

Manifest Destiny: A Historiographic Analysis

Betsy McCall, M.A., M.S.

Manifest Destiny is, in many ways, more of an idea than a historical event, but it forms a thread through much of American history. It is the idea that America has a divinely-inspired right—a destiny—to spread across the continent from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific coast, regardless of the fact that the continent was already inhabited. The idea itself is as old as America. Elements of it can be found in many of the earliest settlements; elements of it persist into the modern day in 20th century imperialist tendencies. However, this paper will focus on the era in which the term “Manifest Destiny” was coined: roughly the 19th century westward expansion, rooted geographically in the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase during the Jefferson administration, through the era just before the Civil War (roughly 1860) for which westward expansion proved to be a crucial catalyst.

The term “manifest destiny” itself is often claimed to have originated in the editorials of John O’Sullivan.¹ “She comes within the dear and sacred designation of Our Country... other nations have undertaken to intrude themselves ... in a spirit of hostile interference against us, for the avowed object of thwarting our policy and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our *manifest destiny* to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions,” (emphasis added).²³ But, as noted above, he simply articulated in a catchier way, a sentiment that was already deeply rooted in the American mind. Americans were spurred on by the religious sentiments of the second Great Awakening (roughly 1790 to 1820), and by the sense of progress invoked by the Enlightenment.⁴ Democratic Party⁵ ideals of expanding democratic institutions and idealization of an agrarian electorate further contributed to the appeal of westward expansion, and promoted manifest destiny in support of these goals.

Manifest Destiny has these sometimes-conflicting elements as its source, leading historians to focus on these disparate aspects. Moreover, while manifest destiny was certainly supported by politicians with particular ambitions, it was driven as much by public sentiment as it was by political ambition.⁶ Westward expansion has been examined from the perspective of “great men” who promoted and benefited from it.⁷ In more recent decades, it has been viewed from the perspective of the Americans who were the physical means of America’s westward movement: the largely white settlers who formed the wagon trains to the west coast, in both general and specific terms, such as the Donner Party.⁸ In some cases, the perspective of the settlers was inherently racialized, largely after the Civil Rights era. Historians have also recently examined the

¹ Pratt, Julius W. 1927. "The Origin of "Manifest Destiny"." *The American Historical Review* 32 (4): 795-798.

² O’Sullivan, John. 1845. "Annexation." *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17: 5-6, 9-10.

³ As it turns out, the term “Manifest Destiny” appears to predate O’Sullivan, as noted later in this paper. However, the attestation to O’Sullivan is so commonly cited (via Pratt) that I will leave this claim here, and address it later with a reference that cites the predated source.

⁴ Morgan, Robert. 2012. *Lions of the West: Heroes and Villains of the Westward Expansion*. New York: Shannon Ravenel.

⁵ The Democratic Republican Party in this era, which eventually became the Democratic Party.

⁶ Wrobel, David M. 2014. *Global West, American Frontier: Travel, Empire, and Exceptionalism from Manifest Destiny to the Great Depression*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press

⁷ Morgan, Robert. 2012. *Lions of the West: Heroes and Villains of the Westward Expansion*. New York: Shannon Ravenel.

⁸ Wallis, Michael. 2017. *The Best Land Under Heaven: The Donner Party in the Age of Manifest Destiny*. New York: Liveright.

perspective of less privileged elements of American society to examine the impact on and role of slaves, women, Mexican Americans and Native Americans on Manifest Destiny. These perspectives are often, from the standpoint of these groups, as passive victims of westward expansion and American imperialism. In the 21st century, these perspectives have expanded to include Native American history in its own right, even as imperial powers, and promoters of democratic ideals, not merely as victims, and as active agents trying to stand in the way of true American imperialism, in direct contrast to the view of earlier historians that the native populations was essentially an inert obstacle to America's destiny, or else as a dangerous threat that it was America's duty to subdue. These multitudinous viewpoints make this an ideal topic for a historiographic analysis.

