

OHIO CONGRESSMEN AND THE 1840s:
FREE SOIL, THE SECOND PARTY
SYSTEM, AND THE RISE OF
ANTI-SOUTHERN SENTIMENT

By

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PREFACE

The most significant issue in antebellum American politics was the question of slavery. Although a sense of nationalism pervaded the country throughout most of the early nineteenth century, the utilization of slave labor in the South and free labor in the North resulted in the emergence of two distinct cultures with conflicting interests. Moreover, the controversy over the extension of slavery into the territories and the political balance of power led to the demise of the Second Party System, its replacement with sectional parties, and, ultimately, the secession crisis of 1860.

My purpose in this study was to examine the impact of the free soil issue on the breakdown of national parties in the 1840s and the rise of anti-Southern attitudes in the free states. To provide for a more comprehensive treatment, I selected the Ohio congressional delegation for concentration. Utilizing roll call analysis in addition to traditional sources, free soil attitudes were compared with a variety of variables to explain congressional voting behavior.

I wish to express my appreciation to all the individuals who aided me with this study and throughout my

education. I especially am indebted to Dr. Richard C. Rohrs, my major advisor, for his guidance, encouragement, and friendship. His assistance has been invaluable to me during the past three years.

Special thanks are due the other committee members, Dr. J. P. Bischoff and Dr. James Henderson, for their criticisms in the writing of this work as well as their helpful guidance throughout my stay at Oklahoma State University. My deepest gratitude also is extended to Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer who encouraged my interest in American history since childhood.

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CHAPTER I

OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL, AND THE 1840s

On August 15, 1846 Salmon P. Chase, leader of the Ohio Liberty Party, wrote to antislavery Whig Congressman Joshua R. Giddings urging him to abandon his partisan affiliation. Convinced that a "slave power" conspiracy controlled both of the two major national parties, Chase warned "that if there were no party distinctly and earnestly antislavery, parties divided by other questions would, as they always have, compromise away liberty."¹ The two Ohioans, both violently opposed to the institution of slavery and jealous of the political power of the slaveholding South, confronted the dilemma of anyone who ever desired radical political change.

At this juncture, neither Chase or Giddings altered his attitude on how to realign the parties and remove the presence and political influence of slavery. Giddings, representative of District 20 in northeastern Ohio, opted to remain within the existing two party system to effect change. Chase, a member of the antislavery Cincinnati clique, continued attempts to recruit for a third party devoted to the opposition of slavery. Within two years, though, a frustrated Giddings abandoned the Whigs in the

wake of their nomination of a slaveholding Southerner for president. Chase, meanwhile, had become disgruntled with the limited support given the Liberty Party's narrow platform. In the summer of 1848, both politicians joined the new Free Soil Party. Although the "free dirters" (as their opponents called them) failed to establish a lasting third party, their success in Ohio was reflected in a change in the behavior of its political leadership. Widespread resentment towards Southern political power disrupted the second party system and established a foundation for the Republican Party later.²

Analysis of the impact of free soil on Ohio congressmen indicated that by 1850 the Ohio delegation was a leading source of free soil support. Previously, this had not been the case. During the Polk years, party affiliation determined voting behavior and, from 1843 to 1845, less than 40 percent of the Ohio congressmen advocated free soil. By 1849, though, a sectionally-oriented Ohio delegation had emerged. From 1845 to 1848, at least half of the delegation supported free soil, yet it was not until the Thirty-first Congress that the Ohioans (70 percent) outdistanced most other free state delegations in their advocacy of the restriction of slavery and the curtailment of the "slave power." Within the Northwest, though, a larger percentage of Ohio congressmen advocated free soil throughout the period than did almost all other delegations. Moreover, the small

group of Free Soilers elected to the Ohio delegation at the end of the decade constituted almost one-fourth of that party's membership in Congress.³

An examination of the Ohio congressional delegation from 1843 to 1851 reaffirms the centrality of the slavery question to the collapse of the Second American Party System and the rise of sectionally-oriented parties in the 1850s. The question of slavery did not disrupt the national parties, for debate over the existence of slavery had recurred throughout the nation's history. Instead, it was the reintroduction in Congress of the free soil issue, a union of the slavery and territorial expansion questions, which initiated the subsequent realignment of political power. Moreover, it was not merely humanitarian concern for slaves which motivated opponents of the political system. In general, Ohioans opposed abolitionists as disruptive fanatics but they also objected to anything which would strengthen slavery. In 1848, for instance, Ohio Free Soiler Edward S. Hamlin complained that the "misguided zeal" of Congressman Giddings on the issue of black civil rights detracted from the "practical question" of restricting slavery from the territories and curtailing Southern political power.⁴

As political scientist E. E. Schattschneider has noted, a successful realignment of a party system requires "intensity and visibility, the capacity to blot out other issues" in addition to "dissatisfaction with the old

alignment already in existence."⁵ Moreover, he stressed that the "outcome of all conflict is determined by the scope of the contagion" as the "excitement of the conflict communicates itself" to the larger population.⁶ Such was the case with the free soil issue and Ohio congressmen. For almost a decade, opponents of the two party system focused national attention on the question of free soil and minimized the importance of traditional economic issues. Just as importantly, the free soil debate aroused intense feelings of anti-Southern resentment throughout the delegation and led to a common identification with other free states. Although the Free Soil Party proved incapable of displacing either of the two major parties, the public attention its platform generated had important ramifications during the next decade.

Disunion was averted and the free soil issue removed from Congress with passage of the Compromise of 1850, but the settlement failed to be a lasting one. The sectional animosities that free soil promoted in the 1840s were not quickly forgotten. Scarcely more than a decade later, men from the North and the South went to war in defense of their perception of "republicanism."⁷ Despite the failure of free soil as an independent third party movement, it was the free soil issue that led directly to the demise of the Whig Party in 1853, alienated Northwestern Democrats from their Southern counterparts, made possible the rise of the Republican Party in 1854, and

hastened sectional conflict.

It was the widespread demand in the free states for an end to Southern political influence that distinguished the free soil controversy of the 1840s from early slavery extension debates. In 1844, the free states dominated the House of Representatives but the slave states had an equal number of Senators (from 1845 to 1848, slave state Senators outnumbered those from free states), held the Presidency, and controlled the Supreme Court. By 1849, the majority of Democratic congressmen represented slave state constituencies. With the admission of California as a free state in 1850, however, the balance of power in the Senate shifted to the free states and, after the election of Lincoln in 1860, a candidate of the sectional Republican Party occupied the Presidency. Although the free states had tolerated preferential political treatment for the slaveholding states throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Northerners demanded a greater voice in the national government and the dismantling of the "slave power" conspiracy after the introduction of the free soil issue.⁸

In the past century, historians have devoted considerable attention to the study of politics in Ohio during the 1840s. Edgar A. Holt's Party Politics in Ohio, 1840-1850 (1931); Francis P. Weisenburger's History of the State of Ohio: The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850 (1941); and Stephen E. Maizlish's

The Triumph of Sectionalism: The Transformation of Ohio Politics, 1844-1856 (1983)⁹ all treated the Ohio congressional delegation. Moreover, all three studies stressed the importance of the rise of free soil and the decline of the banking issue in intensifying anti-Southern attitudes in Ohio and hastening the collapse of the second party system. Shorter treatments also have appeared which analyzed individual political leaders,¹⁰ the composition of the Democratic, Whig, Liberty, and Free Soil parties¹¹, state and national election returns¹², and state legislative behavior on a variety of related issues.¹³ None of these works, however, has provided a comprehensive analysis of the congressional delegation's response to free soil.

Methodology employed in this study involved research of traditional sources as well as the use of roll call analysis. Congressional debates, speeches, correspondence, memoirs, and diaries were consulted to provide insight into each congressman's attitude on free soil. In addition, ten newspapers were examined. These papers were representative of the Whig, Democratic, Liberty, and Free Soil parties as well as each major geographic region of the state. Moreover, newspapers in antebellum Ohio primarily were mouthpieces of leading politicians. The Lebanon Western Star, for example, represented the interests of Whig Senator Thomas Corwin. Congressman Giddings was associated with the Ashtabula Sentinel and Democratic

Representative James J. Faran was editor of the Cincinnati Daily Enquirer. Analysis of all roll call votes taken on free soil (see Appendix A) provided further clarification of the delegation's attitude on free soil. Examination of voting behavior identified the level of support each legislator gave the free soil issue. For the purposes of this study, congressmen who consistently supported free soil legislation were identified as pro free soil, those who consistently opposed slavery restriction were labelled as anti free soil, and all others were classified as moderates. After establishing the voting positions of each congressman, the delegation's voting behavior was compared with that of other state delegations. In addition, other factors such as partisan affiliation, place of birth, and district were examined as well as rhetoric to establish motivations of individual congressmen when voting on free soil.¹⁴

The decision to concentrate on the Ohio delegation was based upon several factors. First, a more detailed and manageable analysis could be provided in one state than could for a region, section, or the nation. Second, although an individual case does not verify general conclusions, it provides a basis from which to expand our understanding of national legislative behavior in the antebellum period. Third, the presence of a highly vocal abolitionist movement in the Western Reserve and the existence of a highly competitive two party system in Ohio

provided a particularly interesting political model for the study of the impact of free soil.¹⁵

The Ohio delegation reflected a variety of partisan affiliations, places of family origin, and political experience. Between 1843 and 1851, sixty Representatives and five Senators comprised the Ohio contingent in Congress. This number included thirty-nine Democrats, twenty-three Whigs, and three Free Soilers. All of the Senators studied law and 60 percent of the Representatives listed their occupation as lawyer. Less than one-fourth of the delegation had military experience, about one-third previously had held local political office, and approximately one-half had served at the state level. Although large numbers of congressmen hailed from New England, Mid-Atlantic, Northwest, and South Atlantic states, 70 percent of the delegation were born in free states. Three of the Senators, however, were from slave states while the other two traced their family backgrounds to New England.¹⁶

At mid-century, Ohio was a state of many contrasts. Political scientist Samuel P. Huntington has stated that "modernity" breeds stability but the process of modernization creates political instability.¹⁷ It, therefore, was not surprising to discover that a tremendous change in the economic and cultural life of Ohio made traditional issues obsolete and hastened the collapse of the Jacksonian party system. The last remaining Indian

tribe was removed from the state in 1840 and, in that year, census returns located three slaves in Ohio. The city of Cincinnati, known as the Athens of the West, was the major commercial port in the Ohio River Valley. Yet in 1843, Charles Dickens could find only a log structure to shelter himself when touring through the frontier region of northwestern Ohio. By 1845, Ohio had recovered completely from the Panic of 1837 to become a leading agricultural center -- one of the foremost producers of corn and wheat in the nation. Manufacturing also was expanding. The invention of the telegraph and transportation improvements such as canals and railroads opened new regions to a market economy and prompted the immigration of Mid-Atlantic settlers and dislocated Europeans. Southern Ohio, however, contained significant numbers of southern-born as well as a small free black population. In the Western Reserve of northeastern Ohio, however, the inhabitants were primarily of New England origin. Moreover, political participation increased during the Jacksonian period. In the presidential election of 1824, 34.8 percent of Ohio's adult white males voted; during the 1840s this figure never fell below 60 percent and often exceeded 80 percent.¹⁸

The diversity of Ohio's population and the state's rapidly expanding economy stimulated a highly competitive two party system throughout most of the 1840s. Dominated by the two national parties, the Democrats and Whigs, economic and ethnocultural factors distinguished the

parties early in the decade. In the presidential election of 1844, Whig nominee Henry Clay carried Ohio by less than six thousand votes out of over three hundred thousand cast. Whig gubernatorial candidate Seabury Ford defeated his Democratic opponent in 1848 with a majority of 314 votes. Ohio Democrats generally advocated the defense of individual liberties through a narrow interpretation of the constitution, supported expansion, and attracted Catholic and non-evangelical Protestants as members of their party. Although the national Democratic Party opposed banking legislation, a group of conservative "soft-money" Democrats in Ohio supported banking bills while the "hard-money" faction of that party adhered to the national platform. The Whig Party, a coalition initially formed to oppose Andrew Jackson, supported banks, advocated a broad interpretation of the constitution to reform society, opposed expansion, and attracted evangelical Protestants to their ranks. To maintain national unity, neither party adopted a clear position on the slavery issue prior to 1844. In fact, in 1843, Whig candidate Henry Clay and the leading Democratic contender, Martin Van Buren, simultaneously published letters promising not to use the slavery question as a partisan issue in the presidential campaign. This plan dissolved when James K. Polk, an advocate of the annexation of Texas, was nominated instead of Van Buren at the Democratic convention at Baltimore.¹⁹

Third parties attempted to form throughout the Jacksonian period; however, it was not until the collapse of the Whig Party that the sectionally-oriented Republican Party rose to dominance in the North. In Ohio, the two main third party movements were the Liberty men and the Free Soilers. The main plank of the Liberty Party platform was its opposition to the existence of slavery and Southern political power. The lack of enthusiasm for the Liberty Party in Ohio was reflected in the fact that throughout the 1840s the party was unable to elect a single candidate to Congress and failed to garner over 5 percent of the popular vote in any statewide election. The Free Soil Party formed in 1848 as a coalition of Liberty men, Conscience Whigs, and Van Burenite Democrats. The Free Soilers differed from the Liberty Party as they demanded the exclusion of slavery from the territories rather than the abolition of that institution in the slave states. Yet the Free Soil Party fared little better than its predecessor. In their most successful campaign, the Free Soilers elected only two of twenty-one Ohio Representatives and one Senator to the Thirty-first Congress. Moreover, in the presidential contest of 1848, the third party received only 10 percent of the popular vote. This figure was below the 14 percent figure of the free states as Ohio's support for the third party was concentrated primarily on the Western Reserve where the Free Soilers replaced the Whigs as the leading party. Although the Free Soil Party failed to displace

either of the existing parties at the state or national level, their consistent opposition to slavery extension placed the issue before the public for seven years. Ultimately, the issue of free soil aroused intense anti-Southern resentment among Ohioans of all parties. Consequently, the Conscience Whigs bolted to the Free Soil Party. In addition, Whigs and Democrats began to operate independently of their Southern counterparts.²⁰

Comparison of voting behavior with congressional district boundaries indicated that the attitudes of constituents had some impact on their congressman. The most consistent support for free soil came from congressmen who represented the Western Reserve districts (see Figure 1). In 1836, this region (Districts 19, 20, and 21) contained over three-fourths of all the abolitionist societies in Ohio and, in the election of 1848, Free Soil candidate Martin Van Buren easily carried the Western Reserve. In Ashtabula County, home of Representative Giddings, Van Buren polled 55 percent of the vote and, in the small community of Colebrook, he received almost 80 percent of the vote. More limited support for free soil came from congressmen representing Whig constituencies in southeastern and southwestern Ohio and Democratic constituencies from the central portion of the state. The most notable opposition to free soil came from Democratic representatives of districts in western Ohio. Constituents from northwestern Ohio continually returned representatives

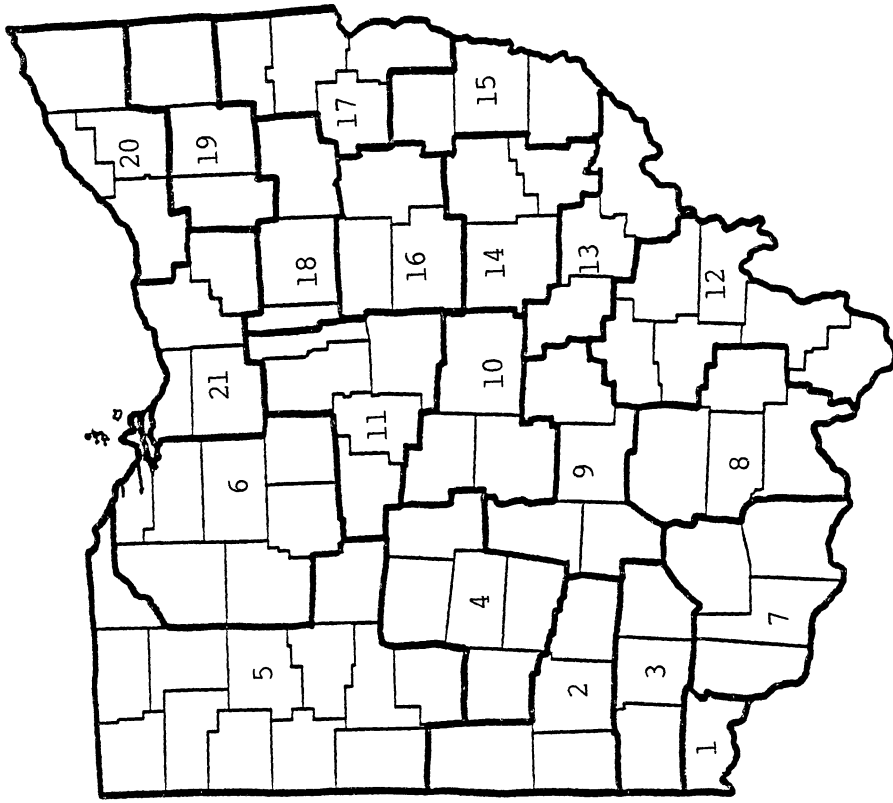


Figure 1. Ohio Congressional Districts: 1845-1851

who voted as moderates on free soil as did those inhabitants of the district encompassing Cincinnati in southwestern Ohio.²¹

Partisan affiliation, however, was the leading motivation in determining free soil voting behavior during most of the 1840s. By 1849, however, anti-Southern attitudes replaced the influence of party. The free soil issue clearly created discontent with the existing two party system and led to a re-orientation in regional identification from the West to the North. For instance, the Ashtabula Sentinel declared in 1844 that the "Western free states are dependent upon the South or the North, or both; and in fact, that the three sections are dependent upon each other and can effect nothing alone."²² Three years later, that same newspaper admonished "Freemen of the North" saying that for "too long and too rigidly" they had been "attached to party -- to the neglect of higher governing principles." Moreover, the paper warned that "slaveholding usurpers of the South are trying to take advantage of our party attachment, and through this instrumentality, succeed in their diabolical schemes of selfishness."²³

From 1843 to 1848, Ohio congressmen adhered to party affiliations on the question of free soil. Ohio Democrats, anxious to increase the nation's territorial possessions but favoring a narrow constitutional interpretation on the slavery issue, rejected free soil in favor of the extension

of the Missouri Compromise line or the adoption of the principle of "popular sovereignty." Ohio Whigs, opposed to expansion and mildly antislavery in sentiment, generally voted in favor of free soil although from 1846 to 1847 some of them opposed free soil legislation which condoned expansion. Despite the temporary resolution of the free soil issue with the Compromise of 1850 and the failure of the third party to dominate the delegation, by the end of the decade, anti-Southern attitudes dictated voting behavior of most Ohio congressmen. Convinced that Southerners were attempting to dominate the national government, the Ohio delegation refused to permit the extension of slavery into new territories and, thereby allow for increased slave state representation. From 1849 to 1851, Ohio Congressmen of all three parties generally supported free soil. In addition, most Ohio Democrats and Whigs broke from their national organizations and joined with the Free Soilers in opposing the Compromise of 1850.²⁴

ENDNOTES

¹Salmon P. Chase to Joshua R. Giddings, August 15, 1846 in J. W. Schuckers, The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase (New York, New York: D. Appleton, 1874), p. 100.

²Giddings decision to remain within the Whig Party prior to 1849 may be due in part to his close relationship with former president John Q. Adams who served in the House of Representatives as an antislavery Whig during most of the decade. Directory of the American Congress, p. 850; James B. Stewart, Joshua R. Giddings and the Tactics of Radical Politics (Cleveland, Ohio: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1970), pp. ix-x; Chillicothe Daily Scioto Gazette, April 19, 1850; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, November 18, 1848, January 15, 1849; "Entry of March 22, 1842" in David G. Allen, ed., Diary of John Quincy Adams, 2 vols., (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1981), II:539; Daniel H. Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 173.

³Directory of the American Congress, pp. 149-152; Joel H. Silbey, The Shrine of Party: Congressional Voting Behavior, 1841-1852 (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967), pp. 97, 120. C. F. Van Deventer, "The Free Soil Party in the Northwest in the Elections of 1848," (Ph.D dissertation, University of Illinois, 1968), p. iv, argued that historians should identify Ohio with the East rather than the Northwest because of economic ties, a "whig-oriented" constituency, and earlier settlement than Illinois, Indiana, or Michigan.

⁴Stewart, Giddings, p. 169; C. Vann Woodward, "The Antislavery Myth," American Scholar, XXXI (Spring 1962), p. 328; William J. Cooper, Jr., The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), p. xii; T. C. Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest (New York, New York: Russell and Russell, 1897), p. 105.

⁵E. E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America (Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden, 1975), p. 72.

⁶Ibid., p. 2.

⁷Michael F. Holt, The Political Crisis of the 1850s (New York, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), pp. vii-x, xii-xiii, 9, 38.

⁸Many opponents of the "slave power" believed the conspiracy extended into the churches as well as the two national political parties. Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, May 24, 1845; Cooper, South and the Politics of Slavery, pp. xiii-xiv; Kenneth M. Stampp, ed., The Causes of the Civil War (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 2-3; Also see Thomas J. Pressley, Americans Interpret Their Civil War (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954); Hans L. Trefousse, ed., The Causes of the Civil War (New York, New York: Krieger, 1977); Frank L. Owsley, "The Fundamental Cause of the Civil War: Egocentric Sectionalism," Journal of Southern History, VII (February 1941), pp. 3-18; Walter Dean Burnham, The Current Crisis in American Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 105.

⁹Edgar A. Holt, "Party Politics in Ohio, 1840-1850," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XXXVII (1928), pp. 439-591; XXXVIII (1929), pp. 47-182, 260-402; Francis P. Weisenburger, The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, 1941); Stephen E. Maizlish, The Triumph of Sectionalism: The Transformation of Ohio Politics, 1844-1856 (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983). While recognizing the validity of arguments historians have advanced stressing the importance of local issues and negative reference groups in determining antebellum political alignments in the North, the ethnoculturalists also must be criticized for having underestimated the critical role of national issues such as free soil in disrupting the second party system at both the state and national level. Holt, Political Crisis of the 1850s, p. 11; Joel H. Silbey, "The Civil War Synthesis in American Political History," Civil War History, X (June 1964), pp. 130-140; David Donald, "American Historians and the Causes of the American Civil War," South Atlantic Quarterly, LIX (Summer 1960), p. 354; Robert L. McCormick, "Ethno-Cultural Interpretations of Nineteenth-Century American Voting Behavior," Political Science Quarterly, LXXXIX (June 1974), pp. 352, 361-362, 365; Donald J. Ratcliffe, "Politics in Jacksonian Ohio: Reflections on the Ethnocultural Interpretation," Ohio History, LXXXVIII (Winter 1979), pp. 7-8, 32-33. Also see Ronald P. Formisano, The Birth of Mass Political Parties, Michigan, 1827-1861 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971).

¹⁰Reginald McGrane, William Allen: A Study in Western Democracy (Columbus, Ohio: F. J. Heer, 1925); J. W. Schuckers, The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase (New York, New York: D. Appleton, 1874); James B. Stewart, Joshua R. Giddings and the Tactics of Radical Politics (Cleveland, Ohio: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1970); Hans L. Trefousse, Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican from Ohio (New York, New York: Twayne, 1963); Robert B. Warden, An Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase (Cincinnati, Ohio: Wilstach, Baldwin, and Co., 1874); Hal W. Bochin, "Tom Corwin's Speech Against the Mexican War: Courageous But Misunderstood," Ohio History, XC (Winter 1981), pp. 33-54; Madalene V. Dahlgren, "Samuel Finley Vinton," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, IV (1895), pp. 231-262; Helen P. Dorn, "Samuel Medary -- Journalist and Politician, 1801-1864," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, LIII (January 1944), pp. 14-38; Joseph B. Foraker, "Salmon P. Chase," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XV (Fall 1906), pp. 311-340; Douglas A. Gamble, "Joshua R. Giddings and the Ohio Abolitionists: A Study in Radical Politics," Ohio History, LXXXVIII (Winter 1979), pp. 37-56; Norman A. Graebner, "Thomas Corwin and the Election of 1848: A Study in Conservative Politics," Journal of Southern History, XVII (Summer 1951), pp. 162-179; Byron R. Long, "Joshua Reed Giddings: A Champion of Political Freedom," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XXVIII (1920), pp. 1-47; Robert P. Ludlum, "Joshua R. Giddings, Radical," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIII (June 1936), pp. 49-60; N. S. Townsend, "Salmon P. Chase," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, I (September 1887), pp. 109-124; W. C. Weaver, "David Kellogg Cartter," The Historian, III (1941), pp. 165-180; R. H. Luthin, "Salmon P. Chase's Political Career Before the Civil War," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIX (1943), pp. 517-540; Harold P. Sampson, "The Anti-Slavery Speakings of Joshua Reed Giddings," (Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1966).

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¹³ Holt, The Political Crisis of the 1850s; James Roger Sharp, The Jacksonians Versus the Banks: Politics in the States After the Panic of 1837 (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Leo Alilunas, "Fugitive Slave Cases in Ohio Prior to 1850," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XLIX (April 1940), pp. 160-184; A. J. Baughman, "The 'Underground Railway'," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XV (Summer 1906), pp. 189-191; Leonard Erickson, "Politics and Repeal of Ohio's Black Laws, 1837-1849," Ohio History, LXXXII (Autumn 1973), pp. 154-175; Herbert Ershkowitz and William G. Shade, "Consensus or Conflict?: Political Behavior in the State Legislatures during the Jacksonian Era," Journal of American History, LVIII (December 1971), pp. 591-621; S. S. Knabenshue, "The Underground Railroad," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XIV (Fall 1905), pp. 396-403; Edward W. Shunk, "Ohio in Africa," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, LI (January 1942), pp. 79-88; Wilbur H. Siebert, "Beginnings of the Underground Railroad in Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, LVI (January 1947), pp. 70-93; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Underground Railroad in Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, IV (1895), pp. 44-63; Florence B. Wright, "A Station on the Underground Railroad," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XIV (Summer 1905), pp. 164-169.

¹⁴Directory of American Congress, p. 874; Stephen E. Maizlish, "The Development of the Wilmot Proviso Issue in Ohio, 1846-1848," (Unpublished History Paper #285, University of California at Berkeley, Ohio Historical Society, June 8, 1970), p. 4; Frederick J. Turner, The Significance of Sections in American History (New York, New York: Henry Holt, 1932), pp. 22-51, 183-192; Joel H. Silbey, The Shrine of Party: Congressional Voting Behavior, 1841-1852 (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967), pp. 12-15. Other roll call studies for the period include Joel H. Silbey, "The Slavery-Extension Controversy and Illinois Congressmen, 1846-1852," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, LVIII (Winter 1965), pp. 378-395; Thomas B. Alexander, Sectional Stress and Party Strength: A Study of Roll-Call Voting Patterns in the United States House of Representatives, 1836-1860 (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967); Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer, The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influences of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861-1865 (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972). John R. Collins, "The Mexican War: A Study in Fragmentation," Journal of the West, XI (April 1972), pp. 225-234; Norman E. Tutorow, Texas Annexation and the Mexican War: A Political Study of the Old Northwest (Palo Alto, California: Chadwick House, 1978), include only single key votes in their analysis of roll calls.

¹⁵See Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case (New York, New York: Athenium, 1964), p. vii; Stephen E. Maizlish, The Triumph of Sectionalism: The Transformation of Ohio Politics, 1844-1856 (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983), pp. xi-xii; Holt, The Political Crisis of the 1850s, pp. 14, 39.

¹⁶Although Ohio congressmen reflected a variety of ages, several of the delegation members were quite young. Democratic Representative Allen G. Thurman entered the House in 1845 as the youngest congressmen in the legislature. When Democrat William Allen entered the Senate, he was younger than any previous member of that body. Conversely, Democratic Senator Benjamin Tappan was in his seventies. Directory of American Congress, p. 1522; National Cyclopedia of Biography, 3:144.

¹⁷Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 41.

¹⁸David H. Bradford, "The Background and Formation of the Republican Party in Ohio, 1844-1861," Ph.D.

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¹⁹ "Inaugural address of James K. Polk" in James Richardson, ed., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1905 (New York, New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), V:2230; Harry R. Stevens, The Early Jackson Party in Ohio (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1957), p. x; Richard P. McCormick, "New Perspectives in Jacksonian Politics," American Historical Review, LXV (January 1960), p. 300; Brian G. J. Walton, "James K. Polk and the Democratic Party in the Aftermath of the Wilmot Proviso," (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1968), pp. 11-12; Howe, American Whigs, pp. 17-18; Elliott R. Barkan, "The Emergence of a Whig Persuasion: Conservatism, Democratism, and the New York State Whigs," New York History, LII (October 1971), p. 367; Edgar A. Holt, "Party Politics in Ohio, 1840-1850," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XXXVII (1928), p. 549; Maizlish, Triumph of Sectionalism, p. 241.

²⁰ Maizlish, Triumph of Sectionalism, pp. 241-242; Richard Hoftstadter, The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 267-268; Kirk H. Porter and Donald B. Johnson, comps., National Party Platforms, 1840-1956 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 4-8; Price, "Election of 1848 in Ohio," pp. 288-311.

²¹ Hubbart, The Older Middle West, pp. 12-13; Silbey, The Shrine of Party, p. 6; Robert Price, "The Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention of 1836," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XLV (April 1936), pp. 187-188; Kenneth C. Martis, ed., The

Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts, 1789-1983 (New York, New York: Free Press, 1982), pp. 76-83.

²²Ashtabula Sentinel, January 13, 1844.

²³Ibid., July 8, 1848.

²⁴Chaplain W. Morrison, Democratic Politics and Sectionalism: The Wilmot Proviso Controversy (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), pp. vii-viii.

CHAPTER II

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS AND TEXAS ANNEXATION

In May 1845 the Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, a conservative Democratic newspaper, proclaimed that the "interests of the west [sic] are equally identified with and dependent upon those of the North and the South."¹ Three months earlier, a Whig representative from southern Ohio, Samuel F. Vinton, declared on the floor of Congress that the welfare of the West "demanded of us to protect the capital and labor both of the North and the South";² Despite the growing differences between the North and South during the 1830s and early 1840s, both observations suggest that many Ohioans identified with the West rather than the North and valued national unity above sectional discord. In accordance with these attitudes, Ohioans supported the two national political parties and their cautious handling of the slavery issue.

This moderation was also evident in voting patterns of Ohio congressmen on the free soil issue during the period. Emotional attachment to both section and political party existed in the Twenty-eighth Congress for each loyalty carried with it a perceived means for improving American society. To retain their national constituency, both

parties avoided the slavery question. Instead, the major parties offered platforms which stressed other political issues and either ignored the topic of slavery or relegated it to a position of secondary importance. The major parties thereby insured support in all major geographical sections of the nation. From 1843 to 1845, the slavery debate became linked with the question of territorial expansion as the free soil issue (see Appendix B).

Rhetoric and voting records of several members of the Ohio delegation indicated that free soil encouraged sectional animosity and weakened party allegiance. Nevertheless, Ohio congressmen remained committed to their respective national parties when voting on the question of the extension of slavery during the Twenty-eighth Congress.

Though most members of the Twenty-eighth Senate were moderates, voting patterns revealed that party influence was strong (see Table I). Little division existed among the Democrats. More eager for territorial expansion than concerned with slavery, all of the Democrats voted as moderates except for Ambrose Sevier of Arkansas who opposed free soil. Divisions over the issue of free soil did exist among the Whigs. Although almost one-half of them supported free soil, large numbers of Whigs also voted as moderates and against free soil.³

Dissent within the Whig Party can be attributed primarily to free/slave state divisions. Almost half of the free state Senators (all Whigs) supported free soil

TABLE I

28TH SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
Pro Free Soil	-	(12) 44.45	(12) 23.53
Moderate	(23) 95.83	(8) 29.62	(31) 60.78
Anti Free Soil	(1) 4.17	(7) 25.93	(8) 15.69
TOTAL:	(24) 100.00	(27) 100.00	(51) 100.00

while almost one-third of the slave state Senators (mostly Whigs) voted against free soil (see Table II). Not a single free state Senator opposed free soil nor did any slave state Senator vote in favor of free soil.

An examination of voting by region indicated that this factor was of limited importance (see Table III). Moderates predominated in all areas except New England where Senators demonstrated a greater level of support for the free soil position. Free soil supporters also came from the Mid-Atlantic and Northwestern states while opponents of free soil hailed from the South Atlantic, Southwestern, and Mid-Atlantic states.

Voting patterns in the House of Representatives closely resembled those in the Senate (see Table IV). Political party loyalty and slave state/free state divisions proved to be significant factors in determining voting behavior on the free soil issue. As among the Senators, the majority of the Representatives voted as moderates. The Democrats were predominantly moderates yet a sizeable minority of them rejected free soil as a violation of the spirit of the Missouri Compromise and Southern rights. Most of the Whig legislators, moreover, supported the free soil issue, as their party discipline proved somewhat stronger in the House where free state congressmen constituted a larger element of that party than in the Senate.⁴

Free/slave state divisions were stronger in the House

TABLE II
28TH SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND
FREE STATE/SLAVE STATE DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
	a		
	FREE STATES		
Pro Free Soil	-	(12) 92.31	(12) 46.15
Moderate	(13) 100.0	(1) 7.69	(14) 53.85
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-
TOTAL:	(13) 100.0	(13) 100.0	(26) 100.0
	b		
	SLAVE STATES		
Pro Free Soil	-	-	-
Moderate	(10) 90.91	(7) 50.00	(17) 68.00
Anti Free Soil	(1) 9.09	(7) 50.00	(8) 32.00
TOTAL:	(11) 100.0	(14) 100.0	(25) 100.0
a = Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont			
b = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia			

TABLE III

28TH SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION

Scale Position	a	b	c	d	e
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	S. Atlantic	Southwest	Northwest
Pro Free Soil	(7) 58.33	(2) 20.00	-	-	(3) 25.00
Moderate	(5) 41.67	(6) 60.00	(5) 62.50	(6) 66.67	(9) 75.00
Anti Free Soil	-	(2) 20.00	(3) 37.50	(3) 33.33	-
TOTAL:	(12) 100.00	(10) 100.00	(8) 100.00	(9) 100.00	(12) 100.00

a = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
 b = Delaware, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania
 c = Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia
 d = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee
 e = Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

TABLE IV

28TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
Pro Free Soil	(1) .71	(43) 55.13	(44) 20.09
Moderate	(87) 61.70	(29) 37.18	(116) 52.97
Anti Free Soil	(53) 37.59	(6) 7.69	(59) 26.94
TOTAL:	(141) 100.00	(78) 100.00	(219) 100.00

of Representatives than in the Senate and affected both parties (see Table V). Most congressmen from free states voted as moderates; however, almost one-third advocated free soil. Legislators from slave states opposed free soil except for about one-third who voted as moderates. As in the Senate, free soil support came from free state Whigs. Unlike the upper house, opponents of free soil in the House of Representatives were primarily slave state Democrats who, although heavily outnumbered, vigorously defended Southern rights as defined in past constitutional compromises.

Some regional influence was present in the Twenty-eighth House but it was not as important as party or free/slave state divisions (see Table VI). South Atlantic and Southwestern congressmen primarily voted against free soil; Representatives from the other three regions tended to be moderates although large pockets of pro free soil support existed in each. In addition, a small group of legislators from the Northwest voted against free soil.

