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# **Manifest Destiny from Expansion to Imperialist Ideology**

Dissertation submitted to the Department of English Language and Literature as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of *Master* in Literature and civilization.

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## **Declaration of Originality**

I hereby declare that this submission is my work and that, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution.

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## **Dedication**

This work done by “OTMANI Nour El Houda” is dedicated to my parents specially my mother for her support, trustworthiness and encouragement. I love you both for everything you have been doing to me. And without forgetting my brothers (Missoum and Ibrahim El Khalil) who supported me until the end of my studies as well as my sisters To all my friends whom I have spent an enjoyable time during my university studies. I will be always grateful to each one of them.

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## **Abstract**

Manifest destiny is a racist imperial ideology that claims most of the North American continent is the White-man's by divine right. The United States exerted political and economic dominion over the indigenous peoples of what is now its modern continental territory. It also aggressively expanded in the span of less than a century in a series of land purchases from and wars with the other European and Continental powers. Towards the turn of the 20th century, the young nation was already a great power on par with the British, French, Russian, and German empires. It also enjoyed near complete dominance over the western hemisphere claiming the entire continent in its sphere of influence. The Aim of this thesis is to understand the process which led to the US becoming the world's predominant global power. Not only does this study provide the historical chronology of the major events, it also tries to define what Manifest Destiny is, what were the factors that led to an expansionist US, and its ramifications and how it shaped US and world history. Furthermore, we tried to cite modern commentator's opinions on the matter and also tried to provide our own commentary and analysis.

<b>Table of Contents</b>	
<b>Declaration of Originality</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>Dedication</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>General Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b><i>Chapter One: Manifest Destiny of America</i></b>	
1.1. Introduction	4
1.2. Manifest destiny defined	4
1.2.1. The origin of manifest destiny	5
1.3. Manifest Destiny Doctrine Influence on Historical Course	6
1.3.1. Conception of American Manifest Destiny	12
1.4. Manifest Destiny and its Appearance	13
1.4.1. Political Manifestations of Manifest Destiny	16
1.5. American Imperialism in the 19th Century	19
1.6. Conclusion	21
<b><i>Chapter Two: The Expansion of America</i></b>	
2.1. Introduction	23
2.2. Major events related to manifest destiny	23
2.2.1. Louisiana Purchase	23
2.2.2. War of 1812	24
2.2.3. The Oregon Boundary Dispute	26
2.2.4. American Mexican War	26
2.2.5. Manifest Destiny during the Slavery Debate and Civil War	28
2.2.6. American Spanish War	29
2.2.7. The American Empire	30

2.3. Major Factors behind Manifest Destiny	32
2.3.1. Political and Factors	33
2.3.2. Economic Factors	34
2.4. Conclusion	35
<b><i>Chapter Three: A Democratic Empire</i></b>	
3.1. Introduction	37
3.2. Manifest Destiny's ramifications	37
3.2.1. Geopolitical Consequences	37
3.2.2. Economic Consequences	39
3.2.3. Social Consequences	40
3.3. Scholarly opinions on Manifest Destiny	41
3.3.1. Pro-Imperialism commentators	41
3.3.2. Opposing Scholarly Opinions	43
3.4. Conclusion	44
<b>General Conclusion</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>49</b>



## ***General Introduction***

## *General Introduction*

### **General Introduction**

In the first sixty years of the nineteenth century the United States expanded from its original borders between the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi river to become a continental nation one of the world's largest (in terms of land area). The country expanded to the Pacific Ocean on the west and the Rio Grand River on the south, with territory purchased from France, acquired by war and purchase from Mexico, and settled by agreement with Britain in the case of Oregon. Politicians claimed that the United States expansion was fulfillment of its "manifest destiny" a phrase they borrowed from journalists.

At the same time the United States was attempting to establish itself as a worldwide force by expanding its political and economic sphere of influence, it placed a premium on expanding its territories outside national borders. This progress was propelled by national, ideological, and geopolitical goals. This is the primary element that enabled America to become the world's largest economy by investigating in other countries business interest.

Therefore, the current dissertation effectively aims to answer the following questions:

- ✓ What are the main historical background and events?
  - ✓ What were the strategic aims of "Manifest Destiny" and what did the US gain?
  - ✓ What were its ramifications, and what is its legacy in the 21st century?
- 
- 1- The US always aspired to Expand, one of the main arguments between the colonies and the Crown was the right to settle west in native reservations. The US quickly started the process of expansion either through purchases, Wars, or Mass deportations. The Historical background is hypothesized as one of jingoist expansion with periods of rapid territorial expansion followed by others of consolidation and attempts at resolving the increasingly tense Slavery Debate.
  - 2- This Dissertation also hypothesizes that the US sought to expand due to ideological and socio-economic factors. The US strategically attained land on the continent for its expanding population and emigrational drift. The Homestead Act and the Californian Gold Rush solidified US gains in the west with rapid white

## ***General Introduction***

immigration. The US gained almost the entire northern American continent from the Atlantic to Pacific Coasts. And sat on one of the most resource rich and fertile regions on the planet.

- 3- Finally, this Dissertation will hypothesize a positive outcome to Manifest Destiny's gains. The US became the leading global industrial powerhouse and shared a bipolar position as one of the world's only superpowers. The Liberal Capitalism implemented by the US' state and society spurred innovation and investment, this coupled with the physical territorial gains of the 19th century which allowed for the growth of a burgeoning population make the US the 21st century's sole superpower and global hegemon, a position rarely attained for most contemporary nation states.

What is about to be dealt with in this dissertation is going to be divided into three chapters. The first chapter entitled Manifest Destiny of America will try to define Manifest Destiny as a concept and offer a more general historical background and commentary from various observers and analysts.

The second chapter entitled The Expansion of America will introduce the events that defined Manifest Destiny. It will talk of the purchases and wars that took place and other major turning points in American history. It will also cover the major factors that drove westward expansion.

The third chapter entitled A Democratic Empire will look at the ramifications of rapid territorial expansion for the US and the later economic, cultural and politico-military power Manifest Destiny helped America to attain. This chapter will also look at its legacy in the 21st century and how commentators, politicians, and the general public look back on this tumultuous period in American history.

***Chapter One:***  
***Manifest Destiny of America***

## **1.1. Introduction**

Each country in the world is becoming increasingly distinct from the others in terms of civilization, industry, and history. As a result, the American continent, in particular, has a linear democracy as a result of its progress, achievements, and especially its history, which dates back to ancient times. The Hammurabi code, the Ten Commandments, and the Bible are all common documents that people are familiar with when it comes to American history. That which has been shown, traced, and demonstrated the emergence of this country in the foreign world.

This theoretical chapter examines American history during the expansion at such a rapid speed that thinkers like O'Sullivan believed further larger expansions were required in the nineteenth century and how this period was known by the age of imperialism when the United States and other major world power expanded their territorial possessions. It tries to figure out what manifest destiny is, where it came from in America, and what the driving forces are behind the westward expansion.

## **1.2. Manifest destiny defined**

Manifest Destiny is an intellectual idea that refers to a historical development in the United States of America throughout the nineteenth century. This was an excellent time for the United States of America to push westward throughout North America. The expansion provided self-innovation, self-sufficiency, economic income, and freedom to Americans. The Americans believed they had a purpose to complete, which included expanding their territory in North America and going beyond the seas to transmit their traditions and expertise.

Without Manifest Destiny, the United States of America will not be able to go any further; in fact, the United States of America will be unable to go any further. Because the American settlers saw the indigenous people as inferior, they had to eradicate them once and for all in order to reshape the country in their own image (Benachour 4-6).

The United States began with coastal colonies, but it soon saw its clear destiny and expanded its acquisition of conquered and purchased land. They acquired new territories by purchasing them from the French in Louisiana, as well as property that they had

relinquished in Mexican concessions. Of course, there were other ways to expand its holdings by force, which resulted in numerous human casualties among the indigenous people. Because the natives were viewed as slaves, the American settlers just killed them and grabbed their territory. Unlike Texas, California and Oregon are not their property, but the United States was determined to fulfill its mission and Manifest Destiny by employing force and diplomacy.

The biggest distinction between Oregon and Texas border issues is how they were resolved. The Texas Case led to a conflict with Mexico, in which the United States gained land but lost soldiers. However, the United States was able to gain more land from Texas alone as a result of this. On the other hand, the Oregon Case was more tranquil. Instead of going to war, the US struck a pact with Britain. All of these difficulties, however, were dealt with in different ways. The United States increased their boundaries through gaining land.

James Polk was a past president of the United States during that time period and was known as the "President of the Dark Horse." Polk majored in law. Later, he was elected Governor of Tennessee. He was able to link the issues of Texas and Oregon in order to gather support from both the North and the South and win the presidency. After winning the Mexican War, Polk (a prior president) gained California and New Mexico during his presidency. The United States acquired land mostly through peaceful means, such as buying or trading land from other countries that occupied the surrounding area, such as Britain and France. This is how the United States acquired the territory of Oregon. Nonetheless, when a country refuses to give up its land, it will be taken by force, as the Mexican conflict demonstrated. The Mexicans abandoned the California area in the Mexican concession after their loss. These were successful, and the United States was able to expand its territory into the Pacific ("Manifest Destiny Essay").

### **1.2.1. The origin of manifest destiny:**

The term "destiny" refers to the belief in the United States' destiny and the desire to travel across the continent. This term was coined by John S. Sullivan to express a wide range of future possibilities. When S. Sullivan originated the word, it was credited to him, especially when it initially appeared in magazines and the US Democratic Review. It is a sign of the United States' philosophy and eagerness to spend. In July 1845, John S.