Dexter Arnoll Hawkins did not address manifest destiny directly in his speech to Syracuse University in 1875, but *The Anglo-Saxon Race* provides some perspective on the racialized views of the place of white Americans in history. "...it is now called the Anglo-Saxon [race]. Our own country is perhaps the most promising and vigorous representative."⁹ Later, he concludes by saying, "If the race is true to itself, if it fulfills the high destiny to which the Divine hand seems to have marked out for it, then when its cycle shall have been completed and its record made up, future races will look back upon its period as the brightest in human history."¹⁰ Though Hawkins is not a historian by trade (he is a lawyer), nonetheless he seems to be expressing a common public sentiment that perceived America as essentially white, and specifically of Germanic origins and uniquely destined for greatness. Indeed, that anything America does is great because it is Americans doing it. The sources for Hawkins' opinions are unclear, since the printed text of his speech lists no sources.

John Fiske was a historian and gave three lectures about the same time (in 1879, and published in 1885) as *American Political Ideas*. In it, he continues the theme of Hawkins, though he rejects the term "Anglo-Saxon" in favor of the "English" race.¹¹ Nonetheless, he argues in the same vein that: "After the survey of universal history which we have just now taken, however, I am fully prepared to show that the conquest of the North American continent by men of English race was unquestionably the most prodigious event in the political history of mankind."¹² There is no sense of caution or compromise to be found even in an intellectual analysis of events. Westward expansion was a right of white men and a triumph of freedom and liberty. The benefits to white "English" Americans is his sole focus. He even describes the freeing of slaves after the Civil War as "an incidental result."¹³ His views of Manifest Destiny are sweeping:

"...the work which the English race began when it colonized North America is destined to go on until every land on the earth's surface that is not already the seat of an old civilization shall become English in its language, in its political habits and traditions, and to a predominant extent in the blood of its people.... The race thus spread over both hemispheres, and from the rising to the setting sun, will not fail to keep that sovereignty of the sea and the commercial supremacy which it began to

⁹ Hawkins, Dexter A. 1875. *The Anglo-Saxon Race Its History Character and Destiny*. New York: Nelson & Phillips, 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹¹ Fiske, John, and John Spencer Clark. 1885. *American Political Ideas Viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 104-105.

¹² *Ibid.*, 125.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 135.

acquire when England first stretched its arm across the Atlantic to the shores of Virginia and Massachusetts.”¹⁴

Though he seems to conflate British imperialism with American imperialism as being part of a whole, he exposes the seeds that became American global imperialism into the 20th century. Fiske goes even further and explicitly predicts that the United States will stretch “from pole to pole,”¹⁵ seeing those outside the “English” domain as “Barbarians” and only properly conquered by “Civilization”.¹⁶ Thus he thoroughly entangles his view of American history with Enlightenment notions of progress, and argues that they are one and the same. His lectures are only sparsely footnoted with fewer than half-a-dozen secondary sources, and most of the sources are for much older material. Though he was speaking at a university to mostly young people, he may have felt more extensive sources were unnecessary having himself lived through the tail end of westward expansion, including the Mexican War.

Albert Weinberg looks at nationalist trends in American westward expansion. He is writing at a time in the 20th century when fascism was on the rise in Europe. He uses a variety of primary and secondary sources, including newspapers, letters, journals and books. In this way, he is similar to Ephraim Adams’ approach from two decades earlier.¹⁷ Expansion broke the ties of Americans to their respective birth-states, mingling Americans born in different colonies in new and growing numbers of states. It’s not difficult to see how manifest destiny led to a feeling of true American nationalism (as opposed to loyalty to their states) in a way that even the American Revolution had not been able to engender. Weinberg cites two doctrines at odds with each other that came out of Jefferson’s Louisiana Purchase: “It is the doctrine that the destiny manifest in geography America’s natural right to territory essential to its security must override the right of self-determination claimed by its inhabitants.”¹⁸ This is in direct contrast to the elegant words penned by the same man in the Declaration of Independence “that the governed have the natural right to consent to government.”¹⁹ This smacks of a kind of racial paternalism. The apparent hypocrisy was tolerated by “the increasingly conscious acceptance of the doctrine of rights conferred by manifest destiny, that is, that special rights were bestowed by Providence upon its elect.”²⁰ Weinberg emphasized that conflict here between America’s stated ideals and “the path of empire.”²¹ These conflicts form the backbone of Weinberg’s treatment of Manifest Destiny. He contrasts Jackson’s Trail of Tears with Jefferson’s belief that lands will only be taken from the native population with their consent.²² While Jackson may have extracted a formal agreement for some relocations, coming after a war against the Eastern tribes,²³ this situation hardly smacks of being free of duress.