The Ohio delegation's voting on free soil was similar to national patterns as political party affiliation remained a dominant influence despite the presence of sectionally-oriented attitudes. The Ohio congressmen during the Twenty-eighth Congress included twenty-one Representatives and two Senators (see Table VII). In the fall elections of 1843, house candidates of one of the two major parties won in every district although two

TABLE V
28TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND
FREE STATE/SLAVE STATE DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
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	a		
	FREE STATES		
Pro Free Soil	(1) 1.22	(43) 82.69	(44) 32.83
Moderate	(78) 95.12	(9) 17.31	(87) 64.93
Anti Free Soil	(3) 3.66	-	(3) 2.24
TOTAL:	(82) 100.0	(52) 100.0	(134) 100.0
	b		
	SLAVE STATES		
Pro Free Soil	-	-	-
Moderate	(9) 15.25	(20) 76.92	(29) 34.12
Anti Free Soil	(50) 84.75	(6) 23.08	(56) 65.88
TOTAL:	(59) 100.0	(26) 100.0	(85) 100.0
a = Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont			
b = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia			

TABLE VI

28TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e	
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	S. Atlantic	Southwest	Northwest					
Pro Free Soil	(12) 38.71	(20) 29.41	-	-	(12) 21.43					
Moderate	(19) 61.29	(46) 67.65	(15) 39.47	(2) 7.69	(34) 60.71					
Anti Free Soil	-	(2) 2.94	(23) 60.53	(24) 92.31	(10) 17.86					
TOTAL:	(31) 100.00	(68) 100.00	(38) 100.00	(26) 100.00	(56) 100.00					

a = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

b = Delaware, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania

c = Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia

d = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee

e = Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

TABLE VII

OHIO CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS: OCTOBER 1843

District	Representative	Party	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE		
			Democrat	Whig	Other
1	Duncan, Alexander	Democrat	52.3	-	47.7
2	Weller, John B.	Democrat	50.7	48.4	.9
3	Schenck, Robert C.	Whig	40.2	56.3	3.5
4	Vance, Joseph	Whig	37.0	61.1	1.9
5	Potter, Emery D.	Democrat	55.9	44.1	-
6	St. John, Henry	Democrat	99.0	-	1.0
7	McDowell, Joseph J.	Democrat	49.9	46.9	3.2
8	Vanmeter, John I.	Whig	48.6	50.5	.9
9	Florence, Elias	Whig	47.3	52.7	-
10	Moore, Herman A.	Democrat	49.6	47.9	2.5
11	Brinkerhoff, Jacob	Democrat	56.3	19.3	24.4
12	Vinton, Samuel F.	Whig	42.9	54.3	2.8
13	Johnson, Perley B.	Whig	48.3	51.0	.7
14	Harper, Alexander	Whig	42.1	54.7	3.2
15	Morris, Joseph	Democrat	50.9	44.2	4.9
16	Mathews, James	Democrat	55.7	44.3	-
17	McCauslin, Wm. C.	Democrat	51.6	45.1	3.3
18	Dean, Ezra	Democrat	68.5	29.7	1.8
19	Tilden, Daniel R.	Whig	45.1	47.9	7.0
20	Giddings, Joshua R.	Whig	35.1	57.4	7.5
21	Brinkerhoff, Henry	Democrat	49.0	45.6	5.4

Source: Robert A. Diamond, ed., Congressional Quarterly's Guide to United States Elections (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1975), pp. 578-579.

independent politicians, Haines in District 1 and Irwin in District 11, polled enough votes to run second. The antislavery Liberty Party did not field candidates in many of the Ohio congressional districts and received no more than 7.5 percent of the vote in any one of the districts. Although the election results initially provided for a delegation of twelve Democrats and nine Whigs, the deaths of Democrats Herman A. Moore and Henry R. Brinkerhoff⁵ led to the selection of Democrat Alfred P. Stone and a Whig, Edward S. Hamlin.⁶ As a result, the party division changed to eleven Democrats and ten Whigs. Although seven Ohio Representatives (Dean, Giddings, Harper, Mathews, Vance, Vinton, and Weller) previously served in the House, two-thirds of the delegation had no experience in the national legislature when the Twenty-eighth Congress convened in December 1843.⁷

Two hard money Democrats, William Allen and Benjamin Tappan, represented Ohio in the United States Senate. Elected in 1837 to succeed Thomas Ewing and returned again in 1842, Allen became chairman of the powerful Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1845 and proved to be an outspoken advocate of the annexation of Texas and all of the Oregon Territory.⁸ Benjamin Tappan became the state's junior senator in 1839 replacing antislavery Democrat Thomas Morris. An older brother of Lewis and Arthur Tappan, the noted abolitionists, Benjamin Tappan played an important role in the controversy over the annexation of Texas.

After he failed to be re-elected in 1845, Tappan, still committed to the two party system, rejected suggestions from his brothers to abandon his party and vote against Texas annexation.⁹

Most Ohioans in Congress from 1843 to 1845 traced their family backgrounds to free states -- a pattern which continued throughout the decade. Three of every four members of the delegation were born in free states. Place of birth was not confined to any one region as Ohio congressmen traced their origins to the Mid-Atlantic, New England, and Northwest states. Four congressmen (William Allen, Elias Florence, Joseph McDowell, and John Vanmeter), however, were born in South Atlantic slave states and Alexander Harper was from Ireland.¹⁰

As a delegation, the Ohio congressmen divided into two groups on the issue of free soil. Nine of them aggressively supported free soil. Like most other free state and Northwest congressmen, though, the majority of the Ohio delegation voted as moderates. Although a larger number of Ohio congressmen advocated free soil than other delegations except for those of New York and Pennsylvania, a greater percentage of the delegation members from Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont voted to restrict slavery extension (see Table VIII).

Some members of the Ohio delegation maintained strong personal opinions concerning slaveholding and civil rights

TABLE VIII

28TH CONGRESS: CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS AND
VOTING ON FREE SOIL ISSUE

State	Size of Delegation*	VOTE ON FREE SOIL		
		Pro	Mod	Anti
Alabama	9	-	2	7
Arkansas	3	-	1**	2
Connecticut	6	1	5	-
Delaware	3	-	2	1
Georgia	10	-	3	7
Illinois	9	1	8	-
Indiana	12	3	8	1
Kentucky	12	-	8	4
Louisiana	6	-	2	4
Maine	9	3	6	-
Maryland	8	-	6	1
Massachusetts	12	8	4	-
Michigan	5	2	3	-
Mississippi	6	-	1	5
Missouri	7	-	2	5
New Hampshire	6	-	6	-
New Jersey	7	2	5	-
New York	36	10	25	1
North Carolina	11	-	8	3
Ohio	23	9	14	-
Pennsylvania	26	10	14	1
Rhode Island	4	4	-	-
South Carolina	9	-	3	6
Tennessee	13	-	2	9
Vermont	6	3	3	-
Virginia	17	-	6	10
TOTAL	275	56	147	67

* Many of the congressional delegations had members that did not vote on at least one-half of the roll call votes; therefore, the total number of congressmen listed as voting may not be the same number as the total number in the delegation.

** Three Senators instead of two appear for Arkansas in the scalogram as Senators Ashley and Fulton each voted on one-half of the roll calls; only one is counted in the table.

for free blacks. Whig Representative Joshua R. Giddings, for example, openly asserted his moral indignation at the existence of slavery and demanded the repeal of Ohio's discriminatory Black Laws. Yet even those who vigorously opposed slavery, remained within the two party structure rather than join the antislavery Liberty Party. Giddings believed that supporting slavery was a sin, and as the federal government had no control over it, that institution could not be extended through annexation.¹¹ Giddings continued to adhere to the Whig Party and belittled the antislavery third party although he was the most outspoken antislavery critic in the Ohio delegation.¹²

The question of slavery extension also involved the issue of the perceived political power of the slaveholding South as the annexation of Texas would provide at least two more Southern Senators. Many of the Ohio delegation, particularly Whigs, expressed resentment at the political successes of southern politicians and agreed with the Liberty Party that the slaveholding interest was hostile to "free institutions, free labor, and to freedom itself."¹³ Along with Whig Representative and free soil advocate Daniel Tilden, Giddings tried to warn the free states of the danger of the "slave power." Giddings argued that the object of Texas annexation was to "perpetuate the institution of slavery and to protect the slave trade."¹⁴ Stressing the incompatibility of free and slave labor, Giddings argued that the admission of

Texas would permit the free trade interests of the South to repeal the protective tariff.¹⁵ Further, he declared that the annexation of Texas jeopardized republicanism:

I entertain no desire to surrender this Union for a new one with slave-holding Texas A slave-holding government is the most tyrannical that exists. The Emperor of Russia has not the same power over his serfs which the holder of South Carolina possesses over his slaves. Russia has but one tyrant; the United States contain at least a hundred and fifty thousand We are now called on to increase the number of these despots; to extend the most flagrant despotism known to civilized man I denounce it as dangerous to the liberties of the people, as establishing a precedent fraught with evil to the country.¹⁶

The threat of violence and ridicule did not deter those members of the Ohio delegation determined to agitate the slavery issue. Repeatedly, Giddings' speeches were met with laughter and other forms of heckling. Often southern representatives had to restrain their colleagues from physically assaulting Giddings on the floor of Congress. In 1843, Giddings baited J. B. Dawson into a violent outburst in which the Louisiana Democrat threatened the Ohioan with a bowie knife. Edward J. Black, a Georgia Democrat, attempted to attack Giddings with a cane in 1845; after failing in his effort, Black returned in the afternoon and threatened Giddings with a pistol. After Whig E. S. Hamlin joined the delegation, he also denounced the southern influence in politics. The passage of pro-Texas resolutions in the House provoked a sharp rebuke from the disgusted Hamlin who accused the "dough-faced

Democracy of the free States" of "licking the very dust from the footsteps of slavery."¹⁷ Even Congressman Vinton cautioned against increasing southern political influence in a speech urging that if Florida were divided into two states then the boundaries of Iowa should be reduced to compensate for the lost representation by creating another free state.¹⁸

Some Ohio Democrats felt resentment toward their southern counterparts for the "crime of 1844" at the Baltimore Convention where Southern Democrats engineered the defeat of Martin Van Buren's presidential nomination campaign due to his noncommittal stance on the issue of Texas annexation. Eleven Ohio Democratic Representatives (all but Joseph McDowell) and both Democratic Senators announced their support for Van Buren before the Baltimore Convention.¹⁹ Ohio Democrats opposed the two-thirds rule (which denied Van Buren the nomination), resisted a move to nominate Lewis Cass, and then supported Silas Wright, the radical Van Burenite from New York, before accepting a dark horse candidate, pro-expansionist James K. Polk of Tennessee. Democrat Jacob Brinkerhoff later argued that the Ohio Democracy based their support for Polk on his economic attitudes and "not on the grounds of immediate and unconditional annexation."²⁰

The annexation of Texas particularly alienated Congressmen Brinkerhoff and Senator Tappan. When Senator Tappan learned of President Tyler's secret Texas treaty

(which included Secretary of State John C. Calhoun's defense of slavery), he leaked the news to the New York Post. Immediately thereafter, radical Democratic members of the Ohio delegation, led by Senators Tappan and Allen, published an open letter to their constituents warning that the annexation of Texas by the Tyler administration before Polk's inauguration indicated that a movement existed "intended to set aside the will of the American democracy."²¹ Although Brinkerhoff supported expansionism, he complained that the annexation of Texas was a southern, sectional, and "intensely selfish scheme." He urged that Texas be divided into two portions, one free and one slave, so that the North as well as the South could benefit equally. Despite their resentment, however, both Tappan and Brinkerhoff remained committed to the Democracy and ultimately voted for the Texas treaty and as moderates on the free soil issue.²²

Instead of sectional attitudes or loyalty to birthplace (see Tables IX and X), Ohio congressmen predicated their voting behavior on the basis of party doctrine. Ohio Democratic Congressmen demanded the annexation of Texas whether slavery existed there or not. Consequently, they minimized the importance of the free soil issue. Whig Representatives, though, opposed the acquisition of additional territory and, therefore, supported free soil as a means of hindering Southern support of expansion.

TABLE IX

28TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE,
AND SECTION OF BIRTH

Scale Position	a		b		c		Total
	Free State		Slave State		Foreign		
Pro Free Soil	(6)	33.33	(2)	50.00	(1)	100.00	(9) 39.13
Moderate	(12)	66.67	(2)	50.00	-		(14) 60.87
Anti Free Soil	-		-		-		-
<hr/>							
TOTAL:	(18)	100.0	(4)	100.0	(1)	100.0	(23) 100.0
<hr/>							

a = Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York,
Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont

b = North Carolina, Virginia

c = Ireland

TABLE X

28TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE, AND REGION OF BIRTH

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e	
	New England		Mid-Atlantic		Northwest		S. Atlantic		Foreign	
Pro Free Soil	(2)	33.33	(2)	28.57	(2)	40.00	(2)	50.00	(1)	100.00
Moderate	(4)	66.67	(5)	71.43	(3)	60.00	(2)	50.00	-	-
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL:	(6)	100.00	(7)	100.00	(5)	100.00	(4)	100.00	(1)	100.00

a = Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont

b = New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania

c = Ohio

d = North Carolina, Virginia

e = Ireland

The partisan nature of the territorial issue was evident in the rhetoric of Ohio congressmen. The Ohio Democrats, for example, voted to expand the physical boundaries of the United States and republicanism. As Representative Alfred P. Stone explained:

Our destiny as a nation is onward. The lone star will be added to our flag, and that flag will, at some period in our history, not only float from the fortress at Quebec, but from temples dedicated to liberty erected over the graves of the Montezumas.²³

In conjunction with their support for the 1844 Democratic platform which favored the acquisition of all the Oregon Territory and the "re-annexation" of Texas²⁴, most Ohio Democrats minimized the importance of the free soil issue and stressed the benefits of expansion. Representative Ezra Dean believed that the annexation of Texas would benefit "every portion of the Union."²⁵ Dean also downplayed the threat of a "slave power." He argued that any advantage the South might temporarily achieve in the Senate by the acquisition of Texas would be redressed by the admission of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Oregon.²⁶

Congressman John B. Weller regarded the election of 1844 as a mandate for the annexation of Texas. He identified the Texas issue as a "great national question" which would open a vast market for foodstuffs from the Northwest and manufactures from the North in addition to aiding navigation interests, enhancing the nation's

military posture, and limiting British influence in the western hemisphere. Weller believed that annexation "would operate injuriously upon no section of the Union, unless it be the cotton and sugar regions of the South" for it "would undoubtedly diminish the value of their lands, by throwing into competition with them the productive lands of Texas."²⁷

Many Ohio Democrats accepted a modified version of the safety-valve thesis of Senator Robert J. Walker of Mississippi. Walker argued that census data indicated that the decrease in black population in the upper South was due to the expansion of slavery into new southwestern lands as the productivity of older lands wore out. He believed that unless the Republic of Texas was annexed and slavery permitted an outlet to Central and South America, insurrection in the South and an influx of blacks to the free states would result. If Texas was annexed, he declared, slavery would gradually die out in the older slave states.²⁸

Representative Dean agreed with Walker that slavery was a temporary institution. Early in 1845, Dean, a moderate on the free soil issue, declared that opposition to the annexation of Texas was a "false philanthropy" and that although he welcomed the abolition of slavery, he was not inclined to "abandon a great public measure . . . when I can see in the operation of this measure the only practicable means by which slavery may be restricted" and

"ultimately abolished in the northern slave states."²⁹

Dean felt that union with the Republic of Texas would draw off the slave and free black populations from the upper South to the new lands and racially mixed society in the Southwest.³⁰

Other congressmen also suggested that the free soil question should not encumber the annexation of Texas. Representative Stone, for instance, predicted that if Texas were acquired, "the worn-out soils of Virginia [and] Maryland" would be occupied and "restored by the Yankees of New England." As a result, the "relative importance and power of the slaveholding states" would not increase.³¹

Stone declared that the question of slavery extension was irrelevant as slavery already existed in Texas; consequently, "annexation would not increase the geographic limits of slavery" nor, he believed, "the relative influence of the slave power in national councils."³²

Ohio Democrats also embraced the safety valve thesis in fear of possible black immigration into their state; most of them held the common nineteenth-century belief that the races could not peacefully coexist. The widespread existence of racial prejudice in antebellum Ohio, particularly in the Democratic Party, was illustrated by Representative Alexander Duncan's speech in Congress in which he pronounced the "eternal truth" of black inferiority.³³ Congressmen Alfred P. Stone and John B. Weller, free soil moderates, both believed that the

annexation of Texas was related to the Black Law question -- discriminatory legislation designed to hinder free black settlement in Ohio. Stone agreed that slavery was dying out and, if not provided an outlet, the black population would inundate Ohio. Weller also embraced Walker's thesis and, as a candidate for governor in 1848, campaigned against repeal of the Black Laws.³⁴

Whig opposition to the annexation of Texas was due in part to that party's greater interest in the internal reform of American society. Concerned with the collective improvement of the nation more than egalitarianism, that party tended to be more receptive than the Democrats to most reform movements of the period including temperance, education, and anti-slavery. Representative Giddings, for example, opposed slavery and advocated repeal of the Black Laws as he felt that both violated the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. Outside of the Western Reserve, though, Whig concern for black civil rights was limited.³⁵

Other ideological beliefs besides their distaste for slavery, however, were responsible for Whig support of free soil. Although the party produced its first national platform in 1844, it made no explicit reference to either Texas or the free soil issue. Whig philosophy advocated the internal improvement of American society and opposed the extension of its borders.³⁶ The resolution which Representative Daniel Tilden introduced into Congress in

January 1845 exemplified the position of the Ohio Whigs on the annexation of Texas issue. That resolution declared that no constitutional power existed to annex another republic. As Mexico still regarded Texas as a rebelling province, its annexation by the United States would probably result in war. Finally, the resolution accused the President, Cabinet, and many Congressmen of owning "stock and acreage in Texas" and decried the "evil of slavery extension."³⁷ To the Ohio Whigs, a war with Mexico was unacceptable as they believed that only defensive wars were justified. They believed that the monarchies of Europe as well as the struggling new Latin American republics would perceive a war for Texas as an example of American aggression against a fellow republic.³⁸

Another factor may also have motivated the Ohio Whigs. Although the Liberty Party received less than 3 percent of the Ohio vote in the presidential election of 1844, the antislavery party held the potential balance of power because neither the Whigs or Democrats secured a majority of the votes. As the Whigs were more receptive to antislavery attitudes than the Democrats, Liberty Party support tended to come from the Whigs. Outspoken antislavery Whig, Joshua Giddings, accused the Liberty Party in Ohio of drawing votes from the Whig nominee, Henry Clay, and blamed the third party for the election of Polk. Whether the Whigs supported free soil to minimize

defections to the Liberty Party or not, some Ohio Democrats insisted that the Whigs cultivated abolitionist support by stressing the slavery extension aspect of Texas annexation.³⁸

The importance of territorial expansion as a partisan issue was also evident in the Ohio State Legislature and its interaction with the congressional delegation. In 1845, when the Ohio General Assembly instructed Senators Allen and Tappan to "use their utmost endeavors to prevent the annexation of Texas", both Senators ignored the directive and continued to vote with the Democracy in favor of annexation. Although the Whig-controlled General Assembly instructed the Senators to vote against Texas, within the legislature the Texas issue remained a partisan question; Whig legislators opposed annexation and Democrats favored it.⁴⁰

Although the rhetoric of Ohio congressmen indicated the presence of both party and geographical loyalties, the voting patterns of the Ohio delegation confirmed the importance of party in determining free soil voting patterns. Despite the existence of antislavery sentiment and anti-Southern resentment, the dominant factor influencing the Ohio delegation when voting on free soil issues was political party (see Table XI). Roll call voting revealed that all eleven Democratic Representatives and both Democratic Senators voted with the majority of their party. Generally, Ohio Democrats favored the

TABLE XI

28TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE,
AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
Pro Free Soil	-	(9) 90.00	(9) 39.13
Moderate	(13) 100.00	(1) 10.00	(14) 60.87
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-
TOTAL:	(13) 100.00	(10) 100.00	(23) 100.00

application of the Missouri Compromise line to Texas and the antislavery provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 to the Oregon Territory. Ohio Whig Representatives also overwhelmingly adhered to the position of their party leadership in voting in favor of free soil. Rather than supporting the extension of the Missouri Compromise line, Ohio Whigs voted for an equal division of Texas.

Examination of the delegation's voting record on free soil and boundaries of congressional districts also suggested that party doctrine dictated voting behavior. Geographical divisions existed within the state but they were based more on party platforms than attitudes on free soil (See Figures 2 and 3). Free soil advocates came from districts with Whig constituencies located northeast of Cincinnati, in the southeastern part of the state, and on the Western Reserve. Moderates represented Democratic constituencies in districts located in southwestern, northwestern, and the east central portions of Ohio.

Although dissent existed in both parties, its influence was minimal. Voting unity of the Whig congressmen was actually higher than that of the Democrats. Every Ohio Whig Representative voted pro free soil except one who was absent on two of the roll calls.⁴¹ The Democratic congressmen revealed a unity of 78 percent on free soil roll calls which reflected the varying degrees of moderate voting patterns among the Ohio Democrats. Dissent among the Democrats was limited, however, as most of them

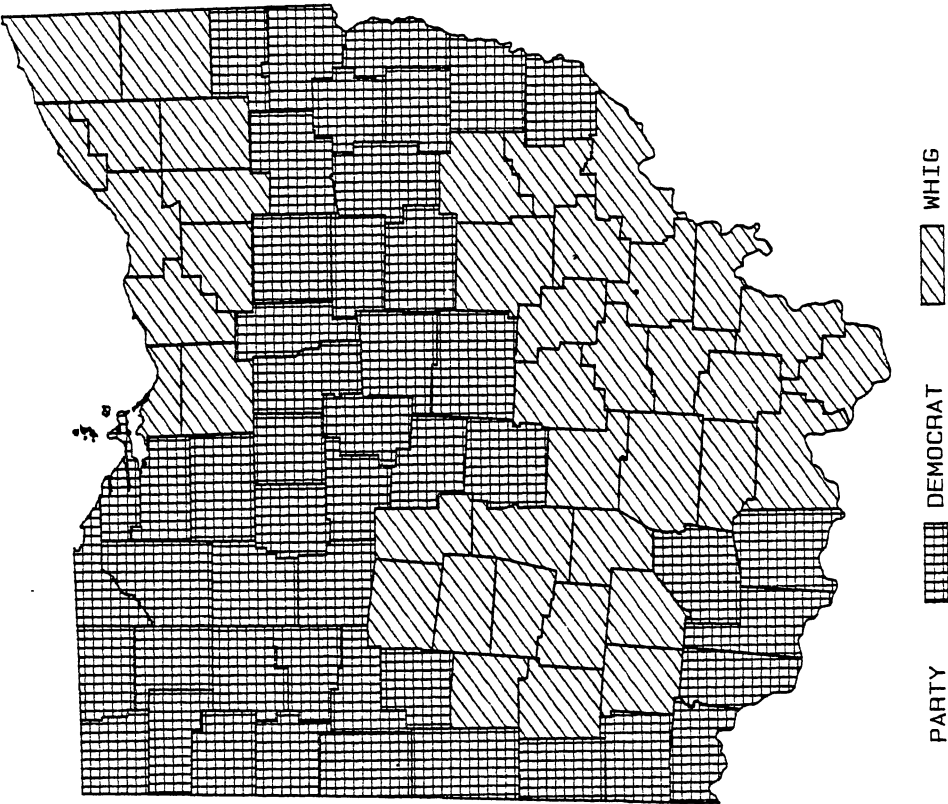


Figure 2. Ohio Congressmen and Political Party:
28th Congress

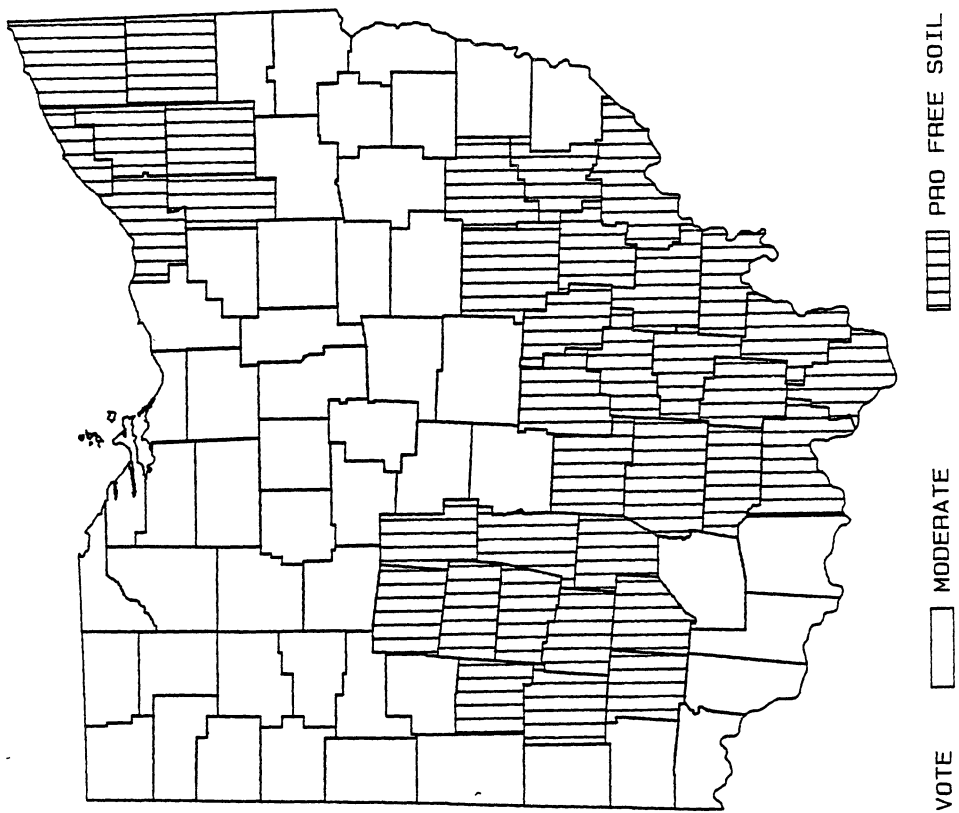


Figure 3. Ohio Congressmen and Free Soil Vote:
28th Congress

voted consistently with the majority of the Democrats in the delegation and in the national party (see Table XII). Only a few Democrats, such as Brinkerhoff and St. John, voted frequently against the majority position.

Both rhetoric and roll call voting patterns of Ohio congressmen in the Twenty-eighth Congress illustrated the importance of the two major political parties in offering alternatives on the free soil issue which did not align the Ohioans against the slave states. Although both partisan and free/slave state divisions existed in the national legislature, the Ohio delegation adhered primarily to their political affiliations. Senator Allen represented the sentiments of many Ohioans when he expressed "the hope that the discussions of the Senate . . . would not be extended to the dark subject of slavery" as it would agitate "a question which could do no good."⁴² Anti-southern and antislavery ideology did exist among the Ohioans. Nevertheless, party lines held firm as the faith that the political party system would resolve the slavery extension problem effectively subdued sectional animosities. As Representative Vinton explained in 1845:

If the attempt at separation be made at the North or South -- in Massachusetts or South Carolina -- it will be put down by the hand of this great central power, impelled to action by an overruling necessity . . . Why talk about secession at the North or the South? Is it not a fact that both are so wedded and bound to the West by nature and by⁴³ art that neither can break away the connection.

TABLE XII

28TH HOUSE: OHIO DEMOCRATS, ROLL CALL DISSENT
AND FREE SOIL ISSUE

# of times voted against majority*	Names	
-----	-----	
0	(4)	Dean, Duncan, Stone, Weller
1	(3)	Mathews, McDowell, Potter
2	(1)	Morris
3	(1)	McCauslen
4	(1)	St. John
5	(1)	Brinkerhoff, J.

TOTAL	(11)	100.00

* This column reflects number of times a Democratic representative voted against the majority of Democrats in the delegation in nine free soil roll calls.

What Vinton did not realize in 1845 was that the free soil question was not yet over. In the near future, heated debates arose over the Mexican Cession which reopened the slavery extension controversy and renewed the growth of sectional tensions.

ENDNOTES

¹Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, May 26, 1845.

²Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XIV:332.

³Ibid., 1st Session, XIII:638, 647; 2d Session, XIV: 362, 383. Also see Eric Foner, Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Glover Moore, The Missouri Controversy, 1819-1821 (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1953); Holt, The Political Crisis of the 1850s, p. 13.

⁴Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 1st Session, XIII:229; 2d Session, XIV:89-90, 121, 193-194, 236, 372.

⁵Both Congressman H. Brinkerhoff and Moore died in April 1844 before casting a vote on a free soil roll call and, therefore, they are not included in the scalogram. Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 1st Session, XIII:508, 619; Directory of the American Congress, pp. 598, 1350.

⁶Directory of the American Congress, pp. 139, 998, 1662.

⁷Ibid., pp. 598, 764, 791, 834, 898, 942, 998, 1009, 1129, 1275, 1284, 1295-1296, 1350, 1474, 1567, 1557, 1662, 1745, 1748, 1756, 1791.

⁸Allen Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, 22 vols. (New York, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), I:210-211; McGrane, William Allen, p. 91; Rowland Dunbar, ed., Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers, and Speeches, 10 vols. (Jackson, Mississippi: J. J. Little and Ives, 1923), I:4.

⁹Gilbert H. Barnes, The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1933), pp. 141, 193-194; Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, XVIII:300-301; National Cyclopaedia of Biography, 63 vols. (New York, New York: James T. White, 1890-1985), V:403; Charles Sellars, James

K. Polk: Continentalist, 1843-1846 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 186-187.

¹⁰Biographical characteristics compiled from Biographical Directory of American Congress, National Cyclopedia of Biography, and Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography. Also see McGrane, Allen; Stewart, Giddings; Biographical Encyclopedia of Ohio of the Nineteenth Century (Cincinnati, Ohio: Galaxy, 1876); Dahlgren, "Vinton," pp. 231-262; Gamble, "Giddings," pp. 37-56; Long, "Giddings," pp. 1-47; Ludlum, "Giddings," pp. 49-60; and Harold P. Sampson, "The Anti-Slavery Speakings of Joshua Reed Giddings," (Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1966), pp. 1-45; Robert E. Chaddock, Ohio Before 1850: A Study in the Early Influence of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio (New York, New York: Columbia University, 1908), p. 43.

¹¹Giddings was instrumental in aiding J. Q. Adams' successful opposition to the 21st Rule which automatically tabled antislavery petitions unread. The Ohio delegation voted 19 to 2 (Stone and Mathews dissenting) in favor of repeal of the Gag Rule; however, this should not be misinterpreted to mean that the Ohio delegation sympathized with antislavery agitators. Democrat Alexander Duncan opposed the rule because it violated the "sacred and constitutional" right of petition. Democrat William McCauslen complained that "instead of preventing agitation, as it was supposed it would, [it] furnished additional food" for abolition. Conservative Whig Robert C. Schenck stated that the Gag Rule was "making abolitionists in his section of the country every day and he was desirous to arrest its influence." Limited support for antislavery agitation was also evidenced in Ohio congressional voting behavior on an anti abolitionist roll call taken in February 1844. Seven Democrats (J. Brinkerhoff, Mathews, McDowell, Moore, Morris, Potter, and St. John) voted in favor of the measure, six Whigs (Giddings, Harper, Johnson, Tilden, Vance, and Vinton) voted against it, and eight others (Democrats H. Brinkerhoff, Dean, Duncan, McCauslin, and Weller; Whigs Florence, Schenck, and Vanmeter) did not record votes. Although less than 30 percent of the delegation voted against the resolution, it should be noted that they constituted over one-fourth of all the congressmen who voted pro abolitionist. Sampson, "Antislavery Speakings of Giddings," p. 278; Joshua R. Giddings, History of the Rebellion: Its Authors and Causes (New York, New York: Follett, Foster, and Co., 1864), p. 235; Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 1st Session, XIII:111-113, 223, 325-326.

¹²Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, May 20, 1845; W.

Sherman Savage, "The Origins of the Giddings Resolutions," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly, XLVII (1938), pp. 20-39; James C. N. Paul, Rift in the Democracy (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951), p. 135.

¹³Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:169; See David B. Davis, The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1969); John E. Cairness, The Slave Power: Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs (New York, New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968); Giddings, Speeches, p. 104; Lebanon Western Star, June 2, 1843; Chauncey S. Boucher, "The Defensive South," in Kenneth M. Stampp, ed., Causes of the Civil War (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 34; Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, p. 194; Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, comps., National Party Platforms, 1840-1956 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 4-8.

¹⁴Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:169.

¹⁵Giddings, Speeches, p. 104; "Northern Grievances: Joshua R. Giddings," in Stampp, ed., Causes of Civil War, p. 67.

¹⁶Giddings, Speeches, p. 118.

¹⁷Ashtabula Sentinel, February 15, 1845; Stewart, Giddings, p. 90.

¹⁸Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XIV:331; Dahlgren, "Vinton," p. 252.

¹⁹Ohio Statesman -- Extra, May 20, 1844, in Martin Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, April 14, 1843, July 29, 1843; McGrane, Allen, pp. 94-96; Paul, Rift in the Democracy, pp. 76-77; Lebanon Western Star, June 7, 1844.

²⁰Amos E. Wood to Martin Van Buren, March 9, 1844, Van Buren Papers; Sellars, Polk, p. 77; James K. Polk to Salmon P. Chase, et. al., April 23, 1844, James K. Polk Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Dorn, "Medary," pp. 20-21; Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:131-132, appendix, XIV:120.

²¹Paul, Rift in the Democracy, pp. 120, 127; William J. Cooper, Jr., The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana

State University Press, 1978), pp. 223-224; Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery (New York, New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 179; Maizlish, The Triumph of Sectionalism, p. 31; Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, p. 262; Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, p. 443.

²²Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XIV:121-122; Giddings, History of Rebellion, p. 235.

²³Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:227; Bernard De Voto, "Manifest Destiny: Understanding the 1840s," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, CLXXXII (1941), pp. 557-560.

²⁴Porter and Johnson, comps., Party Platforms, pp. 2-3; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, May 8, 1845; Silbey, The Shrine of Party, p. 62.

²⁵Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:105.

²⁶Ibid., XIV:122.

²⁷Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:82-83, 119; James Richardson, ed., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1905 (New York, New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), V:2237; John Mayfield, Rehearsal for Republicanism: Free Soil and the Politics of Antislavery (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1980), p. 9. Weller's argument closely resembled that of John C. Calhoun in a letter to Thomas W. Gilmer, December 25, 1843, in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1899 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 559.

²⁸Frederick Merk, "A Safety Valve Thesis and Texas Annexation," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIX (December 1962), pp. 413-436; Edward W. Shunk, "Ohio in Africa," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly, LI (January 1942), pp. 79-88.

²⁹Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:105, 122.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., appendix, XIV:83, 189.

³²Ibid., XIV:225.

³³Erickson, "Politics and Repeal of Ohio's Black Laws, 1837-1849," pp. 154-175; Stewart, Giddings, p. 91. Also see Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Eugene H. Berwanger, The Frontier of Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1967).

³⁴Democratic lack of concern for free blacks was also evident in two roll call votes recorded on the Black Laws during the 43rd Ohio State House of Representatives. Every Democratic vote was cast against repeal. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 43rd Assembly, pp. 154, 822; Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XIV:83, 189; Edwin H. Price, "The Election of 1848 in Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly, XXXVI (Summer 1927), pp. 288-311.

³⁵That concern for black civil rights was not universal among Ohio Whigs, particularly in the southern half of the state, was evidenced in two roll call votes taken on the Black Laws in the 43rd Ohio State House of Representatives. Although Whig legislators cast one-third of their votes in favor of repeal, two-thirds of that party's votes were in opposition. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 43rd Assembly, pp. 154, 822; Giddings, Speeches, p. 33; Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement (Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 53.

³⁶Porter and Johnson, comps., Party Platforms, pp. 8-9; Daniel H. Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 9, 39; Giddings, Speeches, p. 103.

³⁷Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:175; Ashtabula Sentinel, March 30, 1844; Howe, American Whigs, pp. 93-95, 134.

³⁸Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:175.

³⁹William Parry to Van Buren, March 29, 1844, Van Buren Papers; Lebanon Western Star, August 23, 1844, September 7, 1844; Ashtabula Sentinel, August 3, 1844; Toledo Blade, November 29, 1844.

⁴⁰In the 43rd Ohio State House of Representatives, thirteen roll call votes on Texas annexation were recorded.

Over 99 percent of the Democratic votes were cast in favor of annexation and almost 94 percent of the Whig votes were against annexation. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 43rd Assembly, pp. 43, 61-62, 113, 120-124, 127-128, 305; Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:171, 175; Ashtabula Sentinel, May 4, 1844; Holt, Political Crisis, p. 45; Herbert Ershkowitz and William G. Shade, "Consensus or Conflict?: Political Behavior in the State Legislatures during the Jacksonian Era," Journal of American History, LVIII (December 1971), pp. 591-621.