Sullivan published an article titled "Enclosure" in the issue of Transparency International's democratic review, which backed the purchase of American Texas. According to S. Sullivan, Texas was an independent republic that wanted to join the guild in 1845. Their goal was clear: to blanket the Providence Free Growth continent, which we have doubled by millions each year.

Journalist John O'Sullivan coined the term "Manifest Destiny" in the 1845 issue of New York Democracy magazine. O'Sullivan advocated for the United States to annex Texas, which it acknowledged as a separate state. He used the term again to emphasize his annexation point in the Western issue of the New York Morning News. The land was in Oregon's hands this time. S. Sullivan then said that this claim is based on the rights of their destiny, which are clear enough to cover and possess the entire continent, which Divine Providence has granted to us in order to establish the freedom and federal self-rule handed to us. In short, according to O'Sullivan, God's Eighteenth and Nineteenth Providences granted humanity the authority to extend a unique and relatively new government shaped by the "great experience of freedom and federal self-governance."

### **1.3. Manifest Destiny Doctrine Influence on Historical Course**

Manifest Destiny drove Polk to threaten Britain over Oregon at the end of the 1840s, prompting him to declare war on Mexico in 1846. Following the agreement with Britain and triumph over Mexico, the United States began westward expansion. Its landmass expanded by more than a third with the acquisition of the Oregon Territory, California, Texas, and the New Mexico and Utah territories, which had practically risen with the acquisition of the Louisiana territory in 1803.

The country flourished tremendously as the concept of their fate played out, and Americans settled in the vast western portions of the continent. Philadelphia declared the United States to be a country of rights in this sense. It is bordered by "East Sunrise, West Sunset, North Arctic, and South as far as we dare please," but the expansion was not universally praised; there were many critics who argued against what they saw as expansionist and imperialist, warning that their destiny would be the dark side, such as the forced relocation of Indians to make room for white settlers. The nation was centered on 13 colonies in the east when the Constitution was adopted in 1787. When the United States

purchased 530 million acres of land from France in the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the country's land area nearly doubled.

President Thomas Meriwether and Louis Clarke were commissioned to explore the region the next year, and the costs of their explorations began to flood much of the country. Many Americans were pleased with the property purchase, but some questioned whether the president had the constitutional authority to do so because he is not officially recognized as a federal official in the Constitution.

The discussion quickly heated up. After being colonized, parts of the new land would become free countries. There were 11 Free states and 11 slave states at the time. If things went her way, the North or the South would have an advantage in congressional representation. The dissolution of Congress coincided with the dissolution of Missouri in 1820, when Missouri K. admitted that slavery in the Louisiana Northern Territory would be prohibited "forever." The country's consciousness included a sense of national destiny or inclination (Turner).

The country is referred to as a "sophisticated empire." "A strong, respectable, and progressive empire," says President James Madison (Democracy-Republican, 1809-17). However, at the time, the term "imperial" might have referred to a "sovereign state"; for example, "the nation that dominates remote regions and peoples." Jefferson believed that European settlers would eventually become people. Although it is expected to land near the Pacific Ocean, the continent is located across the Pacific. The coast would be "a large, free, and independent empire," populated by Americans "not related to us but with blood ties and interests."

President James Monroe (Republican Democratic, 1817-1825) issued a major statement of policy in 1823, which serves as a focal point for the Manifesto's fate. The Monroe principle said that the United States would not tolerate any fresh European colonial intrusion in the Americas. This policy demonstrates that the United States regards itself as the hemispheric superpower, and many American presidents will adhere to the Monroe Doctrine to the letter.

Most historians agree that in the 1840s, the concept of "manifest destiny" captured the American nation. They disagree on how strong or deep the idea of steering it before or

after the contract should be. They have no idea how to explain or justify it since they are unaware of the true and unpleasant truth. However, it varies from person to person; others perceive it as a deceptive rationale, a reason to kill, and imperial ambition. According to certain historians, the concept of the ideal side is a myth. They allude to people who advocated for the idea of a Statement of Fate as a way to assure the triumph of America's democratic tradition of freedom.

Along with this argument, historians make claims regarding the amount of government power that can be used to either strengthen or weaken the statement of fate expansion. Is this expansion unavoidable because of America's freedom, as settlers simply migrate west on their own? These and other treatises are still attempting to explain facets of this topic that are now under discussion ("Missouri Compromise: Primary Documents in American History"). Regardless of disagreements over the veracity of manifest destiny, O'Sullivan was unsure about a widely held national sentiment. Although it peaked in 1845-1846 as a rallying cry as well as a rationale for foreign policy, the viewpoint that led to their demise has long been part of the American experience.

The English Patience who colonized North America in the 1600s and 1700s saw what they saw as the west and soon began to explore the wild and tamed. The reason for this constant wandering differs from place to region, yet it has established a tradition within one generation. The Western vista is always enticing, and Americans are always willing to follow

Progress in the cotton kingdom in the south was hampered by the lure of Ohio in the north after the American Revolution (1775-83). With a stroke of the pen, Thomas Jefferson increased the size of the United States. The Tuscans who wanted Florida were involved in the War of 1812, and many historians believe that the United States' intention to conquer Canada was also a factor in the discussion. Andrew Jackson's conquest of Florida in 1818 and subsequent treaties, particularly the Treaty of Adams-Onís, put an end to a generation-long dispute over the southern border and announced an American claim to the Northwest Pacific, where Spain abandoned its claim to Oregon.

During the twentieth century, the country had its most significant regional expansion. On the country's western border, the presence of US settlements has frequently sparked instability. As the US pacified and secured volatile areas, the acquisition of land

deteriorated relations with neighbors, resulting in a state of instability that aided in the annexation of other communities. South Indians gave succumbed to the pressures of settlement deployment and handed over their lands to the United States. The severe conditions that the Indians faced in that occurrence symbolized Cherokee's annihilation on the famed blood course, which sparked outrage from the whole political elite and populace. Finally, in 1840, the diplomatic disagreement over Oregon in the country with Britain, as well as the United States' triumph in the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), brought an end to an era of rapid growth for the country.

In the second half of the British Empire, little than a century ago, the United States went a long way toward building its own empire by extending sovereignty across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, parallel to the 49 on the Canadian border, and the Rio Grande in the south. A substantial majority of Americans feel a remarkable achievement even be obvious after turning a group of colonies settled a few of the continental power of enormous potential. They demonstrated that God had selected the United States to prosper and expand ("Manifest Destiny | Summary, Examples, Westward Expansion, En Significance").

It was critical to think in the United States in the nineteenth century that settlers were destined to spread across North America. The United States Mission to Clear the New Western Edition on America's Agricultural Image and an unavoidable fate to fulfill this fundamental obligation

According to historian Frederick Merck, "the sense of duty to rid the old world of the high example... was emerging from the possibility of new land to establish a new sky." By 1843, John Quincy Adams had become a strong advocate of the concept of destiny, but he had altered his views and refused to support expansionism since it would result in the expansion of slavery in Texas. Merck came to the following conclusion:

From the very beginning we appreciated - wide in the program, in its sense of continental was a little in support. It lacks national and sectors, or the next party commensurate with its size. The reason is that it does not reflect the national spirit. The hypothesis is supported that it embodies nationalism, found in much historical writing, through little real supporting evidence (Holzwarth 2).

Manifest Destiny was an expression of conviction in morality and expansionist value that complemented other common ideas of the time, such as the American exception and romantic nationalism. It was a general idea rather than a specific policy, and it was an expression of conviction in morality and expansionist value that complemented other common ideas of the age, such as the American exception and romantic nationalism.

Andrew Jackson, who talked about "extending the field of freedom" and conflating America's potential grandeur, in the sense of the country's young people, with its growth. After that, Jackson was not the only president who established the principles that would determine the fate of the country. Partly due to the lack of a coherent narrative that lays out their reasoning, proponents of divergent or seemingly opposing ideas have found it difficult to find common ground. While many writers focused on American expansion in Mexico and across the Pacific, others regarded this era as an opportunity to set an example.

These divergent perspectives on America's fate have never been reconciled since there has never been an agreed-upon interpretation, let alone a political philosophy created. Ernest Lee Toffeson summed up the range of interpretations when he said: "And absorbed a large pool of ideas, regulations, and procedures given for the expression "our fate." They weren't, and because they don't come from a single source, we should all expect them to be compatible ("The War of 1812 & Manifest Destiny").

In 1845, O'Sullivan published another piece in the *Journal of Democracy* with the title "Enclosure," which was the first time the word "our destiny" was used. In this article, he urged the United States to annex the Republic of Texas, not only because Texas demanded it, but also because it was "our destiny clear to the continent covered by the Providence of free growth we have millions to multiply annually." The Democrats eventually merged Texas in 1845, overcoming right-wing opposition. O'Sullivan's initial use of the term "our destiny" drew little attention (Joy 65). However, his second usage was quite powerful. On December 27, 1845, he published an article in the *New York Morning News*. O'Sullivan was referring to the continuing border conflict with the United Kingdom. According to O'Sullivan, the US has the right to claim "all of Oregon":

This claim is the right of our destiny, which must be covered clearly and possess everything from the continent that gave us Divine Providence to develop a great experience of freedom and federal independence placed on us. That is, O'Sullivan believes

that Providence gave the United States the task of spreading republican democracy ("great experience of freedom") Because Britain did not spread democracy

Historian William E Wicks has observed that three main themes are usually addressed by advocates of American destiny: "The virtues of the American people their institutions' Mission to the spread of these institutions, and thus compensation and reshaping the world in the image of the United States; the fate of God's shadow to do this work." (61).