Weinberg contributes beyond the scope of this analysis but in each chapter attempts to tackle assumptions made in previous historical treatments of westward expansion and examines

¹⁴ Ibid., 143.

¹⁵ Ibid., 151.

¹⁶ Ibid., 153.

¹⁷ Adams, Ephraim Douglass. 1913. *The Power of Ideals in American History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

¹⁸ Weinberg, Albert K. 1935. *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History*. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 34.

¹⁹ Ibid., 35.

²⁰ Ibid., 41.

²¹ Ibid., 42.

²² Ibid., 72.

²³ Morgan, Robert. 2012. *Lions of the West: Heroes and Villains of the Westward Expansion*. New York: Shannon Ravenel.

the inherent conflicts between thought and action of Americans, and primarily, between American leaders. He provides a far more balanced treatment than our two previous authors, but his focus remains on the words and deeds of political leaders and intellectuals.

Allan Nevins, writing after the close of World War II, looks at the consequences of Manifest Destiny, particularly in the five years from 1847 to 1852 that followed on the heels of the war with Mexico that brought America territories from Texas to the Pacific, through primary and secondary sources, including journals, diaries and newspapers.²⁴ He takes a more paternalistic view than Weinberg, though he likewise takes primarily the perspective of white Americans. One of the consequences he sees is moral concerns and a rise in violence, which is attributed to the lawlessness of the new western territories, to which a criminal could easily escape. He consequently sees the spreading of religious missions across the West as a good thing that will surely bear the fruit of civilization in the end.²⁵ Despite this, he decried sects like Mormonism.²⁶

Nevins did address cultural issues of the period, beyond national events and politics. He looks at popular literary trends, and even reform movements of the period, including early feminist movements, and abolitionist activities. This is all by way of setting the scene for the controversy over the expansion of slavery in the newly acquired territories, where the abolitionist movement became especially crucial.

By the latter half of the 20th century, the variety of perspectives on this time period began to explode. Critiques of American racial sentiment were made along with challenges to the nationalist perspective that dominated older treatments. We periodically see pushes into new types of documentation to support historical research, and we begin to see a sense of conscience that characterizes late 20th and early 21st century works.

Frederick Merk's *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* appeared in 1963. He focused on public sentiment for westward expansion through contemporary newspaper accounts. He characterizes the kind of communication he's studying as "propaganda".²⁷ He admits the study of this period "does not, however, always leave the spirit of the reader uplifted,"²⁸ and specifically cites the idea of cyclical history as the reason for the need to examine these unpleasant events. Merk begins with a discussion of how "uncharted" land (by the Europeans) was deemed to be wilderness that could be freely settled, and the establishment of charters by groups of settlers on formerly Indian land was a way of staking claim to the land, knowing that their charters were likely to be recognized over native claims to the same land:²⁹ a pattern that would be repeated throughout the western expansion period.

When Americans were not deliberately ignoring the native populations, they were bent on civilizing them. Merk explains, "One other text was part of the gospel of Manifest Destiny—the *duty* of the United States to regenerate backwards peoples of the continent,"³⁰ (emphasis mine). He goes on to examine the public perceptions, political pressures and Congressional fights that led to the war with Mexico and acquisition of the Oregon territories, as well as the failure of continentalists in both Mexico and Oregon to expand the nation to the whole of North America. Merk argues "that continentalist and imperialist doctrines were never true expressions of the

²⁴ However, a more complete bibliography was to be saved for the fourth volume.

²⁵ Nevins, Allan. 1947. *Ordeal of the Union: Fruits of Manifest Destiny 1847-1852 Volume 1*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 71-72.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁷ Merk, Frederick. 1963. *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, xvii.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

national spirit.”³¹ Instead, he says the “mission” was “dedication to the enduring values of American civilization”³² and imperialism was a “trap” that the nation fell into, a conclusion that seems designed to forgive America for the harm westward expansion did.