⁴¹Representative Hamlin of District 21 was identified as a moderate in the scalogram due to corrections involving his absence on two of the roll calls. He did not replace Henry Brinkerhoff until December 1844 and he voted pro free soil on all seven roll calls he was present for. When considered in light of his verbal attacks on the "slave power," he could be grouped with the other Ohio Whigs as a pro free soil advocate.

⁴²Congressional Globe, 2d Session, XIV:378.

⁴³Ibid., appendix, XIV:333.

CHAPTER III

THE TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS AND THE WILMOT PROVISIO

Although anti-Southern rhetoric in Congress had increased, the "Second American Party System" survived the Texas crisis with minimal disruption. The admission of Texas into the Union temporarily quieted the slavery-extension controversy and, in Ohio, led to renewed attention to banking and currency issues.¹ The appearance of the Wilmot Proviso as an amendment to a Mexican War appropriations bill in 1846, however, introduced the question of free soil in federal territories.² Although party discipline remained an important factor during the Twenty-ninth Congress, the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Ohio delegation all experienced some erosion of party allegiance (see Appendix C). Although a majority of the Ohio delegation continued to vote on free soil issues in accordance with their party's philosophy, a small group of both Whigs and Democrats became increasingly disillusioned with their respective parties.

During the Twenty-ninth Senate, party platforms decreased as an influence in determining voting behavior on free soil issues (see Table XIII). Although a majority of

TABLE XIII

29TH SENATE: WILMOT PROVISIO ISSUE AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
-----	-----	-----	-----
Pro Free Soil	(7) 24.14	(14) 58.33	(21) 39.62
Anti Free Soil	(22) 75.86	(10) 41.67	(32) 60.38
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TOTAL:	(29) 100.00	(24) 100.00	(53) 100.00

Senators voted with their party, cleavages emerged among both the Democrats and Whigs. Democratic dissent consisted primarily of members of the hard money Van Buren faction. Seven free state Democratic Senators (William Allen of Ohio, Charles Atherton of New Hampshire, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, John A. Dix of New York, John Fairfield of Maine, John M. Niles of Connecticut, and Daniel Sturgeon of Pennsylvania) broke party discipline and voted in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. Ten Whigs (William Archer of Virginia, George Badger of North Carolina, John M. Berrien of Georgia, John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, Spencer Jarnagin of Tennessee, Henry Johnson of Louisiana, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina, James Morehead of Kentucky, and James Pearce of Maryland) opposed the majority of their party and voted against the free soil issue. All from slave states, their opposition to the measure was based upon adherence to their constituents' desires as well as a fear that antislavery legislation would disrupt the national party system.³

Most free state Senators supported the Wilmot Proviso while the overwhelming majority of slave state Senators opposed the free soil issue (see Table XIV). One slave state Senator (John Clayton of Delaware) voted in favor of the proviso and only five free state Senators (Sidney Breese of Illinois, Jesse Bright of Indiana, Lewis Cass of Michigan, Daniel Dickinson of New York, and Edward Hannegan of Indiana) opposed the measure. State legislatures and

TABLE XIV

29TH SENATE: WILMOT PROVISIO ISSUE AND
FREE STATE/SLAVE STATE DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
a			
FREE STATES			
Pro Free Soil	(7) 58.33	(13) 100.0	(20) 80.00
Anti Free Soil	(5) 41.67	-	(5) 20.00
TOTAL:	(12) 100.0	(13) 100.0	(25) 100.0
b			
SLAVE STATES			
Pro Free Soil	-	(1) 9.09	(1) 3.57
Anti Free Soil	(17) 100.0	(10) 90.91	(27) 96.43
TOTAL:	(17) 100.0	(11) 100.0	(28) 100.0
a = Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont			
b = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia			

constituents from the free states demanded that their Senators halt the expansion of slavery while those from slave states expected their Senators to protect their constitutional right to equal access to federal territories. Those Senators who dissented from this geographical alignment did so out of party loyalty and, in the case of Senator Cass, presidential aspirations.

An examination of free soil voting in the regions of the United States (see Table XV) further clarified the patterns indicated in the slave/free state division. Pro free soil advocates came primarily from New England where every Senator voted in favor of the proviso. Support for free soil also came from the Mid-Atlantic and, to a lesser extent, from the Northwest. Senators from the South Atlantic and Southwest all voted against free soil. The majority of Northwestern Senators, primarily concerned with expediting expansion while maintaining good relations with both New England and the South, also opposed the Wilmot Proviso. The fact that the Mid-Atlantic and Northwest contained Senators from both free and slave states accounts for some of the division existing in these regions.

The free soil question had a greater disruptive impact on the House of Representatives. Moderates continued to dominate; however, the slavery-extension controversy fragmented both the Democratic and Whig ranks (see Table XVI). Members of both major parties voted pro free soil, as moderates, and against free soil. The five

TABLE XV

29TH SENATE: WILMOT PROVISIO ISSUE AND REGION

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	S.	Atlantic	Southwest	Northwest			
Pro Free Soil	(12) 100.00	(6) 66.67	-	-	-	(3) 27.27			
Anti Free Soil	-	(3) 33.33	(10) 100.00	(11) 100.00	(8) 72.73				
TOTAL:	(12) 100.00	(9) 100.00	(10) 100.00	(11) 100.00	(11) 100.00				

a = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

b = Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania

c = Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia

d = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas

e = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed, Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

TABLE XVI

29TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Native Am	Total
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pro Free Soil	(17) 12.78	(42) 59.16	(2) 40.00	(61) 29.19
Moderate	(84) 63.16	(19) 26.76	(3) 60.00	(106) 50.72
Anti Free Soil	(32) 24.06	(10) 14.08	-	(42) 20.09
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL:	(133) 100.0	(71) 100.0	(5) 100.0	(209) 100.0

representatives of the Native American Party also divided into advocates of free soil and moderates. In general, the Democrats voted as moderates as they questioned the constitutionality of imposing antislavery prohibitions on federal territory or preferred the extension of the Missouri Compromise line. The majority of Whigs voted for free soil. Their support was due to their opposition to the administration's expansionist policies as well as their more commonly held antislavery attitudes.⁴

Although party influence declined, divisions along free/slave state lines did not significantly increase during the Twenty-ninth House from what had existed in the previous Congress (see Table XVII). At least one-half of the Representatives from both the free and slave states voted as moderates. Many free state Representatives supported free soil in Oregon or territory acquired from Mexico although they had earlier opposed acceptance of petitions against statehood for Texas. Historian Eric Foner believed that fears in the free states of slave labor competition and the resulting demand for the restriction of slavery to where it already existed prompted many free state congressmen to support free soil. Opposition to free soil decreased among slave state congressmen probably to minimize antislavery agitation in the wake of the admission of Texas. Many slave state representatives opposed anti-Texas measures and the Wilmot Proviso but supported the free soil issue in connection with Oregon as they

TABLE XVII

29TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND
FREE STATE/SLAVE STATE DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Native Am	Total
a				
FREE STATES				
Pro Free Soil	(17) 23.61	(41) 85.42	(2) 40.00	(60) 48.00
Moderate	(54) 75.00	(7) 14.58	(3) 60.00	(64) 51.20
Anti Free Soil	(1) 1.39	-	-	(1) .80
TOTAL:	(72) 100.0	(48) 100.0	(5) 100.0	(125) 100.0
b				
SLAVE STATES				
Pro Free Soil	-	(1) 4.35	-	(1) 1.19
Moderate	(30) 49.18	(12) 52.17	-	(42) 50.00
Anti Free Soil	(31) 50.82	(10) 43.48	-	(41) 48.81
TOTAL:	(61) 100.0	(23) 100.0	-	(84) 100.0
a = Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont				
b = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia				

believed that the Pacific Northwest was destined to be free territory anyway. Nevertheless, almost one-half of the slave state congressmen opposed free soil on every roll call vote.⁵

Voting patterns by geographical region in the Twenty-ninth House indicated that, as in the Senate, free soil support was primarily from New England (see Table XVIII). Moderates showed considerable strength in all areas except for New England where Representatives overwhelmingly supported free soil. Much smaller increases in free soil support from the previous Congress also came from Mid-Atlantic and Northwestern congressmen. Opposition to free soil dissipated dramatically after 1845 among Southwestern legislators following the admission of Texas and decreased slightly among South Atlantic and Northwestern representatives. This can be attributed to the willingness of many Southern and Western congressmen to exclude slavery from Oregon.

Although most Ohio congressmen remained moderates and adhered to their respective party platforms, free soil advocates increased following the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso. This additional support for free soil, however, cannot be attributed to greater Whig or Liberty Party representation from Ohio. After the congressional elections of 1844, the Democrats in the delegation increased: Ohioans elected thirteen Democratic and eight Whig Representatives (see Table XIX). Five Democrats and

TABLE XVIII

29TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e	
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	S.	Atlantic	Southwest	Northwest				
Pro Free Soil	(22) 78.57	(26) 38.80	-	-	-	-	(13)	25.49		
Moderate	(6) 21.43	(38) 56.72	(19)	48.72	(12)	50.00	(31)	60.78		
Anti Free Soil	-	(3) 4.48	(20)	51.28	(12)	50.00	(7)	13.73		
TOTAL:	(28) 100.00	(67) 100.00	(39)	100.00	(24)	100.00	(51)	100.00		

a = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

b = Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania

c = Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia

d = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas

e = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

TABLE XIX

OHIO CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS: OCTOBER 1844

District	Representative	Party	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE		
			Democrat	Whig	Other
1	Faran, James J.	Democrat	54.2	43.8	2.0
2	Cunningham, Francis	Democrat	51.6	47.5	.9
3	Schenck, Robert	Whig	41.7	55.3	3.0
4	Vance, Joseph	Whig	37.3	60.9	1.8
5	Sawyer, William	Democrat	54.6	45.2	.2
6	St. John, Henry	Democrat	56.8	43.0	.2
7	McDowell, Joseph	Democrat	52.3	45.2	2.5
8	Thurman, Allan G.	Democrat	50.6	48.2	1.2
9	Perrill, Augustus	Democrat	52.5	47.0	.5
10	Delano, Columbus	Whig	49.3	49.3	1.4
11	Brinkerhoff, Jacob	Democrat	51.9	46.0	2.1
12	Vinton, Samuel F.	Whig	32.5	58.4	9.1
13	Parrish, Isaac	Democrat	50.3	48.5	1.2
14	Harper, Alexander	Whig	44.3	53.0	2.7
15	Morris, Joseph	Democrat	50.3	45.9	3.8
16	Cummins, John D.	Democrat	54.6	45.4	-
17	Fries, George	Democrat	50.0	47.0	3.0
18	Starkweather, David	Democrat	55.4	43.3	1.3
19	Tilden, Daniel R.	Whig	44.3	48.8	6.9
20	Giddings, Joshua R.	Whig	31.7	60.3	8.0
21	Root, Joseph M.	Whig	45.4	48.5	6.1

Source: Robert A. Diamond, ed., Congressional Quarterly's Guide to United States Elections (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1975), p. 581.

six Whigs were returned from the Twenty-eighth Congress. Three pro free soil Whig incumbents (John I. Vanmeter in District 8, Elias Florence in District 9, and Perley B. Johnson in District 13) were defeated for re-election but as the election was held before the second session of the Twenty-eighth Congress, it appears that their free soil voting record was not responsible for their defeat. In District 10, Whig Representative Columbus Delano won by only twelve votes out of almost nineteen thousand cast. Ohioans again rebuffed the Liberty Party; no candidate of that party received more than 7.9 percent of the vote.⁶

Although William Allen remained the state's senior Senator, the Whig-controlled state legislature elected Whig Tom Corwin to replace Senator Benjamin Tappan. Allen supported the Polk administration and its expansionist policies but eventually broke with the President following the compromise on Oregon. Despite his dissatisfaction with the Oregon Treaty, Allen continued to support the Mexican War and refused to embrace free soil. Senator Corwin, the only Ohio Whig ever elected to the Senate without third party support, had previously served in Congress and as governor of the state. His opposition to the Mexican War prompted him to advocate free soil as a means of hindering war appropriations.⁷

Although support for free soil marginally increased, free soil voting in the Ohio delegation was not markedly different during the period from 1845 to 1847 than during

the previous two years (see Table XX). Eleven congressmen advocated free soil and eleven voted as moderates. As in the Twenty-eighth Congress, at least half of the Ohio delegation voted as moderates. The Ohio delegation, however, was also a considerable source of free soil support. A larger percentage of the Ohio delegation voted in favor of free soil than other delegations except those of Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

The philosophies of the two national parties continued to influence the free soil voting behavior of most Ohio congressmen. Whigs supported free soil to hinder prosecution of the Mexican War, to retard expansionism, and, to a more limited extent, to voice their disapproval of slavery. Most Democrats voted as moderates. Although nominally opposed to slavery, Ohio Democrats refused to hinder expansion legislation with anti-slavery amendments. They minimized the importance of the free soil issue and stressed that partisan intrigue, rather than humanitarian concern for slaves, motivated free soil advocates.⁸

Antislavery attitudes and concern for the rights of free blacks had some influence on voting of Ohio Whigs. Pro free soil Representative Giddings, for example, stressed that the institution of slavery violated Christian principles. He argued that although Congress had no authority to interfere with slavery in the states, it could prohibit slavery in the territories.⁹

TABLE XX

29TH CONGRESS: CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS AND
VOTING ON FREE SOIL ISSUE

State	Size of Delegation*	VOTE ON FREE SOIL		
		Pro	Mod	Anti
Alabama	9	-	3	4
Arkansas	3	-	-	2
Connecticut	6	6	-	-
Delaware	3	1	1	-
Florida	3	-	-	3
Georgia	10	-	4	6
Illinois	9	-	4	2
Indiana	12	1	8	2
Iowa	4	-	-	-
Kentucky	12	1	5	6
Louisiana	6	-	-	5
Maine	9	8	1	-
Maryland	8	-	3	5
Massachusetts	12	11	-	-
Michigan	5	3	1	1
Mississippi	6	-	2	2
Missouri	7	-	2	4
New Hampshire	6	2	3	-
New Jersey	7	4	3	-
New York	36	16	17	1
North Carolina	11	-	2	9
Ohio	23**	11	11	-
Pennsylvania	26	11	14	-
Rhode Island	4	2	2	-
South Carolina	9	-	3	6
Tennessee	13	-	5	8
Texas	4	-	1	3
Vermont	6	5	-	-
Virginia	17	-	10	6
TOTAL	287	82	105	75

* Many of the congressional delegations had members that did not vote on at least one-half of the roll call votes; therefore, the total number of congressmen listed as voting may not be the same number as the total number in the delegation.

** Whig Representative Daniel Tilden of District 19 was not included in the scalogram as he voted on less than half of the free soil roll calls.

For the Ohio Whigs, the free soil question was closely connected with the Mexican War. They regarded the war as unconstitutional and its sole purpose as the acquisition of potential slave territory from Mexico. Of the fourteen Whigs who opposed Polk's request for supplies at the outbreak of hostilities, five were pro free soil Ohioans (Delano, Giddings, Root, Tilden, and Vance).¹⁰ Senator Corwin, a free soil supporter, voted for men and money but claimed he did so to rescue Taylor's exposed army rather than to wage war against Mexico.¹¹ Representative Robert C. Schenck believed "that the President had usurped authority" in prosecuting the war and, although an advocate of free soil, he twice voted against the Wilmot Proviso as it would allow for expansion.¹² Pro free soil Representative Alexander Harper "declared the war to be for conquest and an increase of political power" and argued that "executive usurpation" must "receive a timely and essential check." He also voted against the Wilmot Proviso when attached to war appropriations bills.¹³ Congressman Giddings, who consistently voted in favor of free soil, stressed that Americans could justify "defending our country, but . . . [not] waging a war upon an unoffending people for the purpose of conquest."¹⁴

In February 1847 several Ohio congressmen delivered speeches in Congress clarifying the conservative Whig position on the Mexican War and free soil. Senator Thomas Corwin, for example, condemned the war, demanded its

immediate termination, and urged Congress to deny military supplies. Corwin stated his belief that American designs on California were behind the war effort and accused Polk of intending to "steal the best horse in the neighborhood" (San Francisco harbor). His speech initially pleased antislavery advocates who misinterpreted his rhetoric as antislavery when, in reality, it defined a conservative approach to the free soil question. Corwin's opposition to the Mexican War and support for free soil was based primarily on his fear of sectional discord and not support for abolition.¹⁵

In April 1847, Corwin and his followers altered their position on free soil and endorsed the "No Territory" argument. It became popular with many Ohio Whigs as a means of avoiding a sectional confrontation for it eliminated the need for federal legislation on slavery extension. Many of the Ohio Whigs agreed with Corwin that expansion be halted. Harper, for example, warned that, if territory was acquired, the question of slavery would "ultimately, and at no very remote period . . . shake this Union from its center to its circumference."¹⁶ Whig Representative Delano used racial fears to discourage expansion into the Southwest. He identified the inhabitants of that region as a "sad compound of Spanish, English, Indian, and Negro bloods; crossed and intermixed . . . [resulting] in the production of a slothful, indolent, ignorant race of beings." He wondered whether

expansionists would "make them citizens, give them the right of suffrage, and permit them, ignorant as they are of our institutions and form of government, to control our elections and, perhaps, our destiny?"¹⁷ By adopting an anti-expansionist position and thereby circumventing the slavery issue, the Whigs presented a program which appealed to party members in both free and slave states. (Georgian Alexander Stephens introduced the "No Territory" position in Congress but Ohio Judge John McLean reputedly originated the theory). Conservative Ohio Whigs such as Robert Schenck, Joseph Vance, and Samuel F. Vinton continued to support free soil but they minimized the importance of measures such as the Wilmot Proviso which would permit expansion. Representative Joseph Root, for instance, voted in favor of free soil but stated that the Wilmot amendments were "of no avail" and that to "save the Union from the perils that even now threaten it" he "would stop the war" and "stop the acquisition of territory."¹⁸

Expansion remained the primary concern of most Ohio Democrats. Their desire to execute the Mexican War effectively and to acquire Mexico's northern territories including the valuable harbor at San Francisco, led them to criticize the free soil issue as inopportune. Representative James J. Faran, a free soil moderate, defended the war as "our duty to assert our rights, regardless of what it might cost" and Allen G. Thurman attacked Whig Representative Delano's speech against the

war as "unholy, unrighteous, and damnable."¹⁹

Congressman William Sawyer defended the conduct of the war and advocated taking Mexican territory as an indemnity "for what Mexico owed for spoils [sic] and robberies."²⁰

As leader of the Democracy and dispenser of federal patronage, Polk's attitude on the question of free soil undoubtedly caused some of Ohio Democrats to assume a moderate position. The President believed that discontented Van Burenites introduced the free soil legislation to embarrass the administration's war effort and that the Whig Party supported the measure primarily for partisan benefit. Early in 1847 the President complained that the slavery debate had brought the national legislature to a standstill; "instead of acting upon the great measures of the country . . . [it is] spending day after day and week after week in a worse than useless discussion" of the Wilmot Proviso.²¹ He denounced free soil as "a mischievous and wicked agitation, which can result in no good."²² The administration preferred the extension of the Missouri Compromise line. Polk told Senator John Crittenden of Kentucky that the issue of slavery would "probably never be a practical one if we acquired New Mexico and California, because there would be but a narrow ribbon of territory south of the Missouri Compromise line . . . and in it slavery would probably never exist."²³

Democratic Representative Isaac Parrish of District 13, for example, supported Polk's plan to extend the Missouri Compromise line. He argued that "if thereby slavery shall exist in a fourth, a third, or a half of such territory it is but just, and sanctioned by the conservative principles of the Constitution and the past administration of the Government."²⁴ A moderate on the question of free soil, the Ohio Democrat opposed free soil in every roll call vote except one involving Oregon Territory. Parrish based his opposition to the Wilmot Proviso on four factors. First, he argued that free soil agitation was irrelevant as Mexican law outlawed slavery and positive legislation was needed to re-establish that institution. Second, he believed the Senate would never ratify a treaty embracing the Wilmot Proviso.²⁵ Third, Parrish denounced free soil as a violation of the constitutional rights of Southerners as it refused equal access for Southerners to the territories. Lastly, he believed it to be "an attempt to array one portion of the Union against another; the North against the South."²⁶ Moreover, Parrish discredited those free state congressmen who complained of a "slave power" in politics:

There also rests in the minds of some persons on this floor, and elsewhere in the free States, a jealousy of the South; and they attribute a unity of sentiment and purpose, which they charge to exist with the Representatives of the southern states in Congress, to be the result of slave representation. This, they argue, is at the prejudice of the North; and as slavery is at

the root of it they strike there to prevent an increase in such representation to the South, while the northern representation will necessarily extend until that very superiority which is complained of in the South shall exist in the North Without stopping to inquire whether it is not the desire and ambition for office and power that induce the almost constant charges . . . while [in fact] the southern portions appreciate experience and continue their Representatives, and thus secure greater weight in opinion and action.²⁷

Widespread acceptance of an Ohio variant of Walker's safety valve thesis and fear of black immigration into Ohio also contributed to Democratic moderation on the free soil issue. Many believed that if restricted to its present limits, slavery would cease to exist when the land wore out. When that happened, the former slaves would inundate Ohio and other free states. In early 1847, Isaac Parrish asked his fellow congressmen: "if you confine slavery to its present limits do you not increase the necessity and inducement of the free colored population to find some other asylum?"²⁸ Representative Thurman generally voted in favor of free soil but opposed abolition as he felt "it would flood the state with freedmen."²⁹ Even pro free soil Representative Jacob Brinkerhoff commented that he had "selfishness enough . . . to prefer the welfare of my own race, and vindictiveness enough to wish to leave and keep upon the shoulders of the South the burden of the curse which they themselves created and courted."³⁰

One of the most outspoken opponents of free soil agitation, abolition, and repeal of the Black Laws among

the Ohio delegation was William Sawyer, a Democratic Representative from western Ohio. Sawyer feared that unless slavery was permitted to expand and the black laws retained, Ohio's black population would dramatically increase. He believed that the black race was "very little removed from the condition of dumb beasts . . . and there was nothing of civilization in their aboriginal conditions."³¹ The Ohio Democrat complained that antislavery advocates had misplaced their priorities as the "dreadful degradation visited upon the heads of those persons who work in the factories of the East" had created a system of "white slavery" in the free states that demanded immediate attention.³² Therefore, he opposed abolition and felt it was his "bounden duty to give it every opposition in our power unless it be coupled with colonization."³³ In December 1846, Sawyer stated that repeal of the black laws would provide an "inducement for the [manumitted] free negro to make Ohio his home" and thus degrade "the poor white laborer."³⁴ He warned that repeal efforts were the work of Whigs "trying to mix up negroes and whites at the ballot box."³⁵

In addition to the rhetoric of Ohio Democrats and Whigs, voting patterns illustrated the importance of party on the free soil issue (see Table XXI). The Ohio Whigs generally supported free soil except for one vote in February 1847 when the majority of them opposed the Wilmot Proviso because it permitted expansion. Their unity on

TABLE XXI

29TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE,
AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
-----	-----	-----	-----
Pro Free Soil	(4) 28.57	(7) 87.50	(11) 50.00
Moderate	(10) 71.43	(1) 12.50	(11) 50.00
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-
-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL:	(14) 100.00	(8) 100.00	(22) 100.00

roll calls decreased from the previous Congress from 100 to 89 percent due to the lessening of support for the Wilmot Proviso when attached to war appropriations. As a group, the Ohio Democrats voted as moderates although four of them voted for free soil (Allen, Brinkerhoff, St. John, and Starkweather). Most Democrats favored the Wilmot Proviso and the application of the antislavery provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 to Oregon but opposed the connection of antislavery measures with Texas statehood. Despite the appearance of Democratic free soil advocates during the Twenty-ninth Congress, that party's unity on free soil roll calls increased from 78 to 83 percent as support for the Wilmot Proviso increased among moderates.³⁶

A larger number of Ohioans in Congress dissented from their party's position on free soil after the Twenty-eighth Congress. Several Ohio Representatives, for instance, felt the conservative "No Territory" position was too mild. Instead, they endorsed the idea of a "slave power" conspiracy in national politics and cautioned the slave states to heed free state sentiment. Representative Delano, for instance, warned the slave states that "if you will drive on this bloody war of conquest to annexation, we will establish a cordon of free states that shall surround you; and we will light up the fires of liberty on every side until they melt your present chains and render all your people free."³⁷ Early in 1847 Whig Daniel Tilden proclaimed that the North would make no more concessions

upon the free soil issue and that "after the present session you will have from our section of the Union no more corrupt politicians upon this floor who will be found truckling to this gigantic slave power."³⁸

The leading opponent of the "slave power" remained Congressman Giddings of the Western Reserve. He regarded the Mexican War as but another act of the slaveholders to secure control of the national government.³⁹ Giddings believed that the country was "disgraced and its moral purity sacrificed, by the prosecution of a war for the extension of human bondage." Nor would Giddings allow the issue to be avoided. He declared in February 1847 that

slavery and freedom are antagonisms. They must necessarily be at war with each other. There can be no compromise between right and wrong, or between virtue and crime. The conflicting interests of slave and free labor have agitated this government from its foundation, and will continue to agitate it, until truth and justice shall triumph over error and oppression.⁴⁰

The belief that a "slave power" controlled both political parties led to an erosion of party loyalty among Ohio Whigs, particularly those from the Western Reserve. These radical Whigs began to advocate a realignment of the parties along sectional lines. Although he continued to adhere to the Whig Party, Congressman Giddings during the summer of 1846 engaged in correspondence with Liberty Party leader Salmon P. Chase concerning the formation of a broader-based antislavery party. Disagreement over details of a party platform (whether to stress free soil or

abolition, whether to establish a northern party or try to build an antislavery party in the southern states, and whether to form coalitions with the major parties) prevented the formation of a new party at that time. Nevertheless, Giddings continued to believe that the two existing parties could not resolve the slavery extension issue. In February 1847, for instance, he argued that "there is no good reason why northern representatives should waste their political power by party divisions among themselves" and encouraged them to "act irrespective of southern influence."⁴¹

Democratic dissent from the moderate free soil stance which most of the Ohio Democrats assumed consisted primarily of disillusioned Van Burenites who blamed the "slave power" for their candidate's defeat in 1844 and for the pro-southern policies of the Polk administration. The economic, foreign, and patronage policies of the Polk administration appeared to confirm suspicions that the President was under the political influence of the slave states. Ohio Democrat Isaac Parrish believed that hard money advocates were hostile to the administration for this reason and felt that they supported the Wilmot Proviso to antagonize the President.⁴² As the mouthpiece of the Ohio Liberty Party, the National Press and Cincinnati Weekly Herald, explained:

the condition of the Democratic Party deserves special attention. There is more disaffection in

its ranks than was ever before manifested . . . [they are] deeply aggrieved in the matter of the Tariff, the Fifty-Four-Forty men are enraged by the partition of Oregon, and the joint navigation of the Columbia; and the Western and Northern Democrats generally feel as if a blow had been aimed at their interests, by the rejection of the Harbor Bill. All of these classes lay their grievances at the door of the South . . . [and] charge that section with monopolizing office, and tyrannizing over the Party.⁴³

The economic issues which upset Ohio Democrats included the Tariff Bill and Rivers and Harbors Bill. Advocates of free soil in the Ohio delegation perceived the Polk administration's economic and internal improvements policies as pro-southern. In 1846 Polk supported passage of a new tariff which lowered duties in favor of southern interests. The Northwest depended upon internal improvements to maximize the development of the economy; however, in the South natural waterways reduced the need for federally-assisted improvements projects. Polk's veto of the Rivers and Harbors Improvement Bill in 1846, therefore, created much dissatisfaction among Ohio Democrats. Although the national Democratic platform opposed internal improvements, Ohio members of the party voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Rivers and Harbors Bill which provided assistance to both the Ohio River and the Great Lakes.⁴⁴

Free soil agitators also believed that Polk's foreign policy unfairly favored the slave states. The compromise of the Oregon dispute with Great Britain alienated Ohio Democrats from the administration. Representative John

Cummins, for instance, considered Oregon the "master key of the commerce of the universe" and believed it to be the "greatest and most important [question] that had ever come before an American Congress since the year 1783."⁴⁵

Congressman Sawyer advocated occupation of the disputed territory and the defense of it "at all hazards."⁴⁶

Senator Allen resigned as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations after the compromise on Oregon. Pro free soil Ohio Democrats accused Polk of aiding southern political growth by supporting the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and efforts to acquire the harbor at San Francisco while failing to achieve all of Oregon.⁴⁷

Following so closely after the annexation of Texas, the Oregon Treaty prompted indignation among free state Democrats that Polk and slave state Democrats had betrayed the bargain implied at the Baltimore Convention. Free state Democrats argued that Polk's nomination was predicated on the agreement that free state congressmen would support the annexation of Texas and slave state congressmen would support "all of Oregon." As Representative Joseph McDowell bitterly explained, the election of 1844 "pronounced in favor of Oregon as well as Texas."⁴⁸ Representative Jacob Brinkerhoff expressed little surprise that slave state congressmen abandoned the fight for Oregon after the acquisition of Texas. He complained that the South was "a miserable minority, whom I have always combated, and who can never be anything

else."⁴⁹ Brinkerhoff's resentment swelled when southern congressmen later voted to extend slavery to Oregon and, in a letter to the Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, he insinuated that southerners would not favor acquiring California unless slavery was permitted there.⁵⁰ Weary of southern expansionists, Representative Allen Thurman opposed extension of the Missouri Compromise line as he felt that the acquisition of more free territory was doubtful while the "extent of what may be slave territory is utterly unknown, and may in time extend to the Isthmus of Panama."⁵¹

Lastly, the federal patronage policy of the Polk administration alienated some of the Ohio Democrats. Representative Parrish complained that Democratic advocates of free soil did so to embarrass the administration and that the "price of this treason is the patronage of the President, some office received or expected."⁵² Polk granted federal jobs to many Ohio Democrats; however, he neglected the Van Buren wing of the party. All four Ohio Democrats who voted pro free soil were members of that radical or hard money faction. When Congressman Brinkerhoff, who worked closely with Wilmot in drafting the original proviso, applied for a position as army paymaster during the Mexican War, Polk denied his request.⁵³ Polk also failed to provide jobs to other hard money Ohio Democrats. He refused to appoint Senator Tappan's nominee for paymaster in Steubenville. The President failed to

appoint Ohio Democrat Samuel Medary as editor of the administration's newspaper, despite the recommendation of Senator Allen, and instead invited Thomas Ritchie to establish the Washington Union. Polk also refused to appoint Medary to his cabinet as Postmaster General even though the Democratic members of the Ohio delegation lobbied in Medary's behalf. As compensation, Polk gave the postmastership of Columbus, Ohio to Medary. Radical resentment became so strong that the Democratic State Convention in 1847 condemned the Polk administration for its patronage policies and retention of Tyler appointees.⁵⁴

During the Twenty-ninth Congress, the Ohio delegation experienced some erosion of party loyalty as the free soil issue began to widen the ideological gap between the northern and southern wings of both parties. Although half of the Ohio congressmen voted as moderates, free soil support increased among the delegation. Moreover, the growing belief that the "slave power" controlled the administration prompted the growth of anti-Southern attitudes among Ohioans. The maturation of these beliefs from 1846 to 1847 was reflected in the free soil voting patterns of Ohio congressmen when compared by section and region of birth (see Tables XXII and XXIII). Free soil advocates generally were born in free states and, more specifically, in New England. Most congressmen born in slave states did not support free soil. This was probably

TABLE XXII

29TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE,
AND SECTION OF BIRTH

Scale Position	a		b		c		Total
	Free State		Slave State		Foreign		
Pro Free Soil	(8) 53.33		(2) 33.33		(1) 100.00		(11) 50.00
Moderate	(7) 46.67		(4) 66.67		-		(11) 50.00
Anti Free Soil	-		-		-		-

TOTAL:	(15) 100.0		(6) 100.0		(1) 100.0		(22) 100.0

a = Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio,
Pennsylvania, Vermont

b = Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia

c = Ireland

TABLE XXIII

29TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION OF BIRTH

Scale Position	a	b	c	d	e
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	Northwest	South Atlantic	Other
Pro Free Soil	(3) 75.00	(4) 57.14	(2) 40.00	(1) 20.00	(1) 100.00
Moderate	(1) 25.00	(3) 42.86	(3) 60.00	(4) 80.00	-
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL:	(4) 100.00	(7) 100.00	(5) 100.00	(5) 100.00	(1) 100.00

a = Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont
 b = New York, Pennsylvania
 c = Kentucky, Ohio
 d = North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia
 e = Ireland

due to the values which the Ohio congressmen and their constituencies brought with them from their region of birth. Representatives from New England, for example, were more likely to advocate free soil than congressmen with family ties in the slaveholding South.⁵⁵

Comparison of voting records with district boundaries indicated that although party philosophy continued as a dominant factor, regional attitudes within Ohio also influenced voting behavior (see Figures 4 and 5). Support for free soil came from congressmen representing Whig districts located in the Western Reserve and across the south central portion of the state in addition to Democratic districts in the central part of northern Ohio. Congressmen from Democratic districts in northwestern Ohio and those located south of the Western Reserve in the northeastern portion of the state voted as moderates. Both Whig and Democratic congressmen from districts in southern Ohio also were moderates.

