nation, increased Anglo-American migration to California was feasible. Indeed, California's
transformation into an Anglo-American commercial landscape was accomplished by this 1867 Congressional decision to subsidize construction of the transcontinental railroad.

Congressional Decisions Related to Images of Slavery Landscapes

One would suspect that because Congressional images of a slavery landscape in California dominated Congressional discourse in the late 1840's, consequent Congressional decisions would reflect such imagery. Initially this situation did occur with the placative Compromise of 1850. By this act, the extension of slavery to California was forbidden while effective fugitive slave regulations were enacted. In retrospect, however, most elements composing Congressional images of a slavery landscape fell by the wayside after California's admission into the Union in 1850. After California's admission, the Southern Congressional contingent lost power in Congress and by the 1860's had altogether abandoned Congressional halls. Northern and Western Congressmen, on the other hand, increasingly became preoccupied with transplanting their free economic systems more than concerned with disrupting the imagined Asiatic paradise or desert complex with foreign economic institutions. A few elements of the Southern and Northern/Western slavery images were, however, actualized through Congressional decisions. In brief, a system of slave labor was created and perpetuated indirectly through Congressional act, and a camel brigade was imported to cross the desert environ of California.

Decisions Regarding the Southern Image of a Slavery Landscape

Admission of California into the Union as a free state by the
Compromise of 1850 forestalled realization of the Southern Congressional image of a Californian slavery landscape. Particular elements of this image—essentially the element of slave workers—however, were fulfilled in decades subsequent to the 1840's. Although elements were brought to pass indirectly and almost vicariously as a result of Congressional acts, the institution of slavery was effectively perpetuated, and a new class of slaves was created in California.

To placate the Southern Congressional faction, the Fugitive Slave Act was included in the Compromise of 1850.\(^1\) In essence, this act stipulated legal measures with which to punish those who held runaway slaves. Later, the act was used as a legal precedent upon which the California State Legislature premised passage of extremely stringent state fugitive slave laws. In effect, the tenets of these state laws made it legally profitable to retain Blacks as slaves in California. Three of the more important laws were: slaves which were brought into California and emancipated prior to Statehood were held to be fugitive and subject to imprisonment; Blacks were unable to testify against ex-masters in court; visitors to California were allowed to bring slaves to California.\(^2\) By these laws, it was unwise for slaves to seek freedom because they faced imprisonment with no legal means of proving when they had been brought to California. Furthermore, these laws made it profitable for Anglo-Americans to keep slaves since it was almost impossible to prove that Blacks had not been paid for their labor. Although the fugitive slave laws were overturned in the late 1850's as the California State Legislature became less Southern in attitude, before that period, they provided for a partial fulfillment of the Southern Congressional image by
making it possible to retain Blacks as slaves.\textsuperscript{20}

In the course of the late 1860's and 1870's, California matured from an extractive economy into an agricultural economy. This transition was a direct consequence of the completion of the transcontinental railroad, construction of which had been subsidized by Congressional act. Along with the railroad came improved farm equipment which also contributed to the transformation. Dependence on hand labor gave way to reliance on machinery as vast tracts of California land were put into agricultural production. At harvest time, however, large numbers of laborers were still needed to pick ripened crops. This seasonal demand created a class of migrant workers in California which effectively replaced Black slaves. Not only did these migrants experience poor working conditions, but they were also subjected to less secure working conditions than were typical for Southern slaves.\textsuperscript{21} In 1875, the Morning Chronicle characterized this migrant situation by noting,

The farm labor problem of California is undoubtedly the worst in the United States. It is bad for the farmers themselves, and worse, if possible for those whom they employ. In many respects, it is even worse than old-time slavery. That, at least, enabled the planter to know that labor he could depend upon in any emergency, and made the labourer certain at all times of shelter, clothing, food and fire. Our system does neither. The farmer must take such help as he can get—hunting it up when most hurried and paying whatever is demanded. The labourers themselves, knowing that they cannot be permanently employed, demand high prices, do their work carelessly, and start out on a tramp for another job. Under our system large numbers of men are wanted for a short time; more than any farmhouse can accommodate, even if the employer dare trust so many strangers within his walls or admit them into his family circle. The result is that labourers are compelled to sleep in barns, outhouses, or in the open fields. Men seem thus to have been thrown outside of social influences, and even if at the outset possessing good impulses and habits, they become, in a short time, desperate, degraded, or criminal and perhaps all three.\textsuperscript{22}
Hence, indirectly, Congressmen partially implemented the Southern image of a slavery landscape in California. While the Fugitive Slave Act opened the way for more stringent state laws which effectively perpetuated Black servitude in California, Congressional subsidy of the transcontinental railroad eventually created the need for a new class of slave laborers, a vacuum which was filled by migrants.