Reginald Horsman, our first author writing after the civil rights era, directly critiqued the racial—and specifically Anglo-Saxon-centered—blindness of earlier historians like Fiske, citing primary sources such as volumes of published papers of key political figures, as well as the *Congressional Record*. Horsman considered the influence of Enlightenment thinkers, and early anthropological thought on racialist claims. Arising from a mixture of Enlightenment sentiments for progress merged with a pre-existing Christian notion of a hierarchy of life, and further combined with a non-Christian polygeneticist³³ view that directly contradicted monogeneticist³⁴ views that supported notions of human equality. The polygeneticist views became more popular as the threat of being charged with heresy decreased.³⁵ Modern readers tend to think of science as evidence-based and objective, but our modern perspective is only after nearly two centuries (or more) of weeding out human biases of individual scientists embedded in the biased cultures into which they were born. Early scientific efforts frequently began by defending biases in the culture and only later were these views rejected based on careful examination and additional evidence.

Horsman also addressed the religious underpinnings of racial prejudice (and deliberate downplaying of the rights of native peoples). “As American settlements advanced outward, the Puritans not only saw God’s kingdom moving to the West, but thought of America as the place from which the renovation of the world would begin.”³⁶ He goes on to assert that the American Revolution provided proof that they were blessed by Providence.³⁷

Horsman’s treatment of the “Indian question” stands out from earlier works in that it addresses the question at all, and sympathetically. He observed the conflict with Indians along the border and frontiersmen, and observed “that the Indians were fighting to protect their lands and families.”³⁸ Americans often saw “civilizing” them native population as doing them—and mankind—a favor. Many early Americans admired aspects of native societies, but not enough to grant them any sort of autonomy when they came in conflict with white Americans.³⁹ The Indians fared better in the abstract than the racial views Americans adopted toward blacks, and particularly black slaves. Blacks were seen as particularly debased and irredeemable. Religious leaders pushed back in some cases against black inferiority because they were nominally Christianized, a factor the native people did not have in their favor.⁴⁰ Earlier authors implied there was an unified view of American racial politics and expansionist sentiments, and tended to downplay or ignore conflicts within American culture over the fate of native peoples. While abolitionist sentiment eventually prevailed in the Civil War, no such breakthrough occurred for the indigenous population, making the conflicts easier to ignore or attribute to individual mountain men,⁴¹ and thus not reflective of a general American policy.

³¹ Ibid, 261.

³² Ibid.

³³ Polygenesis = multiple origins

³⁴ Monogenesis = one origin

³⁵ Horsman, Reginald. 1981. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 48.

³⁶ Ibid., 83.

³⁷ Ibid., 84.

³⁸ Ibid., 106.

³⁹ Ibid., 107-109.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 157.

⁴¹ Ibid., 201-5.

Horsman, likewise, treated the perspective of the Mexican-Americans added to the Union with its Western territories. Mexican-Americans were described by some as “mongrels”⁴². Their identification as a mixed race permitted them to avoid some of the worst depredations of racial atrocities, but neither did they escape deep-seated prejudice from the whites in power. The issue of Mexican-Americans would be addressed more thoroughly by Laura Gomez in the 21st century.

Anders Stephanson tries to put American notions of Manifest Destiny into a wider global context, and as such, to show that it is far from unique. “Every nation-state lays some claim to uniqueness, and some nations or empires, historically, have even considered themselves on Higher Authority, the anointed focal point of world or universal history.”⁴³ He describes America’s nationalism as “prophetic.”⁴⁴ The book is extremely short for tracing the roots of the ideas behind manifest destiny from the first British settlements through Ronald Reagan, which goes far beyond the scope of the present analysis. For the period of westward expansion, Stephanson employs many of the same sources we have examined here. Its brevity may make it more accessible to the lay reader.