The Twenty-ninth Congress ended with the free soil issue unresolved. As long as it remained an abstract question dependent upon the acquisition of territory, congressmen generally continued to adhere to partisan affiliations. Belief in the existence of a "slave power" in government, however, resulted in increased free soil support and led both Conscience Whigs from the Western Reserve and several Van Burenite Democrats to re-access their political affiliation. In the Thirtieth Congress,

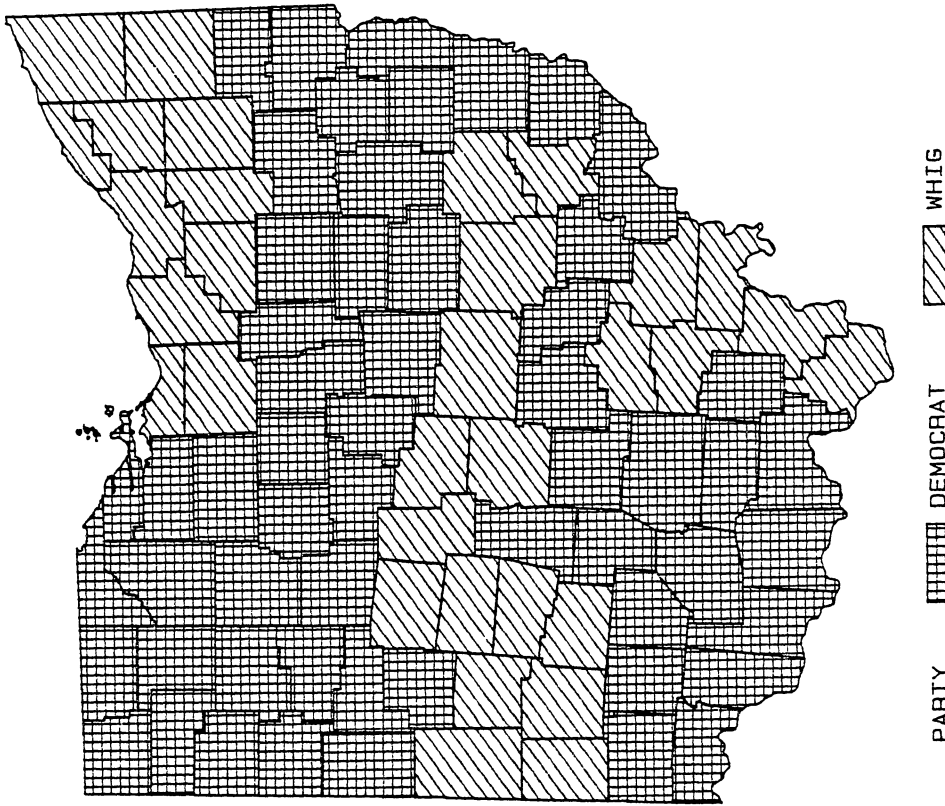


Figure 4. Ohio Congressmen and Political Party:
29th Congress

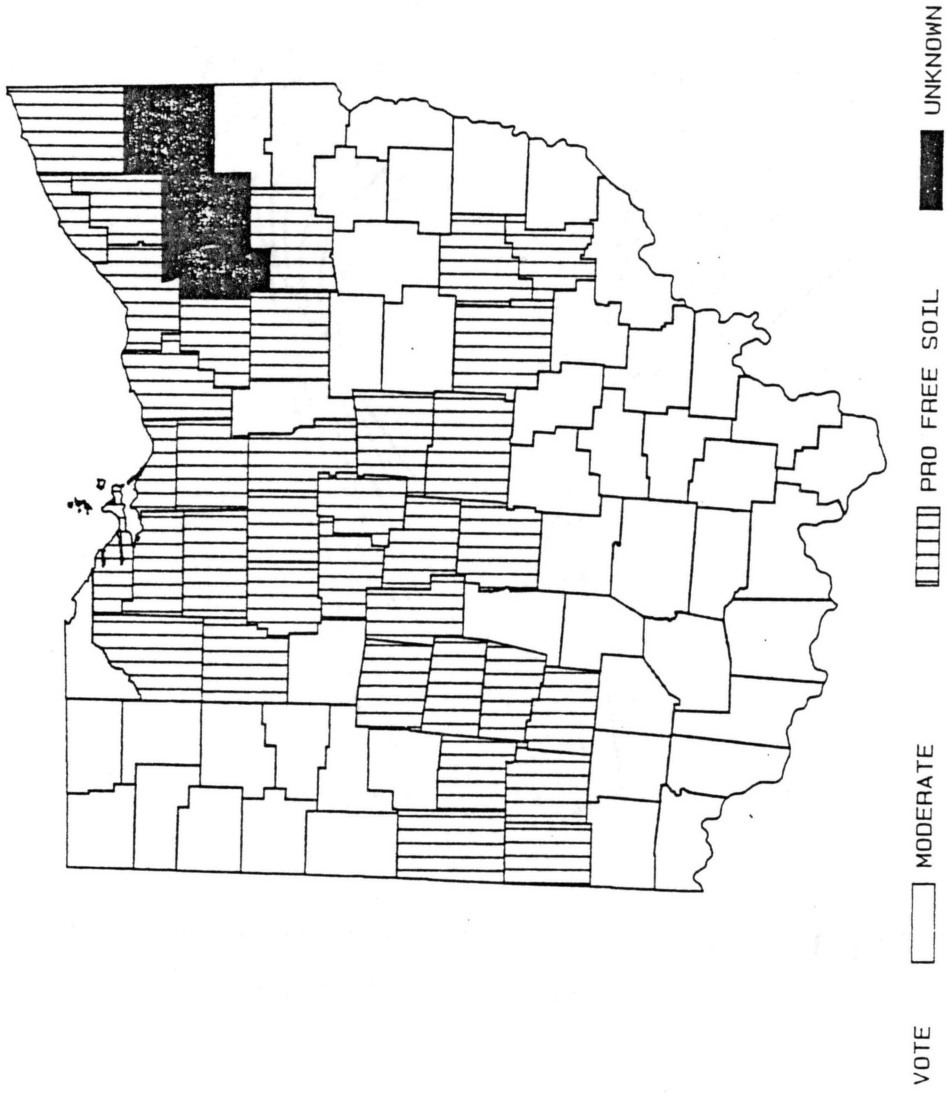


Figure 5. Ohio Congressmen and Free Soil Vote: 29th Congress

the slavery extension issue would become a legitimate concern as the end of the Mexican War brought with it the American acquisition of the Mexican Cession.

ENDNOTES

¹Sharp, The Jacksonians versus the Banks, pp. 145-150; Weisenburger, The Passing of the Frontier, pp. 415-440.

²Chaplain W. Morrison, Democratic Politics and Sectionalism: The Wilmot Proviso Controversy (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), pp. 3-20; J. D. Fuller, "Slavery Propaganda during the Mexican War," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (April 1938), pp. 235-245. Although the Wilmot Proviso passed the House of Representatives, the measure never passed the Senate.

³Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, XVI:440-448; Silbey, The Shrine of Party, pp. 74, 96.

⁴Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 1st Session, XV:41, 53, 1204, 1217-1218, 2d Session, XVI:187, 425, 428, 573; Silbey, The Shrine of Party, pp. 90-91, 95-96.

⁵Eric Foner, "The Wilmot Proviso Revisited," Journal of American History, LVI (Summer 1969), pp. 262-279.

⁶Whig Representative Daniel Tilden was not included in the scalogram as he voted on less than half of the free soil roll calls. His actions and rhetoric, however, indicate that he was an advocate of free soil. Tilden had voted in favor of free soil during the Twenty-eighth Congress and voted pro free soil on four roll calls (#1, 5, 9, and 10 of the scalogram) during the Twenty-ninth House. Later in the decade, he joined the Free Soil Party. Joseph G. Rayback, "The Liberty Party Leaders of Ohio: Exponents of Antislavery Coalition," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly, LVII (April 1948), pp. 165-178; Directory of the American Congress, pp. 1129, 1748.

⁷McGrane, William Allen, pp. 102-105; Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, pp. 441, 447; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, p. 740.

⁸Porter and Johnson, comps., National Party Platforms, pp. 3-4, 8-9; Silbey, The Shrine of Party,

p. 74.

⁹Giddings, Speeches in Congress, pp. 211-212; Long, "Giddings," pp. 13-14. Another indication of the attitude of Ohio Whigs on the race issue can be found in the voting of the Ohio State House of Representatives on repeal of the Black Laws. During the 44th Assembly, 65 percent of the Whig votes cast on five roll calls supported repeal. In the 45th Assembly, twenty-three roll calls were recorded and 90 percent of the Whig votes favored repeal. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 44th Assembly, pp. 118, 546, 723, 734; 45th Assembly, pp. 286-287, 450-452, 518-525.

¹⁰Giddings, History of the Rebellion, p. 252; Stewart, Giddings, p. 114; Hal W. Bochin, "Tom Corwin's Speech Against the Mexican War: Courageous But Misunderstood," Ohio History, XC (Winter 1981), p. 33; Toledo Blade, May 18, 1846; James Richardson, ed., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1905 (New York, New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), V:2309.

¹¹Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, XVI:544.

¹²Congressional Globe, 1st Session, XV:815, 1202; Giddings, History of the Rebellion, p. 258.

¹³Congressional Globe, appendix, XVI:231; Charles B. Going, David Wilmot, Free Soiler: A Biography of the Great Advocate of the Wilmot Proviso (New York, New York: D. Appleton, 1924), p. 198.

¹⁴Giddings, Speeches, p. 198; Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:29.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 237-246; Bochin, "Tom Corwin's Speech Against the Mexican War," pp. 33-54; Cincinnati Enquirer, February 12, 1847; Norman A. Graebner, "Thomas Corwin and the Election of 1848: A Study in Conservative Politics," Journal of Southern History, XVII (Summer 1951), pp. 162-179.

¹⁶Going, Wilmot, p. 198; Stewart, Giddings, p. 114.

¹⁷Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:317.

¹⁸Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, XVI:252, appendix, XVI:253; Lebanon Western Star, September 10, 1847. Also see Hal W. Bochin, "Caleb B.

Smith's Opposition to the Mexican War," Indiana Magazine of History, LXIX (June 1973), pp. 95-114; G. S. Borit, "Lincoln's Opposition to the Mexican War," Illinois State Historical Society Journal, LXVII (February 1974), pp. 79-100.

¹⁹Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 1st Session, XV:332, 828-829.

²⁰Ibid., 2d Session, appendix, XVI:93; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, March 10, 1847.

²¹Entry for January 16, 1847 in Milo M. Quaife, ed., The Diary of James K. Polk during his Presidency, 1845 to 1849, 4 vols. (Chicago, Illinois: A. C. McClurg, 1910), II:334.

²²Ibid.

²³Entry for January 23, 1847, Ibid., II:350.

²⁴Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:384-385.

²⁵Ibid., 2d Session, appendix, XVI:382; Going, Wilmot, p. 189; Stephen Maizlish, "The Development of the Wilmot Proviso Issue in Ohio, 1846-1848," Unpublished History Paper #285, University of California at Berkeley, Ohio Historical Society, June 8, 1970, pp. 23-24.

²⁶Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, XVI:380.

²⁷Ibid., appendix, XVI:384.

²⁸Ibid., p. 383.

²⁹Cincinnati Enquirer, January 21, 1847.

³⁰Morrison, Politics and Sectionalism, p. 73. Further evidence of Democratic fears of racial amalgamation were revealed in the voting of the Ohio State House of Representatives where Democrats overwhelmingly opposed repeal of the discriminatory Black Laws. In both the 44th and 45th Assemblies, 86 percent of the Democratic votes cast were against repeal. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 44th Assembly, pp. 118, 546, 723, 734; 45th Assembly, pp. 286-287, 450-452, 518-525.

³¹Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, p. 39; Maizlish, "Development of Wilmot Proviso Issue in Ohio," pp. 24-25.

³²Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, XVI:445.

³³Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, p. 37.

³⁴Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:94.

³⁵Ibid., XVI:91. Sawyer's rhetoric may be partially explained as an attempt to satisfy his constituency. When a colony of several hundred emancipated blacks from Virginia attempted to settle in his district in 1846 armed whites resisted them. The white residents passed a resolution that all blacks were requested to leave before March 1847 and that they would not "employ or trade with any black or mulatto person, in any manner whatever, or permit them to have any grinding done at our mills, after the first day of January next." If the blacks refused, the white settlers would evict them "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, July 13, 1846, July 28, 1846, August 5, 1846, August 10, 1846, August 19, 1846, September 8, 1846, September 11, 1846, September 21, 1846; Ashtabula Sentinel, April 3, 1845; Salmon P. Chase to Joshua R. Giddings, October 20, 1846, in Salmon P. Chase, "The Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1901, 2 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), II:110-111; Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, p. 44; Litwack, North of Slavery, pp. 69-70; Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:94.

³⁶The continued dominance of party on the free soil issue also was evidenced in voting in the 45th Ohio State House of Representatives where legislators voted on twenty-three free soil roll calls between December 1846 and February 1847. Whig legislators cast 89 percent of their votes in favor of free soil while 90 percent of the Democratic votes opposed free soil. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 45th Assembly, pp. 34-35, 241, 247-248, 254, 289-295, 321-322.

³⁷Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:316; Ashtabula Sentinel, February 22, 1847.

³⁸Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:192.

³⁹Giddings, Speeches, pp. 191-193.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 203.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 204; Chase to Giddings, October 20,

1846, "Diary and Correspondence of Chase," pp. 108-110; Stanley C. Harrold, Jr., "The Southern Strategy of the Liberty Party," Ohio History, LXXXVII (Winter 1978), pp. 21-36.

⁴²Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:384.

⁴³National Press and Cincinnati Weekly Herald (The Philanthropist), August 19, 1846.

⁴⁴Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 1st Session, XV:834; Silbey, Shrine of Party, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁵Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 1st Session, XV:123, 203, 329, 336.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 302.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 972.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 140; Clark E. Persinger, "'The Bargain of 1844' as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1911, 2 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), I:189-195.

⁴⁹Congressional Globe, 2d Session, XVI:377-378.

⁵⁰Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, October 6, 1846.

⁵¹Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, XVI:188; John Hope Franklin, "Southern Expansionists of 1846," Journal of Southern History, XXV (Summer 1959), pp. 323-338; Paul F. Lambert, "The Movement for the Acquisition of All Mexico," Journal of the West, XI (April 1972), pp. 317-327; J. D. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXI (June 1934), pp. 31-48.

⁵²Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d Session, appendix, XVI:384.

⁵³Entry for June 12, 1846 in Quaipe, ed., Polk Diary, I: 466-467; McGrane, Allen, pp. 133-134; Norman A. Graebner, "James K. Polk: A Study in Federal Patronage," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXXVIII (March 1952), pp. 628-629.

⁵⁴A. Duncan to James K. Polk, January 20, 1845, James K. Polk Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, pp.

424-425, 443; Holt, "Party Politics in Ohio, 1840-1850," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XXXVIII (1929), pp. 109, 113; Sellars, James K. Polk: Continentalist, pp. 296-297; Maizlish, The Triumph of Sectionalism, pp. 41, 43.

⁵⁵ John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Ohio," Journal of Southern History, III (Spring 1937), pp. 28-42; John D. Barnhart, "Sources of Southern Migration into the Old Northwest," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXII (June 1935), pp. 49-62; John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Element in the Leadership of the Old Northwest," Journal of Southern History, I (May 1935), pp. 186-197.

CHAPTER IV

THE THIRTIETH CONGRESS AND THE MEXICAN CESSION

Opposition to the extension of slavery exhibited from 1846 to 1847 expanded during the Thirtieth Congress. The acquisition of the Mexican Cession in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo early in 1848 heightened free soil anxieties as slavery extension, no longer an abstract question, became a probable possibility. Within the House of Representatives, free soil support continued to come from free state congressmen while slave state representatives generally opposed the measure (see Appendix D). Moderates predominated in the Senate but divisions along free/slave state lines existed. Within the Ohio delegation, free soil advocates increased. Moreover, party alignments on free soil did not weaken but actually became stronger with the approach of the presidential election in 1848. The refusal of the national Democratic and Whig parties, however, to take a stand on the question of free soil prompted several Ohioans of both parties to abandon their former partisan loyalty and join the newly formed Free Soil Party in the summer of 1848.¹

Party divisions during the Thirtieth Senate² explain very little of the voting behavior on the free soil

issue. Although free soil support came primarily from Whigs and opposition exclusively from Democrats, the overwhelming majority of Senators of both major parties voted as moderates (see Table XXIV). Only four Democratic Senators (Solon Borland of Arkansas, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Solomon W. Downs of Louisiana, and David Levy Yulee of Florida) opposed free soil. Six Whigs (Roger S. Baldwin of Connecticut, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, Albert C. Greene of Rhode Island, Jacob W. Miller of New Jersey, Samuel S. Phelps of Vermont, and William Upham of Vermont) and Liberty Party leader John Hale of New Hampshire vigorously supported free soil.³

Analysis of free soil voting based on the slaveholding status of constituencies indicated that free/slave divisions decreased during the Thirtieth Senate despite increased agitation of that issue (see Table XXV). Whether they represented a free or slave state, most Senators (81 percent) voted as moderates. Nevertheless, slave or free state constituencies did influence some Senators to oppose or support free soil. All four Democrats who opposed free soil represented slave states and all seven advocates of free soil were from free states.

Examination of voting by section revealed that moderates predominated in every geographic region while advocates and opponents of free soil were each concentrated in specific sections (see Table XXVI). New England continued to produce the majority of free soil supporters

TABLE XXIV

30TH SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Liberty	Total
Pro Free Soil	-	(6) 31.58	(1) 100.0	(7) 12.28
Moderate	(33) 89.19	(13) 68.42	-	(46) 80.70
Anti Free Soil	(4) 10.81	-	-	(4) 7.02
TOTAL:	(37) 100.0	(19) 100.0	(1) 100.0	(57) 100.0

TABLE XXV
 30TH SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND
 FREE STATE/SLAVE STATE DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Liberty	Total
a				
FREE STATES				
Pro Free Soil	-	(6)	66.67	(1) 25.93
Moderate	(17) 100.0	(3)	33.33	-
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-	(20) 74.07
TOTAL:	(17) 100.0	(9)	100.0	(1) 100.0
b				
SLAVE STATES				
Pro Free Soil	-	-	-	-
Moderate	(16) 80.00	(10)	100.0	-
Anti Free Soil	(4) 20.00	-	-	-
TOTAL:	(20) 100.0	(10)	100.0	-
a = Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont b = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia				

TABLE XXVI

30TH SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e	
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	S. Atlantic	Southwest	Northwest					
Pro Free Soil	(5) 45.45	(1) 10.00	-	-	(1) 7.14					
Moderate	(6) 54.55	(9) 90.00	(9) 90.00	(9) 75.00	(13) 92.86					
Anti Free Soil	-	-	(1) 10.00	(3) 25.00	-					
TOTAL:	(11) 100.00	(10) 100.00	(10) 100.00	(12) 100.00	(14) 100.00					

a = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
 b = Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania
 c = Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia
 d = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas
 e = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

as over two-thirds of the pro free soil Senators hailed from that section where opposition to both territorial expansion and slavery was strong. Opposition to free soil was centered primarily in the Southwestern states. Heavily Democratic and expansion-minded, Southwestern Senators feared the creation of free territories and states on their western borders which would deny their constituents the right to immigrate further west with their property in addition to enticing their slaves to run away.

Despite the conservative reaction in the Senate, the free soil question continued to disrupt the House of Representatives during the Thirtieth Congress.⁴ Moderates ceased to be the dominant voting group as advocates and opponents of free soil each constituted over 35 percent of the total number of representatives (see Table XXVII). Analysis of party divisions indicated that the free soil issue created dissension within the Democracy but irreparably damaged the Whig Party. Although a plurality of the Democrats voted against free soil, a large number of them voted as moderates and a small group advocated free soil. The Whigs disintegrated into two factions. Slightly under two-thirds of the Whig representatives supported free soil, almost one-third opposed free soil, and only a small number voted as moderates.

Within each of the parties, slave/free state divisions operated in determining voting on free soil issues in the

TABLE XXVII

30TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Native Am	Total
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pro Free Soil	(16) 15.10	(70) 63.06	-	(86) 39.45
Moderate	(42) 39.62	(8) 7.21	(1) 100.0	(51) 23.39
Anti Free Soil	(48) 45.28	(33) 29.73	-	(81) 37.16
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL:	(106) 100.0	(111) 100.0	(1) 100.0	(218) 100.0

House (see Table XXVIII). Almost two-thirds of the free state congressmen favored free soil while over 90 percent of the slave state representatives opposed slavery restriction legislation. Within the Democracy, slave state congressmen opposed free soil. Except for a small group who advocated free soil legislation, free state Democrats voted as moderates and prevented a crisis in their party. Disagreement on the free soil issue was more outstanding in the Whig ranks. Slave state Whigs voted against free soil while free state Whigs overwhelmingly supported the restriction of slavery.

Analysis of each voting bloc by geographic section further clarified the polarization of certain areas on the free soil issue (see Table XXIX). New England representatives overwhelmingly continued to support free soil and Mid-Atlantic congressmen almost doubled in their support of that position. South Atlantic and Southwestern representatives reacted aggressively against free soil. Northwestern congressmen revealed an erosion in their heretofore moderate voting patterns as both support and opposition to free soil increased from the previous Congress.

Increased support for free soil among the Ohio delegation during the Thirtieth Congress can be attributed partially to additional Whig representation (see Table XXX). After the congressional elections of 1846, Whig members constituted the majority of the delegation.

TABLE XXVIII

30TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND
FREE STATE/SLAVE STATE DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Native Am		Total
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
a					
FREE STATES					
Pro Free Soil	(16) 28.57	(70) 93.33	-		(86) 65.15
Moderate	(40) 71.43	(5) 6.67	(1) 100.0		(46) 34.85
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-		-

TOTAL:	(56) 100.0	(75) 100.0	(1) 100.0		(132) 100.0

b					
SLAVE STATES					
Pro Free Soil	-	-	-		-
Moderate	(2) 4.00	(3) 8.33	-		(5) 5.81
Anti Free Soil	(48) 96.00	(33) 91.67	-		(81) 94.19

TOTAL:	(51) 100.0	(36) 100.0	-		(86) 100.0

a = Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont					
b = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia					

TABLE XXIX

30TH HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	S. Atlantic		Southwest	Northwest			
Pro Free Soil	(21) 72.41	(42) 65.63	-		-		(23) 38.33		
Moderate	(8) 27.59	(16) 25.00	(2) 5.56		(1) 3.45		(24) 40.00		
Anti Free Soil	-	(6) 9.37	(34) 94.44		(28) 96.55		(13) 21.67		
TOTAL:	(29) 100.00	(64) 100.00	(36) 100.00		(29) 100.00		(60) 100.00		

a = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

b = Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania

c = Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia

d = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas

e = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

TABLE XXX

OHIO CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS: OCTOBER 1846

District	Representative	Party	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE		
			Democrat	Whig	Other
1	Faran, James J.	Democrat	54.1	33.0	12.9
2	Fisher, David	Whig	44.0	52.7	3.3
3	Schenck, Robert	Whig	41.7	55.4	2.9
4	Canby, Richard	Whig	38.4	57.5	4.1
5	Sawyer, William	Democrat	53.3	46.3	.4
6	Dickinson, R.	Democrat	57.2	41.0	1.8
7	Hamer, Thomas	Democrat	92.1	5.2	2.7
8	Taylor, John L.	Whig	46.0	51.6	2.4
9	Edwards, Thomas O.	Whig	48.7	50.8	.5
10	Duncan, Daniel	Whig	47.3	49.2	3.5
11	Miller, John K.	Democrat	57.8	16.9	3.1
				14.7	
				7.5	
12	Vinton, Samuel F.	Whig	36.8	38.8	24.4
13	Ritchey, Thomas	Democrat	48.8	48.5	2.7
14	Evans, Nathan	Whig	44.0	52.0	4.0
15	Kennon, W., Jr.	Democrat	50.1	46.4	3.5
16	Cummins, John	Democrat	54.0	44.4	1.6
17	Fries, George	Democrat	50.4	46.5	3.1
18	Lahm, Samuel	Democrat	50.0	48.7	1.3
19	Crowell, John	Whig	44.3	48.2	7.5
20	Giddings, Joshua R.	Whig	26.5	60.6	12.9
21	Root, Joseph M.	Whig	40.4	48.0	11.6

Source: Robert A. Diamond, ed., Congressional Quarterly's Guide to United States Elections (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1975), p. 584.

Although the free soil issue undoubtedly had some influence on the election, Whig success was primarily due to their opposition to the Mexican War and internal Democratic divisions on banking issues.⁵ Eight incumbents (four Democrats and four Whigs) were re-elected. Whig representation increased from eight to eleven while Democratic representatives decreased from thirteen to ten. Two Democratic incumbents (free soil moderate A. L. Perrill in District 9 and free soil advocate David Starkweather in District 18) were defeated in the election as were former Democratic congressman and free soil moderate F. A. Cunningham (District 3) and Democratic state leader Samuel Medary (District 10). The Whig triumph was not complete, however, as incumbent Columbus Delano (District 11), a free soil advocate, was defeated when two other Whig candidates ran in his district. Moreover, free soil supporter and former Whig congressman Perley B. Johnson (District 13) was defeated in a close contest. Although Liberty Party candidates were again defeated in the election, the antislavery party experienced modest gains throughout most of the state and particularly in the three districts of the Western Reserve (Districts 19, 20, and 21).

Democrat William Allen and Whig Tom Corwin, both unsuccessful aspirants to the presidency, continued to represent Ohio in the Senate during the Thirtieth Congress. A vigorous proponent of expansion and a moderate on the free soil issue, Allen conceded the 1848 Democratic

presidential nomination to another favorite of the Northwest, Lewis Cass of Michigan. Although Allen had voted for the Wilmot Proviso in the Twenty-ninth Congress, he assumed a more moderate position on free soil in the Thirtieth Congress. He opposed the Wilmot Proviso until after March 1848 when he began to vote in favor of free soil perhaps to improve his chances for re-election in 1849.⁶ Senator Corwin's presidential ambitions also dimmed early in 1848 after his retreat from assuming leadership of the antislavery wing of the Ohio Whigs. Although Corwin assumed a conservative attitude towards free soil agitation and campaigned on behalf of the Whig presidential nominee, Zachary Taylor, he continued to vote in favor of free soil. In fact, Corwin was the only Senator from the Northwest to support free soil. He opposed extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific coast and favored the Wilmot Proviso in addition to the establishment of territorial governments for California and New Mexico which excluded slavery.⁷

By the Thirtieth Congress, the Ohio delegation's voting pattern on free soil had reversed itself from four years earlier. For the first time free soil support increased to over half of the delegation: fourteen Ohioans advocated free soil and nine voted as moderates (see Table XXXI). A larger percentage of the Ohio congressmen voted in favor of free soil than did most other free state delegations. No other delegation from the Northwest and

TABLE XXXI

30TH CONGRESS: CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS AND
VOTING ON FREE SOIL ISSUE

State	Size of Delegation*	VOTE ON FREE SOIL		
		Pro	Mod	Anti
Alabama	9	-	2	7
Arkansas	3	-	1	2
Connecticut	6	5	1	-
Delaware	3	-	2	-
Florida	3	-	1	2
Georgia	10	-	2	8
Illinois	9	2	7	-
Indiana	12	4	8	-
Iowa	4	1	1	-
Kentucky	12	-	4	8
Louisiana	6	-	1	5
Maine	9	1	7	-
Maryland	8	-	2	6
Massachusetts	12	8	2	-
Michigan	5	3	2	-
Mississippi	6	-	1	5
Missouri	7	-	2	5
New Hampshire	6	3	3	-
New Jersey	7	5	1	-
New York	36	25	8	-
North Carolina	11	-	4	7
Ohio	23	14	9	-
Pennsylvania	26	13	11	-
Rhode Island	4	3	1	-
South Carolina	9	-	2	5
Tennessee	13	-	3	10
Texas	4	-	2	2
Vermont	6	6	-	-
Virginia	17	-	2	13
Wisconsin	4	-	4	-
TOTAL	290	93	96	85

* Many of the congressional delegations had members that did not vote on at least half of the roll call votes; therefore, the total number of congressmen listed as voting may not be the same number as the total number in the delegation.

only the delegations of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont had a larger percentage of the total delegation advocate free soil.

Party allegiance continued to be a dominant factor in determining voting behavior of Ohio congressmen in the Thirtieth Congress (see Table XXXII). All twelve Whigs advocated free soil and their unity on roll calls increased from 89 percent in the previous congress to 100 percent. The Whigs voted in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, extending the slavery prohibitions of the Ordinance of 1787 to Oregon, and establishing territorial governments that forbade slavery and opposed the application of the Missouri Compromise line to Oregon. Ohio Democrats were only a little less unified. Nine of them voted as moderates, but two (Fries and Morris) supported free soil. Unity on free soil roll calls decreased from 83 percent in the Twenty-ninth Congress to 70 percent as Ohio Democrats unanimously agreed upon only one issue: the Missouri Compromise line should not be extended to Oregon. Ohio Democrats generally opposed the Wilmot Proviso but favored the application of the antislavery provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 to Oregon. After the acquisition of the Mexican Cession, they supported territorial governments for California and New Mexico which excluded slavery.⁸

Despite their unanimity in voting, Ohio Whigs held different attitudes on free soil. Western Reserve congressmen and Conscience Whigs Joshua R. Giddings and

TABLE XXXII

30TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE,
AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Total
Pro Free Soil	(2) 18.18	(12) 100.0	(14) 60.87
Moderate	(9) 81.82	-	(9) 39.13
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-
TOTAL:	(11) 100.0	(12) 100.0	(23) 100.0

Joseph M. Root became thoroughly disillusioned with the two party system in the summer of 1848. They were convinced that the nomination of General Zachary Taylor as the Whig presidential candidate at the Philadelphia Convention signified that the "slave power" had gained control of their party. Taylor, a slaveholder with no prior political experience, remained non-committal on the free soil issue throughout the campaign but insinuated that he would not veto the Wilmot Proviso. Giddings and Root, however, remained skeptical; they then abandoned the Whigs and joined the new Free Soil Party.⁹

Representative Giddings had demanded that the Whig Party unite on the Wilmot Proviso in 1847. He announced in Congress that his constituents held "slavery to be a crime of the deepest dye" and that "slavery and freedom are opposites -- irreconcilable antagonisms."¹⁰ Giddings insisted that the Wilmot Proviso be retained even if the Whigs united on an anti-acquisition stand for he believed that territory would be acquired anyway. When that happened, he argued, Southern Whigs would abandon the northern Whigs and free soil. If Congress did not pass anti-slavery extension legislation soon, the Ohioan was convinced that slaveholders would establish slavery "by force of superior intelligence and power; by the bowie knife, the scourge, and the whip and the dread instruments of torture."¹¹ Moreover, Taylor's nomination outraged Giddings. The Ohio representative identified the rise of

Taylorism as "a movement of the Slave Power to extend the area and curse of slavery." ¹² He reminded free state Whigs that Jefferson Davis, the anti free soil Senator from Mississippi, was Taylor's son-in-law and quoted Governor Jones of Tennessee as supporting Taylor "because he was in favor of the extension of slavery."¹³

Representative Root also demanded that the Whigs abandon the "No Territory" position and adopt the Wilmot Proviso in their 1848 platform. He insisted that whatever form of government Congress provided for the territories, the free states demanded that slavery be excluded for that institution degraded free labor. The "more slavery is extended," he believed, "the stronger will be that tendency."¹⁴ Root also opposed Taylor's nomination. He declared that "any man who doubts the constitutional right [of the Wilmot Proviso] . . . cannot have the vote of the North."¹⁵ He cautioned the slave states that they would find "Northern obstinacy full a match [sic] for your Southern chivalry" and that if they chose a doughface for their candidate, the northern voters would "whip the dust out of his jacket."¹⁶ Moreover, Root warned the South that they were encouraging the North to unite "until this question is decided."¹⁷

Most of the Ohio Whigs, however, remained loyal to their party. Before the national convention, Ohio Whigs shifted their allegiance from Judge John McLean to Senator Thomas Corwin to Henry Clay and finally to General Winfield

Scott. Despite their advocacy of free soil and General Scott's candidacy at the Philadelphia Convention in 1848, conservative Whigs accepted the nomination of General Taylor. Many of them believed that the "slave power" controlled the Democracy and felt that the Whig Party offered the only viable political opposition. Senator Corwin, for example, disliked Taylor but believed he would not veto the Wilmot Proviso. Representative John Crowell of District 19 also remained a loyal Whig and agreed that the slaveholders controlled the Democratic administration stating that it was a "firm and settled conviction" that the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico "were undertaken, carried on, and consummated for the purpose of extending the area and strengthening the institution of African slavery."¹⁸ Congressman David Fisher of District 2 accused the Polk administration of serving the interests of the "slave power" and claimed that "the President of the United States unnecessarily and unconstitutionally" began the Mexican War.¹⁹ Representative Robert C. Schenck of District 3 continued to oppose expansion even after its acquisition and attempted to open negotiations with Mexico to return California not only to circumvent antislavery agitation but because "gold fever" was "ruining moral values in the country by making everyone a gambler."²⁰

Conservative Ohio Whigs voted pro free soil but tempered their support with concern over the

constitutionality of the Wilmot Proviso and the fanatical nature of antislavery agitation. All of them believed that Congress had no authority over state governments but some questioned whether the inhabitants of the territories or the Supreme Court should determine the status of slavery rather than the national legislature. Representative Samuel F. Vinton, for instance, believed that the Supreme Court should resolve the slavery extension debate and thereby "relieve us from the troubles and dangers of this agitating question."²¹ Senator Corwin defended Ohio Supreme Court Justice John McLean when the latter announced that Congress had no constitutional authority to legislate for the territories. Moreover, both Corwin and Representative John L. Taylor feared the disorganizing effect of free soil and denounced "disunionists from any section of the country, from the North or the South."²²

Conservative Whig Robert C. Schenck agreed with Corwin and Representative Taylor and carried the moderate argument a step further. He questioned the inconsistency of congressmen opposing the Wilmot Proviso on the grounds that Congress could not legislate on slavery for the territories but then advocating the extension of the Missouri Compromise line. He argued that the Missouri Compromise in effect applied the Wilmot Proviso to territory north of the compromise line.²³

Ohio Democrats also opposed the extension of slavery in principle but had mixed emotions about congressional

free soil legislation. Many of them believed that the free soil issue was detrimental to the nation's best interests. Congressman William Sawyer of District 5, for instance, complained that antislavery agitation detracted from taking care of other important legislative business. Early in 1849, he objected that some seven hundred private bills were still to be acted upon yet "from morning to night, and from week to week, nothing was talked of here, and nothing could get a hearing, that did not relate to negroes or negro slavery."²⁴ Moreover, he believed that Democratic divisions over free soil benefited the Whigs. Conservative Democratic Representative Samuel Lahm admitted that he was always in favor of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso but believed "that it was ill-timed, out of place, and not at all calculated to accomplish the objects its friends professed to have in view."²⁵

Concern over the constitutionality of free soil legislation also prompted moderation on the part of Ohio Democrats. Congressman Rudolphus Dickinson of northwestern Ohio argued that he was willing to limit the extension of slavery "where it can be done constitutionally and with a proper regard to the rights of other portions of the Union."²⁶ He stated that as long as the constitution was observed, "harmony will reign in our councils."²⁷ Representative Sawyer agreed. He argued that the constitution recognized property in slaves and, therefore, free soil legislation denied Southerners their

constitutional right of equal access to the territories. Both Dickinson and Sawyer objected to the opinions of every section of the Union being measured "by this Procrustean moral standard of the anti-slavery men" and denied that the free states had any right to "interfere with the domestic relations of our neighbors."²⁸

Racial attitudes continued as an influence on the Ohio Democrats to minimize the importance of free soil. Congressman Sawyer regretted the existence of slavery but believed that agitating the slave states would only lead to an influx of blacks into the free states after emancipation. He explained in Congress that slavery was a legacy from British rule, that Southern philanthropists had manumitted at their own cost more slaves than had the abolitionists, and that colonization in Africa was the only acceptable remedy to the slavery question. Representative Dickinson believed that the most of the slave population were "happier and better off as they are than immediate emancipation can make them" and that their miseries were "more imaginary than real."²⁹ In addition, Dickinson argued that free blacks were "little, if any, better off than the slaves of the South."³⁰ He warned further that black immigration into the free states would lead to a race war.³¹

As an alternative to free soil, the Ohio Democrats endorsed the principle of popular sovereignty and its foremost advocate, Senator Lewis Cass, in the presidential

election of 1848. As outlined in Cass' "Nicholson Letter," popular sovereignty removed the free soil issue from the realm of Congress and permitted the inhabitants of the territories to determine the slavery question for themselves. Representative Sawyer, for example, denied that Congress had the "power to legislate on the question of slavery in the Territories" and stressed that "the people had a right to self-government."³² Senator William Allen also accepted popular sovereignty and campaigned vigorously on behalf of Cass. Congressman Dickinson argued that the "Constitution confers no right on Congress over exclusive legislation over persons and their property in the Territories" and "that power remains with the people in the territories and not with Congress."³³

Although Dickinson refused to condone the extension of slavery into territory formally free, he felt that the Supreme Court should determine whether Congress could legislate on slavery extension.³⁴

Although party philosophy dictated the voting patterns of most Ohio Congressmen, the increase in free soil support and the desertion of Representatives Giddings and Root from the Whig to the Free Soil Party suggest that anti-Southern attitudes had intensified during the Thirtieth Congress particularly on the Western Reserve. Examination of voting patterns by section and region of birth further indicated that free soil support had become more widespread and was based partially on origin (see Tables XXXIII and XXXIV).

TABLE XXXIII

30TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE,
AND SECTION OF BIRTH

Scale Position	a		b		c		Total
	Free State		Slave State		Foreign		
Pro Free Soil	(12)	66.67	(2)	50.00	-		(14) 60.87
Moderate	(6)	33.33	(2)	50.00	(1)	100.0	(9) 39.13
Anti Free Soil	-		-		-		-
<hr/>							
TOTAL:	(18)	100.0	(4)	100.0	(1)	100.0	(23) 100.0
<hr/>							

a = Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio,
Pennsylvania

b = Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia

c = Ireland

TABLE XXXIV

30TH CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION OF BIRTH

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	Northwest	South Atlantic	Other				
Pro Free Soil	(2) 66.67	(5) 62.50	(6) 66.67	(1) 50.00	-				
Moderate	(1) 33.33	(3) 37.50	(3) 33.33	(1) 50.00	(1) 100.00				
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-	-	-				
TOTAL:	(3) 100.00	(8) 100.00	(9) 100.00	(2) 100.00	(1) 100.00				

a = Connecticut, Massachusetts

b = Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania

c = Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio

d = North Carolina, Virginia

e = Ireland

Over two-thirds of the Ohio Congressmen born in free states advocated free soil. Unlike the Twenty-ninth Congress, this support was not based primarily in New England but also included many delegation members born in the Mid-Atlantic and Northwestern states.