The Protestant heritage of America, particularly John Winthrop's famous "City on the Hill" sermon of 1630, which called for the establishment of a virtuous society that would be a shining example of the ancient world, is often traced back to the origins of the first theme, later known as the American Specialism. Thomas Bowen reflected this sentiment in his landmark book *Common Sense* 1776, stating that the American Revolution provided an opportunity to establish a new, better and society: "We have their finest to start the world over." The circumstance is identical to what we are experiencing now, and it hasn't happened since Noah's time. The New World's Birthday is approaching."

Many Americans agreed with Paine, believing that the United States' goodness stemmed from a unique experience of freedom and democracy. "It is hard not to look forward to the distant ages when we finish quick reproduction and expand themselves beyond those bounds, and include every north, if not on the southern continent," Thomas Jefferson stated in a letter to James Monroe.

The second theme, on the other hand, is less accurate. A letter to Congress was a popular expression of America's goal, which President Abraham Lincoln expressed in his lifetime on December 1, 1862. He referred to the United States as "the world's best and final hope." During the Gettysburg Lincoln speech, which understood the civil war as a struggle to establish if any state with democratic values could survive, "Task" from The United States is discussed in further detail. The historian Robert Johansen described it as "the most lasting articulation of their destiny America and its mission." (Johannsen 19).

The notion that God had a direct influence on the institution and the need to take additional action for the United States led to the third axis. "That God, at the proper point in the march of history, called certain wayward souls hardy of old nations and suffered a

privilege... and this in providing his grace and also blessing a weird obligation," Clinton said of Rossiter, a scientist.

Americans believe they were chosen not just as deities to protect the North American continent, but also to "extend the essential ideals enshrined in the Bill of Rights." In many cases, this meant that neighboring colonial possessions and states were viewed as stumbling blocks rather than the will of God as delivered by the US.

### **1.3.1. Conception of American Manifest Destiny:**

The foundation of American history is a chronological record of key events, each with a cause and effect; later, another event. Historical events are depicted as tangible, drawn to date, or occurring accurately. Fate, on the other hand, is an unavoidable reality. It can't be linked to a meeting, an event, or even a specific time frame. Their destiny exists and continues to exist, as does the philosophy that encompasses all of American history. Fate is an intangible idea that shaped the course of American history. Their fate can be defined as "mobility" in its most basic form. It will be the systematic body of notions and beliefs that are fueled by American life and culture in particular ("Americans Name the 10 Most Significant Historic Events of Their Lifetimes").

During the nineteenth century, the population of the United States began to quickly increase; yet, they needed to populate the immensity of their western regions. At the same time, many of them feel that the country's open destiny is to grow westwards at the expense of Western territories, as it is called manifest destiny, whether through acquisition, negotiation, or as a result of the disagreement. The explanation and justification of the so-called American expansion is referred to as a proclamation of fate. Particularly in the centuries leading up to the Civil War, between 1861 and 1865, and again in the late nineteenth century, when the discussion about enlargement extends back to the late eighteenth century.

It took until 1840 for someone to be formally promoted. Initially, John O'Sullivan, the United States General Editor of the *Armed Forces*, reviewed the *Democrat* in an article he wrote in support of the United States to Texas, then the same promoter pointed to a clear fate for the United States to ramp up at the expense of Providence's continent of free development, where millions have doubled annually. (At the time, Texas was an

independent country.) Many Texans supported annexation, but Mexico claimed the land as well.) To put it another way, O'Sullivan believed it was "manifest or evident" that the United States was intended by God to control the continent. While he Added a religious element to the idea, he could have simply Stated that it was natural for America to spread across the continent.) ("John L. O'Sullivan on Manifest Destiny, 1839").

The concept of Manifest Destiny reflected the thinking of many expansionist policymakers at the time who wanted to expand the country's frontiers westward. It was used by politicians such as President James K. Polk (D, 1845-1849), Representative James Buchanan (D, Pennsylvania), and Senator Stephen A. Douglas (D, Illinois) to explain their efforts to gain control of the Oregon Territory, California, and the enormous Mexican holdings in the Southwest. (Cheatham 138)

It was thought that Americans who were divinely destined to spread throughout the continent were also the driving force behind countless West migration pioneers. In any event, the belief was based in part on a kind of «romance» at the time - an optimistic conviction in human nature and development toward a better society and the realization of great ambitions. The concept also defined their fate as participants in the conviction that America is a political entity. The social structures and culture of the United States particularly that of white Americans, were superior to those of other nations and peoples.

However, the territory had to be secured by diplomacy or conflict for the Americans to keep the West going. Many people also believe that significant numbers of Indians can be relocated to make space for settlers and transcontinental railways that connect the East and West. Furthermore, greater struggle than any additional lands that should be free and available to slavery fueled the civil war.

#### **1.4. Manifest Destiny and its Appearance**

Humanity has always had a strong drive to expand. One way to achieve this expansion is to acquire new land. There are a range of different and complex repercussions as a result of these purchases. On a social, cultural, economic, or political level, these repercussions are regularly altered. One philosophy in American history that inspired the people who lived there was Manifest Destiny, the belief that America should and should expand westward. The fate of the US social message has changed, both economically and

politically, because there is more land to gain from and because US-Mexico ties have been weakened.

Several expansionist ideologies in the West had affected the United States of America, and they had propagated through their destiny. Second, America was economically renewed as a result of an increase in the amount of land available, which was the territory of Texas, the result of Mexico's annexation of Texas in 1845. Third, America shifted politically as a result of the new strained relations with Mexico, which were exacerbated by the Mexican War, which lasted from April 1846 to February 1848.

These social, economic, and political ramifications in the United States were unquestionably the result of their destiny's beginning and use. The concept accurately represents the 19th century belief that God intended for American Christians and Europeans to control the continent of North America. Manifest Destiny was the cornerstone of the US government's aspirations to colonize North American original land and expand the US into Mexican territory. The believers believed that the US rulers were under threat of publishing their declared higher principles far and wide.

Various groups employed advertising, as well as armed interventions, occupations, and terrorism. Local residents can best attest to the consequences of the "Manifest Destiny" doctrine, having endured years of great injustice and the loss of millions of lives, yet they have done so valiantly.

In his memoirs, Ulysses S. Grant, the most powerful military figure of the time and a veteran of the Mexican-American War, wrote: "I don't believe there has ever been a more heinous war than the one fought by the US in Mexico. When I was younger, I believed it, but I lacked the moral strength to resign." (Fleek 3).

We have seen that dreadful face as detailed in the Government's 21st century objective to reform the Middle East, despite the reprehensible belief that their fate must be consigned to history books. Of course, the psychology of their fate - the Anglo-Saxon projection of perfection did not truly vanish - has always been invoked to justify America's colonial adventures.

The failure of the Vietnam War prompted covert action, such as the US's attempt in 1980 to overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution and back death squads in El Salvador and

Guatemala. However, the United States' foreign policy was predicated on the arrogant and racist belief that "America knows better."

The idea of American cultural, religious, political and social supremacy has been heavily propagated among most Americans throughout the years, supposedly to be taken into account. When myths become accepted as reality, this is known as "re" in political science.

Why can their leaders and the majority of Americans ignore 100,000 Iraqi civilian casualties? Invaded and devastated Iraq and why can their leaders and the majority of Americans ignore it? If the final goal is a Western-style, capitalist Iraq, the means to get there can be illegal, cruel, bloody, inhumane, or whatever. The possibilities are limitless. As this administration talks about "democracy" in Iraq, we see that glazed, slightly out-of-reality look in their eyes all the time. Their fixed eyes are thrown seriously below to look over and analyze the dreadful means by which they are attempting to accomplish those ends, but they are never cast seriously upward to look over and evaluate the means by which they are attempting to reach those ends. Of fact, this process of "remaking Iraq" isn't truly guided by the high goal of establishing democracy.

Instead, it is concentrating on harmonizing Middle Eastern social and cultural values with Western capitalist principles in order to promote a global world order centered on the elites' economic interests in the United States. When we recall the days just after the invading soldiers arrived in Baghdad, when widespread looting damaged Iraq's museums and libraries, we all flinch. As Iraq's cultural history was being obliterated, US forces stood by idly.

Some Iraqis today believe that this was done on purpose, that it was an attempt to wipe the slate clean of Iraq's cultural and historical achievements so that Western values could be imposed more easily. Hundreds of Iraqi youth recently took to the streets to protest a new government directive declaring Saturday an official holiday in Iraq, bringing Iraq's weekend closer to that of the rest of the world. Friday is a Muslim holy day, and most Muslim countries have Thursday and Friday off or just Friday off.

**1.4.1. Political Manifestations of Manifest Destiny:**

The United States of America had a strong belief in MANIFEST DESTINY, a belief that propelled them into a new era. They believed they were on a mission to spread democracy, freedom, and culture across the North American continent. Many of them believed it was their right to grow across the country, while others believed it was a mission given to them by God.

This became a historical word that was frequently used to refer to the United States of America's territorial expansion. In 1940, it was Jackson who was the first Democrat to utilize it to urge the annexation of what is now known as the western United States (Oregon territory, Texas annexation, Mexican waiver). Republicans and sympathizers used the manifestation of consciousness in 1890 to legitimize their participation in countries outside of North America. Rather than a precise policy, it was a broad notion. Their fate is tied to the idea of individualism and idealism, the American exception, romantic nationalism, and white supremacy, as well as the requirement for regional growth.