Congressional Decisions Regarding the Northern/Western Image of a Slavery Landscape

The Northern and Western Congressional image of a slavery landscape had been a counterpart to that held by Southern Congressmen. The image of the former was premised not only on anticipated negative impacts of slavery on California's landscape, but also on the "facts" that California's landscape was ill-suited for plantation economies. In short, slavery would either poorly develop California's economy or would be completely unadaptable to an Asiatic or desert environment. While it is true that Congress passed the Compromise of 1850 to forbid slavery's extension to California, sparsity of further historical evidence indicates that the image of California as an "Asiatic paradise" may have been a fabrication manufactured to deny slavery's extension. As indicated below, there is evidence, however, that Congressmen initially believed that California, especially southern California, was a desert similar in nature to the loess plains of Asia and sandy environs of the Arabian Peninsula. 23

Belief that California was a desert can be indexed by the fact that Congress appropriated $30,000 in 1855 for "purchase and importation of camels and dromedaries to be employed for military
purposes.\textsuperscript{24} In accordance with this decision, 76 camels were brought to Fort Tejon, California, between 1856 and 1857 to establish a transport line between California and the East Coast.\textsuperscript{25} Although some Congressmen wanted to import elephants for this line, camels were selected because most Congressmen believed camels could best survive the "desert environment" of California.\textsuperscript{26} The camel transit line (called the Dromedary Express) failed to materialize, however. Soldiers never became accustomed to camel hostility while competitive races indicated that mules and horses were as swift and as able to survive in the desert as were camels.\textsuperscript{27} As a result of these factors, the Dromedary Express was curtailed, and camels were never able to make a lasting imprint on the geography of the West.

The fact remains, however, that Congress did appropriate funds for the purchase of Chinese and Arabian camels, a decision obviously based on an image of California as a desert. Even though this particular Congressional decision was the only behavioral manifestation of the anti-slave image, it is an illuminating decision. Like decisions based on the image of the British encirclement (decision to declare war on Mexico), the decision to import camels was founded on an incomplete and inaccurate image of the environment rather than on an accurate picture of California's geography.

Congressional Decisions Related to Congressional Images of Californian Inhabitants

Congressional decisions made regarding Californian inhabitants afford further evidence that Congressmen premised decisions on images of the environment. As indicated in Chapter IV, California inhabitants --Indians, Mexicans, and gold miners--were perceived to be either
slovenly or ruffian in character. After California Statehood, Congress passed a series of laws which reflected these attitudes toward the cultural elements of California's population. Thus, while treaties were enacted to place Indians on reservations and Hispanic land titles were effectively invalidated by Congressional decision, gold miners remained legally unaffected by federal statute until after the Civil War since Congressmen believed the Gold Rush unworthy of legislative action.

Decisions Regarding California Indians

Although Congressional discourse regarding the character of California Indians waned in the late 1840's, interest was re-stimulated in the early 1850's. At that time, American settlers began to contest the validity of Indian titles to land in California and, at the same time, Indians began to raid these settlers. Once interest was re-established, Congress passed a bill which effectively secured Indian land for the public domain and quelled Indian violence by sanctioning creation of Indian reservations. Consequences of this Congressional action were far reaching in terms of disrupting the remaining integrity of Indian culture. Indeed, as a result of this Congressional action, the vestigial fabric of Indian culture was dissolved.

Dissolution of Indian culture was affected by a two-step process which was initiated by Congressional action. The process began in 1850 when a Presidentially appointed Indian commission attempted to transfer Indian land titles to the Federal Government and, in return, grant 8 million acres of California land to the Indians.
Because the treaty's proposals were agreeable to Indian leaders and to the California State Legislature, Indians were moved *en masse* to deeded lands even before the treaty was ratified by Congress. When, in fact, the treaty did reach Congress in late 1850, it was rejected on grounds that lands to be granted to the Indians were too valuable.\(^2\) As a consequence of the treaty's ultimate rejection, the first step in the dissolution of Indian culture was accomplished. Indians who had moved *en masse* were forced to flee and take refuge in unknown environs. Tribal bonds were broken as members became separated and as Indians were forced to adapt to lands and environments never before experienced.