Analysis of the delegation's voting by district boundaries also indicated that regional attitudes within Ohio on free soil were based primarily on party loyalty (see Figures 6 and 7). Whig congressmen from the Western Reserve and south central Ohio continued to advocate the restriction of slavery. From 1847 to 1849 Whig representatives of districts in the southeastern portion of the state joined them in support of free soil. Democratic congressmen from the northwestern districts continued to vote as moderates as did most other Democratic congressmen throughout the state. The two Democratic representatives who favored free soil came from a districts in southwestern and northeastern Ohio.

The Thirtieth Congress adjourned with the status of slavery in the territories still unresolved. The election of Taylor as president in November 1848 failed to alleviate fears of slavery extension in the free states or its prohibition in slave states. The increased support Ohio congressmen demonstrated for free soil coupled with their adherence to party voting patterns confirmed that although Ohio Whigs and Democrats differed from each other on the free soil issue, each group also dissented from their

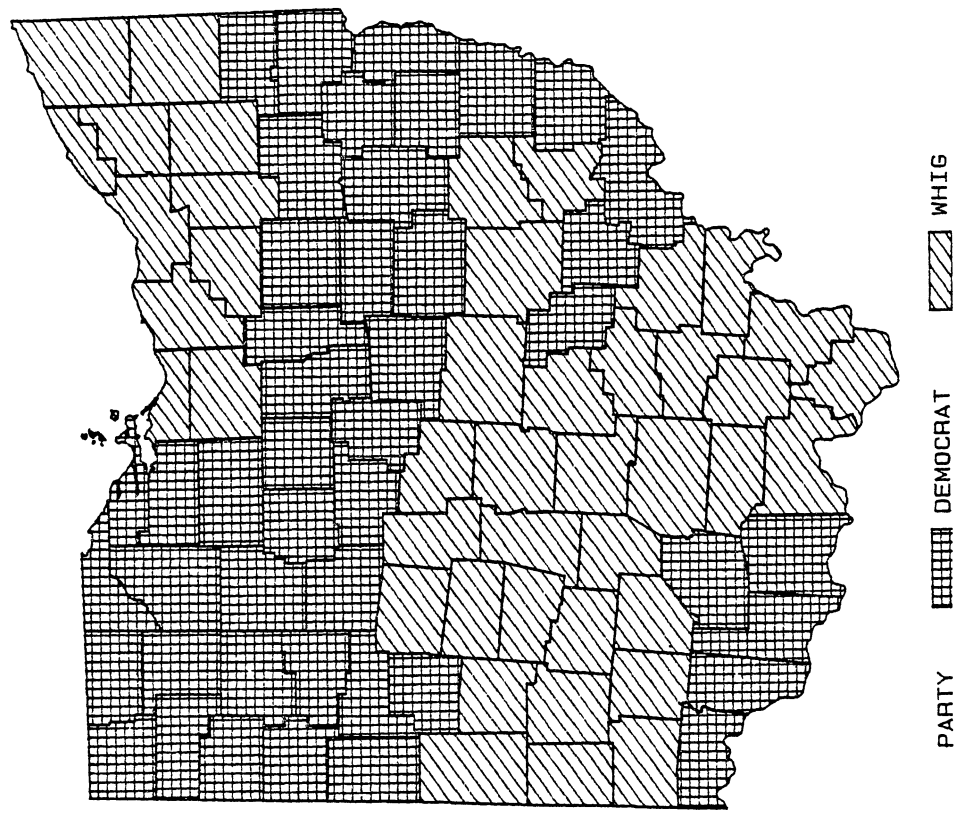


Figure 6. Ohio Congressmen and Political Party:
30th Congress

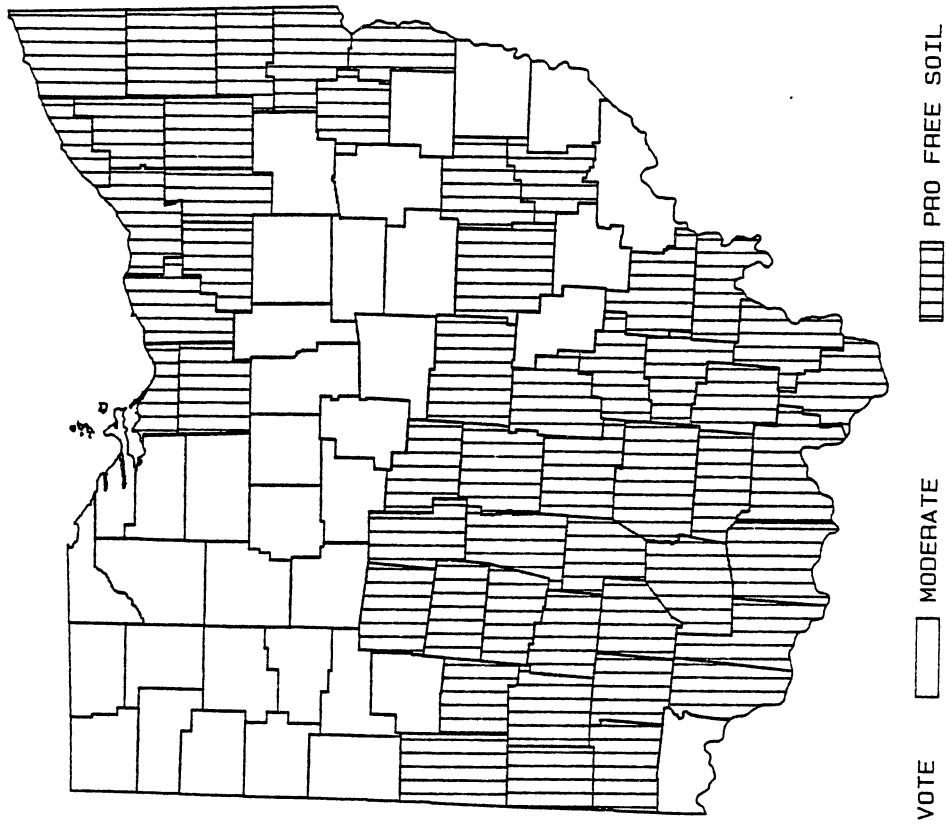


Figure 7. Ohio Congressmen and Free Soil Vote:
30th Congress

colleagues in the slave states. Moreover, the appearance of the Free Soil Party and the defeat of popular sovereignty in the national election foreshadowed a change in voting patterns of members of both major parties and renewed antislavery and anti-Southern agitation.

ENDNOTES

¹Porter and Johnson, comps., Party Platforms, pp. 10-15; Norman A. Graebner, "1848: Southern Politics at the Crossroads," The Historian, XXV (November 1962), pp. 14-35; Norman A. Graebner, "Party Politics and the Trist Mission," Journal of Southern History, XIX (June 1953), pp. 137-156; Price, "The Election of 1848 in Ohio," pp. 288-311; Ashtabula Sentinel, June 3, 1848; Toledo Blade, August 22, 1848.

²Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, XVII:63, 387, 773, 1002, 1061, 1078; 2d Session, XVIII:33, 181, 319.

³Although nominally a Democrat, John P. Hale owed his election to an antislavery coalition of Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty Party men. Moreover, he became the presidential nominee of the Liberty Party in the fall of 1847. See Richard H. Sewell, John P. Hale and the Politics of Abolition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965); National Press and Cincinnati Weekly Herald (The Philanthropist), January 20, 1847.

⁴Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, XVII:73, 391, 1027, 1062-1063; 2d Session, XVIII:39, 609; Graebner, "Southern Politics," p. 22.

⁵The Ohioans were the only delegation from the Northwest of which a majority of the members were Whigs. Maizlish, Triumph of Sectionalism, p. 57; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, May 11, 1847, September 8, 1847; Toledo Blade, November 16, 1846. Democrat Jonathan Morris replaced Thomas Hamer upon the latter's death while on military duty in Mexico. As he failed to record a single vote on free soil, Hamer was not included in the scalogram. His past actions and rhetoric, however, affiliate him with the soft-money faction of the Ohio Democracy. Zachary Taylor to R. C. Wood, August 23, 1846, in William K. Bixby, ed., Letters of Zachary Taylor from the Battlefields of the Mexican War (Rochester, New York: Genessee Press, 1908), p. 45.

⁶McGrane, Allen, pp. 125-130; Joseph G. Rayback, Free Soil: The Election of 1848 (Lexington, Kentucky:

University of Kentucky Press, 1970), pp. 17-18; Robert W. Johannsen, Stephen A. Douglas (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 359.

⁷Graebner, "Corwin and the Election of 1848," pp. 162-179; Bochin, "Corwin's Speech," pp. 33-54; Rayback, Free Soil, pp. 93-94, 160-165.

⁸Although factionalism increased within the Democracy after 1848, party discipline on the free soil issue also was strong in the Ohio State House of Representatives. During the 46th Assembly, nineteen roll calls were recorded. Whig legislators cast over 86 percent of their votes in favor of free soil and Democrats voted against free soil on 87 percent of their votes. In the 47th Assembly, eleven free soil roll calls were voted on. Whigs supported free soil on 90 percent of their votes. Democratic opposition to free soil, however, decreased to 59 percent. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 46th Assembly, pp. 207, 283-284, 295-299, 612, 664, 668-669, 676, 679; 47th Assembly, pp. 711-713, 718, 781.

⁹Holman Hamilton, Zachary Taylor: Soldier in the White House (New York, New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1951), pp. 75-83, 85, 86, 91, 118, 121-125, 131, 170; Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, p. 260; Julian, Giddings, p. 212; Salmon P. Chase to Charles Sumner, April 24, 1847, in Salmon P. Chase, "The Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1901, 2 vols., (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), II:116; David H. Bradford, "The Background and Formation of the Republican Party in Ohio, 1844-1861," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948), p. 70.

¹⁰Giddings, Speeches, p. 315; Sampson, "Anti-Slavery Speakings of Giddings," p. 306.

¹¹Sampson, "Anti-Slavery Speakings of Giddings," p. 302, 327.

¹²Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, appendix, XVII:729; Giddings, Speeches, pp. 254, 319; Sampson, "Anti-Slavery Speakings of Giddings," p. 111; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, April 16, 1847; Ashtabula Sentinel, June 17, 1848.

¹³Sampson, "Anti-Slavery Speakings of Giddings," pp. 111, 321, 324.

¹⁴Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, XVII:1020, appendix, XVII:394-396; 2d Session, XVIII:39;

Ashtabula Sentinel, April 8, 1848; Price, "Election of 1848 in Ohio," p. 203; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, March 20, 1848.

¹⁵ Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, appendix, XVII:394-396.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Among Ohio congressmen, Senator Corwin was popular as a presidential candidate. Representatives Giddings, Schenck, and Root all called for his nomination at one time. Former Whig Representative E. S. Hamlin and Democratic Representative Jacob Brinkerhoff both favored Judge John McLean. At the time of the Philadelphia Convention, the Ohio Whigs (Representative Root and former Representative Tilden in particular) endorsed General Winfield Scott. When the victorious Taylor Whigs attempted to appease the Clay Whigs with the nomination of Ohio Whig Thomas Ewing for Vice-President, a disgruntled Ohioan, Lewis D. Campbell, on his own initiative, withdrew Ewing's name bellowing that Ohio wanted "no sugar plums." Senator Corwin and Representatives Fisher, Schenck, Taylor, and Vinton as well as former Congressman Delano ultimately campaigned for Zachary Taylor; however, Representatives Giddings and Root broke from the Whigs and along with Hamlin, Brinkerhoff, Tilden, and former Senator Tappan joined the Free Soil Party and supported Martin Van Buren for president. Giddings had himself received 5 percent of the nomination votes cast at the Buffalo Convention. Ibid., 1st Session, XVII:121, appendix, XVII:956-959, 729; Toledo Blade, November 8, 1847, December 1, 1847, February 21, 1848, May 4, 1848, September 29, 1848, October 17, 1848; Salmon P. Chase to Charles Sumner, November 27, 1848, Chase, "The Diary and Correspondence," II:142-143; Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, pp. 475-476; Ashtabula Sentinel, September 6, 1847, September 27, 1847; Lebanon Western Star, March 24, 1848; Charles Sumner to Salmon P. Chase, October 1, 1847, Sumner to Chase, February 7, 1848, in Beverley W. Palmer, ed., "From Small Minority to Great Cause: Letters of Charles Sumner to Salmon P. Chase," Ohio History, XCIII (Summer-Autumn 1984), pp. 167-169; Rayback, Free Soil, pp. 165-167; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, September 23, 1848; Abbott Lawrence to unknown, May 15, 1848, Thomas Ewing Papers, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana; Salmon P. Chase to John P. Hale, May 12, 1847, in Robert B. Warden, An Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase (Cincinnati, Ohio: Wilstach, Baldwin, and Co., 1874), p. 314; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, May 24, 1848; Holt, "Party Politics," p. 268.

¹⁹Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, appendix, XVII:729.

²⁰Ibid., 2d Session, XVIII:557-558.

²¹Ibid., XVIII:610. Whig Representative Giddings and others in the Ohio delegation perceived a close connection between the free soil issue and the question of slavery in the District of Columbia. Giddings argued that if Congress could not legislate on slavery, how could federal laws protecting slavery in the District be constitutional? The Ohio delegation generally favored the repeal of congressional laws authorizing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. On one roll call vote taken during the Thirtieth House, only five Ohioans (Democrats Dickinson, Kennon, Miller, Ritchey, and Sawyer) voted to table a bill to abolish the slave trade. On another vote taken during that Congress, six Ohioans (Whigs Edwards and Taylor; Democrats Faran, Kennon, Miller, and Ritchey) opposed the repeal of laws authorizing the slave trade while twelve members of the delegation (Whigs Canby, Crowell, Evans, Fisher, Giddings, Root, Schenck, and Vinton; Democrats Dickinson, Fries, Lahm, and Sawyer) favored the abolishment of the slave trade. Giddings, History of the Rebellion, pp. 267, 270-271.

²²Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, XVII:994, appendix, XVII:915; 2d Session, XVIII:325-326, 420; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, August 17, 1848.

²³Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, XVII:1020, 1023.

²⁴Ibid., 1st Session, XVII:814; 2d Session, XVIII:215.

²⁵Ibid., 1st Session, XVII:552, 814.

²⁶Ibid., 1st Session, appendix, XVII:643; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, January 11, 1848.

²⁷Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, p. 664.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 644-645, 727; 2d Session, XVIII:239.

²⁹Ibid., 1st Session, appendix, XVII:643, 645, 727-728.

³⁰Ibid., appendix, XVII:645.

³¹Ibid. Democratic concern over black immigration into Ohio also was reflected in voting in the Ohio State

House of Representatives. In the 46th Assembly, three roll calls were recorded on repeal of the Black Laws. Democrats cast 90 percent of their votes against repeal while Whigs voted in favor of repeal on 57 percent of their votes. During the 47th Assembly, state legislators voted on six roll calls. Democrats opposed repeal on 70 percent of their votes and Whigs supported repeal on 70 percent of their votes. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 46th Assembly, pp. 455-456; 47th Assembly, pp. 117, 196-198.

³²Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, XVII:1021; Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848 (New York, New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 249; Ashtabula Sentinel, August 26, 1848.

³³Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Session, appendix, XVII:643-645; McGrane, Allen, pp. 125-130.

³⁴Toledo Blade, September 26, 1848.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

The debate over free soil dominated discussions during the Thirty-first Congress. Both Free Soilers and radical Southerners demanded the destruction of the existing two party system. The threat of disunion, though, led to a conservative reaction which culminated in the Compromise of 1850. After four years of disruptive debate, Congress temporarily resolved the question of slavery extension. During the Thirty-first Congress (see Appendix E), antagonisms continued to exist between free and slave state congressmen; however, moderates remained dominant in the Senate and increased in number in the House. Most of the free state delegations also reduced their support for free soil in favor of a more moderate position. Ohio's delegation was one of those few that deviated from this pattern; free soil support increased among those congressmen. Party affiliation no longer served as the dominant indicator of free soil support. In addition to the Free Soil loyalists of the delegation, most Ohio Whigs and Democrats advocated free soil. Although some Ohio congressmen endorsed the Compromise of 1850, the majority

demanded the passage of free soil legislation and the curtailment of southern political power.

The traditional stronghold of Southern congressional strength was the Senate where, from 1849-1851, most Senators continued to vote as moderates on the question of slavery-extension. Nevertheless, advocates and opponents of free soil in both parties increased (see Table XXXV). Almost three-fourths of the Democrats voted as moderates. One-fifth of them opposed free soil and two Democratic Senators (Henry Dodge and Isaac P. Walker, both from Wisconsin) advocated the restriction of slavery. Over half of the Whigs voted as moderates, almost one-third favored free soil, and a small group of them opposed free soil (Solomon W. Downs of Louisiana and J. MacPherson Berrien and William C. Dawson, both from Georgia). The two Free Soil Senators (Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and John P. Hale of New Hampshire) supported free soil legislation while Independent John Wales of Delaware voted as a moderate.¹

Although moderation prevailed among Senators from both the free and slave states, each region had a substantial number of extremists also (see Table XXXVI). Two free state Senators of every five advocated free soil while almost one-third of the slave state Senators opposed the restriction of slavery. Moderates predominated among slave state Senators of both parties and among free state Democrats but free state Whigs generally voted in favor of

TABLE XXXV

31ST SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Other	Total
-----	-----	----	-----	-----
Pro Free Soil	(2) 6.67	(8) 32.00	(2) 66.67	(12) 20.69
Moderate	(22) 73.33	(14) 56.00	(1) 33.33	(37) 63.79
Anti Free Soil	(6) 20.00	(3) 12.00	-	(9) 15.52
-----	-----	----	-----	-----
TOTAL:	(30) 100.0	(25) 100.0	(3) 100.0	(58) 100.0

TABLE XXXVI
 31ST SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND
 FREE STATE/SLAVE STATE DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Other	Total
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
a				
FREE STATES				
Pro Free Soil	(2) 13.33	(8) 61.54	(2) 100.0	(12) 40.00
Moderate	(13) 86.67	(5) 38.46	-	(18) 60.00
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-	-
TOTAL:	(15) 100.0	(13) 100.0	(2) 100.0	(30) 100.0
b				
SLAVE STATES				
Pro Free Soil	-	-	-	-
Moderate	(9) 60.00	(9) 75.00	(1) 100.0	(19) 67.86
Anti Free Soil	(6) 40.00	(3) 25.00	-	(9) 32.14
TOTAL:	(15) 100.0	(12) 100.0	(1) 100.0	(28) 100.0
a = California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin				
b = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia				

free soil. Not a single free state Senator voted anti free soil nor did any slave state Senator support free soil.

Analysis of free soil voting by section revealed little change from the Thirtieth Congress (see Table XXXVII). Free soil advocates were concentrated primarily in New England but increased in the Mid-Atlantic and Northwestern states as anti-Southern sentiment expanded outside of the Northeast and throughout the North. Moderates, however, continued to dominate the Mid-Atlantic, South Atlantic, and Northwest regions. Opposition to free soil came mainly from Southwestern Senators although one-third of the South Atlantic Senators also voted anti free soil.

Voting on free soil issues in the Thirty-first House of Representatives proved to be more disruptive than in the Senate. Although moderates constituted only a plurality of the representatives in the House, this signified an increase from the Thirtieth Congress (see Table XXXVIII). All eleven Free Soil Party congressmen favored slavery restriction legislation, however, members of the two major parties divided on that issue. Almost half of the Democrats opposed free soil, over one-third voted as moderates, and a smaller group supported free soil. The Whigs were fairly evenly divided between free soil advocates and moderates although several members of that party also voted against free soil.²

As in the Senate, divisions within the major parties

TABLE XXXVII

31ST SENATE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e	
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	S. Atlantic		Southwest	Northwest				
Pro Free Soil	(7) 58.33	(2) 20.00	-		-		(3) 18.75			
Moderate	(5) 41.67	(8) 80.00	(6) 66.67		(5) 45.45	(13) 81.25				
Anti Free Soil	-	-	(3) 33.33		(6) 54.55	-				
TOTAL:	(12) 100.00	(10) 100.00	(9) 100.00		(11) 100.00	(16) 100.00				

a = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

b = Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania

c = Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia

d = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas

e = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

TABLE XXXVIII

31ST HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Other	Total
Pro Free Soil	(17) 16.51	(38) 40.86	(11) 100.0	(66) 31.73
Moderate	(36) 34.95	(42) 45.16	(1) 100.0	(79) 37.98
Anti Free Soil	(50) 48.54	(13) 13.98	-	(63) 30.29
TOTAL:	(103) 100.0	(93) 100.0	(12) 100.0	(208) 100.0

in the House were largely dependent upon the existence of slavery in the congressmen's constituency (see Table XXXIX). Slightly over half of the free state representatives, for instance, favored free soil but none opposed it. While all of the Free Soilers and most of the free state Whigs supported free soil, moderates constituted a majority of the free state Democrats. None of the slave state representatives advocated free soil. Slave state Democrats generally voted anti free soil while slave state Whigs divided between moderates and opponents of free soil.

Both advocates and opponents of free soil continued to be concentrated in certain sections of the country (see Table XL). New England remained a stronghold of free soil support. Congressmen who favored free soil also came from the Mid-Atlantic states (where advocates decreased from the Thirtieth Congress after the conservative Hunkers achieved dominance over the radical Barnburners in the New York Democracy) and the Northwest where free soil support slightly increased (primarily in the Great Lakes region and especially in Wisconsin). Moderates predominated in the Mid-Atlantic and Northwestern states but also showed some strength in New England. South Atlantic and Southwestern representatives continued overwhelmingly to oppose free soil.

Most free state delegations experienced a conservative reaction against free soil during the Thirty-first Congress; however, Ohio's delegation remained one of the

TABLE XXXIX

31ST HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND
FREE STATE/SLAVE STATE DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Other	Total
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
a				
FREE STATES				
Pro Free Soil	(17) 36.96	(38) 56.72	(11) 100.0	(66) 52.80
Moderate	(29) 63.04	(29) 43.28	(1) 100.0	(59) 47.20
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-	-

TOTAL:	(46) 100.0	(67) 100.0	(12) 100.0	(125) 100.0

b				
SLAVE STATES				
Pro Free Soil	-	-	-	-
Moderate	(7) 12.28	(13) 50.00	-	(20) 24.10
Anti Free Soil	(50) 87.72	(13) 50.00	-	(63) 75.90

TOTAL:	(57) 100.0	(26) 100.0	-	(83) 100.0

a = California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin				
b = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia				

TABLE XL

31ST HOUSE: FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION

Scale Position	a		b		c		d		e	
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	S. Atlantic	Southwest	Northwest					
Pro Free Soil	(17) 65.38	(25) 40.32	-	-	(24) 42.11					
Moderate	(9) 34.62	(35) 56.45	(6) 16.67	(4) 14.81	(25) 43.85					
Anti Free Soil	-	(2) 3.23	(30) 83.33	(23) 85.19	(8) 14.04					
TOTAL:	(26) 100.00	(62) 100.00	(36) 100.00	(27) 100.00	(57) 100.00					

a = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
 b = Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania
 c = Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia
 d = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas
 e = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

leading sources of free soil support not only in the Northwest but throughout the North. Indications that the Ohio congressmen would advocate free soil from 1849-1851 were foreshadowed in the congressional elections of 1848. Although Ohio's Free Soil Party was disappointed with the results of the presidential election of 1848 (10.8 percent of the state's popular vote), that party achieved limited success in the congressional elections held the previous month (see Table XLI). Although the major party candidates generally were successful, two Free Soilers (Joshua R. Giddings of District 20 and Joseph M. Root of District 21) were elected as members of the Ohio delegation. Moreover, Lewis D. Campbell of District 2 and William F. Hunter of District 15 owed their election to a coalition of Whigs and Free Soilers. All four Ohioans were present or former members of the Whig Party. Giddings and Root both had represented their districts in the Thirtieth Congress as Whigs; Campbell replaced Whig Representative David Fisher while Hunter succeeded a Democrat, William Kennon.

Despite the election of the Free Soilers, Democratic congressmen once again constituted a majority of the Ohio representatives. Besides the two Free Soilers, eleven Democrats were elected along with only eight Whigs. Late in the Thirty-first Congress, this division changed to ten Democrats and nine Whigs when Whig Representative John Bell joined the delegation in 1851 when he filled the seat previously held by Rudolphus Dickinson.³

TABLE XLI

OHIO CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS: OCTOBER 1848

District	Representative	Party	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE		
			Democrat	Whig	Other
1	Disney, David T.	Democrat	50.9	34.5	14.6
2	Campbell, Lewis D.	Whig-FS	48.4	51.6	-
3	Schenck, Robert	Whig	46.5	53.5	-
4	Corwin, Moses	Whig	38.8	54.8	6.4
5	Potter, Emery D.	Democrat	62.2	37.5	.3
6	Dickinson, Rodolphus	Democrat	58.8	41.2	-
7	Morris, Jonathan D.	Democrat	59.4	29.9	10.7
8	Taylor, John L.	Whig	47.1	52.9	-
9	Olds, Edson B.	Democrat	50.3	49.7	-
10	Sweetser, Charles	Democrat	49.5	49.4	1.1
11	Miller, John K.	Democrat	62.6	37.4	-
12	Vinton, Samuel F.	Whig	40.6	53.2	6.2
13	Whittlesey, William	Democrat	51.4	48.6	-
14	Evans, Nathan	Whig	46.9	53.1	-
15	Hunter, William F.	Whig-FS	48.6	51.4	-
16	Hoagland, Moses	Democrat	54.0	45.5	.5
17	Cable, Joseph	Democrat	50.2	45.5	4.3
18	Cartter, David K.	Democrat	60.0	40.0	-
19	Crowell, John	Whig	44.0	56.0	-
20	Giddings, Joshua R.	Free Soil	33.6	-	66.4
21	Root, Joseph M.	Free Soil	41.6	-	58.4

Source: Robert A. Diamond, ed., Congressional Quarterly's Guide to United States Elections (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1975), p. 588.

In addition to the success of the Free Soil Party, the congressional election returns in 1848 also provided another indicator of the increasing attraction of the free soil position among Ohioans. Although only 60 percent of the Ohio congressmen in the Thirtieth Congress advocated free soil, four of every five congressmen re-elected had supported free soil in the Thirtieth Congress. The ten representatives returned included five pro free soil Whigs, two pro free soil Whigs who had bolted to the Free Soil Party, one pro free soil Democrat, and two moderate Democrats. In addition, Democrat Emery D. Potter, who was elected in District 5, previously had served in the Twenty-eighth Congress where he had voted as a moderate on the free soil issue.⁴

As in the Thirtieth Congress, Ohio's Senators represented different parties and assumed different attitudes on the free soil issue. Whig Tom Corwin, a free soil moderate, served as Senator until July 20, 1850 when he resigned to accept an appointment as Secretary of the Treasury. A week later, Whig Governor Seabury Ford appointed another Whig, Thomas Ewing, to replace Corwin. Although Corwin earlier had supported the Wilmot Proviso and opposed compromise legislation, he increasingly adopted a more conciliatory tone after joining the pro compromise Fillmore administration. Senator Ewing voted on only five free soil roll calls but espoused his ideas frequently on the floor of Congress. Ewing endorsed the principle of the

Wilmot Proviso but, fearing disunion, he also became an enthusiastic advocate of compromise.⁵

Despite the success of the Ohio Democracy in the election of 1848, William Allen lost his seat in the Senate the following spring. The Democracy carried Ohio's electoral votes for Cass and elected a majority of the representatives in the congressional delegation but failed to secure control of the state legislature. Consequently, in 1849 the state legislature, considering Allen too moderate on the free soil issue, replaced him with Salmon P. Chase, a Free Soiler.⁶

Chase, a former Liberty Party leader and an advocate of a Free Soil and Democratic coalition, secured his election to the Senate through unusual circumstances. A small group of Free Soilers achieved a balance of power in the Ohio state legislature as neither the Whigs or Democrats constituted a majority. Two former Democrats, Free Soilers Norton Townsend and Samuel Morse, made a bargain with Samuel Medary and other conservative Democrats. In return for their support in granting disputed seats to Democratic legislators from Hamilton County and electing Democratic candidates to the state supreme court, the old line Democracy aided the Free Soilers in a partial repeal of the black laws and the election of Free Soilers to minor offices in addition to recognizing the election of Whig-Free Soil coalition candidate, Seabury Ford, in the disputed gubernatorial

contest.⁷ Most importantly, the soft-money Democrats agreed to aid in the election of Chase to the Senate.⁸ Once in Washington, Chase attempted to identify himself with the Democratic Senators. They refused to accept him as one of their own and denied him committee membership and access to their caucus.⁹

Within the Ohio delegation, the number of congressmen who advocated free soil grew from fourteen to fifteen after 1848 despite the nationwide movement for compromise (see Table XLII). Although most other free state delegations, in the spirit of compromise, adopted a more moderate position on free soil, the Ohioans vigorously continued their opposition to slavery extension. Resentful of past government policies and party practices which were perceived as pro-Southern and generally excluded from executive patronage throughout the decade, the Ohioans' adherence to national party discipline diminished. Only the small delegations from Wisconsin, Connecticut, and Vermont had a larger percentage of their members advocate free soil. Even the traditionally pro free soil Massachusetts delegation demonstrated less sympathy for slavery restriction during the Thirty-first Congress. Conservative reactions in New York and Pennsylvania also eroded much of the free soil support among those states' delegations.¹⁰

By 1849 widespread support for free soil in Ohio had negated the importance of Democratic or Whig affiliation as

TABLE XLII

31ST CONGRESS: CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS AND
VOTING ON FREE SOIL ISSUE

State	Size of Delegation*	VOTE ON FREE SOIL		
		Pro	Mod	Anti
Alabama	9	-	2	7
Arkansas	3	-	2	1
California	3	-	-	-
Connecticut	6	5	-	-
Delaware	3	-	3	-
Florida	3	-	1	2
Georgia	10	-	-	7
Illinois	9	2	6	-
Indiana	12	3	9	-
Iowa	4	-	3	-
Kentucky	12	-	5	7
Louisiana	6	-	-	4
Maine	9	3	5	-
Maryland	8	-	4	2
Massachusetts	12	6	3	-
Michigan	5	2	3	-
Mississippi	6	-	2	4
Missouri	7	-	6	1
New Hampshire	6	3	3	-
New Jersey	7	4	2	-
New York	36	16	18	-
North Carolina	11	-	5	6
Ohio**	23	15	6	-
Pennsylvania	26	7	16	-
Rhode Island	4	2	2	-
South Carolina	9	-	1	7
Tennessee	13	-	4	9
Texas	4	-	-	4
Vermont	6	5	1	-
Virginia	17	-	5	11
Wisconsin	5	5	-	-
TOTAL	294	78	117	68

* Many of the congressional delegations had members that did not vote on at least half of the roll call votes; therefore, the total number of congressmen listed as voting may not be the same number as the total number in the delegation.

** Democratic Representative John K. Miller of District 11 and Democratic Representative Amos E. Wood of District 6

TABLE XLII (Continued)

were not included in the scalogram as they voted on less than half of the free soil roll calls.

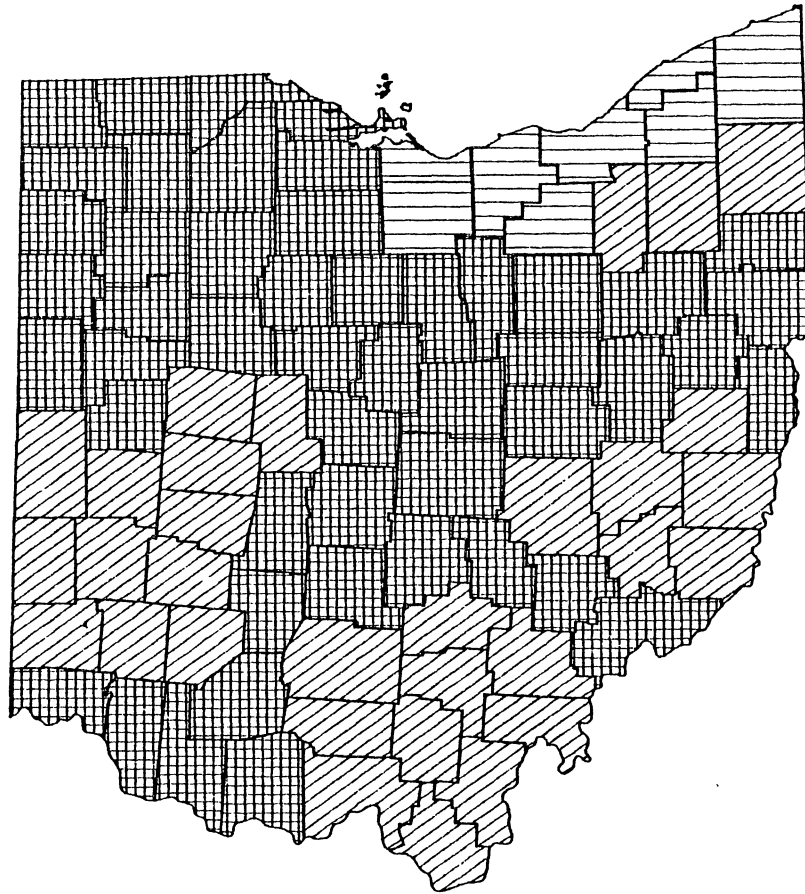
an indicator of voting behavior on that issue (see Table XLIII). Among both Democrats and Whigs, just over 65 percent of the congressmen voted in the pro free soil scale position. Whig voting unity on free soil roll calls decreased from 100 percent in the Thirtieth Congress to 95 percent in the Thirty-first. Although most Whigs continued to advocate free soil, decreased Whig enthusiasm during the Thirty-first Congress can be attributed to the loss of the Conscience Whigs to the Free Soil Party and the heightened influence of conservative Whigs who feared the decline of party or disunion and, therefore, supported compromise. Conversely, Democratic roll call voting unity increased from 70 percent to 89 percent. The increase in free soil sentiment among Ohio Democrats stemmed primarily from two causes. First, anti-Southern attitudes increased after the election of 1848. Convinced that slave state Democrats had favored the election of the slaveholding Taylor over Cass, the idea of a political "slave power" reached unprecedented acceptance among Ohio Democrats. Second, although support for the Free Soil Party in Ohio came largely from Whigs, the Ohio Democracy became increasingly opposed to slavery extension in an effort to diffuse defections to the third party.¹¹

The collapse of party discipline among the Democratic and Whig members of the delegation also was reflected in a comparison of free soil voting patterns with district boundaries (see Figures 8 and 9). Whig congressmen from

TABLE XLIII

31ST CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE,
AND PARTY DIVISION

Scale Position	Democrat	Whig	Free Soil	Total
Pro Free Soil	(6) 66.67	(6) 66.67	(3) 100.0	(15) 71.43
Moderate	(3) 33.33	(3) 33.33	-	(6) 28.57
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-	-
TOTAL:	(9) 100.0	(9) 100.0	(3) 100.0	(21) 100.0






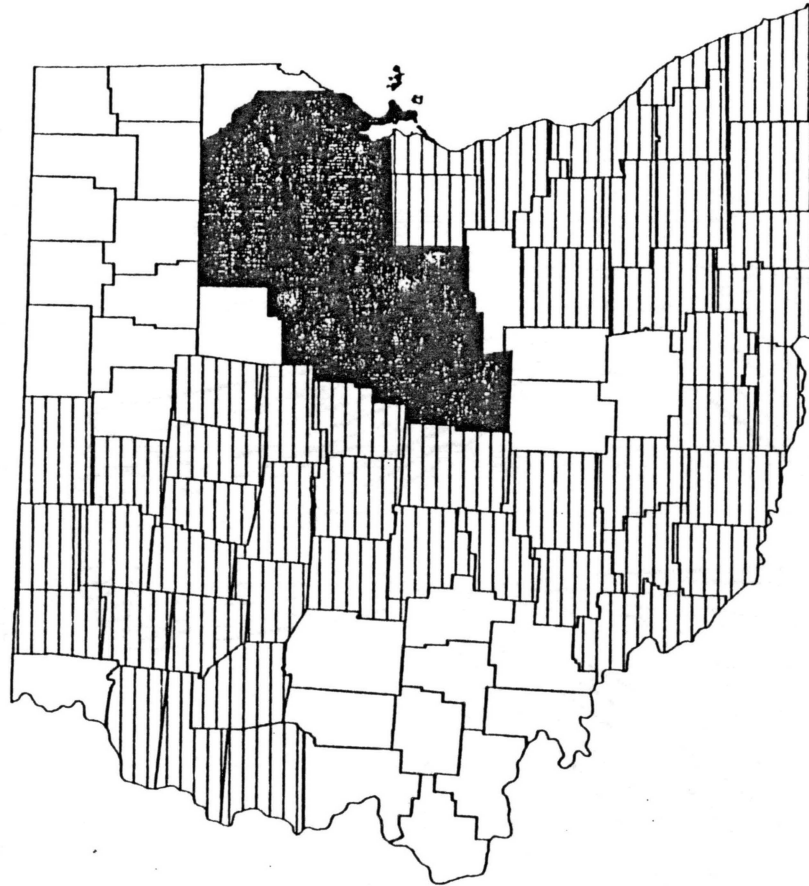
PARTY  DEMOCRAT  WHIG  FREE SOIL

Figure 8. Ohio Congressmen and Political Party: 31st Congress





VOTE  MODERATE  PRO FREE SOIL  UNKNOWN

Figure 9. Ohio Congressmen and Free Soil Vote: 31st Congress

districts in the Western Reserve and south central Ohio continued to advocate free soil as did the two Free Soil representatives from the Western Reserve. Whig congressmen representing districts in the southeastern portion of the state, however, voted as moderates. Democratic congressmen of districts in the southwestern and northeastern portions of the state were divided between advocates of free soil and moderates while representatives from northwestern Ohio continued to vote as moderates.