Now, in 1844, a Democratic Party supporter named John L.O'Sullivan was a journalist. He insisted the US government annex the republic of Texas in an essay titled "Annexation," not because Texas wanted it, but because it was America's Manifest Destiny to expand westward for the country's development and to gain more space for the multiplying millions. People reacted positively to this idea, so he did not stop there when he became influential ("John O'Sullivan Declares America's Manifest Destiny, 1845").

In a column published in the New York News in 1845, John expressed his belief that the United States of America had the right to claim "the whole Oregon" and that "the Providence has given them a mission to overspread all over the country for the sake of development and the great experiment of liberty," because he believed that the United States of America had the right to claim "the whole Oregon" and that "the Providence has given them a mission to overspread all over the country for the sake of development and the "The great experiment of liberty" means establishing republican democracy throughout North America, according to this remark. According to O'Sullivan, however, territorial expansion was never planned to be done by force because it was unavoidable and would occur without military intervention. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the United States expanded dramatically in terms of geographical extent.

President Thomas Jefferson purchased Louisiana from the French government for \$15 million in 1803. It certainly quadrupled the size of the country and opened the door to exploration, and some explorers did venture into the wilderness and returned with a wealth of tales. Anyway, the United States' expansion did not stop there; treaties were signed with Spain and Britain, and the country's frontiers were extended west to the Rocky Mountains, north and south to Florida and the Gulf of Mexico. These boundaries stayed mostly unchanged until the 1840s, when the US gained vast swaths of land in the Southwest and along the Pacific Coast.

As a result of the annexation of Texas and the Mexican-American conflict, the United States of America gained a significant amount of land (The Southwest). Almost immediately after the conflict, a debate erupted over whether slavery could be extended to these new lands. Because there was a risk of an imbalance between a slave state and a free one The Missouri Compromise of 1820, which outlawed slavery in the north, largely ended the national debate about slavery extension westward. Both political parties, "Democrats and Whigs," were eager to avoid a debate about slavery because they needed the support of both the north and south to win the presidency and Congress.

Texas gained independence from Mexico in 1836, and in the same year, they wanted their own state from the United States, despite the fact that Mexico never accepted Texas' independence. Many years later, rumors circulated that Mexico would take Texas. However, it became clear that Texas may be reclaimed, which was intolerable to Americans. The British were willing to grant Texas independence from Mexico if Texas abolished slavery, but these were simply rumors.

However, the Prime Minister refuted this notion, claiming that it prompted southerners to support abolition and northerners to oppose it owing to their fears of British imperialism. As a result, Texas was regarded as a slave state, and the addition of more southern electoral votes bolstered the pro-slavery viewpoint (Rohal 13).

The fact that the American people were historically linked to English civilisation triggered Manifest Destiny. This gave them a sense of supremacy over the other North American peoples. The Americans thought they were superior to the Indians because they were white and civilized. They believed the Indians' lack of civilization demonstrated their

inferiority. As a result, the Americans believed that because they were English and England was powerful, they entitled to invade Indian Territory.

They considered themselves superior to Spaniards from Mexico, Cuba, and other countries. They were well aware of their country's superiority over Spain, as well as their Protestant religion's superiority over Catholicism. As a result of their white, English ancestry, the American people believed they were superior to others and deserved to rule all of North America.

"Manifest Destiny" became first and mainly a plea and justification for an American type of imperialism, and it succinctly summed up the Mexican War's objectives. It asserted that God had given America a manifest destiny to colonize the North American continent south of Canada, as an example: self-evident (it also claimed the right to the Oregon territory including the Canadian portion). "Manifest Destiny" was also plainly a white supremacist racial philosophy that denied Native Americans and nonwhites any permanent title to land on the North American continent and justified white American seizure of Indian lands.

"Manifest destiny" was also the key motto employed in the United States' imperialist initiatives in the 1890s and early 1900s, which resulted in the United States' sovereignty or control of Hawaii and the Philippine islands. But their fate was more than a reason for American regional ambitions and a cover for American imperialism. It is also rooted in a long and deep sense of America's own special and unique destiny, as well as the belief that "America is a nation called to the special destiny of God," as historian Conrad Cherry put it. The notion that some lucky objects could be used to discover the eventual European invasion of land masses was "discovered" by Christopher Columbus from the start.

Both the Spanish and French monarchs permitted and supported exploration of the "New World" because they believed it was their divinely assigned mission to bring Christianity to the New World by converting the locals. The British, particularly the New England Puritans, who arrived later, brought with them a demanding sense of providential purpose ("The Religious Origins of Manifest Destiny, Divining America").

## **1.5. American Imperialism in the 19th Century**

America was already expanding its area around the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1803, the United States of America purchased the Louisiana Territory from France, effectively doubling the size of the country. Spain ceded their Florida area to the United States in 1819. In 1823, President Monroe issued the "Monroe Doctrine," which served as a warning to European countries not to enter the Western Hemisphere. In the late 1800s, America had conquered other countries economically, culturally, and militarily in order to realize its aim of becoming an imperialist power. In terms of economics, the United States had made technological advancements and had begun to acquire oversea territory.

Manifest destiny was a popular concept in America and Europe at the time. This word refers to a country's ability to expand its territory and dominate beyond its borders. Because of the Civil Battle, America began imperializing later than Europe, but once the war was over, America felt compelled to expand. The country's ethnocentric ideas and determination to join the global sphere of influence and preserve it by seeking to surpass the number of imperial European powers gave rise to American Imperialism. In the late 1800s, ethnocentrism was immensely popular, and it encouraged America to march toward imperialism

The United States grew imperialistic to the point where their sole motivations were to obtain raw materials, military strategic goals, and to sell their manufactured goods in a larger market. The United States was still attempting to dominate its own continent at the turn of the twentieth century. The US was unconcerned about foreign empires at the time. America did not have an interest in colonial empires until after the war of 1898. The idea of imperialism was born as a result of the conclusion of this conflict, which saw the United States acquire its own colonial empire. Because they desired more raw materials and to produce more for the country and its people, the United States was imperialistic. The people and the country both desired it.

The country was expanding, and its needs had to be satisfied in order to stay up with it. The United States is concerned about its ability to expand as a nation. They never sought to grow just to have more land under their control; it wasn't a contest to see who could gain the most land; they had a goal in mind, and they also wanted to improve the countries under their control. American imperialism refers to measures aiming at spreading the

United States' political, economic, and cultural power beyond its borders. Military conquest, gunboat diplomacy, unequal treaties, subsidization of chosen factions, economic penetration through private corporations followed by diplomatic or violent intervention when those interests are challenged, or regime change are all possibilities, depending on the observer (Bonk 36).

Although some believe US territorial expansion at the expense of Native Americans to be similar enough to merit the same word, imperialism is generally thought to have started in the late nineteenth century (Immerwahr 24). Although the United States' federal government has never referred to its territories as an empire, several analysts have, notably Max Boot, Arthur Schlesinger, and Niall Ferguson. The US has also been accused of neocolonialism, which is sometimes characterized as a modern kind of hegemony that leverages economic rather than military dominance in an informal empire and is frequently used interchangeably with contemporary imperialism.

For the entirety of the country's existence, the subject of whether the United States should intervene in the affairs of other countries has been argued in domestic politics. Opponents cited the country's history as a former colony that revolted against an overlord, as well as American values of democracy, liberty, and independence. Supporters of imperial presidents such as James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft justified interventions in or seizure of various countries by citing the need to advance American economic interests (such as trade and debt repayment), the prevention of European intervention in the Americas, and the advantages of maintaining world peace.

Americans had long wanted to expand their country's borders, and they did so throughout the nineteenth century by extending their sovereignty to the Pacific Ocean. By the 1880s, however, many American officials had come to believe that the US should join Europe's imperialist powers and establish colonies abroad. Imperialism, or the policy of stronger countries extending their economic, political, or military domination over weaker territories, was already a global trend.

**1.6. Conclusion**

Chapter one led to the victory over Mexico in 1848, which provided the United States with a gigantic scale that came with incredible abundance and promise. Gold will finance decades of extraordinary expansion in California by turning several of the state's climates into natural parks. Where increasing Pacific trade necessitates isolating diplomatic connections with Japan, and US trade has been formed in areas previously protected for European corporations.

However, the debate over the status of the new Western regions in connection to slavery, on the other hand, has impeded the American political system by resurrecting issues that have destroyed delicate concessions and inflamed sectorial divisions. In reality, such fights brought their destiny's epoch to a screeching halt. Intentions to connect the eastern United States to the Pacific coast, these facts highlight the truth that Americans have a history.

The founding documents of the country contain numerous evidence of imperialist tendencies. Even luminaries like Thomas Jefferson have stated a strong imperialist vision for the United States. Louisiana's annexation the first act of this vision was observed in the seventeenth century. The United States' foreign policy was mostly confined to the American continent during the nineteenth century, with the Central and Southern American regions being focal centers.

***Chapter Two:***  
***The Expansion of America***

## **2.1. Introduction**

The rise of America one of the strongest nations in the world nowadays, was built on the success of Manifest Destiny. The latter and its doctrines were employed through a major series of events which culminated in achieving a powerful position in the world under the veil of Manifest Destiny.

This chapter aims to analyze the major events that included manifest destiny in the history of USA awakening in the world. Deals were sealed and wars were participated in by the founders of USA and their decedents illustrating the involvement of manifest destiny notions. This chapter will also look through the political and economic factors that led to US expansion and boosted its development throughout the years.