Two years later, after California Indians had made some adaptations to their new surroundings, the second step in the dissolution process began. At that juncture in 1852, Congress ratified a more acceptable Indian treaty: One million acres of California land thought to be worthless was ceded to Indians as reservation land. Moreover, the new treaty gave Indians one-quarter of a million dollars and set up the machinery for the actual establishment of reservations.\(^3\) Indians were once again gathered and transported to these reservations with no attempt to maintain what was left of tribal integrity. As a consequence, tribal members were often separated from one another and moved a second time to distant and unknown places. Once on reservations and rancherias, Indians were forced to deal not only with strange physical settings, but also with other Indians who spoke different languages and possessed different value systems.\(^4\)

Adaptation was indeed difficult for California Indians because they had constructed life-views around lands known intimately for
generations and had established strong face-to-face bonds among tribal members. With tribal lands and bonds gone, Indians faced eradication. In 1848 when the United States took California, the Indian population in California topped 100,000. By 1852 when the reserves were established, there were 85,000. By 1860, the number of Indians had decreased to 35,000 and, in 1870, to 20,000.31

Hence, as a direct consequence of Congressional action, California's cultural landscape was changed. Indians transplanted to reserves were forced to adopt new livelihoods and to establish new kinds of cultural bonds in order to survive in a new set of environmental circumstances. Moreover, with Indian lands transferred to the public domain, the introduction and diffusion of Anglo-American culture was further encouraged.

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Decisions Regarding Hispanic Californians

After California's acquisition and the subsequent Gold Rush, large numbers of Anglo-American pioneers entered California in search of farm sites. They discovered, however, that much of the more desirable land was already occupied by Hispanic Californians. In response to this situation, Congress enacted a series of laws that not only broke up Hispanic estates but also facilitated transformation of the Hispanic landscape into an Anglo-American one.

When Anglo pioneers entered California, they found that of the 800 existing California rancheros, each had an average size of 4,000 acres, many of which were located on valuable sites along rivers and in valleys.32 In order to redistribute this land in an "equitable" fashion, Congress enacted the Land Act of 1851. By this act, burden of
land-ownership proof fell onto all Californians claiming land, to effectively negate the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo that protected Hispanic land titles. To administer the 1851 act, a commission was set up in San Francisco to judge validity of land claims brought by Californians. Although commission decisions were said to be fair, verification of land ownership took an average of 17 years. In the interim, many Hispanic landowners, unfamiliar with English law, went into bankruptcy while attempting to validate their land claims. Indeed, one out of every 10 lost land titles during this period. Not only did they have to pay extortive lawyer fees and usurious mortgage rates, but they also had to pay for extended visits to San Francisco where the commission sat. Therefore, despite the fact that the land commission validated the majority of judged land claims, many titles had already passed to Anglo-Americans by repossession before final decisions were reached.

While many Hispanic Californians lost land titles as a consequence of the Land Act of 1851, Anglo-American culture was further encouraged to spread through an 1853 Congressional decision. In that year, Congress extended the Preemption Act of 1841 to California. By this act, settlers were given rights to settle unappropriated public land and to buy this land at minimal rates later. As interest shifted from gold mining to agricultural pursuits, Anglo-Americans took advantage of this governmental offer. Areas in California previously unaffected by Anglo influence were settled and,

... the Adobe ranch house with its matanzas and its Golgotha of cattle skulls and bones gave place to the tasty farm house with its flower garden, lawn and orange grove.
Decisions Regarding Gold Miners in California

As indicated in Chapter IV, Congressmen paid little attention to the California Gold Rush. Not only did Congressmen hold gold miners in low esteem, but they also believed that the gold had little consequence to the nation's economic welfare. This attitude was reflected in a "non-interference" period (1849-1866) in which Congress passed no laws to affect gold mining or gold miners. After this period, however, Congress belatedly decided to reap benefits from the gold by enacting a mineral rights law in 1866.

During the 17-year period in which Congress did not interfere, gold miners were forced to develop their own legal mechanisms for protecting mining claims since no applicable legislation existed. Common laws subsequently developed defined methods for recording, working, and holding mining claims. The Federal Government took no action during these early years even though much of the mined land occupied the public domain. After the Civil War, however, the nation acquired a large war debt. It was at that time that Congress decided to change its position by enacting the Mineral Rights Act of 1866. By this act, Congress codified existing common law and, more importantly, set forth regulations for the purchase of mineral rights on the public domain. Monies received from such purchases augmented the national treasury and, as such, the era of "free gold" ended in California.