Political party affiliation was important in explaining the voting behavior of the Ohio Free Soilers. Both Free Soil representatives and Senator Chase adhered to the anti slavery extension plank of their party's platform adopted at Buffalo in 1848 and voted in favor of free soil. Additionally, the two Whigs supported by the third party movement voted against the extension of slavery.

Greater free soil support generally came from newly elected representatives of both major parties than from incumbent congressmen. Although the majority of congressmen in both categories voted in favor of free soil, there was a tendency for senior congressmen to be more willing to adopt a moderate position on free soil. Eight of the eleven representatives (72 percent) re-elected previously voted in favor of free soil. Of these eleven, however, only six (55 percent) continued to support free soil in the Thirty-first Congress. Of the ten freshman Representatives in the delegation, though, eight (80

percent) advocated free soil. One possible explanation for the difference in voting patterns between new and veteran congressmen may be that those representatives who had previously served in Congress felt a closer tie towards national unity within their party and, therefore, were more prone to compromise. Moreover, the newly elected congressmen may have identified more with the free soil issue as a campaign obligation.

Although moderate attitudes existed among both Democrats and Whigs, the majority of Ohio congressmen (70 percent) by 1850 favored free soil. Within this group of free soil advocates, however, different attitudes on that issue existed. Support naturally was strongest among the Free Soil members of the delegation. Senator Chase was a leading proponent of free soil and fought against the extension of the Missouri Compromise line. Although he admitted that slavery was a state institution, he insisted that Congress had the authority to ban slavery in national territory as it violated the Fifth Amendment which guaranteed that no one can be denied life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Consequently, he insisted that although Congress could prohibit slavery in the territories, they had no power to establish it. Despite his outspoken advocacy of free soil, Chase tempered his anti-Southern rhetoric in hopes of broadening support for an antislavery party. In January 1850, he admitted that the "free Democracy" (Free Soil/Democratic coalition)

was "a party which is sometimes sectional" but stated his hope that the organization would gain "friends in many of the slaveholding states."¹²

The two Ohio Free Soil Representatives, Giddings and Root, were more critical of the South. Convinced that the "slave power" controlled both the Democratic and Whig parties, the Free Soilers agitated the territorial and slavery issues to preserve their party's existence and broaden its base of support in the North. Giddings, the most outspoken free soil advocate in the House, agreed with Chase that although slavery was a local institution, Congress had the power to legislate for the territories. He insisted, however, that the Wilmot Proviso did not exclude southerners from the territories. Instead, by preventing competition between slave and free labor, men of every state were allowed to go there "upon terms of perfect equality."¹³ Representative Root also vigorously supported free soil and downplayed the idea that it threatened the existence of the Union. In February 1850, he stated that he suspected "that this argument is based rather upon the fear that it will disturb the harmony of party . . . than the harmony of the country."¹⁴ As the country previously had acquired and ceded territory away under the treaty-making power, Root was convinced that precedent permitted Congress to legislate on free soil and, like the other Free Soilers, he opposed the extension of the Missouri Compromise line telling Congress: "I cannot

compromise upon a question of human freedom -- and, so help me God, I will not."¹⁵

Despite the desertion of the Conscience Whigs to the Free Soil Party, most Ohio Whigs continued to support free soil. When their free soil attitudes are examined along with their voting records, though, two distinct groups emerge. The first group, consisting of Representatives Lewis D. Campbell, Moses B. Corwin, John Crowell, and William F. Hunter not only voted for free soil but actually worked closely with the Free Soilers in agitating against Southern political power. Congressman Crowell began the Thirty-first Congress as a moderate but rapidly drifted towards the more radical camp. He favored free soil but also supported President Taylor's "non-intervention" policy and minimized the threat of a "slave power" in government; at least until Southerners began to demand that the national government "protect, sustain, and extend" slavery. Although Crowell did not believe that disunion threatened in 1850, he declared that he was jealous of the "institution of slavery, and of the schemes and movements of its friends and advocates." Moreover, he declared that slaves held "the same love of freedom that inspires us and the struggling sons of liberty everywhere."¹⁶ This group of Whigs pointed to the Ordinance of 1787 as evidence that the founding fathers opposed the spread of slavery and discounted the idea of a balance in the Senate between the free and slave states. Representative Corwin, for

instance, countered Southern objections to the admittance of California as a free state by questioning whether "any sane man seriously [would] contend that an equilibrium of the free States and the slave States was contemplated, or ever entered into the minds of those who established this Government?"¹⁷ In April 1850, he cautioned Southern congressmen that

inasmuch as you have had the reins of the Government in your hands for about fifty years, we of the free States are going to have a kind of political "jubilee"; or, to speak more direct and explicit, we are going to stand at the helm ourselves, at least for a season; and we lay down this general principle in advance, which is, that no more slave territory shall, in any event, ever be added to this Union.¹⁸

Although the second group of Whigs also advocated free soil, their concern for the fate of the Whig Party made them more receptive to alternative solutions to the slavery extension controversy. Moreover, their support for free soil was not accompanied with anti-Southern rhetoric. These Whigs included Representatives Nathan Evans and Robert C. Schenck. Schenck, for example, conceded that that Congress had the authority to determine the status of slavery only during the territorial stage but predicted that if territorial governments were antislavery, then probably the state governments would become antislavery also.¹⁹

Most Ohio Democrats supported free soil during the Thirty-first Congress yet they were less vocal than the

Free Soilers and most Whigs in their advocacy of that measure. Angered at their southern counterparts for the election of a southern Whig as president and anxious to cultivate support from the growing free soil movement, several Ohio Democrats voted for free soil.

Representatives Joseph Cable, David K. Cartter, Jonathan D. Morris, Edson B. Olds, Charles Sweetser, and William A. Whittlesey all voted in favor of free soil. Representative Amos E. Wood also advocated free soil although he voted on less than half of the roll calls. Free Soiler Salmon Chase, however, believed that only Cable, Cartter, Morris, and Wood were "heartily opposed to the extension of slavery."²⁰ These pro free soil Democrats differed from their Whig counterparts as they denied that the Ordinance of 1787 established a legitimate precedent for Congress to restrict slavery. First, the Ordinance of 1787 predated the constitution. Second, not only had the existence of the Black Laws violated the antislavery provision of the Ordinance but also the admission of Wisconsin created a sixth state from the Old Northwest contrary to Ordinance specifications. Moreover, the Democrats opposed the extension of the Missouri Compromise line but admitted that territory was granted to the national government and not to the state governments collectively.²¹

The behavior of Representatives Olds and Sweetser illustrates the confused situation in the Ohio Democracy as

congressmen attempted to adhere to the national party's "popular sovereignty" platform while appeasing constituencies who clamored for free soil. Sweetser emphatically denied that popular sovereignty would permit the extension of slavery for he believed that climate and migration patterns would establish a large free state population in the Mexican Cession who would then deny the introduction of slavery. He argued that "the northern Democracy would not permit the perversion, nor submit to any construction of the issue openly and fairly made in 1848, which would sanction the extension of slavery into free territory."²² A member of the conservative Democratic faction, Olds claimed that his votes for free soil were to honor a campaign pledge for he regarded the "doctrine of 'non-intervention' [popular sovereignty] as the most effectual means of excluding slavery from all the free territory of the United States."²³ Olds was not theoretically "opposed to the admission of slave territory into the United States; but he was utterly opposed to the extension of slavery into territory that was free."²⁴ He believed it was not necessary, though, to wear a "Wilmot Proviso badge" to demonstrate one's opposition to slavery extension.²⁵ Moreover, Olds felt that the free soil issue was a disruptive influence in Congress. He urged House Democrats to "lay aside their sectional feelings; to bury deep in oblivion their sectional prejudices, and to bring together their common energies [and] turn back the

mighty tide of disunion now deluging the country."²⁶

Despite their rhetoric, however, both Olds and Sweetser repeatedly voted against popular sovereignty and in favor of free soil during the Thirty-first Congress.

The appearance of Free Soilers in the delegation and the similar voting patterns in favor of free soil which members of the two major parties adopted led to a corresponding increase in anti-Southern attitudes. Examination of voting behavior with regard to the birthplace of Ohio congressmen, for example, indicated that heritage influenced free soil attitudes (see Tables XLIV and XLV). Members of the Ohio delegation born in free states overwhelmingly voted in favor of free soil while most congressmen born in slave states voted as moderates.

Although two-thirds of the Ohio moderates were born in slave states, most of them also were veteran congressmen. All of the Ohio Whig moderates, for instance, had served prior to 1849 in the congressional delegation. Whig Senator Corwin and Representatives John L. Taylor and Samuel F. Vinton all voted as moderates. Whig Senator Ewing also gave limited support to compromise legislation. Whig moderates generally minimized their support for free soil for two reasons. First, they expressed a fear of its disruptive influence on the two party system. Second, they remained supportive of the Whig administrations under Zachary Taylor which adopted a policy of "non-intervention" and then under Millard Fillmore which advocated a

TABLE XLIV

31ST CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE,
AND SECTION OF BIRTH

Scale Position	a		b		Foreign	Total
	Free State		Slave State			
Pro Free Soil	(13)	86.67	(2)	33.33	-	(15) 71.43
Moderate	(2)	13.33	(4)	66.67	-	(6) 28.57
Anti Free Soil	-		-		-	-
<hr/>						
TOTAL:	(15)	100.0	(6)	100.0	-	(21) 100.0

a = Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York,
Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont

b = Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia

TABLE XLV

31ST CONGRESS: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, FREE SOIL ISSUE AND REGION OF BIRTH

Scale Position	a		b		c		d	
	New England	Mid-Atlantic	Northwest	South Atlantic	Other			
Pro Free Soil	(5) 71.43	(3) 60.00	(6) 85.71	(1) 50.00	-			
Moderate	(2) 28.57	(2) 40.00	(1) 14.29	(1) 50.00	-			
Anti Free Soil	-	-	-	-	-			
TOTAL:	(7) 100.00	(5) 100.00	(7) 100.00	(2) 100.00	-			

a = Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
b = Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania
c = Kentucky, Ohio
d = Virginia

compromise solution. Representative Taylor, for instance, frequently voted for free soil although he was opposed to extremists in both the North and the South. He preferred President Taylor's policy to the Wilmot Proviso. Taylor justified his votes in support of the Wilmot Proviso as being cast for national prosperity and explained that his intent was not "to draw a cordon of free States around the slaveholding States."²⁷ After President Taylor's death in July 1850, Representative Taylor quickly shifted his allegiance to the Fillmore administration. Congressman Vinton also voted as a moderate as he felt that the Missouri Compromise line should go to the Pacific Ocean, and that they "who opposed the extension of that line were now acting in bad faith."²⁸

The small number of Democrats who voted as moderates during the Thirty-first Congress were all members of the conservative Cass faction of the party which favored the principle of "popular sovereignty" over free soil. This group consisted of Representatives David Disney, Moses Hoagland, and Emery D. Potter. Although he voted on less than half of the free soil roll calls, Representative John Miller also must be identified as a moderate for he worked closely with conservative Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas in planning compromise strategy.²⁹ All of them except for Disney had served as members of the congressional delegation prior to the Thirty-first House. Although he was a freshman congressman, Disney was

representative of the moderate Ohio Democrats. While Disney was opposed to the institution of slavery, he voted against the Wilmot Proviso as he believed it was unconstitutional. Nevertheless, he insinuated that if free soil was adopted, the South deserved it for permitting the election of Zachary Taylor:

Slavery I hold to be a great political and moral evil. It has brought upon us the reproach of the civilized world; but its doom has been pronounced, and neither passion nor interest, nor both combined, can avert its fate. But my feelings cannot blind me to the law. The extension of slavery will be prevented by other means than Congressional prohibition. The law of Mexico prohibited slavery in the territories we acquired from her, and that law is in force there yet The "proviso" is a shibboleth. It is made the test of men's favor toward slavery What matters it to them that the soil, the climate, the productions, the laws of the customs of the country, all prohibit slavery in New Mexico and California? If, contrary to my belief, the provision shall receive the Presidential sanction, our southern brethren will remember that the result is one which they have fairly earned. To them is the honor of the last political campaign. We have ³⁰tried to please them, but they exact too much.

Instead of free soil, Disney advocated popular sovereignty. He concluded that precedence dictated that "the people of the territories will settle this question for themselves."³¹ Representative Hoagland agreed that popular sovereignty was the correct solution to the free soil question. In June 1850 Hoagland declared "the people who inhabit territories should have the right to decide upon the character of their domestic institutions, without the intervention of Congress."³² He believed that free

soil agitation was a "profitless struggle" which the radicals in the North and South "seem to subsist upon . . . [and] doubtless fear that they may perish with the smothered flames."³³ He argued that it was "a well known fact, that the extremists on both sides, do not desire that this excitement should be stayed. Hence they oppose a compromise."³⁴

Despite the pleas for moderation from a few Ohio congressmen, national party unity was sacrificed to regional loyalty for most of the delegation members. The growth of anti-Southern sentiment among the Ohio delegation was evident particularly in the delegation's response to the final passage of the Compromise of 1850 in August and September (see Tables XLVI and XLVII). Most Ohio congressmen opposed Clay's Omnibus Bill as well as the final Compromise engineered by Stephen Douglas. Of the five parts of the Compromise, Ohio congressmen supported only the pro-Northern bills and opposed pro-Southern concessions. Giddings, for instance, opposed both Whig and Democratic efforts to reach a compromise settlement on the slavery issue and considered the Compromise of 1850, like the annexation of Texas, Florida statehood, and the Mexican War to be merely another act to appease the "slave power." He believed that conservative Whigs such as Daniel Webster and President Fillmore had "pledged fealty to the slave power" and expressed disgust at those free state congressmen who advocated free soil in the election of 1848

TABLE XLVI³⁹

31ST CONGRESS: OHIO SENATORS AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

Senators*		Compromise Votes					
Name	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6
-----	-----	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chase	Free Soil	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ewing	Whig	+	o	+	o	+	+

* = Senators Chase and Ewing also had earlier opposed Clay's Omnibus bill. In a roll call taken on July 31, 1850 both Ohions voted against the measure.

Senate Votes

Vote #1 - Nay to union of Texas boundary and New Mexico bills. September 9, 1850. Yea=31 Nay=10.

Vote #2 - Nay to pass New Mexico Territorial bill. August 15, 1850. Yea=27 Nay=10.

Vote #3 - Nay to pass Texas boundary bill. August 9, 1850. Yea=30 Nay=20.

Vote #4 - Nay to pass Fugitive Slave bill. August 23, 1850. Yea=27 Nay=12.

Vote #5 - Yea to admit California. August 13, 1850. Yea=33 Nay=19.

Vote #6 - Yea to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. September 16, 1850. Yea=33 Nay=19.

TABLE XLVII⁴⁰31ST CONGRESS: OHIO REPRESENTATIVES
AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

House of Representatives*		Compromise Votes				
Name	Party	1	2	3	4	5
-----	-----	-	-	-	-	-
Cable	Democrat	+	+	+	+	+
Campbell	Whig-FS	+	+	+	+	+
Cartter	Democrat	+	o	+	+	+
Corwin, M.	Whig	+	+	+	+	+
Crowell	Whig	+	+	+	+	+
Evans, N.	Whig	+	+	+	+	+
Giddings	Free Soil	+	+	+	o	+
Hunter	Whig-FS	+	+	+	+	+
Morris	Democrat	+	+	+	+	+
Root	Free Soil	+	+	+	o	+
Vinton	Whig	+	+	+	+	+
Olds	Democrat	o	+	+	o	+
Schenck	Whig	o	+	+	+	+
Sweetser	Democrat	o	+	+	o	+
Disney	Democrat	+	-	-	+	+
Hoagland	Democrat	-	-	-	+	+
Potter	Democrat	o	-	-	+	+
Taylor	Whig	-	+	-	+	+
Whittlesey	Democrat	+	o	-	+	+

* = Democratic Representatives Miller and Wood voted on less than half of the Compromise roll calls. Both Miller and Wood did vote in favor of the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Miller, however, voted for the Fugitive Slave bill while Wood opposed its passage.

House Votes	
Vote #1	- Nay to pass Fugitive Slave bill. September 12, 1850. Yea=109 Nay=76.
Vote #2	- Nay to pass Utah Territorial bill. September 7, 1850. Yea=97 Nay=85.
Vote #3	- Nay to pass "Little Omnibus" bill. September 6, 1850. Yea=108 Nay=97.
Vote #4	- Yea to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. September 17, 1850. Yea=124 Nay=59.
Vote #5	- Yea to admit California. September 7, 1850. Yea=150 Nay=56.

but now supported compromise.³⁵ He castigated Whig Representative Samuel F. Vinton for treating the slaveholders with "great delicacy" and, later accused those who supported the Compromise of 1850 of "moral and political cowardice."³⁶

Ohio Whigs and Democrats were less vocal than the Free Soilers but they generally opposed the Compromise also. Most of them wanted California admitted with her free state constitution unencumbered with compromise measures. Free soil advocate and Democratic Congressman Cartter, for example, believed that California should be admitted as a free state regardless of what was done with the remainder of the Mexican Cession. Whig Representative Crowell agreed stating that "the popular voice demands [the] instant and unconditional admission" of California.³⁷ He identified "sectional jealousies that now disturb the peace and harmony of the country" as the "legacy which the authors of the Mexican War bequeathed to us in their efforts to subdue new regions to the dominion of slavery."³⁸

Ohio congressmen opposed three of the five measures of the Compromise. The first of these was the Texas Boundary Bill. The boundary question involved granting ten million dollars to settle the boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico Territory. Texas claimed land west to the Rio Grande River (almost two hundred miles within the present-day boundary of New Mexico). Senators Chase and

Ewing both voted against the measure. Chase refused to pay for what he considered a worthless claim. He insisted that the boundaries of Texas be defined as those which existed at the time of annexation. Ewing also opposed Texas' claim to the eastern part of New Mexico as he believed that the original boundary of 1836 was more valid.⁴¹

The Ohio Representatives voted fourteen to five on September 6, 1850 against the "Little Omnibus" bill which joined the Texas boundary and New Mexico bills. Free Soiler Joshua Giddings opposed the bill for several reasons. He believed that the payment of ten million dollars to Texas was merely taxing both the North and the South to support slavery. Moreover, he complained that the bill granted Texas too much of New Mexico Territory and thereby permitted the extension of slavery. He warned that an increase in slave territory would increase the influence of the "slave power" for every five slaves provided Southern politicians the equivalent representation as three freedmen did in Ohio.⁴²

Support from Ohioans for the "Little Omnibus" came primarily from moderates. Democrats David Disney, Moses Hoagland, Emery D. Potter, and William Whittlesey along with Whig John L. Taylor dissented from the majority of the delegation and voted for the bill as a concession to the South for permitting slavery to be abolished in the District of Columbia and for admitting California as a free state. Despite Hoagland's vote, he cautioned Southern

congressmen that by using the federal government to settle the slavery question, a precedent was being established for abolitionists to do the same.⁴³

The second part of the Compromise which the Ohio delegation opposed involved the New Mexico and Utah Territorial Bills. These bills permitted the inhabitants of the territories to determine the status of slavery for themselves. In the vote taken August 15 in the Senate on the New Mexico Bill, Senator Chase voted no. He opposed "popular sovereignty" as he believed that the constitution forbade the existence of slavery in the territories. Chase argued that to hold a slave in the territories violated that provision which denies to Congress "all power to deprive any person of liberty without due process of law."⁴⁴ Senator Ewing did not record a vote; however, late in July he had urged that Congress refrain from organizing New Mexico Territory until its population increased as he did not want "a handful of people, so little intelligent as I understand they are, to fix the destinies of [the] great mass of people without their concurrence or consent."⁴⁵

Ohio Representatives also opposed the "popular sovereignty" bills. They voted fourteen to three against the Utah Territorial Bill on September 7. After the Fillmore administration endorsed the Territorial Bills, Congressman Giddings complained bitterly that the President had brought the Whig Party "entirely round into the

loco-foco doctrines of General Cass in 1848."⁴⁶

Representative Root earlier had demanded the organization of the territories despite their racially-mixed populations for he believed that if the "bowie-knife" governments in place were continued then slavery would be established. He refused, however, to organize them along the principle of "popular sovereignty" and, therefore, voted against the bill. Democratic Representative Cartter agreed that New Mexico should be organized stating that "if the interests of Minnesota, or Oregon, required representation, New Mexico did" also. Nevertheless, without antislavery restrictions, he refused to vote for the bill.⁴⁷

Support for "popular sovereignty" was restricted to a minority of the Ohio Democrats. The three congressmen who supported the Utah Bill were Democrats Disney, Hoagland, and Potter. They questioned the constitutional authority which permitted Congress to legislate on slavery in the territories. Disney, for example, admitted that the Texas Boundary Bill "might be a justifiable object on the part of Congress" but he remained convinced that only the inhabitants of the territories had the constitutional power to determine the status of local institutions.⁴⁸

The Fugitive Slave Act, which assisted slaveholders in recapturing their runaway slaves, was the third part of the Compromise which the Ohio delegation opposed. In the Senate, Chase voted against the bill as he believed it to be harsher than the fugitive slave law of 1793 because it

required Northerners to participate actively in the apprehension of fugitives and overruled state kidnapping laws. Moreover, he argued that a slave escaping to free territory became free as there was no legal continuance of the right of property. Although he admitted that Ohioans wanted a homogenous population, he declared that they would not drive blacks out of the state nor would they become slavecatchers for the South. Senator Ewing did not vote on the bill but complained that it was "loose, vague, incorrect, and inconclusive" legislation.⁴⁹

By a vote of fourteen to three, the Ohio Representatives opposed the fugitive slave law. Joshua Giddings complained that the fugitive slave law was inconsistent with the administration's "non-interference" policy. Moreover, he believed that "neither the law of 1793, nor the Constitution, contemplated the organization of northern freedmen into a constabulary force for catching negroes. Nor did it give the master a guard and assistance to carry back his slave at the expense of the nation."⁵⁰ Whig Representative Crowell stated that

The provisions of that bill, in my humble opinion, are needlessly harsh and unnecessary, and intended to irritate, or rather calculated to irritate, the feelings of the people in that portion of the country where the institution of slavery does not exist. Is it not enough for you to secure your own constitutional rights without trampling upon, and disregarding the feelings and even the prejudices of our citizens in other sections of the country?⁵¹

Support within the delegation for the Fugitive Slave

Bill came from a small group of free soil moderates. In the spirit of compromise, Democrats Hoagland and Miller along with Whig John L. Taylor favored passage of the fugitive slave law. Their position was predicated upon the belief that the strengthening of the existing fugitive slave law was not only justified within the South's constitutional rights but was small compensation in exchange for pro-Northern concessions.⁵²

Although the Ohioans opposed most of the Compromise, they unanimously supported two bills. The first of these was the bill for California statehood. This legislation provided for the admittance of California into the Union as a free state thereby upsetting the balance in the Senate in favor of the free states. Both Senators Chase and Ewing voted in favor of the California bill. Earlier in the Thirty-first Congress, Senator Corwin called for the immediate statehood of California and ridiculed the theory of an equilibrium between the slave and free states.⁵³

Ohio Representatives voted nineteen to zero in favor of California statehood. Whig John Crowell pronounced that he was "in favor of the immediate admission of California into the Union . . . with its present ample boundaries and glorious free constitution" in the hope that "sectional animosities, so fruitful of mischief, would no longer exist among us, and peace and harmony be again restored to our councils."⁵⁴ Conservative Whigs Taylor and Vinton also demanded the admission of California as a free state. When

slave state congressmen advocated the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to create both a slave and free state from California, Democrat Cartter declared he considered the "question of the character of that government already determined, wisely and irreversibly determined, settled, and unalterably settled by the citizens of California in state convention assembled" to be free.⁵⁵ Free Soiler Root was pleased that California entered the Union as a free state but regretted that a provision had not been included to divide California into five states: "We could then carve out of California a free state to go along with any slave state that might be carved out of Texas."⁵⁶

The abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was the second part of the Compromise which the Ohio congressmen supported. Several of the congressmen such as Giddings and Chase would have liked to abolish slavery altogether in the District. Finding the proximity of slave auctions to the nation's capitol morally repugnant, Senators Chase and Ewing both supported the bill and the Representatives voted seventeen to zero to pass the bill. Free Soiler Giddings often challenged his colleagues in Congress if they would "stifle the voice of humanity, and suffer the slave trade in this city to continue unrebuked?"⁵⁷ Although Democrat Disney voted in favor of abolishing the slave trade, he believed that "the will of the people of the District of Columbia of right ought at

all times to govern the action of Congress in relation to the existence of slavery within its limits."⁵⁸

Democrat Hoagland also voted to pass the bill but argued that although Congress may "technically possess the power to abolish it . . . to do so without the consent of the donating states, and especially the people of the District . . . would [be] . . . exceedingly mischievous in its practical tendencies."⁵⁹

The Thirty-first Congress ended with the free soil issue temporarily resolved after four years of intensive debate. Among the Ohio delegation, though, the free soil issue had aroused strong anti-Southern resentment which pervaded Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers alike. While most other free state delegations experienced a conservative reaction from 1849-1851, the Ohio congressmen continued to oppose the extension of slavery aggressively. Willing only to support pro-Northern bills, most of the Ohio congressmen opposed passage of the entire Compromise of 1850. Viewed as yet another submission to the slaveholding interest, the Compromise failed to arrest anti-Southern and anti-slavery sentiment in Ohio although it did temporarily remove the issue of free soil from Congressional debate. Denied until 1854 of their most effective political issue to combat Southern political influence, slavery opponents in Ohio now turned their energies to the repeal of the new fugitive slave law which hastened the collapse of the second party system and the

sectional realignment of the parties.⁶⁰

ENDNOTES

¹Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:123, 300, 310, 469, 516, 711, 713, 752, 771, 772, 1113, 1083, 1134-1135, 1146, 1237, 1239, 1379, 1395, 1404, 1473, 1485, 1490, 1532, 1555, 1584.

²Ibid., pp. 91, 276, 497, 1749, 1755, 1757-1758, 1771. Examination of voting patterns in the 31st House also revealed that internal divisions existed within the slave states. In the Lower South (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas), 85 percent of the congressmen voted against free soil. In the Upper South (Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia), 63 percent of the congressmen opposed free soil while in the Border States (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri), only 36 percent of the congressmen voted anti free soil.

³After the death of Democrat Rudolphus Dickinson of District 6 in March 1849, Democrat Amos E. Wood was elected to fill the vacancy and took his seat on December 3, 1849. Wood's death the following November led to the selection of Bell who was seated on January 7, 1851. Representatives Bell and Dickinson never voted on a free soil roll call during the Thirty-first Congress while Representatives Miller and Wood voted only twice. Consequently, none of them appear in the scalogram. Dickinson and Miller had voted as moderates during the Thirtieth Congress. Miller voted against free soil on votes #2 and 5 while Wood voted pro free soil on votes #5 and 6 of the Thirty-first House scalogram. Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 2d Session, XX:29; Directory of the American Congress, pp. 151, 1099; Joseph Rayback, Free Soil: The Election of 1848 (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1970), p. 282.

⁴Directory of the American Congress, p. 1474.

⁵Certificate from Seabury Ford, Thomas Ewing Papers, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana; Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:97, 669, 1441; appendix, XXI:535, 1472, 1564, 1667. Senator Ewing failed to vote on at least half of the free soil roll calls and, therefore, was not included in the scalogram for the Thirty-first Senate. He did record five votes:

opposing free soil on votes #19, 25, and 28 while advocating free soil on votes #29 and 30.

⁶Allen's biographer, Reginald C. McGrane, attributed Allen's defeat to his failure to "approve of the aggressive stand of the Ohio Democrats towards slavery." McGrane, Allen, 135; Price, "The Election of 1848 in Ohio," pp. 288-311.

⁷Chase to Eli Nichols, November 9, 1848, Chase to Benjamin F. Butler, July 26, 1849, Chase to Charles Sumner, September 19, 1849, in Chase, "Diary and Correspondence," pp. 140-141, 180-182, 185-186; Julian, Recollections, pp. 61-62; Julian, Giddings, p. 267; Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, p. 473; Mayfield, Rehearsal for Republicanism, pp. 6-7, 128-129, 135, 137; Sumner to Chase, February 27, 1849, in Palmer, ed., "From Minority to Great Cause," p. 173; Chase to Stanley Matthews, December 23, 1848, Chase to Matthews, January 13, 1849, Chase to Matthews, January 27, 1849, in Nunns, ed., "Some Letters of Chase," pp. 536-539, 545, 547; Maizlish, Triumph of Sectionalism, pp. 131, 135, 145-146; Ashtabula Sentinel, March 3, 1849, March 29, 1850; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, January 13, 1849; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, January 6, 1849, March 6, 1849; Lebanon Western Star, March 2, 1849, September 22, 1849, October 5, 1849; Toledo Blade, September 8, 1848; Holt, Political Crisis of the 1850s, p. 72; Erickson, "Politics and Repeal of Ohio's Black Laws, 1837-1849," pp. 154-175.

⁸The state legislature did not elect Chase until the fourth ballot (the third was set aside due to an error in the number of votes). The results of the ballots were as follows:

Name of Candidate	Party	Ballot			
		1	2	3	4
Allen, W.	Democrat	27	1	-	-
Chase, S. P.	Free Soil (D)	14	52	55	55
Disney, D.	Democrat	1	-	-	-
Ewing, T.	Whig	41	41	39	39
Giddings, J. R.	Free Soil (W)	9	8	9	11
Hitchcock, R.	Free Soil (W)	1	-	-	-
Potter, E.	Democrat	2	-	-	-
Vaughan, J. C.	Whig	-	-	2	1
Blank		-	-	2	-
Total		106	106	106	106

Source: Ashtabula Sentinel, March 3, 1849.

⁹Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:40, 1859; 2d Session, XX:575; Townshend, "Chase," p.

119; Frederick J. Blue, The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics, 1848-54 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1973), p. 171.

¹⁰Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 2d Session, XX:29.

¹¹Blue, "The Ohio Free Soilers," pp. 17-32; William O. Lynch, "Anti-Slavery Tendencies of the Democratic Party in the Northwest, 1848-50," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI (December 1924), pp. 319-331; Porter and Johnson, comps., Party Platforms, pp. 10-15. The contest for Speaker of the House in 1849 also revealed the disruptive influence of free soil upon Congress and the two party system. For example, on December 28, 1849, the voting on the 60th and 63rd ballots was as follows:

Candidate	Party	60TH		63RD	
		House Vote	Ohio Vote	House Vote	Ohio Vote
Cobb	Democrat	(95)	(8)	(102)	(10)
Winthrop	Whig	(90)	(6)	(99)	(8)
Wilmot	Free Soil	(9)	(2)	(8)	(2)
Morehead	Whig	(4)	-	(4)	-
Strong	Democrat	(4)	(1)	(3)	-
Cabell	Whig	(4)	-	-	-
McGaughey	Whig	(3)	(2)	-	-
Potter	Democrat	(3)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Boyd	Democrat	(3)	-	(1)	-
Durkee	Free Soil	(1)	-	(1)	-
Bowie	Whig	(1)	-	-	-

Source: Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:5-6. Free Soilers Giddings and Root supported Wilmot on both ballots. Whigs M. Corwin, N. Evans, Hunter, Schenck, Taylor, and Vinton advocated Winthrop. Whigs Campbell and Crowell voted first for McGaughey but then for Winthrop. Democrats Disney, Hoagland, Miller, Morris, Olds, Potter, Sweetser, and Whittlesey favored Cobb on both ballots. Democrats Cable and Cartter joined them on the 63rd vote but Cable had voted for Strong previously. Democrat Amos Wood voted for Ohio Representative Emery D. Potter on both ballots. Free Soiler Joshua Giddings refused to support Winthrop against Cobb for he feared that Winthrop also was under the influence of the "slave power." He believed that if Winthrop was elected slavery would be permitted to continue in the District of Columbia and that the Massachusetts Whig would form House committees designed to frustrate free soil agitation. Despite the confusion existing in the House, Giddings opposed selection of the Speaker by a plurality of the votes as being oppressive of minority rights. Whig Representative Schenck, however,

defended Winthrop's past record as a free soil advocate against the charges of Giddings. Democrat Charles Sweetser felt that a compromise was necessary for he believed that the entire country demanded the immediate organization of the House. Democrat David Cartter agreed stating that "the House was involving itself in a premature controversy on the subject of slavery, and was presenting itself before the country in a ridiculous attitude of making a grave issue upon a mere ceremonial matter." Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:5-6, 15, 25, 49, 64, 81, 543. The collapse of alternatives on the free soil issue within the two major parties in Ohio also was evident in the voting of the Ohio State House of Representatives on that issue. In the 48th Assembly, three free soil roll calls were recorded. All of the Free Soil legislators votes were cast against slavery extension. Whig legislators cast 58 percent of their votes in favor of free soil and 48 percent of the Democratic votes supported free soil. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 48th Assembly, pp. 209, 218, 930.

¹²Townshend, "Salmon P. Chase," p. 119; Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:113, 1146; appendix, XXI:1620, 1622.

¹³Giddings, Speeches, pp. 398-399; Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 2d Session, XX:14.

¹⁴Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:106-107.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 107, 1215.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, appendix, XXI:692-692, 694.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 433.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 435.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 1st Session, XIX:1216.

²⁰Chase to Hamlin, January 12, 1850, March 16, 1850, in Chase, "Diary and Correspondence," pp. 195-197, 204-205; W. C. Weaver, "David Kellogg Cartter," The Historian, III (1941), pp. 165-180.

²¹Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:1177, 1186, 1408.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 1470.

²³*Ibid.*, appendix, XXI:1146.

²⁴*Ibid.*, XIX:1445.

²⁵Ibid., appendix, XXI:1146.

²⁶Ibid., p. 1150. Olds ultimately became a vigorous defender of Southern rights which cost him his congressional seat after the Thirty-third Congress. During the Civil War, he was imprisoned for disloyalty but was eventually released. During his confinement, Old's constituents elected him to the state legislature. Following Appomattox, Olds constructed a church but demanded that its administration be "free from the heresy of regarding slavery and rebellion as sins." National Cyclopedia of Biography, VI:167.

²⁷Ibid., 1st Session, XIX:778, 1123; appendix, XXI:687, 689-690.