## **2.2. Major events related to manifest destiny**

The concept of "manifest destiny" has been most typically connected with the United States' expansionism from 1812 to 1867. The period of time where the United States employed the concept to expend its territorial borders widely across the continent. Important wars have been witnessed during this era that is still whispered today amongst historians. This title will tackle these major events and their influence on the world stage, namely with the other European powers.

### **2.2.1. Louisiana Purchase:**

This purchase is considered historically to be one of the first expansions of American territory. The territory of Louisiana was a French territory which America under the leadership of Thomas Jeffirson decided to buy it for a national concern of Napoleonic France domination in the new continent. It was so much of a national security risk that Jefferson himself stated:

*“The day that France takes possession of New Orleans...we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.” (“From Thomas Jefferson to Robert R. Livingston, 18 April 1802”).*

During the first phase of the negotiations for Lousiana, France was not about to abandon the territory for it contained a lot of mineral resources and riches valuable that

was much needed for the Americans to build the fundamentals necessary to rise a strong wide world imperialist country. The grasp of Louisiana for the Americans saw a possibility during the rise of Napoleon in France, in his reign, France had suffered from wars and economic hardships which later on prompted Napoleon to fill the kingdom's treasury rather than the burden of maintaining control over a far piece of land at that time (Bond 113).

The future president James Monroe was sent as Jefferson's emissary to seal the deal. As the negotiations were already taking place before Monroe's arrival, the French diplomat Barbé-Marbois had offered Livingston, who was the first diplomat sent by the President, all of Louisiana for \$15 million. And Although, Jefferson had permitted Livingston to purchase only New Orleans, the arrival of Monroe saw the offer has an inevitable chance to earn bigger portion of land for the Future of America. To the delegation's dismay the offer given by cash hungry Napoleonic France superseded the expectations of the US officials. The French offered the entirety of the Louisiana colony for just 15 million dollars. Along with the arrival of Monroe the delegation had the authority to accept the expanded deal. The deal was completed in April 1803, and the whole area of Louisiana was given to the United States for the price of 11 million dollars (Fleming 140 -146).

The outcome of this successful deal had earned the United States an explicit sovereignty over the most of mainland North America and had poised it as a new expansionist power. This event set a major precedent for future US foreign policy which had become far more expansionist, a far cry from the early isolationist days. Somewhat around this period major continental expansion started and the next titles will cover the major wars caused by this societal shift (LaFeber 182).

### **2.2.2. War of 1812:**

The war of 1812 was the first major US war since its independence, it was fought with Great Britain who was one of the Great Powers during the era. This war is considered to be a significant event in the course of American expansionism and Manifest Destiny. This conflict lasted three years, from 1812 to 1815

The tensions of this conflict were growing from Native disruptions to American trade within the continent. One major triggering of the war which was the fact that Indians and the British worked together diminishing the power of US and its expansionism plans (Auchinleck 88).

Britain's opposition to American expansion in Northern Lands of the continent. America was in all but name outright blockaded by the British navy, the circumstances of the raging wars on the European continent and Napoleons' wars tied the Royal navy to continental issues. The American consensus was that Canada was vulnerable to a US invasion, and even considered the Anglo-Canadians as being essentially American (James 120).

On the day of 18 June 1812, America was decisive to declare war against Great Britain with the aim to annex Canada. On the one hand, the Americans were confident about being well prepared strategically for the success of the invasion of Canada. On the other hand, the British troops residing in Canada have proven to be stronger than the American troops which eventually led to an embarrassing defeat of American troops after several tries from the American army to seize victory on Canadian soil (Marsh and Berton).

This set back in the American expansionist plans was soon to be balanced when the US turned to fight the Royal Naval in 1813 and eventually won several battles and took over strategic places like Fort George, Detroit and York. These victories were short lived though as Britain began to funnel in thousands of veterans and more naval assets from Europe after Napoleon's defeat and exile in 1814. The invigorated British Navy was able to secure the American eastern seashore and land an expeditionary force that captured key American cities and forts. Most notable of which was the British capture of Washington D.C. where they subsequently burned the White House. The British force advanced on Baltimore with the help of the British Navy, to their dismay however the British ships could not dislodge the city's fortifications and the army's advance was checked by Maryland's militias (Roosevelt 54).

After a long period of American, British conflict, both sides shifted to call for a treaty. The Treaty of Ghent<sup>1</sup> was signed on December 24, 1814, and peace was declared between the two parties. However, ignorant of the treaty, future president of the US Andrew Jackson won a decisive yet meaningless victory against the British forces in New Orleans. The treaty was declared officially On February 18, 1815 by President Madison, and the War of 1812 ended with an American major loss.

### **2.2.3. The Oregon Boundary Dispute:**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the race to control western lands was ongoing between the British and the Americans. After the inconclusive war of 1812, the two powers sought out a new rivalry over the northwestern pacific territories that had yet not been claimed by Europeans. After the withdrawal of Spanish and Russian interference in the area, Oregon became solely contested by the US and British and was a looming diplomatic crisis. US public opinion was firm, many in the US had long started viewing continental expansion as a god given right and pushed for the annexation of the entire territory.

The dispute over the faith of Oregon had happened to coincide with the American-Mexican conflict that was brewing from the Texan independence. As concerns were rising and the fear of fighting two wars, The American leadership sought to achieve a treaty that would end the Oregon dispute. The Oregon Treaty came to be signed in 1846 between the US and Britain. It set the border at the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel, but gave over Vancouver Island to the British. And in 1848, The American congress officially established the Oregon Territory ("Treaty of Oregon").

### **2.2.4. American Mexican War:**

The dream of a Manifest Destiny was the raging topic of politics at the time. Its proponents were presidents and important military commanders. James K. Polk is arguably one of the most important yet forgotten presidents of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His geostrategic maneuvering gained the US its modern borders and cemented the US as the foremost continental power. The resulting conflicts of US expansionism were all US victories.

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<sup>1</sup> - A treaty signed in Ghent between the British and the Americans to end the 1812 war.

In 1836, the Republic of Texas declared independence from Mexico. This state was formerly a territory of the Empire of Mexico but the Texans themselves were of English decent, and had immigrated there since before the region's secession to Spain in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Furthermore, the white Texans identified themselves American and petitioned to join the Union multiple times, alas this petition was refused by President Andrew Jackson and American officials due to Texas being a slave state, and this would cause the uneasy political division of the US to favor pro slavery democrats. The tension grew a popular opinion to annex Texas later when the American Mexican war was ignited (Greenberg 35).

Eventually, the annexation of Texas was the main trigger of the American Mexican dispute over territories. Diplomatic meetings happened between the American and Mexican officials to impose American claim of Texas and further fuel the American expansionist propaganda by offering to purchase New Mexico and California from Mexico. The refusal of the Offer by Mexican leadership eventually led to military action when Mexican Troops attacked the American troops which were a provocation that gave congress a valid casus belli to gather its armies and prepare to fight (Tucker 252).

The war was officially declared on May, 13, 1846. US forces advanced into what is today New Mexico. The US army was a mostly volunteer force, and won several decisive victories against the mainly conscript Mexican army in the battle of Pueblo de Taos and again in the dual battles of Mora, the US pushed the Mexican army out of New Mexico and a push began into California, which like Texas, had a considerable white American settler presence. Before the US army even arrived, American settlers in the Sacramento Valley organized themselves into a militia and prepared to meet the Mexican army. Before they could however they linked up with a sizable US force. They were able to quickly mop up whatever Mexican garrisons still remained in the region and took key cities like Los Angeles and San Diego, where they entered unopposed. Finally the Mexicans turned to fight the Americans at the Battles of Rio San Gabriel and La Mesa where they were soundly defeated (Bauer 420).

After seizing many victories in this war, Americans decided to take the fight into the territory of Mexico as whole. The US army was ordered eventually to advance into Mexico City. The Mexican resistance was unable to withhold for too long. The siege of Mexico City in September 1847 granted the Americans good leverage over peace negotiations.

This combination of losses for the Mexicans had paved way for the diplomatic talk to end the war. This said war was concluded in the Treaty of Guadalupe 1848. America have seized control of many territories like California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Nevada and Utah (“The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo”). Ultimately the American manifest destiny had been fulfilled and the expansion served as a great asset in increasing US boundaries and strengthening the country over time.

The American-Mexican is considered to be the first US war ever covered by media. Journalism served as a factor supporting the war through publically boosting the manifest destiny propaganda. The constant coverage of the battlefields and the US victories caught the attention of Americans and developed a positive opinion of US expansion, it became widely viewed that Manifest Destiny was a valid justification for the US’ conflicts and foreign acquisitions.

### **2.2.5. Manifest Destiny during the Slavery Debate and Civil War:**

The growing controversy over slavery was also fostered by U.S. expansion, which addressed the critical question as to whether new states admitted to the Union would permit enslavement or not—a battle that would eventually lead to the Civil War. US officials were divided over establishing slavery in the new American acquired territories or to extend the spirit of freedom. Events like the Mexican American war only exacerbated the debate, as many southerners saw US expansion as a chance to expand their slave holdings. However, It’s proponents in the north viewed it as a chance to expand democracy in order to foster mercantile and later industrial development that would further strengthen the American nation. Indeed, California is the Union’s most populated and industrialized state.

Multiple Compromises in the form of acts by Congress resolved the issue of slavery's expansion in many territories. Southern Democrats also eyed potential new territory in the Caribbean and Central America. Meanwhile, the Fugitive Slave Act<sup>2</sup>, one of the aforementioned acts and compromises was an ill-advised pro-slavery effort to make northerners to demonstrate more support for slavery, sparked mob violence against slave hunters and federal authorities attempting to implement the legislation.