Frank Owsley and Gene Smith examine the lead-up to the final push for westward expansion, exploring the time frame 1800-1821, and the so-called Jeffersonian presidents who pushed to expand the then-western frontier through a variety of means falling just short of declaring war, during a period only indirectly addressed in previous sources. While failing to push the British out of Canada, they did succeed in pushing out the French and Spanish from North America. Their failure to end slavery, coupled with territorial expansion paved the way for the seeds of the Civil War.⁴⁵ Owsley and Smith make it clear that Manifest Destiny was a part of the cloth from which the nation was made. This perspective is essential to understanding that the sentiments that spawned both the successes and atrocities did not come out of nowhere, in contrast to the sentiments of Merk.

Laura Gomez, writing during a period in which there was an intense political debate over Mexican immigration, looks at the history of Mexican-Americans, which she points out, began with 115,000 Mexicans that became American citizens at the end of the Mexican War. She states her claim to a new perspective early. “This book views Manifest Destiny quite differently—as a cluster of ideas that relies on racism to justify a war of aggression against Mexico.”⁴⁶ Her book attempts to explore this racial entanglement through the eyes of the Mexican-American minority, as a racially mixed people of Spanish, Indian and African descent, and given their history of living under Spanish dominion, were also religious minorities (Catholics) in a time when anti-Catholic animus among the dominant Protestant groups was still high in the United States. What American military leaders were unprepared for was the level of anti-American sentiment in the conquered New Mexico territory.⁴⁷ Retaliation on both sides resulted in escalating violence between both Mexicans and Indians, and their American conquerors.⁴⁸ Uprisings sometimes resulted in charges of treason. It did not help that key provisions of the post-war treaty were cut out or modified by

⁴² Ibid., 261.

⁴³ Stephanson, Anders. 1995. *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right*. New York: Hill & Wang, xii.

⁴⁴ Ibid., xiii.

⁴⁵ Owsley, Frank L., and Gene A. Smith. 1997. *Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800-1821*. Birmingham, AL: University of Alabama Press.

⁴⁶ Gomez, Laura E. 2007. *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*. New York: New York University Press, 3.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 29.

the Senate to weaken protections for formerly Mexican citizens in the ceded territories.⁴⁹ Race remained prominent in the debate over statehood for New Mexico.⁵⁰ Racial identity remained problematic as they were in some cases treated legally like whites, but socially as non-whites,⁵¹ as previously noted by Horsman. So while still suffering injustices, they escaped some of the extreme treatments experienced by blacks and Indians; even to the point of holding Indian slaves themselves.⁵²

Gomez uses a wide variety of primary and secondary sources including cases, statutes and other government documents. Her treatment of the Mexican-America history that was a direct consequence of Manifest Destiny is uncommon, and notes that the consequences continue into the present day.

Robert Miller describes early American history beginning with Jefferson, and Lewis and Clark, and how these events led to Manifest Destiny. He is looking at an era similar to Owsley and Smith, but drills deeper into the kind of cloth that formed US policy and sentiment. He also examines the consequences that followed for the native populations of the continent. He highlights in particular the Doctrine of Discovery, “an international principle that allegedly granted Euro-Americans property and sovereignty claims over native peoples and native lands as soon as Euro-Americans ‘discovered’ these lands.”⁵³ The doctrine was adopted by the Supreme Court in 1823. His purpose was to make it clear to modern Americans that the doctrine still influences American law, so that we can “work to eliminate these ethnocentric, racial and feudal ideas from American law and life.”⁵⁴

Miller utilizes a wide range of legal sources, domestic and international to support his case. He presents a unique case not considered by other texts we’ve examined so far, even those that have looked at the racial overtones of Manifest Destiny and westward expansion. Like other authors writing in this period, Miller examines history to inform modern day political debates.

Steven Woodworth examines Manifest Destiny in the context of being a precursor to the Civil War. This was a perspective encountered in other sources we’ve examined, but Woodworth makes it the central theme of his book. He also spends more time than previous authors examining the role of Mormonism. Woodworth focuses in particular on the presidential election cycles of 1844 and 1848. The consequences for the spread of slavery to the new territories exacerbated existing tensions between the anti-slavery North, and the pro-slavery South:

“And yet the settlement of 1850 was a mirage.... When the decade of the 1840s had started, [slavery] was one issue among many in American national politics.... [but] the very surge of expansion that led to the realization of the long-held American dream of a continent-wide empire of liberty also served to intensify and focus the national disagreement over slavery, to the point that none of the old political methods sufficed to contain it anymore.”⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Ibid., 42.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 71.