²⁸Holt, Political Crisis of the 1850s, pp. 94-95; Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:1188, 1764, 1772, 1807, 1837; appendix, XXI:690; Chillicothe Daily Scioto Gazette, February 7, 1850, November 16, 1850.

²⁹Chase to E. S. Hamlin, January 12, 1850, March 16, 1850, in Chase, "Diary and Correspondence," pp. 195-197, 204-205; Nevins, Ordeal of the Union, I:303.

³⁰Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:276, 515; appendix, XXI:300, 303.

³¹Ibid., appendix, XXI:300-301.

³²Ibid., p. 663; Chase to Hamlin, January 12, 1850, in Chase, "Diary and Correspondence," pp. 195-197.

³³Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, appendix, XXI:663.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Giddings, Speeches, pp. 420, 443-444. For background on the Compromise of 1850 see R. P. Brooks, "Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, IV (December 1917), pp. 279-298; Holman Hamilton, "The 'Cave of the Winds' and the Compromise of 1850," Journal of Southern History, XXIII (Fall 1957), pp. 331-353; Holman Hamilton, "Democratic Senate Leadership and the Compromise of 1850," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLI (December 1954), pp. 403-418; Robert R. Russel, "What was the Compromise of 1850," Journal of Southern History, XXII (Summer 1956), pp. 292-309; F. H. Hodder, "Authorship of the Compromise of 1850," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXII (March 1936), pp. 525-536; Holt, Political Crisis, pp. 67-100.

³⁶Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:84.

³⁷Ibid., XIX:1177; appendix, XXI:662, 696.

³⁸Ibid., appendix, XXI:696.

³⁹Table XLVI depicts the voting of Ohio Senators on the final roll call votes of the Compromise of 1850. The six votes (an extra roll call which joined the Texas Boundary and New Mexico Territorial Bills is included) were rank ordered by marginal frequencies and coded so that a positive vote means a vote in favor of free soil. Consequently, a positive vote does not always equal a response of "yea" on the vote. On the Fugitive Slave bill, for example, a "nay" vote would be coded as positive while on the California statehood bill, a response of "yea" would be coded as positive.

⁴⁰Table XLVII depicts the voting of Ohio Representatives on the final roll call votes of the Compromise of 1850. The five votes were rank ordered by marginal frequencies and coded so that a positive vote means a vote in favor of free soil. Consequently, a positive vote does not always equal a response of "yea" on the vote. On the Utah Territorial bill, for instance, a "nay" vote would be coded as positive while on the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, a response of "yea" would be coded as positive.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 1557-1558, 1564.

⁴²Ibid., 1st Session, XIX:1216, 1561; appendix, XXI:662, 1125-1126, 1128; Hamilton, "The 'Cave of the Winds' and the Compromise of 1850," p. 347.

⁴³Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:1128.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 1146; appendix, XXI:1620.

⁴⁵Ibid., appendix, XXI:1472.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 1127.

⁴⁷Ibid., 1st Session, XIX:106-107, 1392.

⁴⁸Ibid., appendix, XXI:300-301.

⁴⁹Ibid., 1st Session, XIX:136; 2d Session, XX:575; appendix, XXI:1587, 1620, 1667. Continued Democratic resistance to black civil rights was indicated in the

voting patterns of the Ohio State House of Representatives on the black law issue. During the 49th Assembly, one roll call vote was taken on the black laws. All of the Free Soil votes cast were against the discriminatory legislation as were 96 percent of the Whig votes. Democratic legislators, though, cast only 48 percent of their votes against the black laws. Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 49th Assembly, p. 466.

⁵⁰Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 2d Session, XX:14; Giddings, Speeches, p. 431.

⁵¹Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 2d Session, XX:540.

⁵²Ibid., 1st Session, XIX:778. For background on the fugitive slave issue in Ohio see Leo Alilunas, "Fugitive Slave Cases in Ohio Prior to 1850," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XLIX (April 1940), pp. 160-184; A. J. Baughman, "The 'Underground Railway'," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XV (Summer 1906), pp. 189-191; S. S. Knabenshue, "The Underground Railroad," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XIV (Fall 1905), pp. 396-403; Wilbur H. Siebert, "Beginnings of the Underground Railroad in Ohio," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, LVI (January 1947), pp. 70-93; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Underground Railroad in Ohio," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, IV (1895), pp. 44-63; Florence B. Wright, "A Station on the Underground Railroad," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XIV (Summer 1905), pp. 164-169.

⁵³Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:669.

⁵⁴Ibid., appendix, XXI:690, 696.

⁵⁵Ibid., 1st Session, XIX:1177, 1219; appendix, XXI:687.

⁵⁶Ibid., 1st Session, XIX:106.

⁵⁷Giddings, Speeches, pp. 479-480; Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:543; appendix, XXI:1667.

⁵⁸Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:276.

⁵⁹Ibid., appendix, XXI:662.

⁶⁰Gamble, "Joshua Giddings and the Ohio Abolitionists," pp. 37-56; Holt, Political Crisis, p. 134.

CHAPTER VI

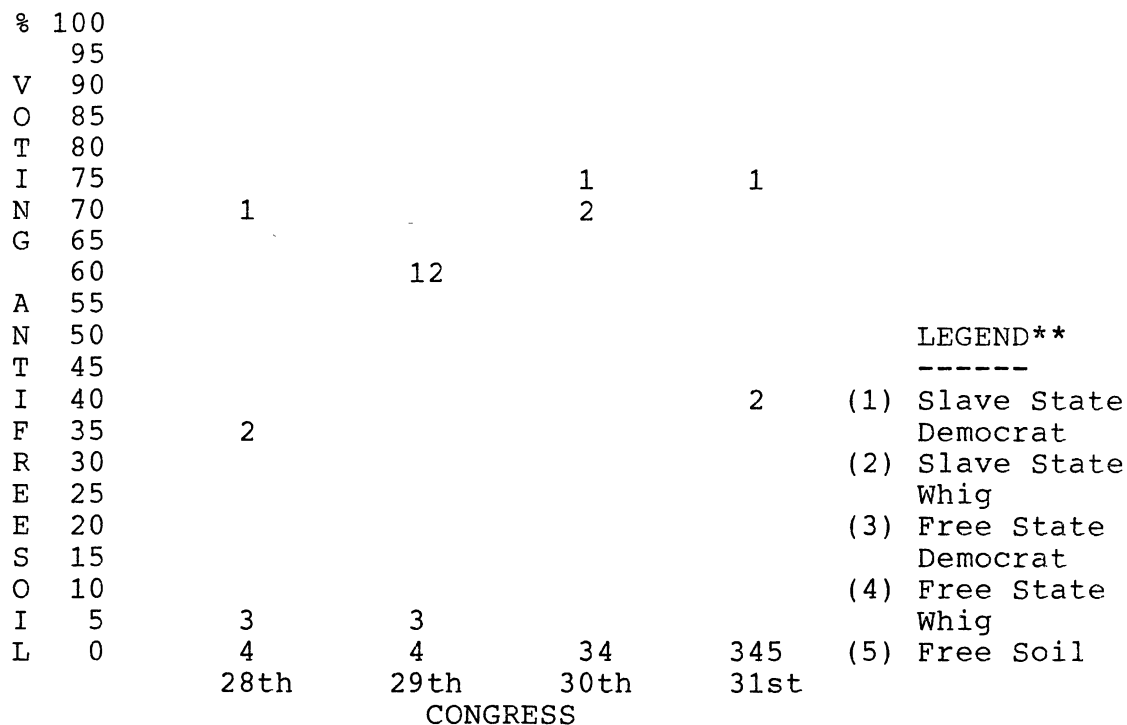
CONCLUSION

Although most historians have failed to concentrate on the voting behavior of Ohio congressmen in the antebellum period, analysis of the delegation from 1843 to 1851 indicated that the free soil issue had a significant impact on the attitudes of members of the two major parties. Despite the usefulness of studies on the Free Soilers, to evaluate the collapse of the second party system in Ohio and the national realignment of political power in the 1850s properly, the internal stability of the two major parties also must be considered. Although Ohio congressmen in 1843 voted with their party membership on free soil, by 1850 the majority of Ohio Democrats and Whigs supported free soil legislation and opposed a compromise solution.¹ The acceptance of the idea of a "slave power" conspiracy led to a shift in regional identification among these Ohio legislators. In 1843, most Ohioans considered themselves Westerners. By 1850, they spoke of themselves as Northerners. Although most Ohio Whigs voted in favor of free soil throughout the period, their continued cooperation with slave state Whigs resulted in

the Conscience Whigs, the most radical antislavery wing of the party, bolting to the Free Soil Party in 1848. Only a few Democrats, though, deserted their party and joined the Free Soilers. Instead, most Ohio Democrats remained within the national party but broke voting discipline on the free soil question by 1850.

To analyze the Ohio delegation's response to free soil, it first is necessary to understand the impact of free soil on the national legislature during the 1840s. The appearance of the free soil issue in 1843 disrupted Congress for seven years until the debate ended temporarily with passage of the Compromise of 1850. The question of slavery in the territories divided both the Democratic and Whig parties along sectional lines and led to the birth of a viable third party in the free states, the Free Soil Party. The moderate stance of free state Democrats prevented a crisis within that party but the collapse of the Whig Party was only averted in 1850 when both free and slave state Whigs shifted to a more moderate position on free soil.

The voting patterns of congressmen from 1843 to 1851 clearly indicated that opposition to free soil was concentrated in the slave states (see Figure 10). Free state Whigs and Free Soilers never voted consistently against free soil and, despite some dissent before 1847, free state Democrats also refused to oppose it vigorously. Opposition to free soil was strongest among slave state



* This graph depicts the percentage of congressmen by party and section voting in the third scale position (anti free soil).

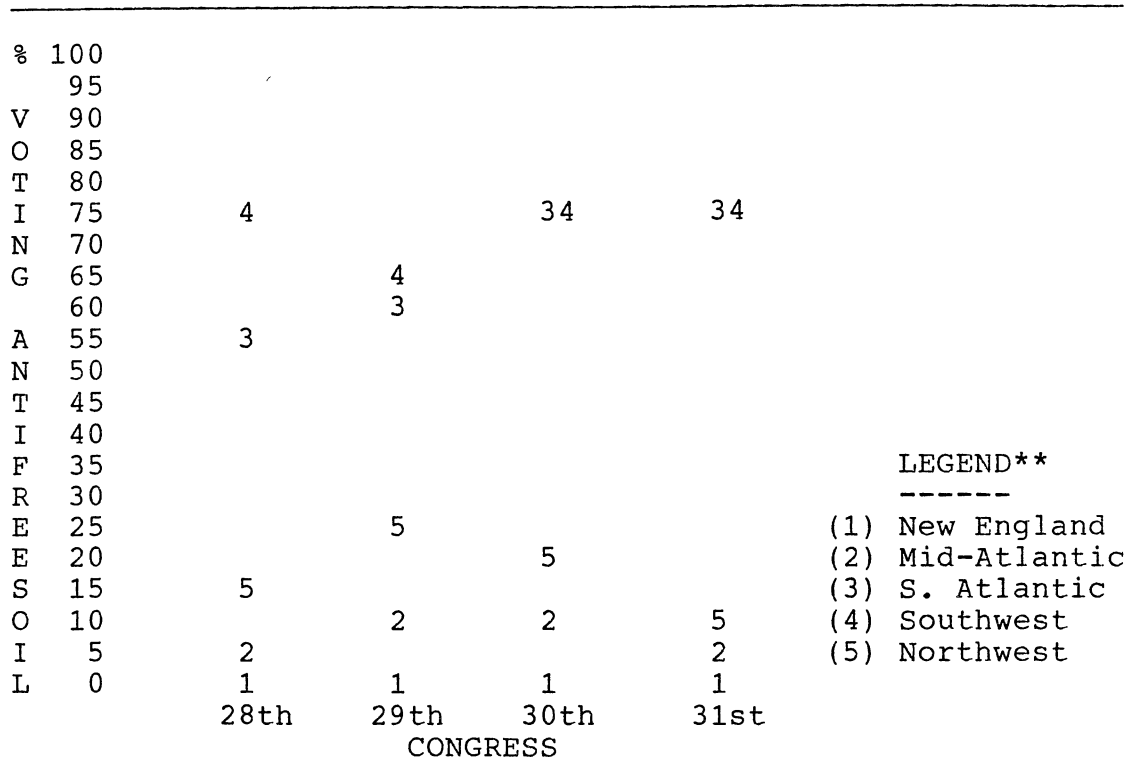
** Free States = California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin
Slave States = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia

Figure 10. Political Party, Slave/Free States and Anti Free Soil Voting: 28-31 Congress

Democrats. Slave state Whigs also generally voted against free soil, particularly in the Thirtieth Congress, but showed more moderation during the Twenty-eighth and Thirty-first Congress.

Examination of voting by section also confirmed that opposition to free soil was concentrated in the slave states and especially those congressmen representing the Lower South (see Figure 11). Throughout the period, over half of the congressmen from the Southwest and South Atlantic states voted against free soil. New England congressmen, though, never opposed it. In the Northwestern and Mid-Atlantic delegations, a small minority of congressmen, mostly from slave states such as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri voted against slavery restriction. Although a greater percentage of Northwestern than Mid-Atlantic congressmen resisted free soil, opposition in both sections peaked during the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Congress and then declined.

Conversely, support for free soil was found almost exclusively among free state congressmen (see Figure 12). Slave state Democrats never advocated free soil nor did slave state Whigs except for a small group in the Thirtieth Congress. Although most free state Democrats did not favor free soil, their support grew after 1845 and peaked during the Twenty-ninth and Thirty-first Congress when over one-third advocated free soil. Free state Whigs overwhelmingly endorsed free soil throughout the period;

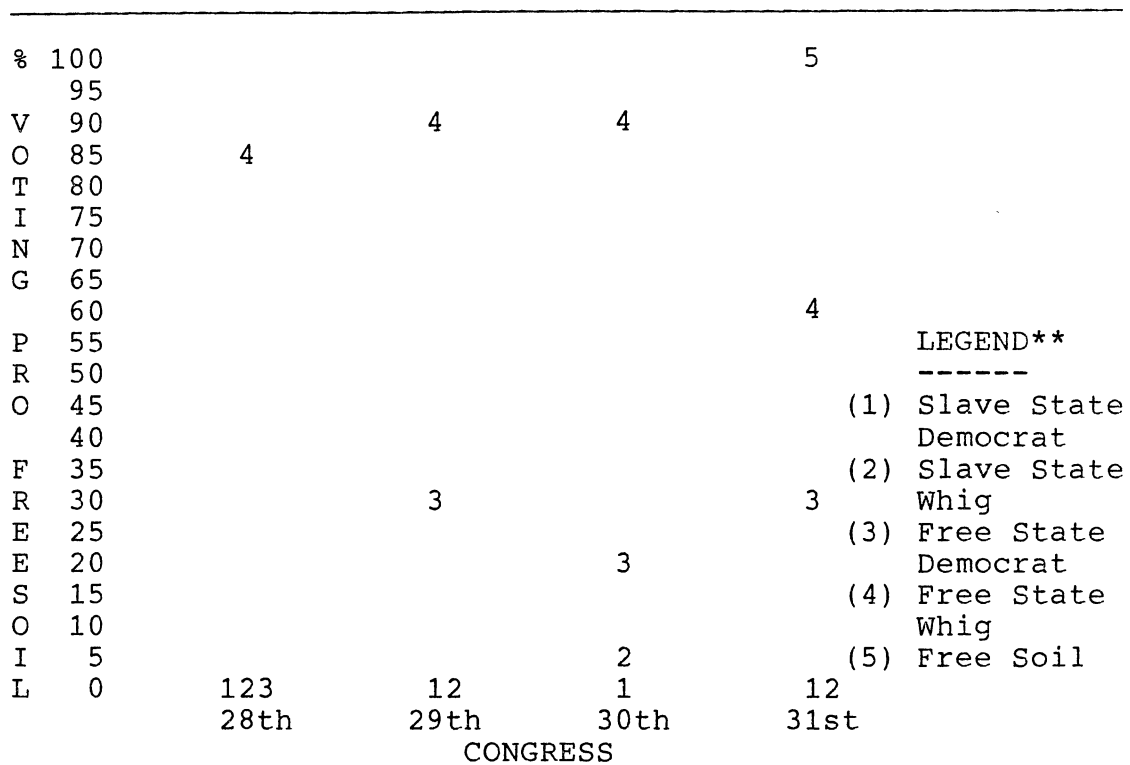


* This graph depicts the percentage of congressmen by section voting in the third scale position (anti free soil).

- ** New England = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
 Mid-Atlantic = Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania
 South Atlantic = Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia
 Southwest = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas
 Northwest = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

Figure 11. Anti Free Soil Voting by Section:
 28-31 Congress



* This graph depicts the percentage of congressmen by party and section voting in the first scale position (pro free soil).

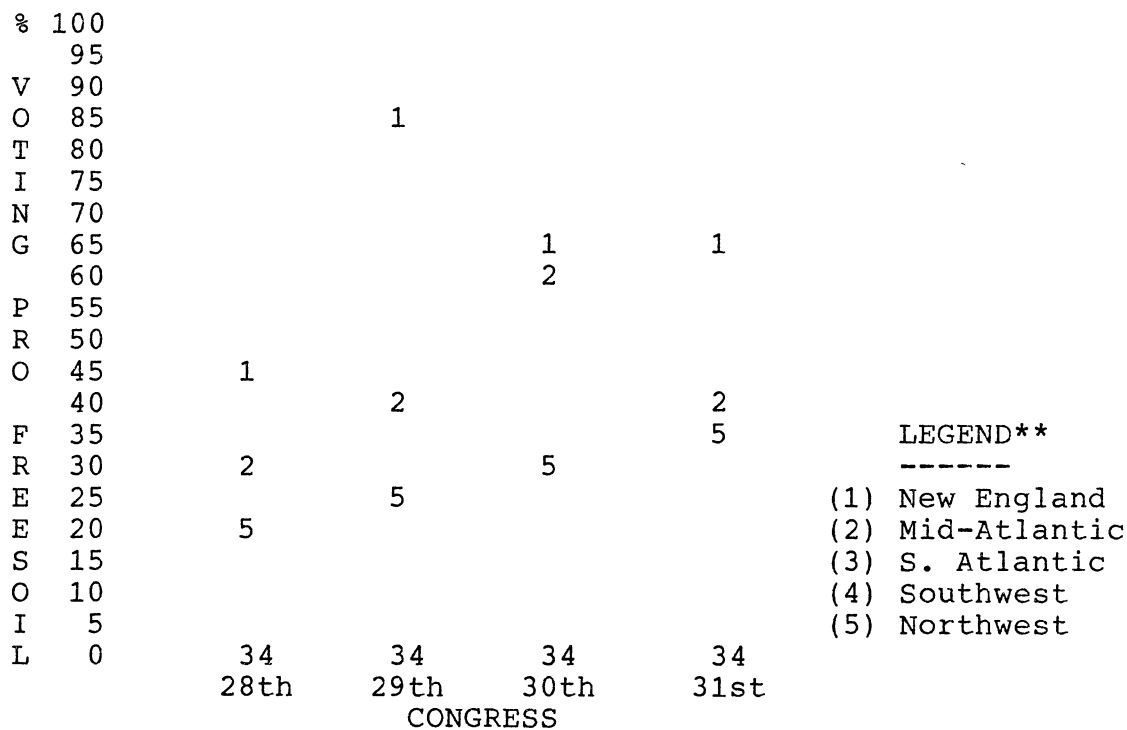
** Free State = California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin

Slave State = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia

Figure 12. Political Party, Slave/Free States, and Free Soil Voting: 28-31 Congress

however, after 1849, the percentage of Whigs favoring free soil fell to two-thirds. The decline in support primarily was due to the desertion of the pro free soil Conscience Whigs to the Free Soil Party although the number of moderate Whigs also increased slightly. The northern Free Soil Party congressmen all voted in favor of free soil during the period from 1849 to 1851.

Analysis of voting patterns by section further confirmed that congressmen with free state constituencies were more likely to support free soil (see Figure 13). Those delegations from the Southwest and South Atlantic states never voted in favor of free soil. New England congressmen demonstrated the most support for free soil throughout the period; however, advocates decreased following the Twenty-ninth Congress. The decline in support after 1847 can be traced to Massachusetts Whigs, particularly after the loss of the Conscience Whigs to the Free Soil Party, and to a lessening of support among Maine Democrats. Congressmen from the Mid-Atlantic states also showed considerable support for free soil but it never surpassed that of New England. In fact, during the Thirty-first Congress, advocates of free soil decreased some in the Mid-Atlantic states. The decline in free soil support after 1848 can be attributed to the Free Soil Party. As the radical Barnburner faction of the New York Democracy constituted the largest element of the Free Soil Party in the Mid-Atlantic states, the conservative and more



* This graph depicts the percentage of congressmen by section voting in the first (pro free soil) scale position.

** New England = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
 Mid-Atlantic = Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania
 South Atlantic = Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia
 Southwest = Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas
 Northwest = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin

Source: Composition of each region based upon United States Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853); J. D. B. DeBow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D. C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854).

Figure 13. Free Soil Voting by Section: 28-31 Congress

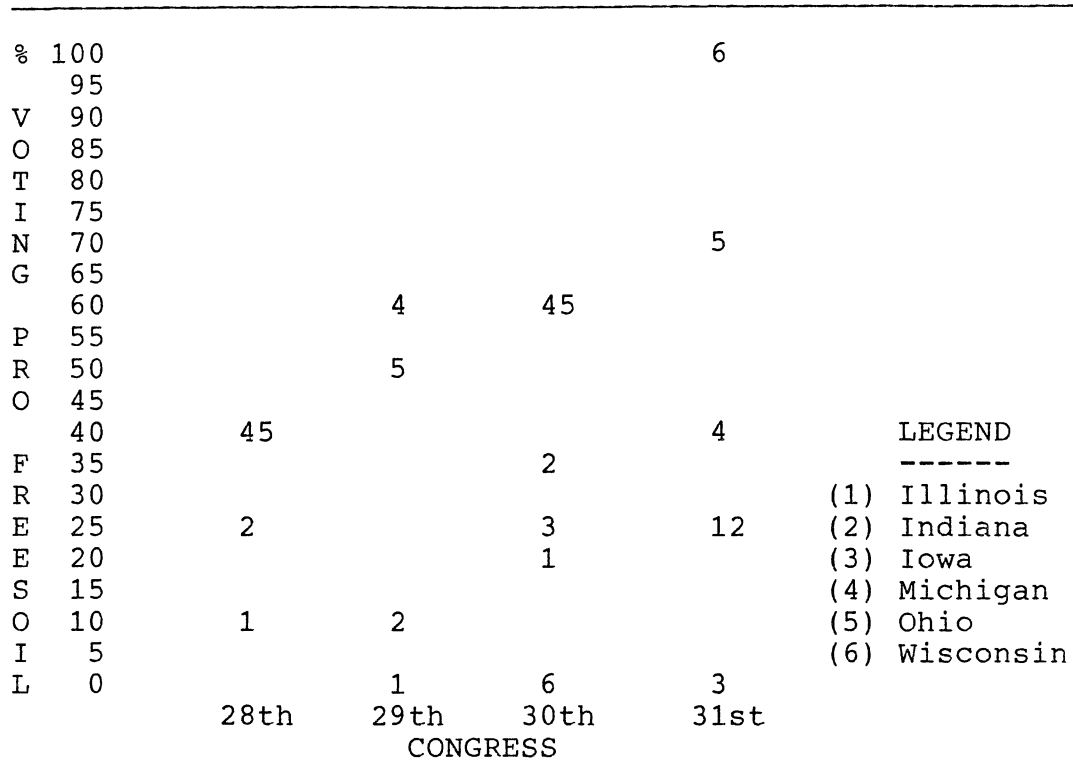
moderate Hunker faction dominated the New York Democracy while New York and Pennsylvania Whigs also adopted a more moderate position on free soil.

The number of pro free soil congressmen in the Northwestern states continually grew during the 1840s but never accounted for more than one-third of the entire number of congressmen from that section. Democratic delegations predominated in the Northwest as only the states of Kentucky and Ohio ever elected delegations with Whig majorities. Those Whigs from free states in the Northwest overwhelmingly advocated free soil until the Thirty-first Congress when the loss of the Conscience Whigs to the Free Soil Party resulted in a lessening of support. It was among Northwestern Democrats, though, that the greatest shift in free soil voting behavior occurred. Although anti free soil congressmen came from the Northwest throughout the period, after 1847 no congressmen from free states in that region voted against slavery restriction. Free state Democrats from the Northwest favoring free soil increased from none in 1845 to over one-third of the region's Democratic congressmen by 1850. In addition, the election of Free Soilers from Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin in 1848 also resulted in increased opposition to slavery-extension.²

The Ohio delegation's response to free soil was not typical of most other free states. In the Northwest, for example, Ohio congressmen were a source of free soil

agitation throughout the 1840s but it was not until the end of the decade that the Ohio delegation became a leading proponent of slavery restriction in the Mexican Cession (see Figure 14). From just under 40 percent of their number in the Twenty-eighth Congress, support for free soil in the Ohio delegation grew to 70 percent by the Thirty-first Congress. Only the Michigan delegation from 1843 to 1848 and the Wisconsin delegation from 1849 to 1851 equalled or surpassed the percentage of Ohio congressmen advocating free soil. The Democratic dominated delegations from Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa demonstrated little enthusiasm for free soil; their percentage of free soil supporters never amounted to more than 40 percent of the delegation. The Ohioans also differed in other ways. Most of the other delegations from the Northwestern free states had widely fluctuating voting patterns. Only among the Ohio congressmen did free soil support grow gradually and continually with each succeeding Congress. Moreover, when the delegations from Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan all became more moderate during the Thirty-first Congress and while less than 30 percent of the Illinois congressmen advocated free soil, only the Ohio and Wisconsin delegations experienced a noteworthy increase in support for free soil.

These unique aspects of the Ohio delegation's voting behavior can be attributed to several factors. First, as the eldest state in the Old Northwest, Ohio identified as much with the Mid-Atlantic states as those of the Northwest

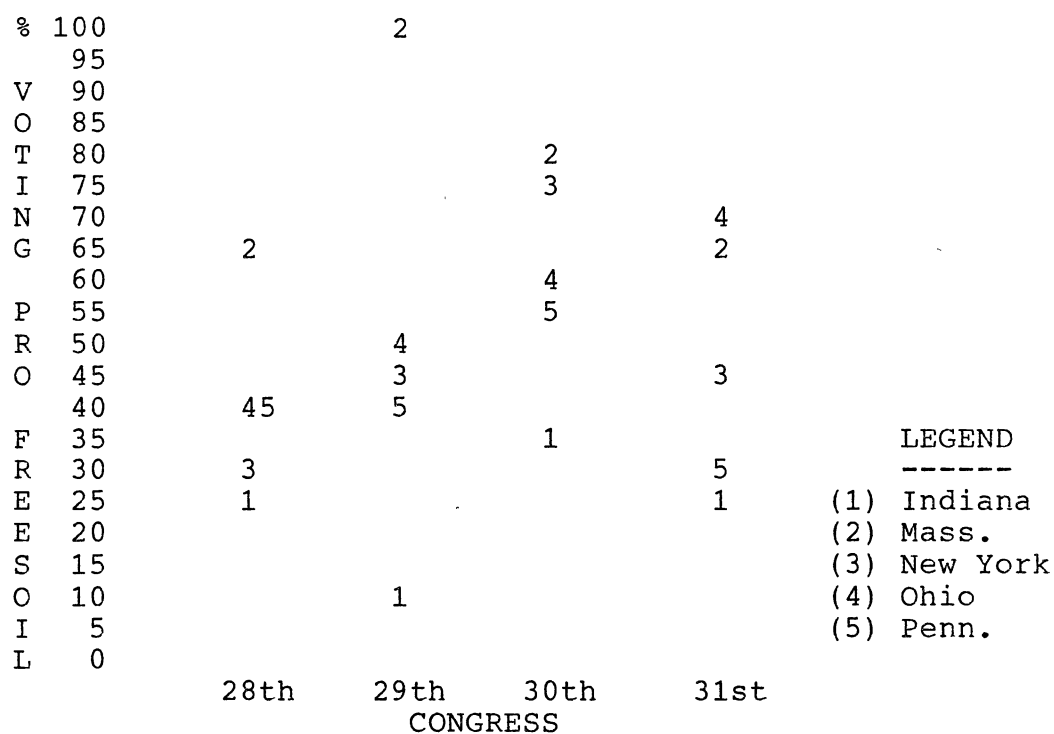


* This graph reflects the percentage of congressmen by state voting in the first scale position (pro free soil).

Figure 14. Free Soil Voting Patterns and Northwest Delegations from Free States: 28-31 Congress

by mid-century. Historian C. F. Van Deventer argued that Ohio should be identified with the East rather than the Northwest because of economic ties, a "whig-oriented" constituency, and earlier settlement than Illinois, Indiana, or Michigan.³ Moreover, after 1843, commercial ties along the Ohio River with the slaveholding states became less important as canals and railroads began to redirect trade and immigration patterns from the East. Although many inhabitants of the slave states had originally settled in Ohio, by 1850, 91 percent of the state's population had been born in free states and most new arrivals were either foreigners or from the Mid-Atlantic states. Second, the competitiveness of the two party system in Ohio was different from that of the other Northwest states where the Democratic Party dominated. Thus, Democratic and Whig congressmen from Ohio were more apt to endorse free soil to prevent losses to a third party.⁴

The voting pattern of the Ohio delegation also differed from other major free state delegations outside of the Northwest (see Figure 15). Composed of twenty-three congressmen, Ohio's delegation was one of the largest and most influential in Congress. Other free state delegations with more than twelve members included only Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. The Ohioans generally demonstrated support for free soil but not in greater percentages than did the other large delegations



* This graph reflects the percentage of congressmen by state voting in the first scale position (pro free soil) from delegations with at least twelve members.

Figure 15. Free Soil Voting Patterns and Major Free State Delegations: 28-31 Congress

until the Thirty-first Congress. The Pennsylvania delegation from 1843 to 1845, the New York delegation from 1847 to 1849, and the Massachusetts delegation from 1843 to 1849 all had a larger percentage of their congressmen advocate free soil. During the Thirty-first Congress, all other major delegations except Ohio's experienced a shift to a more moderate position on free soil. Fearing disunion or the destruction of the two party system, most free state congressmen retreated from their earlier advocacy of free soil. Most members of the Ohio delegation, however, held intense anti-Southern attitudes and the Democrats attempted to diffuse the third party movement by adopting the free soil plank of their platform. Consequently, a greater percentage of Ohio congressmen endorsed free soil from 1849 to 1851 than did members of the other large delegations. As with the delegations from the Northwest, the large delegations had fluctuating voting patterns while Ohio's demonstrated a steady growth in free soil support.

As Ohio's delegation was a major source of free soil support, it is somewhat surprising to find that until 1849 political party affiliation generally determined voting patterns on that issue. During the 1840s, Whigs and Democrats adhered to their party platforms on the free soil issue. Because free soil legislation hindered expansion, Ohio Whigs usually voted in its favor while Ohio Democrats often opposed it. From 1843 to 1845, nine of ten Whigs favored free soil and all thirteen Democrats voted as

moderates. Between 1845 and 1847, seven of eight Whigs and four of fourteen Democrats supported free soil while the remainder of the delegation voted as moderates. During the next two years, party discipline continued to be enforced. All twelve Whigs and only two Democrats favored free soil from 1847 to 1849. The other nine Democrats voted as moderates.

The effect of party influences on Ohio congressmen in determining their voting behavior on free soil before 1849 was made possible by the fact that both Whigs and Democrats intertwined the slavery-extension question with other issues. Members of both parties, though the Whigs were the more outspoken of the two, opposed both the institution of slavery and its expansion. Nevertheless, other factors entered into and often determined their voting patterns. This led third party advocates to accuse the major party congressmen of insincerity on the slavery and free soil issues.⁵

From 1843 to 1848, Ohio Whigs supported free soil for a variety of reasons besides opposition to slavery or Southern political power. Although the Whigs were imbued with a sense of anti-partyism, partisan desire to cultivate Liberty Party support also motivated them. The major ideological belief that determined Whig voting on free soil prior to 1849 was their anti-expansionist attitudes. Whigs believed "manifest destiny" was to be achieved through the reform of society rather than the expansion of its borders.

Whigs opposed the annexation of Texas for they believed it was unconstitutional to annex another republic and feared it would lead to war with Mexico. Subsequently, they opposed the Mexican War and, during the Twenty-ninth Congress, often supported the Wilmot Proviso to disrupt war appropriations. During the second session of that Congress, the Whigs reduced their support for the Wilmot Proviso as it then permitted expansion. The Ohio Whigs adopted a "No Territory" position which minimized the importance of free soil by demanding that expansion be halted altogether. The acquisition of the Mexican Cession in 1848 invalidated the "No Territory" argument and led to renewed Whig support of the Wilmot Proviso and demands for the admission of California as a free state.⁶

The moderation of Ohio Democrats on the free soil issue prior to 1849 can also be traced to that party's position on expansion and was not due to support for the institution of slavery. Convinced that the United States was destined to spread republicanism throughout the continent, Ohio Democrats believed that the existence of slavery should not preclude the acquisition of additional territory. Moreover, many Ohio Democrats accepted a modified version of the safety-valve thesis of Senator Robert J. Walker of Mississippi. Thus, they subscribed to the belief that expansion would hasten abolition in the older slave states and that the restriction of slavery would lead to an eventual influx of blacks into the free

states.⁷

During the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Congresses, Ohio Democrats supported the Mexican War and continued to vote as moderates on free soil. Anxious to acquire California, the Democrats initially opposed the Wilmot Proviso for four reasons. First, it hindered expansion as the Senate would not ratify a treaty with the Proviso attached. Second, Mexican law forbade slavery; therefore, unless positive legislation established it, that institution would not exist in former Mexican territory. Third, President Polk advocated the extension of the Missouri Compromise line. Desire for executive patronage and the belief that the hostile environment west of Texas prevented slavery anyway prompted many to support the president's position. Fourth, a federal prohibition on slavery-extension would deny Southerners their constitutional rights to equal access to national territory. After the acquisition of the Mexican Cession and in the face of growing demands for free soil among their constituents, Ohio Democrats increasingly espoused the alternative of popular sovereignty. This solution allowed residents of the territories to decide the slavery issue for themselves. Ohio Democrats believed that if popular sovereignty were implemented, migration patterns ensured that the Mexican Cession would remain free.⁸

Anti-Southern attitudes also existed before 1848 but they did not replace partisan loyalty in determining voting behavior. Western Reserve Whigs perceived expansion as a

plot of the "slave power" to extend slavery and dominate the two party system. They opposed the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War as attempts to increase slave state representation in Congress and opposed extension of the Missouri Compromise line for fear that Southerners would continue to expand into Latin America. Some Democrats also began to resent Southern political power before 1848. Ohio Democrats felt cheated by the Baltimore Convention of 1844 when Martin Van Buren was denied the presidential nomination and it was an Ohio Democrat, Benjamin Tappan, who leaked President Tyler's secret Texas treaty to the press in 1845. Not until the Twenty-ninth Congress, however, did four Democrats break voting discipline. Opposed to the degradation of free labor by the presence of slave labor in the territories and angered at presidential policies such as the Oregon Treaty, the Tariff of 1846, the veto of the Rivers and Harbors Bill, and patronage policies, these members of the hard money Van Buren faction began to endorse free soil. Representative Jacob Brinkerhoff of District 11, in fact, reputedly was instrumental in the drafting of the original Wilmot Proviso.⁹

By 1850, party influences in Ohio no longer dictated voting behavior and anti-Southern attitudes were widespread. Only the new Free Soil congressmen presented a united party stand on the free soil question: all three of them in addition to the two Whig-Free Soil coalition

congressmen voted in favor of slavery restriction. The increased opposition to slavery extension among Ohio congressmen from 1849 to 1851, however, cannot be attributed entirely to the electoral success of the Free Soilers. Although the Free Soil Party had more success at the polls than had its predecessor, the Liberty Party, its impact in this respect was limited (see Table XLVIII). Examination of the composition of the Ohio delegation by political affiliation revealed that from 1843 to 1847, Democrats dominated the delegation. Between 1847 and 1849, twelve Democrats and twelve Whigs served. Not until 1849 were three Free Soilers elected and they constituted less than one-seventh of the delegation.