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<sup>2</sup> - An act passed by Congress in 1850 to control slaves.

The Monroe doctrine also proved hard to maintain while the US was embroiled in its civil war. The second French intervention in Mexico in 1861 is proof of this as the US was helpless in stopping the European powers from militarily intervening in the western hemisphere, resorting to only diplomatically and economically supporting Mexico. Nevertheless, The US' continental expansion was over and the growing power looked to other areas it could acquire. The US began to look west and sought to take territories in its Pacific periphery. Alaska was deemed a strategically significant location due to its long Pacific coastline ("Alaska Purchase Treaty"). The US promptly purchased Alaska from Russia, who were weary of losing the territory to Britain and quickly sold it. The Hawaiian archipelago was also quickly annexed in a flurry of geostrategic maneuvering on the US' part, and none of it was related to slavery. The US became an imperialist power.

Whatever the case, the abolitionist North eventually won out against the south, and slavery ceased to exist in all territories held by the US. This did not however end the US' Imperialist designs. It did however shift US politics away from the debate over slavery to one of imperialist expansion and isolationism. Accordingly the following titles will cover the US' foreign wars and imperialist attitude.

#### **2.2.6. American Spanish War:**

Cuba was a Spanish territory that caused Spain hardships to maintain control over it even with failure of making social changes. The US government saw an opening and was determined to help Cuban independence as it would have enhanced US economic interests. The US declared war on Spain officially in April, 1898 due to the sinking of a US battleship in Havana Harbor by the Spanish. America's expansionist policy was seeking to weaken European powers in the new world and strengthening US control over the Caribbean and Latin America. President Theodore Roosevelt himself saw the war with Spain as an opportunity that would provide the US with a proper strong navy (Mahan 44).

The fight began two days after the declaration of war. The first encounter between the two sides was at the Battle of Manila Bay in the Philippines Islands. The Spanish navy was destroyed by that of the US in this battle and eventually Manila Bay was fully controlled by the US. Moreover, one of the major factors that led to US victory was the coordination of attacks against Spain between US military and Cuban rebels. The American Spanish war was short lived as Spain had already lost control of several

territories in Cuba in addition to military casualties, and in December, 1898 a peace treaty was to be signed between the two sides which established Cuban independence. US manifest destiny propaganda also aimed at purchasing the Philippines Islands among other territories from Spain willingly or otherwise (Foner 183).

Most historians consider the American-Spanish war a significant event that gave the US leverage in intervening in major worldwide affairs and made of America a global imperial power. US borders widely expanded after the war and for the first time went deep into the Pacific marking the furthest US annexation to date. The US population became more diverse as it included Asian, Latin, African and white races (Montoya 77 - 81).

The imperialist term “the white man’s burden” was popularized during this war, as was the poem of the same name. This was a testament to public consciousness during the era, the imperialist policies of the US were almost wholeheartedly supported by all echelons of American society. The poem is in our opinion the literary manifestation of imperialism, which in itself outlines the main points of imperialist ideology. It asserts that the US ought to take up the mantle of colonial empire from the waning and overstretched British Empire, who in Rudyard Kipling’s<sup>3</sup> opinion were the white Anglo-Saxon brethren of WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) Americans, but their younger counterpart in the New World should now take on the ‘Burden’ of ‘civilizing’ other races as demonstrated in the first verses of Kipling’s poem:

*“Take up the White Man's burden;  
Send forth the best ye breed;  
Go bind your sons to exile;  
To serve your captives' need;  
To wait in heavy harness  
On fluttered folk and wild—  
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
Half devil and half child.”*

### 2.2.7. The American Empire:

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, America was a vast empire stretching widely across the globe and the policy of imperialism adopted by the US government heavily boosted the expansion of American territories. The US was gradually turning into a global power as it was militarily and diplomatically intervening in international affairs in contrast to its previous isolationist stance. Nevertheless, the US remained isolationist to a degree, especially with the debut of the WWI, as the US was cautious to join anyone side due to

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<sup>3</sup> - The author of the White Man’s Burden poem.

the possible backlash from multiple ethnicities in the US (namely German-Americans) (Carson en Bonk 255). However, after the sinking of the Lusitania<sup>4</sup> in May, 1915 public opinion in the US grew against Germany. This combined with the interception of the Zimmermann Telegram<sup>5</sup> which eventually prompted the US to join the war. President Woodrow Wilson greatly influenced the US' foreign policy arguably to the extent that his "Wilsonian" ideology still influences modern US policy. It argues that American democracy was the bastion of the civilized world and it ought to be spread willingly or otherwise. This new justification for expansion ascended the US as truly global superpower (Steigerwald 36).

By the 1910's the US economy had already surpassed Britain, the previous global superpower, and was well on the way into cementing its hegemony over the western hemisphere. Only Germany and its central power allies were somewhat free from the US' economic clout, Anglo-American financial institutions dominated the global fiscal market, and the US dollar would start rising in popularity during this period. This coupled with the fact that the entente bought billions of dollars' worth of war material from the US, this was paid in gold that greatly expanded their gold reserves to the point where the US dollar would be the staple currency of exchange between nations (Immerwahr 23-28). The US heartland was also safe from the destruction of the war. US industry boomed and they entered what historians call the 'Roaring 20's'. The US' capitalist elite also invested in rebuilding Europe after the war. This was a far smaller version of the Marshall plan and mainly consisted of loans. This inadvertently linked many economies to the US', and when the stock market crash of 1929 that caused the Great Depression<sup>6</sup> happened these nations were also affected. Germany was the biggest US creditor and suffered the most (Llewellyn en Thompson 2-4).

The US was detrimental to creating the League of Nations<sup>7</sup>, the precursor to the United Nations. President Wilson brought the US to the forefront of global diplomacy. In addition to the US' newfound economic and diplomatic power, the US also enjoyed the cooperation of much of the democratic west, including former enemies like the UK and France. The UK was the second most industrialized nation on earth and they maintained a

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<sup>4</sup> - The RMS Lusitania was a British vessel carrying US citizens sunk by the German Navy

<sup>5</sup> - An intercepted German telegram calling for Mexico's support in WWI by attacking the US

<sup>6</sup> - a severe worldwide economic depression between 1929 and 1939

<sup>7</sup> - The organization that sought to maintain world peace

“special relationship” with their Anglo-American brethren. English culture and institutions were now influencing global culture (North edge 9-12).

Moreover, the US’ “democratic” capitalist imperialism would clash with the authoritarian ideologies of Communism and Fascism. Adolf Hitler’s rise can be credited to the previously mentioned Great Depression; Germany was once more a menace to the west and had to be thoroughly pacified. America had begun to recover from the Great Depression thanks to the efforts of President Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal social welfare program. The US was referred to as the “Sleeping Giant” as it had descended back into isolationism and rarely participated in European affairs (Lippmann 54). This changed however during the outbreak of WW2, President Roosevelt was a staunch anti-Isolationist and did his best to support the allies. Weapons purchases by Britain and France made the US the holder of most of the world’s physical gold reserves. Eventually, Congress passed the Lend Lease act<sup>8</sup> which brought US industry back to life. The US owes much credit to this law in making it the global industrial powerhouse. By the end of the war the globe was rearranged into a new world order. The Bretton Woods<sup>9</sup> system of economics was implemented by the western block, and once again Anglo-American elites held most of the world’s capital (“How the Bretton Woods System Changed the World”). This advantage allowed the west to greatly outpace the Communist USSR and its Eastern Block to eventually dominate the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **2.3. Major Factors behind Manifest Destiny**

The previously discussed events were crucial in the evolving of the manifest destiny ideologies in the US throughout the years. In order to grasp an understanding of what made US expansion successful on behalf of this ideology, this title will provide the reader with the major dormant political, social and economic factors that accelerated US expansion and made of it a strong powerful nation acknowledged worldwide.

In order to achieve the ultimate goals of expansion and fulfill what was once just a dream of creating a powerful original republic spreading its wings above the world, the US

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<sup>8</sup> - The 1941 Lend-Lease Act gave the Roosevelt Administration enormous, sweeping powers, covering just about anything you can imagine, from weapons and munitions, to facilities for production and servicing, to plans and design documents.

<sup>9</sup> - Under the Bretton Woods System, gold was the basis for the U.S. dollar and other currencies were pegged to the U.S. dollar’s value.

government and people paved way for their imperial power through reforming political laws, spreading expansionist ideology and conditioning their society into jingoism and building a powerful capitalist nation that boosted its economy vastly.

### **2.3.1. Political and Factors:**

Ever since the founding of the nation, the revolution's key figures expressed a passionate desire to spread "civilization" across the continent. John Louis O'Sullivan a prominent intellectual, in his book about manifest destiny that was published in 1839 said:

*"America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defense of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement."* (426)

As the quote demonstrates, Supremacist ideology was not limited to lower class populist xenophobia towards native or non-white peoples; rather, it was actively endorsed by intellectuals and the elite of American society. Among these elites were Presidents Polk and Jackson, whom we have previously mentioned. They were vocal proponents of Manifest Destiny and whatever ideological overtures involved.

For all intents and purposes, racial genocide and forced assimilations were all state sanctioned. Eugenicist thought was the dominating ideological norm of the 19th Century. It swayed politics and embroiled the US in Imperialist wars of expansion. The state also sanctioned the forced removal of countless native tribes, the Trail of Tears<sup>10</sup> is only one instance of mass deportation of native tribes that predate the Colombian arrival by many countless generations.