⁵¹ Ibid., 83.

⁵² Ibid., 105-6.

⁵³ Miller, Robert J. 2008. *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, xiii.

⁵⁴ Ibid., xv.

⁵⁵ Woodworth, Steven E. 2010. *Manifest Destinies: American's Westward Expansion and the Road to the Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 355-6.

Amy Greenberg's little book, *Manifest Destiny and American Territorial Expansion: a Brief History with Documents* is aptly described by the title. It is under 200 pages, and most of the book is short passages from primary sources, bracketed by brief explanations and context. One of the features of the book that is most compelling is her section on "Questions for Consideration", where she asks such probing questions as "How did Native Americans understand American territorial expansion?"⁵⁶ and "How did anti-Catholicism both promote and inhibit territorial expansion?"⁵⁷ Any of these would make an excellent topic for a paper or book, and leave us with many of the questions we have yet to answer. It is an excellent way to allow readers to draw their own conclusions from shared sources.

Laurel Clark Shire focuses her work on two distinct aspects of Manifest Destiny not previously considered: the expansion in the East into Florida, and gender. She describes women as playing two vital roles. The first was that their labor helped to build farms and tame the frontier, at a time when women were not expected to perform physical labor. The second role was racialized as well as gendered: the threat of untamed non-white men and the danger they presented to white women on the frontier. Shire delves into new primary sources such as military and course records, as well as cultural sources such as native oral traditions. One intriguing point she makes that directly contradicts many other historical sources is the attribution of who coined the term "manifest destiny". She says, "If anything, the colonization of Florida and Missouri led the way, as both were already American territories by the time Cora Montgomery coined the term 'manifest destiny' in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* in 1839."⁵⁸ John O'Sullivan is usually claimed to have originated the term in 1845 in the same paper.⁵⁹ Shire's discussion of the situation in Florida opens up questions of other territorial expansions closer to the original colonies than Texas and California.

In the last several decades, the treatments of Manifest Destiny and westward expansion have become far more comprehensive, taking on many more aspects of the period that were neglected in the past. The racial features of westward expansion and their consequences for the Civil War have been extensively studied now. Some gaps that could be addressed more deeply include the missionary and religious perspectives of early settlers in general, and Mormonism in particular. The role of women and the consequences at home, on the frontier, and among the native tribes in terms of both the benefits and setbacks for the feminist cause. It's sometimes observed that frontier women had to be more independent and gained the vote at the state level before their sisters in the East. Minority political viewpoints could also be delved into more extensively. It is sometimes observed that manifest destiny was not universally subscribed to, and there were critiques of American expansionist policy during the same period. These were ignored for a long time. Though they were later acknowledged, a deeper exploration would be valuable. It was mentioned in Horsman that there was a supposed scientific basis of some racialized attitudes, focusing specifically on that aspect would provide valuable insights into both the historical dynamics, and the development of scientific thought, and its adoption in popular culture. None of the sources I've investigated have focused primarily on the economic aspects of westward expansion. It was often justified by political ideologies that valued agrarianism, but not solely from the perspective of economics, and next to nothing about industrialization. Placing American imperialist expansion in this period in the context of international global imperialism would also

⁵⁶ Greenberg, Amy S. 2011. *Manifest Destiny and American Territorial Expansion: A Brief History with Documents*. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 163.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Shire, Laurel Clark. 2016. *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 13.

⁵⁹ Pratt, Julius W. 1927. "The Origin of "Manifest Destiny"." *The American Historical Review* 32 (4): 795-798.

bring a valuable perspective. Imperialism is addressed in this context in the 20th century, but less often in the 19th, though David Wrobel does address it indirectly from the perspective of travel journals.⁶⁰ Finally, looking at westward expansion from the perspective of native peoples is an essential point of view largely neglected. While some treatments exist that address the devastation westward expansion wrought on native peoples, they largely treat native peoples as victims, though Robert Dodge does use the unique source of photographic evidence.⁶¹ Nonetheless, he does so as the Sioux as victim, and not as agents in their own right, resisting American imperialist impulses. Pekka Hamalainen takes this much needed perspective for the Comanche.⁶² More thorough treatments of this kind of needed for more native tribes.