Thus, through the non-interference policy followed by Congress for 17 years, it can be seen that Congressmen initially did not place much economic value on the Gold Rush. This decisional aspect can be traced directly back to Congressional images of the Gold Rush and of adventurers which were generated in the 1840's. Not only did
Congressmen believe gold miners to be scabs of the earth, but they also maintained that mined gold had no long-term resource value. Yet, when the national treasury was in need after the Civil War, Congressmen retreated from the latter position by taking advantage of gold resources.

Conclusion

As can be seen by the policy of non-interference and by the other decisions mentioned in this chapter, Congressional decisions were related to images of California formed during the 1840's. Although years had passed and new Congressmen had replaced many of those who held Congressional office during the 1840's, decisions made later were predicated on images held during the 1840's. All images formed during this decade and decisions subsequently made substantiate this relationship except for the anti-slave advocate image of California as an Asiatic paradise. In this one case, a stance to exclude slavery may have been initially taken and then a supportive image created around that stance. In the main, however, decisions were made on the basis of images held during the 1840's. Moreover, decisions which were made resembled corresponding images because each decision, like each image, had an economic focus.

While the decision to acquire California signalled the end of an apparent British economic encroachment in California, support and promotion of the transcontinental railroad theoretically signified the enhancement of America's economic power. Furthermore, while the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was aimed at placating Southern Congressional
economic interests, decisions to import camels sought to develop a feasible method of transporting goods to and from California. Congressional decisions to confine Indians to reservations and to enact the Land Act of 1851 were also founded on economic considerations. With native Californians removed, valuable tracts of California land were available for Anglo settlement. Moreover, decisions to pass laws concerning gold mines were founded on an effort to augment the national treasury.

As is apparent, Congressional decisions reflected referent images. Not only did decisions and images coincide in focus, but in most cases, Congressional decisions were made in order to create or to deal with the kind of California landscape stated to exist during the 1840's.
References


3Dissolution of the perceived threat can be directly indexed to primary data. Although Congressional discussion of the British continued after the Mexican-American War, discussion was given over to sanctification of conquest and justification of monetary reimbursement of John C. Fremont for the California acquisition.


9Bailey, *A Diplomatic History*, pp. 299-311.


Urgent communication took about three weeks to reach San Francisco from Missouri or from the Atlantic Seaboard until the advent of the Pony Express and the telegraph in 1860 and 1861, respectively.


Roske, Every Man's Eden, p. 395; and Guinn, A History of California, p. 201.


Rhodes, History of the United States, p. 42.

Guinn, A History of California, p. 207; and Roske, Every Man's Eden, pp. 276-7.


Carey McWilliams, California: The Great Exception (New York: A.A. Wyn, 1949), pp. 150-53. Also, according to Cleland, From Wilderness to Empire, pp. 228-89, Indian laborers were auctioned off in Los Angeles for work in vineyards and on farms.

Morning Chronicle of San Francisco (5 September 1875), as quoted in McWilliams, California, p. 151.

Arthur Amos Gray, Camels in Western America (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1930), p. 5.


Gray, Camels in Western America, p. 11.

Roske, Every Man's Eden, p. 345; and McWilliams, California, p. 52.

Robert Fleming Heizer and Alan J. Alquist, The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico and the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 81. The reservations initially set up were located at Fort Tejon, Lachee, Mendocino, Fresno, and Klamath. Later, more were established at Hoopa Valley, Round Valley, Smith Valley, and Tule River. The rancherias
were set up to instruct Indians in farming methods.


31 Cook, The Conflict, p. 4.

32 William W. Robinson, Land in California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), p. 500; also see McWilliams, California, p. 89.

33 Anne Loftis, California--Where the Twain Did Meet (New York: Macmillan Co., 1973), p. 68; also see Robinson, Land in California, p. 99.

34 Roske, Every Man's Eden, p. 809.

35 Cleland, From Wilderness to Empire, p. 282.

36 Robinson, Land in California, p. 106.


38 Guinn, A History of California, p. 201.

39 Ellison, California and the Nation, p. 63.

40 Ellison, California and the Nation, p. 70; and Cleland, History of California, p. 281.

41 Robinson, Land in California, p. 141.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The fact that men hold culturally based environmental images and made decisions premised on these images is not new to Western scholars. Such knowledge dates back perhaps before Aristotle's time. Yet it has been only recently that geographers have become interested in making environmental imagery a prime focus of academic concern. As with this study, the current focus is premised on the idea that because men attempt to order their environment, images of that environment are developed which then act as interfaces between men and the land. While these interfaces—or images—are simplified and often inaccurate replications of the real environment, they become matrices for ordering environmental information and foundations upon which decisions are made.