As previously mentioned, continental expansion further flared the slave debate, and in turn birthed ideologies and policies that were Instrumental in driving westward expansion. It reinforced the already strong racist sentiment towards non-whites, and even after the Union's victory and a brief the US was still an ethno state whose white supremacist ideology spurred further expansion outside the continent (LaFeber 210). Even before Wilsonian thought took hold of American politics, American Exceptionalism<sup>11</sup> was already a universal belief. The spreading of American style liberal democracy to the

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<sup>10</sup> - A series of forced displacements of American Indians by the United States government.

<sup>11</sup> - The idea that the United States is inherently different from other nations and unique in history.

‘savages’ embodies the geostrategic expansion of one nation over its weaker neighbors. Ultimately, ideo-political factors are dictated by the economic needs and desires of a nation, the following title will demonstrate.

### **2.3.2. Economic Factors:**

The North American continent is one of the most resource rich regions in the world; the mid-west sits on the basin of one of the most fertile regions on the planet. The Founding Fathers and later Manifest Destiny figures realized this and intricately guided the nation to acquiring as much of this resource rich continent. The main reasons behind the idea of westward expansion and the subsequent wars and deportations of Native Americans were economic.

The average American was attracted by the prospect of starting a new life with a dream of achieving success and wealth by migrating west. The abundance of fertile land in the Great Plains plateau<sup>12</sup> led the federal government to pass the Homestead Act to ensure its efficient exploitation by white families that would also serve as a basis for eventual white domination over the frontier (McManis 64).

Gold also played an important factor in attracting westward migration. The Californian Rush<sup>13</sup> is responsible for the said state’s large population centers and modern industrial significance. Cities like San Francisco all owe their success to the influx of white Americans seeking fortune (Starr 92).

Other than the obvious mineral, land, and other resource perquisites Manifest Destiny aspired to acquire. The nation wanted to completely control the Western Hemisphere, and thus polarizing the world trade system towards it. The main Atlantic and Pacific trade routes became the two metaphorical arteries of the world trade system. Controlling them unopposed could potentially ensure the longevity of Anglo-American world hegemony for centuries to come. Manifest Destiny could be considered the most successful geo-strategy and ideology in Contemporary history.

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<sup>12</sup> - The term "Great Plains" usually refers specifically to the United States portion of the ecozone.

<sup>13</sup> - Named for the thousands who “rushed” to the state of California to find gold—started in 1848 and ended around 1855.

## **2.4. Conclusion**

Manifest Destiny is the 19th century doctrine that justified the series of events which led US expansion propaganda to achieve its ultimate expansionist goals throughout the Americas. the desire for building a powerful nation witnessed by the whole world led the founding fathers and their precedents to seek expanding national territory through different major ways: politically by interfering and interacting with the rest of the world affairs and spreading their expansionist ideology with the aim of augmenting US territory as well as economically serving to boost national wealth and development that eventually climbing the ranks of the wealthiest developed nations of the world all under the veil of the manifest destiny in which this chapter had illustrated the events and the factors which culminated to the success of US expansion.

***Chapter Three:***  
***A Democratic Empire***

### **3.1. Introduction**

Manifest Destiny has resulted in a lot of important changes that ensured the US would be the pre-imminent global superpower. The path of westward expansion was a long one, full of deeply rooted changes upon the newly acquired territories and the growth of the US as a nation. This chapter will cover the major outcomes that were born out of the American Manifest both the negative and the positive ones, as well as how historians and scholars do not all agree on the justifications of Manifest Destiny and rather split in two divisions, those who argue that manifest destiny was a holy mission and those who seen it as a destruction brought upon weaker civilizations.

### **3.2. Manifest Destiny's ramifications**

The US saw numerous geo-strategic opportunities in expansion, not only was it by default lucrative to own more land, it also gave it access to both of the world's oceans and main trade routes. This allowed the US to project power on a global scale as it was not landlocked or confined to only one coastline. These are in general the main consequences, or rather boons, of Manifest Destiny. This title will cover the political and socio-economic implications born from westward expansion, this served to reshape US internal and external influence and changed the way they conducted geopolitics forever.

#### **3.2.1. Geopolitical Consequences:**

First and foremost, international politics was the domain most influenced by Manifest Destiny. It turned a nation founded on the principles of moderated government power and minimal foreign interventionism into a fully-fledged imperial power that bestowed its influence on the majority of the world's nations, even those which were deemed global hegemons preceding the US by several centuries (i.e. the British Empire, France, Russia, Germany...etc).

On account of the previously mentioned domain, US territorial expansion across both its backyard in the new world and the rest of the globe was indeed triggered by Manifest Destiny doctrines which eventually reformed and strengthened US geopolitical influence in the world. The extreme luck of this nation at succeeding in spreading its culture and institutions across the globe is interlinked with the ever increasing scope of US

territorial designs (Cunningham 11). US Statesmen and political elite peddled a vision of an American mission motivated by the ideologies of Manifest Destiny. US foreign policy was strategically conducted to engage in warfare and diplomatic settlements (The Louisiana purchase or the Oregon Compromise)<sup>14</sup> that would lead to successful territorial expansions. This manifested itself into many foreign policy doctrines (i.e. The Monroe Doctrine)<sup>15</sup> that tried to ensure US domination in the western hemisphere and as American international diplomacy was growing stronger US governments steered its focus towards international world affairs in an attempt to gain more prestige across the world.

By the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, the US had amassed unrivaled global power, even surpassing the Soviet goliath. The US created several military and economic alliances with much of the world; the EU is almost all US aligned and most EU members are a part of NATO<sup>16</sup> and thus share close diplomatic ties, many of NATO's current member states were ex-Soviet puppets, thus signifying the US' influence in Europe (ref). As for the rest of the world, America and the rest of the victors of WW2 set up the UN. This organization was meant in theory to represent all legitimate world nations, nevertheless it has only mainly represented the interests of veto power security member states. Furthermore, when the Soviet Union dissolved in the early 90's, the US came to dominate the UN. It was able to pass resolutions without significant Russian or Chinese opposition (The Gulf War, the Iraq war of 2003.... etc).

Conclusively, Manifest destiny was the belief that led US nation eventually to be intertwined with the rest of the world as a fundamental power that gave US politics direct influence over the ideologies of the western world. Territorial expansion made the war for the sake of acquiring resources a viable foreign policy option. Mathew Perry's expedition<sup>17</sup> in Japan or US intervention during the Boxer rebellion<sup>18</sup> is proof of an increasingly imperialist US, a mindset that had become engraved into the conscious of policy makers to the present day. National imperialist interests coalesced themselves with a "liberal democratic" world power (Grondin and David 125).

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<sup>14</sup> - Louisiana Purchase and the Oregon Compromise mentioned in the previous chapter.

<sup>15</sup> - The best known U.S. policy toward the Western Hemisphere.

<sup>16</sup> - The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a military alliance founded by the US and the western powers to deter Soviet expansion

<sup>17</sup> - Matthew Perry led his expedition into the harbor at Tokyo Bay, seeking to re-establish for the first time in over 200 years regular trade and discourse between Japan and the western world.

<sup>18</sup> - A Chinese secret organization called the Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists led an uprising in northern China against the spread of Western and Japanese influence there.

**3.2.2. Economic Consequences:**

Territorial acquisitions ensured the nation had a bigger resource and population pool. Implying manifest destiny ideology did not only expand the country's size but rather offered the US more lands and thus more chances to utilize them in building business and agricultural fields which eventually served to fill the US treasury as the business boomed and American wealth started to grow through trading with the rest of the world. This improved American life by offering many chances for citizens to invest in growing their nation's economic standards. This coupled with the liberal capitalist economic system implemented was a good addition to a nation expanding its territory and inviting skilled European workers to immigrate and settle west.

Furthermore, with territorial growth, new ports were opened, which was essential to the country because it provided a lot of riches to the country's economy. The California gold rush in 1848 had assisted greatly in booming US economics, it was a pivotal moment in American history, and it was the product of Manifest Destiny (Smith-Baranzini 88). Westward expansion established a new and mighty nation that spanned the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, as the nation grew, new technologies were invented: transportation means, railroads and steamships all served to create more jobs for the US citizens and thus, this amplified industrialization and boosted the US economy over time.

The Great Plains basin, a formerly steppe-like landscape stretching for thousands of kilometers, it was a fairly empty fertile land that the US sought to exploit by all means. As millions immigrated westwards, great agricultural farming complexes arose in what is considered one of the most fertile regions on earth, this coupled with advances in railroad transportation made it a very lucrative stretch of land (Wishart 249). Furthermore, southern cotton plantations fed the North's textile industry and led to the early industrial boom in the north, which was also a leading factor for the Union's victory.

Manifest Destiny exhibited itself through the economic development that was born in the US from fusing both agricultural and industrial means to boost profit and offer a wide variety of market trading on both national and international trading. In addition, US the secret behind the success of the US economy was due to the policies which the government took considering immigrants and enticing people to invest and trade in US

businesses. This in turn had further impacts on the social scales of society, this will be tackled in the next title.

### **3.2.3. Social Consequences:**

The growth of the US as a nation pursuing the vision of Manifest Destiny had significance impacts on the American Society eventually. The territorial expansions meant more resources and access to trade. However, this had also resulted in a shift in the social order. In the industrialized regions of the north, said economic boom created a middle class. The middle class in American history traditionally aligned to liberal enlightenment ideology. However, the South's agricultural society stagnated the class system, there was no "liberal" middle class, and its elite were plantation Aristocrats. Abolitionists (who mostly originated from the middle class) raised the debate over slavery. This issue however was not only a moral debate, but also an economic and social crisis, and thus a complex issue that arose from American expansion. This is evident in that the Civil war was the bloodiest war fought on their soil, and was at the time the bloodiest in their history (Joy, 169).