Bibliography

- Adams, Ephraim Douglass. 1913. *The Power of Ideals in American History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Bass, Jeff D., and Richard Cherwitz. 1978. "Imperial mission and manifest destiny: A case study of political myth in rhetorical discourse." *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 3: 213-232. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10417947809372382>.
- Chaffin, Tom. 2014. *Met His Every Goal? James K. Polk and the Legends of Manifest Destiny*. Nashville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
- Dion, Leon. 1957. "Natural Law and Manifest Destiny in the Era of the American Revolution." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science/Revue canadienne de economiques et science politique* 23 (2): 227-247.
- Dodge, Robert V. 2013. *Which Chosen People? Manifest Destiny Meets the Sioux: As Seen by Frank Fiske, Frontier Photographer*. New York: Algora Publishing.
- Fiske, John, and John Spencer Clark. 1885. *American Political Ideas Viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Gomez, Laura E. 2007. *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*. New York: New York University Press.
- Greenberg, Amy S. 2011. *Manifest Destiny and American Territorial Expansion: A Brief History with Documents*. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Hamalainen, Pekka. 2009. *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hawkins, Dexter A. 1875. *The Anglo-Saxon Race Its History Character and Destiny*. New York: Nelson & Phillips.
- Horsman, Reginald. 1981. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Johannsen, Robert W., John M. Belohlavek, Thomas R. Hietala, Samuel J. Watson, Sam W. Haynes, and Robert E. May. 1997. *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansion*. Edited by Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.
- Kennedy, P.M. 1973. "The Decline of Nationalistic History in the West, 1900-1970." *Journal of Contemporary History* 8 (1).
- Merk, Frederick. 1963. *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁶⁰ Wrobel, David M. 2014. *Global West, American Frontier: Travel, Empire, and Exceptionalism from Manifest Destiny to the Great Depression*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

⁶¹ Dodge, Robert V. 2013. *Which Chosen People? Manifest Destiny Meets the Sioux: As Seen by Frank Fiske, Frontier Photographer*. New York: Algora Publishing.

⁶² Hamalainen, Pekka. 2009. *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Miller, Robert J. 2008. *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.
- Morgan, Robert. 2012. *Lions of the West: Heroes and Villains of the Westward Expansion*. New York: Shannon Ravenel.
- Morrison, Michael A. 1997. *Slavery and the American West: The Eclipse of Manifest Destiny and the Coming of the Civil War*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Nevins, Allan. 1947. *Ordeal of the Union: Fruits of Manifest Destiny 1847-1852 Volume 1*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- O'Sullivan, John. 1845. "Annexation." *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17: 5-6, 9-10.
- Owsley, Frank L., and Gene A. Smith. 1997. *Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800-1821*. Birmingham, AL: University of Alabama Press.
- Pratt, Julius W. 1927. "The Origin of "Manifest Destiny"." *The American Historical Review* 32 (4): 795-798.
- Rein, Christopher. 2014. "'Our First Duty Was to God and Our Next to Our Country'." *Great Plains Quarterly* 34 (3): 217-238.
- Shire, Laurel Clark. 2016. *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stambor, Howard. 1982. "Manifest Destiny and American Indian Religious Freedom: Sequoyah, Badoni, and the Drowned Gods." *American Indian Law Review* 10 (1): 59-89.
- Stephanson, Anders. 1995. *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right*. New York: Hill & Wang.
- Wallis, Michael. 2017. *The Best Land Under Heaven: The Donner Party in the Age of Manifest Destiny*. New York: Liveright.
- Weinberg, Albert K. 1935. *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History*. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks.
- Woodworth, Steven E. 2010. *Manifest Destinies: American's Westward Expansion and the Road to the Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Wrobel, David M. 2014. *Global West, American Frontier: Travel, Empire, and Exceptionalism from Manifest Destiny to the Great Depression*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.