As seen in Chapter V of this thesis, Congressional decisions premised on images held during the 1840's were in many cases as inappropriate for the real environment of California as were corresponding images. Thus, even though there was little factual basis for believing that the British would conquer California, Congressmen perceived this to be the case and consequently sanctioned war against the British ally, Mexico. Because some Congressmen believed native Californians could never become able American citizens, they were either removed to reservations or divested of their land. While these particular Congressional decisions and others discussed in Chapter V may have been inappropriate in light of California's actual landscape,
they often played a role in changing California's geography.

In spite of the fact that some Congressional decisions premised on 1840-1850 images of California were ephemeral in impact, other decisions significantly altered the Californian landscape. The Fugitive Slave state law and Congress's appropriation to import camels are examples of decisions which had insignificant and short-term impacts on California geography. Slavery was allowed to exist in California only for a few years until the law which encouraged it was overturned. Similarly, the camel brigade eclipsed since it did not meet economic expectations. Yet, other Congressional decisions had a lasting effect on California geography. The very decision to aggressively acquire California ultimately led to a formalized intrusion of Anglo-Americans. Subsidy of the transcontinental railroad offered a route for such an intrusion and indirectly precipitated creation of a class of migrant workers which filled the economic slot once occupied by slaves. Furthermore, Congressional decisions to confine Indians to reservations and to pass the Land Act of 1851 effectively quelled any competition for cultural domination. By this set of decisions, Californian geography was, in the long run, significantly altered by Anglos who sought to Americanize California's land.

The quiet, pastoral land often idealized to represent the era prior to Anglo-American acquisition became antiquated as a consequence of this set of Congressional decisions which encouraged Anglo-American intrusion. Indeed, in the course of 130 years, much of California's land has been significantly affected. Streams have been dammed for water resources, mountains have been graded to become housing projects, agricultural or manufacturing sites. Forests have been sheered for
timber resources or for the space they once occupied. Even lands left untampered with have been indirectly affected by Anglo cultural attributes as air and water pollution have tainted even the most isolated areas. The transformation has been so complete that any traces of Indian, Spanish, or Mexican cultural domination remain as isolated enclaves. While these enclaves can still be found, the contents--Indian dwellings, missions, or pueblos--are no longer functionally viable. They remain only as hallmarks to the past.

Yet, it is important to realize that Congressmen merely created the situation in which Californian geography could be altered. The type of transformation which followed generally resulted from the way Anglo-American immigrants perceived and subsequently behaved toward California. Both their perceptions and behavior were invariably linked with the cultural climes of Nineteenth-Century America as outlined in Chapter II. Thus, because American immigrants desired monetary returns for California resources, natural phenomena could be altered to serve this purpose. Because Anglos brought with them attitudes which were unfavorable toward Indians, Catholics and, in general, toward those without financial resources, native Californians could be economically and socially disenfranchised.

At the same time, however, whether or not landscape change was directly influenced by Congressmen, their decisions as well as their predicative images were also related to cultural milieu of early Nineteenth-Century America since Congressmen were products of this environment. Hence, even though Congressional decisions and referent images merely created a situation in which change could occur, decisions as well as images anticipated the type of change that actually
did occur.

In more general terms, it is apparent that images along with their cultural bases and subsequent decisions explain and, in many cases, predict actual landscape change which follows. By unravelling the sets of complex cultural environments, images, and decisions, one can better analyze and understand landscape changes which have historically occurred. Moreover, by understanding contemporary sets, one might be able to predict landscape change; one might be able to predetermine the nature of future cultural imprints. Thus, while it is important for historical geographers to understand the nature of past landscape alterations, it is equally critical for social and cultural geographers to envisage future landscapes in order to either avert or facilitate actualization of changes.

To aid geographers in the explanation and prediction of landscape change, techniques used in this case study are indeed suitable for future utilization. While both techniques concentrate on what is said in order to determine what is in the mind, content analysis focuses on the reconstruction of mental images while construct elicitation determines the spatial implications of these images. With this information at hand, historical, social, and cultural geographers can detail or anticipate landscape change that has occurred or will occur because of various decisions. While these techniques are not the only ones applicable to the study of environmental imagery, they are indeed effective and should be considered by geographers concerned with mental images of the land.