Along with the territorial expansion gained in the name of Manifest Destiny, the nation's population grew in size and the US government had to start plans to create and utilize new laws and duties on American citizens to maintain order within a society that now became made of different ethnicities and races. The federal government gradually increased its grip on power, and many new powers were relegated to it following the wars of expansion. Concurrent to this was the diverse population that was growing in the Americas having resulted in the birth of a hybrid unique American culture that defined itself as a cocktail of cultural and traditional aspects inspired from both Native and immigrant citizens of the US (Golay 142).

This rapid increase in the American population played an important role in offering the US population a certain kind of freedom that would allow all its citizens to practice their free religious beliefs. This strategy can be seen as genius. The US needed to provide its citizens with certain life comfy in order to maintain a skilled workforce with a high standard of living enough to allow for more consumption, which in turn increased productivity in a never-ending cycle of prosperous growth. Indeed, the US consumer over

the years became the prime worldwide consumer; this is evident in the fact that the world is depended on US trade and fiscal attitudes of its political and industrial elite.

Thus, society benefited from the westward expansion even though the US has seen racial crises because of the variety of ethnics and races that became US citizens. To establish total governed over its territories, the US government enforced a lot of laws and doctrines to build equality amongst its citizens and promote different cultural acceptance. It made it the leading Cultural influence, the western. The American dream can be considered a manifest destiny strategy to motivate its citizens to work hard and thus producing wealth for the burgeoning nation.

### 3.3. Scholarly opinions on Manifest Destiny

Manifest Destiny and the US' expansionist and imperialist period are a controversial topic in modern scholarly discourse. This said topic had been disputed over for a long period of time by many historians and scholars. The achievements of US expansion westward had many disputable impacts both on the US as a nation and the whole world. There are some historians who saw the ideology of manifest destiny as a brilliant strategy in the rise of the Americas while others argue that by implying that strategy had left many bad influences on the US national and international level.

#### 3.3.1. Pro-Imperialism commentators:

A plethora of scholars have argued that Manifest Destiny and its positive political, social, and economic impacts ascended their nation to superpower status, even if it was at the expense of the natives and slaves of America. Historian Mary Ann Heiss asserted this position, she was a fervent supporter of US expansion, and her position is that of a belittlement of imperialist expansion and oppression. She pointed out her opinion about manifest destiny in her article "*The Evolution of the Imperial Idea and US National Identity*" that was published in 2002 saying;

*"Rather than attempting to control other nations or peoples in an imperialistic or colonial fashion, the United States, it has been asserted, fashioned itself as the liberator of the colonized. United States ruled in an enlightened and benevolent fashion and granted self-government and independence as soon as practicable. "* (511).

Heiss endorses the notion of the US as a “benevolent” bastion of democracy and civilization. Its hegemony over other nations is “light”, or rather, an enlightening presence. The US’ numerous partners and allies were not vassal states. However, they were expected to align themselves to US interests or face the wrath of crippling economic and diplomatic sanctions. This indirect subservience ensured that Anglo-American culture would dominate the world in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

In addition, some historians like Heiss claim that US expansion boosted development across different cultures and ethnicities. In other words. Manifest destiny crafted a powerful nation thanks to the cultural mixture and growth of the United States. It saw itself as a liberator of the colonized, but nevertheless imposed their nations influence in various ways. The overall outcome of US expansion, in their view, was the birth of an important ideology that hoisted the growth and advancement of their ‘Civilization’.

US statesman John L. O’Sullivan was another figure which supported manifest destiny stating that it was a “God-given” destiny to the United States of America and many US citizens agreed with his views considering themselves God sent to the new world and it was their responsibility to civilize the populations and expand US territory. O’Sullivan stated that:

*“And that claim is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us.” (Sampson 68).*

Based on O’Sullivan’s opinion and his supporters, one can conclude that some Americans believe that their ancestors were god sent to civilize and establish an empire on the new world. The believers in the American Manifest Destiny to be an opportunity for Americans to explore new cultures and territories. The manifest destiny offered them the possibility to improve the US economy and enrich the American culture by making contact with different cultures through the process of the US westward expansion.

Most historians who favored the idea of Manifest Destiny proclaimed that it was something inevitable in the course of history. US citizens believe in the idea that thanks to them, the new world gained more development and had to embrace the American civilization that had a certain degree of tolerance towards other cultures. A prime example

of that is the argument of the American historian Frederick Merk demonstrated in his book “Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History” that was published in 1963 the importance of Manifest Destiny in the American history, being a holy mission bestowed upon the Americans to bring civilization to the new world. However; in the end, he illustrates that the westward expansion was a product of hunger for claiming and dominating new lands and enriching the American nation's prowess (234).

### **3.3.2. Opposing Scholarly Opinions:**

Within the modern consensus however, the majority of modern historians refute Manifest Destiny ideologies and the US' imperialist past and dub it as a cruel period during their history. Many critics argued that the US hampered the advancement and natural progression of the natives, by forceful assimilation, or outright overwhelming them with white immigrants, changing the demographics of what was once a Native American continent.

Historian Frederick Jackson Turner stipulated in his thesis “Frontier thesis“ that westward expansion was a strong political and economic ideology that consisted of the growth of the US nation on the account of weaker nations. To his account, Manifest Destiny was a supremacist and imperialist American movement that fed on expansion and extortion of other nations, destroying cultures and imposing US policies in order to boost American economics and claim the throne of being the most powerful nation worldwide (89).

The renowned academic and scholar Noam Chomsky is also a vocal critic of US imperialism. Although, he does this to criticize modern US interventionism, which in his eyes, is a continuation of Manifest Destiny, thus opposing the “neo-imperialist” attitude of the US that has replaced them previous. He is strongly opposed to current US expansionism which he views as a continuation of 19<sup>th</sup> century imperialism, but in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. He vehemently criticizes the flexing of US influence in all criteria (Greco 97). In an interview for the ‘EL PAÍS’ magazine with Amanda Mars on the 25<sup>th</sup> January 2022, Chomsky have proclaimed his opinion about the US expansionist ideologies saying:

*'The basic fact is that the United States has organized under its sponsorship and protection a neo-colonial system of clients states ruled mainly by terror and serving the interests of a small and foreign business and military elite.'* (1.2)

### **3.4. Conclusion**

Without a doubt, US expansionism propelled the US to the global power status it enjoys today. The US is the uncontested global superpower and is projected to remain so well into the 21st century. Manifest Destiny's consequences would have a profound impact on the history of mankind; its economic and social achievements brought about historically unprecedented levels of prosperity and wealth for its white population, while in turn decimating its native populations, and enslaving another. We can arguably say that most modern historians condemn the US imperialist past, and acknowledge the effect it still has on US foreign policy and the American public consensus. The US has seen a rise in progressive-liberal socio-political trends that advocate for social justice and strive to mend the mistakes of the past. Nevertheless, the dangers of right wing populism still loom over US politics to this day.

## ***General Conclusion***

## **General Conclusion**

The concept of Manifest Destiny was developed to justify the expansion of the United States as a continental empire replacing the Spanish Empire, which went into decline in the seventeenth century with the rise of the French Empire and in eighteenth century with the rise of the English Empire. The demographic boom that the young nation experienced exponentially amplified the economic capabilities to wage war and flex its geopolitical muscle on the world stage. The historicity of Manifest Destiny is at the center of this work, we have examined the major events and historical factors to discern the ruthless effectiveness of popular jingoism in the civilization building game. By far, no other state or civilizational entity has been able to project power and wealth across the globe to the extent that the Anglo-American culture has achieved through the course of history.

This dissertation dealt in the first chapter with defining the concept of manifest destiny and its deep roots in the evolution of America as a great nation. Manifest Destiny is a 19th-century doctrine that believed that the United States' expansions throughout the Americas were both legitimate and unavoidable. This fervent ambition to grow had a very severe influence on the government of the United States' ties with the aboriginal peoples of North America, as well as its relations with Mexico and the other countries of the Americas. This thirst for expansion also brought up the controversial question of slavery growth in newly gained regions. This resulted in a bloody civil war that tore the nation apart, but nevertheless brought it into the modern era.

Manifest Destiny was the culmination of cruel and arbitrary decisions and policies with democratic undertones limited to only the dominant white race. The subsequent imperialism that followed was only a product of a festering feeling of American exceptionalism that had been built over the decades of expansion. The ideology has empowered and enriched a nation that has risen from humble origins as a colonial state to become the world's most powerful nation, beyond many expectations.

This dissertation demonstrated all of the major events that happened during this “American era” that led to its expansion and growth as a powerful empire in the world. Westward expansion has changed a lot of societies that were affected by America’s vigorous power flexing in the new world and enforcing the American way of life upon

## ***General Introduction***

subjugated peoples, thus changing the demographics of an entire continent. The topic of Manifest destiny's legitimacy has been also discussed as a strong debatable one amongst historians and scholars. This Thesis also explored the ramifications of this tumultuous time in US history, and how it shapes it today.

Further research into the account of this said matter would be recommended to acquire more knowledge that would support the claims on the legitimacy of Manifest Destiny throughout history and whether or not America is starting a new marathon of Manifest Destiny under the veils of protecting nations from terrorism.

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