As seen in this study, these techniques reconstructed some interesting and noteworthy images of California's geography. Not only
was California envisaged to be an Asiatic paradise, a southern isothermal territory, and a vacuous wasteland, but also a commercial empire unrivalled in potential wealth. California was the prize which rested on the continent's edge and was inhabited by a lazy people awaiting conquest. Congressional decisions and subsequent landscape changes are readily explained within the context of early Nineteenth-Century American culture, and the environmental images systematically gleaned from Congressional proceedings.
Appendix 1

TABLES GENERATED FROM A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 1840-1850

The tables included in Appendix 1 illustrate the raw results from content analysis' measurement techniques as they were applied to speech quotations taken from the Congressional Globe, 1840-1850. The tables indicate the manner in which these measurements were itemized, and form the quantitative basis upon which the graphs appearing in Chapter IV were compiled.

As constructed, the tables contain itemizations which were compiled from frequency, space allotment, and attitudinal focus counts applied to specific quotations gleaned from the Congressional Globe. These tables are presented in a chronological manner according to Congressional session, and by political party and section represented by Congressmen whose speeches were referenced. As itemized, frequency counts (F) appear first. The number appearing within the "F" column indicates the number of times a subject was referenced during a particular Congressional session. Space allocation counts (C) follow with the whole or fractional number (1/2, 3/4, 1 1/2) appearing within the "C" column to indicate the columnar measurement taken of the Globe's page. Attitudinal focus counts (A) appear last. The characters (+, -, and Ø) refer to favorable, unfavorable, and neutral counts; while the number preceding the character indicates the number
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| 31st Cong., 1st sess. (12/1849 to 9/1850) | North 7 5 1/4 7- | Democrat 25 12 1/2 17+ | 8- | 16+ | 11- | Whig 27 11 3/4 | 16+ | 11- | Whig 27 11 3/4 | 16+ | 11- |</p>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st Cong., 1st sess.</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 3/4</td>
<td>3-, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12/1849 to 9/1850)</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>5-, 10</td>
<td>Whig</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2*, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>2-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

CHARTS GENERATED FROM A CONSTRUCT ELICITATION
OF MATERIAL ENCOMPASSED WITHIN THE
CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 1840-1850

Appendix 2 is composed of charts that organize the first, or analytic step in construct elicitation. The subject matter, or images appear at the top of each chart and are followed by their focal constructs directly below and by their antagonistic constructs to the side. The spatial implications are positioned below in the order of their vocalized importance. Inferred constructs such as that relating to the commercial landscape appear as sub-headings within the listing of spatial implications.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHART 1</th>
<th>CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF THE MANIFEST DESTINY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF THE BRITISH ENCIRCLEMENT</strong></td>
<td><strong>CONGRESSIONAL IMAGE OF THE MANIFEST DESTINY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Spatial Constriction&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Spatial Expansion&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The region west of the Rockies, and specifically California, was subject more to British control than to American control.</td>
<td>1. Because God had ordained it, California as well as all the territory lying west of the Rockies was America's domain rather than subject to British control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Western Hemisphere was more a British sphere of influence than it was an American sphere.</td>
<td>2. Because God had ordained it, the Western Hemisphere was more America's domain than it was subject to British influence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Britain possessed power more similar to that evidenced by the Roman Empire than to that possessed by any other Nineteenth-Century nation state.</td>
<td>3. The American Empire of the future, ranging from the Aleutians to Tierra del Fuego, would become a nation which possessed more power than any other nation in the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Commercial Empire-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. America would possess more political power than any other nation because trade routes would be established between Asia and Europe through the United States.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. With California and the Northeast as lucrative manufacturing centers, the United States would become more economically powerful than any other nation state.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. The world was divided into two with Western America more similar to Asia than to Eastern America, and Eastern America more similar to Europe than to Western America. The Rocky Mountains demarcated this difference.

2. California's terrain was more similar to that of the Great American Desert than it was similar to that of the rest of the American nation.

1. United States territory lying south of 36°30' had soils and climate more similar to that possessed by Southern states than to that possessed by Northern and Western states.

2. California was areally more like a nation than like a future state in the Union.

3. If slavery were not legally extended to California, Blacks would be left to fill Southern states. Hence, the United States would become more like two nations rather than like one since Blacks would form a power bloc in Southern states.

4. If Blacks were forced to leave their masters in California by Federal decree, Blacks would affiliate more with Mexicans than with Anglos and thereby create a second power bloc.
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