More significant than their success at the polls was the Free Soilers' impact on the internal stability of the Ohio Whigs and Democrats (see Figure 16). Unlike many of the Northwestern states, Ohio's two party system was highly competitive throughout the 1840s. Between 1844 and 1850, victorious gubernatorial candidates won by an average of only 1 percent of the vote and presidential contests were decided by an average of only 3.5 percent of the vote. In the gubernatorial contest of 1844, for instance, Whig candidate Mordecai Bartley won by a majority of twelve hundred votes out of the three hundred thousand cast. When the Free Soil Party appeared in 1848, the congressional delegation was divided almost evenly between twelve Whigs and eleven Democrats. Consequently, both the Ohio Whigs

TABLE XLVIII

OHIO CONGRESSMEN AND POLITICAL PARTY: 28-31 CONGRESS

PARTY	CONGRESS			
	28TH	29TH	30TH	31ST
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Democrat	(15)	(14)	(12)	(12)
Whig	(10)	(9)	(12)	(11)
Free Soil	-	-	-	(3)
Liberty	-	-	-	-
Total	(25)	(23)	(24)	(26)

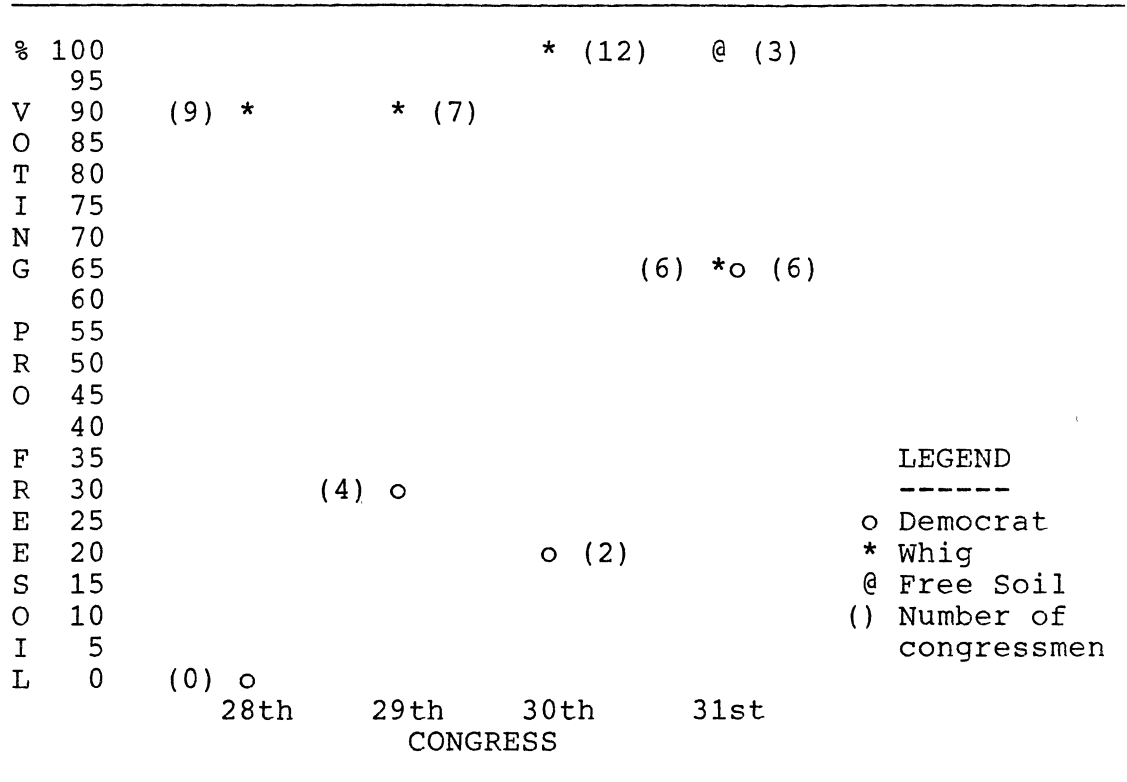


Figure 16. Ohio Congressmen, Voting on Free Soil, and Political Party: 28-31 Congress

and Democrats were highly susceptible to the third party movement, extremely wary of its unchecked growth, and eager to attract its supporters.¹⁰

The Ohio delegation's overwhelming support of free soil from 1849 to 1851 can be attributed to the reaction of the major parties to the third party movement and the election of 1848. Between 1847 and the national convention the next year, Ohio Whigs shifted their allegiance from a host of presidential candidates to General Winfield Scott. The nomination of Zachary Taylor, a slaveholder, at the Philadelphia Convention created a crisis among the Ohio Whigs. Although they favored free soil, the moderates lack of sympathy for extremists and their continued willingness to cooperate with the southern wing of the party led the Conscience Whigs of the Western Reserve to bolt and join the Free Soil Party. The absence of these radicals consequently bolstered the influence of the moderates in the party. Although the percentage of Whigs advocating free soil declined to slightly over 65 percent during the Thirty-first Congress, this reflected the loss of the Conscience Whigs and not any major change in Whig attitudes on free soil other than the emergence of a small group who supported compromise in 1850. Few Ohio Democrats; however, deserted to the third party. After the defeat of their presidential candidate, Lewis Cass, the Democrats still paid lip service to the "popular sovereignty" platform of the national party but dramatically altered their voting

behavior and began to support free soil. Resentment towards the South, flirtations with the Free Soil Party in the state legislature, and the increasing demand for free soil among constituents led to an increase in free soil supporters among Ohio Democrats.¹¹

The confused state of partisan loyalties within the Ohio delegation on the free soil issue can be attributed to an increase in anti-Southern sentiment between 1843 and 1851. In addition to the rhetoric of the delegation members, the response of the congressmen to the Compromise of 1850 was indicative of the pervasiveness of anti-Southern attitudes by the end of the decade. Ohio congressmen supported only the pro-Northern bills including California statehood and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia and opposed pro-Southern concessions such as the Texas Boundary Bill, the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the New Mexico and Utah Territorial Bills.¹²

Free soil attitudes based on birthplace also became increasingly more important during the decade in determining voting behavior (see Figure 17). Before 1848, it made little difference if a congressmen was born in a slave or free state. By the Thirty-first Congress, however, congressmen born in free states voted overwhelmingly for free soil.

Banking legislation was also related to the free soil issue. The dominant feature of Jacksonian politics, the

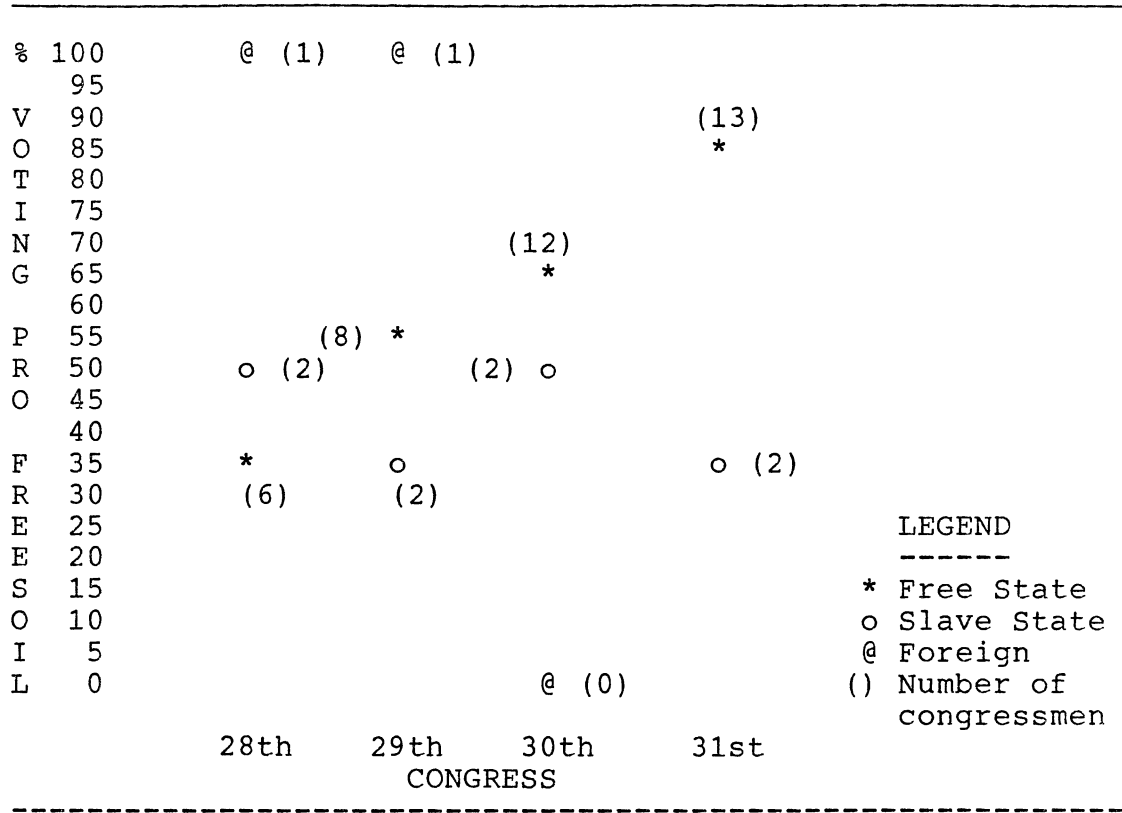


Figure 17. Ohio Congressmen, Voting on Free Soil, and Region of Birth: 28-31 Congress

banking issue distinguished the Whigs from the Democrats as well as the conservative and hard-money factions of the Ohio Democracy. A booming economy and electoral defeat in 1847, resulting from factionalism, forced the Democrats to abandon the banking issue and attempt to unify upon the territorial expansion question. Additionally, in 1850-1851, a state convention rewrote the constitution and resolved the banking dispute. The disappearance of the bank issue at the same time that both Whig and Democratic congressmen were adopting similar voting patterns on free soil created a crisis as the parties no longer offered viable alternatives to the voters. The loss of the leading economic issue of the period, the desertion of the Conscience Whigs to the Free Soil Party, and the increased sympathy among Ohio Democrats for free soil contributed to the collapse of the Whig Party in Ohio shortly thereafter.¹³

Free soil rhetoric dissipated among the Ohio congressmen after the Compromise of 1850 removed the debate from Congress. The fate of the Free Soilers in the Ohio delegation after 1850 reinforces the idea that the larger significance of the third party was its impact on the two major parties rather than its own success at the polls. In the congressional elections of 1850, Giddings was the only Free Soiler reelected. In the elections of 1852, Giddings was returned again along with Free Soiler Edward Wade of District 19. Although Salmon Chase hoped that a Free

Soiler would be selected to join him in the Senate, the Ohio state legislature instead elected Benjamin F. Wade, an antislavery Whig, to replace Senator Ewing. Hampered by factionalism and denied the use of the free soil issue after 1850, the Free Soilers turned to an alliance with the temperance forces. In 1853, the Free Soilers polled 17.5 percent of the vote in their last gubernatorial contest. Although the Free Soilers expanded their base of support, they injured themselves and the Ohio Whigs in the process as, in that election, the Whig candidate received only 30.2 percent of the vote.¹⁴

Although it appeared that the Free Soil Party's failure aided the Ohio Democracy, the free soil issue also foreshadowed the eventual Republican ascendancy in Ohio. By endorsing free soil in 1850, however, the Ohio Democrats forestalled this event for it was only after the elimination of the Whig Party that the existing two party system could be replaced with sectionally-oriented parties. Four years before the Kansas-Nebraska controversy and the formation of the Republican Party, the free soil issue in Ohio had prepared the way for this breakdown of the second party system. Although other state delegations had retreated from free soil during the Thirty-first Congress, support for it continued to increase within the Ohio delegation, particularly among the Democrats. By the end of the 1840s, anti slavery extension and anti-Southern sentiment was widespread in Ohio. Despite the temporary

resolution of the free soil issue by the Compromise of 1850 and the failure of the Free Soil Party to displace either of the two major parties, increased agitation against slavery extension had pervaded all parties in Ohio and set the stage for the emergence of the Republican Party.

ENDNOTES

¹In the Ohio gubernatorial election of 1850, both the Democrats and Whigs ran candidates who demonstrated sympathy for free soil. Whig candidate and abolitionist sympathizer William Johnson endorsed free soil and Reuben Wood of the Western Reserve, the Democratic candidate, while refusing to adopt a pro free soil platform, opposed both the Fugitive Slave Law and the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia. Wood won the election with 49.6 percent of the vote. Johnson received 45.1 percent of the vote and Free Soiler Edward Smith polled 5.1 percent of the vote. Maizlish, Triumph of Sectionalism, pp. 157, 242; Theodore C. Smith, The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest (New York, New York: Russell and Russell, 1897), p. 183.

²Directory of the American Congress, pp. 137-152; Rayback, Free Soil: The Election of 1848, p. 77.

³Van Deventer, "The Free Soil Party in the Northwest in the Elections of 1848," p. iv.

⁴Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, p. 851.

⁵Stewart, Giddings, p. 91; Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 1st Session, XIII:111-113, 223, 325-326; Giddings, History of the Rebellion, p. 235; Sampson, "Antislavery Speakings of Giddings," p. 235; Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, pp. 37, 39; Litwack, North of Slavery, p. 94.

⁶William Parry to Martin Van Buren, March 29, 1844, Van Buren Papers; Lebanon Western Star, June 2, 1843, August 23, 1844, September 7, 1844, September 10, 1847; Ashtabula Sentinel, August 3, 1844, February 15, 1845; Toledo Blade, November 29, 1844, May 18, 1846; Giddings, Speeches, pp. 118, 198; Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:175; 29th Congress, 2d Session, XVI:171, 175, 252, appendix, XVI:29, 231, 237-246; 30th Congress, 1st Session, appendix, XVII:957, 2d Session, XVIII:557-558; Journal of the Ohio State House of Representatives, 43rd Assembly, pp. 43, 61-62, 113, 120-124, 127-128, 305; Goings, David Wilmot, Free Soiler, p. 198; Howe, American Whigs; Bochin, "Corwin's Speech", pp. 33-54; Cheryl Haun, "Whig Abolitionist Attitude in the

Mexican War," Journal of the West, XI (April 1972), pp. 260-272; Norman E. Tutorow, "Whigs of the Old Northwest and Texas Annexation," Indiana Magazine of History, LXVI (March 1970), pp. 56-69.

⁷Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:82-83, 105, 119, 121-122, 225, 227; appendix, XIV:83, 189; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, May 8, 1845, July 13, 1846, July 28, 1846, August 5, 1846, August 10, 1846, August 19, 1846, September 8, 1846, September 11, 1846, September 21, 1846; Ashtabula Sentinel, April 3, 1845; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, January 21, 1847; Bernard De Voto, "Manifest Destiny: Understanding the 1840s," pp. 557-560; Porter and Johnson, comps., Party Platforms, pp. 3-21; Merk, "A Safety Valve Thesis and Texas Annexation," pp. 413-436.

⁸Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, March 10, 1847; Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 1st Session, XV:332, 828-829; 2d Session, XVI:91, 380; appendix, XVI:94, 383; 30th Congress, 1st Session, XVII:552, 727-729, 747, 814, 943, 1021; appendix, XVII:643-645; 2d Session, XVIII:215, 239; Toledo Blade, September 26, 1848; Foner, "The Wilmot Proviso Revisited," pp. 262-279; Henry C. Hubbart, "Pro-Southern Influences in the Free West, 1840-1865," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XX (June 1933), pp. 45-62.

⁹Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 2d Session, XIV:131-132, 169; appendix, XIV:120-122, 331; 29th Congress, 1st Session, XV:140, 203; 2d Session, XVI:188, 377-378; appendix, XVI:192, 316, 383; 30th Congress, 1st Session, appendix, XVII:394-396; Ashtabula Sentinel, April 8, 1848; Giddings, Speeches, pp. 104, 118, 191-193, 254; Davis, The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style; John H. Franklin, "Southern Expansionists of 1846," Journal of Southern History, XXV (Summer 1959), pp. 323-338; J. D. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXI (June 1934), pp. 31-48; Paul F. Lambert, "The Movement for the Acquisition of All Mexico," Journal of the West, XI (April 1972), pp. 317-327; Ohio Statesman -- Extra, May 20, 1844, in Van Buren Papers; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, April 14, 1843, July 29, 1843; Amos E. Wood to Martin Van Buren, March 9, 1844, Van Buren Papers; Paul, Rift in the Democracy, pp. 76-77, 120, 127; National Press and Cincinnati Weekly Herald, August 19, 1846; "June 12, 1846 Entry," in Quaife, ed., Polk Diary, I:466-467; Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, October 6, 1846; J. D. Fuller, "Slavery Propaganda during the Mexican War," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (April 1938), pp. 235-245; Graebner, "James K. Polk: A Study in Federal Patronage,"

pp. 613-632; Persinger, "'The Bargain of 1844' as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso," pp. 189-195; Stenberg, "The Motivation of the Wilmot Proviso," pp. 535-541; Stephen E. Maizlish, "The Development of the Wilmot Proviso Issue in Ohio, 1846-1848," (Unpublished History Paper #285, University of California at Berkeley, Ohio Historical Society, June 8, 1970), p. 26; Brian G. J. Walton, "James K. Polk and the Democratic Party in the Aftermath of the Wilmot Proviso," (Ph.d dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1968), p. 222.

¹⁰Maizlish, Triumph of Sectionalism, pp. 241-242.

¹¹Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:1123, 1128, 1177, 1186, 1216, 1408, 1445, 1470; appendix, XX:687-690, 1146, 1149-1150; 2d Session, XXI:590; Rayback, Free Soil, pp. 187-200; Graebner, "Thomas Corwin and the Election of 1848," pp. 162-179; Price, "The Election of 1848 in Ohio," pp. 288-311; William O. Lynch, "Anti-Slavery Tendencies of the Democratic Party in the Northwest, 1848-1850," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI (December 1924), pp. 319-331; Frederick J. Blue, "The Ohio Free Soilers and Problems of Factionalism," Ohio History, LXXVI (Winter-Spring 1967), pp. 17-32; Holt, Political Crisis of the 1850s, p. 102.

¹²Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, XIX:1479-1485, 1555, 1573, 1589, 1647, 1764, 1772, 1776, 1807, 1830, 1837. Ohio congressional voting patterns by district also indicated that geographical divisions existed within the state primarily based on political affiliation. Throughout the period, congressmen representing the Western Reserve (a Whig, then Free Soil, dominated region in northeastern Ohio) demonstrated overwhelming support for free soil. Whig representatives from the Miami Valley (southwestern Ohio) also favored free soil in all four congresses. Whig congressmen from the Hocking Valley (southeastern Ohio) advocated free soil in the Twenty-eighth and Thirtieth Congress. Whigs in the Twenty-eighth and Thirtieth Congress and Democrats in the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Congress representing districts in the Scioto Valley (south central Ohio) endorsed free soil. Except for Democrats in the Twenty-eighth Congress, all congressmen from the Muskingum Valley (east central Ohio) favored slavery restriction. During the Thirty-first Congress, congressmen from the River counties (eastern Ohio) began to favor free soil but those legislators from the Miami Valley decreased their support for that measure. Congressmen from the heavily Democratic Maumee Valley districts (northwestern Ohio) demonstrated little enthusiasm for free soil throughout the decade. Sharp, The Jacksonians versus the Banks, p. 161.

¹³James Mak, "Intraregional Trade in the Antebellum West: Ohio, A Case Study," Agricultural History, XLVI (October 1972), pp. 489-497; Maizlish, Triumph of Sectionalism, pp. 40-50; Weisenburger, Passing of the Frontier, pp. 415-440; Sharp, The Jacksonians versus the Banks, p. 190.

¹⁴Maizlish, Triumph of Sectionalism, p. 242; Diamond, ed., Congressional Quarterly's Guide to United States Elections, pp. 592, 596; Hans L. Trefousse, Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican from Ohio, Chapter 5.

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APPENDIX A

GUTTMAN SCALING

In addition to the use of more traditional source material such as congressional debates, speeches, manuscript collections, published correspondence, diaries, and newspapers, this study incorporated the use of Guttman Scaling as outlined in Lee F. Anderson, Meredith W. Watts, and Allen R. Wilcox, Legislative Roll-Call Analysis (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1966), pp. 89-121. Used to analyze roll call voting patterns, Guttman Scaling serves a threefold purpose. First, it permits the coherent analysis of all roll calls on a particular issue. Second, it clarifies the voting behavior of individual congressmen and, third, it characterizes the voting behavior of larger groups of congressmen. The purpose of Guttman Scaling in this study was to determine common underlying attitudes in the Ohio delegation on the free soil issue from 1843 to 1851 through the construction of scalograms for the Twenty-eighth through Thirty-first Senate and House of Representatives.

The procedure for roll call analysis involved three steps. First, the votes to be examined were selected. The votes were chosen based on information obtained from

congressional debates and from the context in which the roll calls were taken. Only those votes which directly pertained to the free soil issue were selected: antislavery extension petitions, the annexation and admission of Texas, Florida statehood, application of the antislavery prohibitions of the Ordinance of 1787 to Oregon, the Wilmot Proviso, the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, "popular sovereignty," and the admission of California as a free state. Unanimous votes and those with less than 10 percent dissension were eliminated because they added nothing to the scalogram.

The second step was determining the scalability of the votes. To do this, they were correlated with one another to determine if they elicited similar responses. This was done by cross-tabulating the roll calls against one another and constructing a series of fourfold tables showing groups of congressmen in each of four response categories: a (++), b (+-), c (-+), d (--). For example, cross-tabulation of votes #1 and #5 from the Twenty-ninth House scalogram shows the different voting positions existing on these two votes (see Table XLIX). Vote #1 involved a motion to table a petition against the admission of Texas as a slave state and vote #5 pertained to passage of the Wilmot Proviso. Sixty-four representatives endorsed free soil on both votes by supporting the anti-Texas petition and passage of the Wilmot Proviso. Seventy-five congressmen opposed free soil on both roll calls; voting in

TABLE XLIX

29TH HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: CROSSTABULATION
OF FREE SOIL ROLL CALLS

		VOTE #5					
V O T E # 1		Yea		Nay		Total	
	Yea	+	-----+	+	-----+	+	-----+
		+	(31) a	+	(75) b	+	(106) 60.2
	Nay	+	-----+	+	-----+	+	-----+
		+	(64) c	+	(6) d	+	(70) 39.8
	Total	+	-----+	+	-----+	+	-----+
		+	(95) 54.0	+	(81) 46.0	+	(176) 100.0
		+	-----+	+	-----+	+	-----+

Yule's Q = -0.925 Number of Missing Observations = 64

favor of tabling the anti-Texas petition and against passage of the Wilmot Proviso. Thirty-seven congressmen acted moderately. Thirty-one voted to table the anti-Texas petition but favored passage of the Wilmot Proviso. Six congressmen voted inconsistently with the marginal frequencies of the roll calls by supporting the anti-Texas petition while opposing the Wilmot Proviso.

For a roll call to be included in a scalogram, it must correlate with a majority but preferably with all of the other votes in that subset. A correlation matrix, therefore, was constructed which exhibited the Yule's Q value $[Q=(ad-bc)/(ad+bc)]$ of each pair of roll calls. The value of the Yule's Q score ranges from -1.0 to 1.0 with a higher absolute value indicating greater scalability. For the purpose of this study, the minimum value for the Yule's Q score was established at +/- 0.7. In the example above, votes #1 and #5 correlated at -.925 or well above the required absolute value. All of the votes in a subset should correlate with each other at the minimum value but, when this was not possible, roll calls were included which correlated with a majority of the other votes.

The third step was to assign the "yea" and "nay" responses on the roll calls positive and negative values. A positive value (+) identified responses as pro free soil while a negative value (-) represented an anti free soil response. Consequently, a "yea" vote was not necessarily assigned a positive value nor was a "nay" vote assigned a

negative value. A "nay" response on the motion to table the anti-Texas petition, for example, was a pro free soil vote. Abstentions or absences were coded with the symbol (o).

After the "yeas" and "nays" were converted into positive and negative responses, marginal frequencies were determined for each roll call. This figure is calculated by establishing the percentage of congressmen casting positive votes on each roll call. Votes were then ordered in terms of marginal frequencies from lowest to highest percentage. In ranking the roll calls, those votes which received the least support were placed to the left of the scalogram while each vote located to the right indicated a greater percentage of congressmen favoring free soil. For example, in the two votes mentioned above, vote #1 was placed to the left of vote #5 as the marginal frequency of the former was 38 percent while that of the latter was 52 percent. It then can be assumed that in most cases, if a congressmen voted positively on vote #1 (not to table the anti-Texas petition), he also would vote positively on vote #5 (to pass the Wilmot Proviso).

After recoding the roll calls and determining their marginal frequencies, each congressmen was assigned to a scale position. Each of his votes were identified as positive (+), negative (-), or, in the case of absence, (o). As the roll calls were ordered by marginal frequencies, his voting record should reveal a somewhat

consistent pattern. Representative John Wentworth of Illinois, for example, voted as a moderate during the Twenty-ninth Congress. His voting record on the eleven roll calls [- - + + + + + + + +] indicated that Wentworth generally supported free soil; however, at a certain point between vote #2 and #3, he no longer favored free soil. Examination of the content of the roll calls demonstrates that Wentworth supported passage of the Wilmot Proviso but did not feel strongly enough about free soil to oppose the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave state. Congressmen with perfect positive scale patterns were identified as pro free soil. Those congressmen with perfect negative scale patterns were labelled anti free soil. Numerous scale patterns exist in between these extreme cases dependent only upon the total number of roll calls. For continuity in analyzing scale positions in different congresses, all congressmen who voted in any of the middle categories were grouped together as "moderates."

Errors and absences must be accounted for and corrected in placing congressmen in their proper scale position (see Table L). In the case of pro free soil Whig John Q. Adams of Massachusetts, his absence on vote #10 was treated as a positive vote as his voting record on all nine votes with lesser marginal frequencies also was positive. Pro free soil Whig Robert C. Schenck of Ohio, though, voted negatively on votes #6 and #7. Both of these were identified as errors and treated as positive due to

Schenck's positive votes on roll calls #1 through #5. In the case of absences or errors which offered alternate means of correction, the congressman were placed in the pattern closest to the median of the scale. For example, New York Democrat Samuel S. Ellsworth's absence on vote #1 was treated as a negative response as were New Jersey Whig William Wright's absences on votes #1 and #2. In fact, Wright's positive vote on vote #3 also was "corrected" and treated as a negative vote. Ohio Democrat William Sawyer's absences on votes #2 and #4 were treated as negative responses while his absences on votes #7 and #8 were identified as positive. Several congressmen were omitted from the scalograms including nine of sixty-five members of the Ohio delegation. These congressmen failed to register a vote on at least half of the roll calls. Although some insight into a congressman's attitude towards free soil can be gained from examining a limited number of votes, it was impossible to make adequate corrections to scale legislators with an absence rate of over 50 percent properly.

Before examining voting scale positions and other variables, the scalograms were appraised to ascertain whether they were statistically acceptable and to approximate the proportion of responses which could be predicted accurately based upon the congressman's scale pattern. By dividing the number of correct responses into the total number of responses (ignoring legislators with

absences), the coefficient of reproducibility was determined. Normally, the scalogram is considered valid if the CR value is above 0.90. None of the free soil scalograms used in this study had a coefficient of reproducibility lower than 0.95.

Crosstab tables used in the text depicting divisions based upon political party, free/slave state and regional constituences, and birthplace were based upon the scalograms. Each congressman's political affiliation and state in addition to the birthplace of the Ohioans was ascertained from either the Congressional Globe or the Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961. The changing boundaries of Ohio's congressional districts and members of the state's delegation were determined using Martis, ed., The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts, 1789-1983; George B. Everton, Sr., The Handy Book for Genealogists (Logan, Utah: Everton Publishers, n. d.); William A. Taylor, Ohio Statesman and Annals of Progress, 1788-1900 2 vols., (Columbus, Ohio: Westbote, 1899); Randolph Downes, "The Evolution of Ohio County Boundaries," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XXXVI (1927), pp. 340-477.

In his article entitled "Causes of the American Civil War: Recent Interpretations and New Directions," Civil War History, XX (September 1974), pp. 197-214, historian Eric Foner cautioned against generalizations based

exclusively on quantitative data. An attempt has been made to avoid misinterpretation of the scalograms by examining more traditional source material also.

APPENDIX B

SCALOGRAMS: 28TH CONGRESS

28th Senate
Free Soil Roll Call Scalogram

Senator	Party	State	Roll Calls									
			1	2	3	4	5	6				
PRO FREE SOIL												
Choate	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Dayton	Whig	New Jersey	+	o	+	+	+	+				
Evans	Whig	Maine	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Francis	Law & Order	Rhode Island	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Huntington	Whig	Connecticut	+	o	+	+	+	+				
Miller	Whig	New Jersey	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Phelps	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	o			
Porter	Whig	Michigan	+	+	+	+	+	+	o			
Simmons	Whig	Rhode Island	+	+	+	+	+	+	o			
Upham	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+				
White	Whig	Indiana	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Woodbridge	Whig	Michigan	+	+	+	+	+	+				
MODERATE												
Bates	Whig	Massachusetts	o	+	+	+	+	+				
Clayton	Whig	Delaware	o	+	+	+	+	+	-			
Barrow	Whig	Louisiana	-	o	+	+	+	+	-			
Crittenden	Whig	Kentucky	-	-	+	+	+	+	-			
Mangum	Whig	North Carolina	-	-	+	+	+	+	-			
Morehead	Whig	Kentucky	-	o	+	+	+	+	-			
Pearce	Whig	Maryland	o	o	+	+	o	-				
Allen	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	-	o	o	+				
Ashley	Democrat	Arkansas	-	o	-	o	o	+				
Bagby	Democrat	Alabama	-	o	-	o	o	+				
Breese	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	o	o	+				
Colquitt	Democrat	Georgia	-	-	-	o	o	+				

Dickinson	Democrat	New York	-	o	-	o	o	+
Dix	Democrat	New York	-	o	-	o	o	+
Foster, E. H.	Whig	Tennessee	-	o	-	+	+	-
Hannegan	Democrat	Indiana	-	+	-	+	+	+
Lewis	Democrat	Alabama	-	-	-	o	o	+
McDuffie	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	-	o	o	+
Niles	Democrat	Connecticut	-	-	-	+	+	+
Sturgeon	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	+	+	+

Tappan	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	-	o	o	+
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Buchanan	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	+	-	-	+	+
Fairfield	Democrat	Maine	-	-	-	-	+	+
Semple	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	-	+	+
Woodbury	Democrat	New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	o	+

Atchison	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	-	-	-	+
Atherton	Democrat	New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	-	+
Benton	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	-	-	-	+
Fulton	Democrat	Arkansas	o	-	o	-	-	o
Haywood	Democrat	North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	+
Huger	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	+
Walker	Democrat	Mississippi	-	o	-	-	-	+

ANTI FREESOIL

Archer	Whig	Virginia	-	-	+	-	o	-
Bayard	Whig	Delaware	-	o	+	-	o	-
Berrien	Whig	Georgia	-	-	+	-	-	-
Henderson	Whig	Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Johnson	Whig	Louisiana	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merrick	Whig	Maryland	-	o	-	o	o	-
Rives	Whig	Virginia	o	o	+	-	-	-
Sevier	Democrat	Arkansas	-	-	-	-	-	-

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .965

28th Senate: Free Soil Roll-Calls

Vote #1 - Yea to amend the bill H. R. 497, admitting Iowa and Florida into the Union, the amendment being, to add a proviso to the bill, that as far as relates to Florida, this act shall not be effective until the following clauses are eliminated from the constitution of Florida; the first section: 1) that the general assembly shall have no power to pass laws for emancipation of slaves; and the third section: 3) that they have not the power to pass laws to

prevent free negroes or other persons of color, from immigrating to this state. March 1, 1845. Yea=12 Nay=35.

Vote #2 - Nay to table the report on printing of a memorial received from the society of friends, resisting the annexation of Texas because it would furnish an additional stimulant and market for the slave trade and perpetuate slavery in the U. S. June 3, 1844. Yea=24 Nay=14.

Vote #3 - Yea to amend H. J. R. 46 to prevent the public debt of Texas from becoming charged upon the United States government, also to outline stipulations for admission to the union concerning the formation of more than one state from the territory of Texas and its division into slave-holding and non-slave-holding territory. (Journal version). To eliminate from H. J. R. 46 all that portion inserted by the House, thus to make the state's admission into the Union definite, and to take away the discretionary power of the president to have Texas admitted by treaty if agreed to, but if to be admitted by resolution, to report it back to Congress. (Globe version). February 27, 1845. Yea=24 Nay=28.

Vote #4 - Nay to amend the amendment to H. J. R. 46 to stipulate that a certain area of the territory of Texas shall or shall not have slavery as the people of that territory decide. Also to prevent the public debt of Texas from being charged to the United States. February 27, 1845. Yea=25 Nay=27.

Vote #5 - Nay to table the motion to receive the memorial from the society of friends resisting the annexation of Texas because it would furnish an additional market for the slave trade. June 6, 1844. Yea=19 Nay=24.

Vote #6 - Yea to receive the memorial of the society of friends, remonstrating against the annexation of Texas and the extension of slavery in the United States. June 6, 1844. Yea=27 Nay=12.

Smith, A.	Whig	New York	+ + + o + + + o +
Smith, C.	Whig	Indiana	+ + + + + + + + +

Tilden	Whig	Ohio	+ + + + + + + o +

Tyler	Whig	New York	+ + + + + + + + +

Vance	Whig	Ohio	+ + + + + + + o +

Vanmeter	Whig	Ohio	+ + + + + + + + +

Vinton	Whig	Ohio	+ + + + + + o + +

Winthrop	Whig	Massachusetts	+ + + + + + + + +

MODERATE			
Abbott	Whig	Massachusetts	o + + + + + + + +
Barringer	Whig	North Carolina	- + + + + + - - -
Brengle	Whig	Maryland	o + + + + + + - +
Causin	Whig	Maryland	o + + + + + o o -
Chilton	Whig	Virginia	- + + + + + + - o
Clingman	Whig	North Carolina	- + + + + + + o -
Collamer	Whig	Vermont	o + + + + + + + +
Darragh	Whig	Pennsylvania	o + + + + + + + +
Davis, G.	Whig	Kentucky	- + + + + + + - -
Deberry	Whig	North Carolina	- + + + + + - - -
Foot	Whig	Vermont	o + + + + + + + +
Green, W.	Whig	Kentucky	o + + + + + o o o
Grider	Whig	Kentucky	- + + + + + + - +
Goggin	Whig	Virginia	o + + + + + - - -
Hale	Democrat	New Hampshire	- + + + + + + + o

Hamlin, E.	Whig	Ohio	o + + + + + + + o

Kennedy, J.	Whig	Maryland	o + + + + + + - +
Phoenix	Whig	New York	o + + + + + + + +
Pollock	Whig	Pennsylvania	o + + + + + + + +
Preston	Whig	Maryland	o + + + + + + - o
Rayner	Whig	North Carolina	- + + + + + o o o
Rodney	Whig	Delaware	o + + + + + + + +
Stewart, A.	Whig	Pennsylvania	o + + + + + o o +
Summers	Whig	Virginia	- + + + + + - + -
Wethered	Democrat	Maryland	o + + + + + + - o
White, J.	Whig	Kentucky	o + + + + + + - +
Wright, W.	Whig	New Jersey	o + + + + + o o +

Anderson	Democrat	New York	- - + + + + + + +
Benton	Democrat	New York	- - + + + + + + +

Brinkerhoff, J.	Democrat	Ohio	- - + + + + + + +

Carpenter	Democrat	New York	0	-	+	0	+	+	0	+	+
Cary, J.	Democrat	New York	0	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Catlin	Democrat	Connecticut	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dana	Democrat	New York	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dillingham	Democrat	Vermont	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dunlap	Democrat	Maine	+	-	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
Elmer	Democrat	New Jersey	-	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Green, B.	Democrat	New York	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+
Hamlin, H.	Democrat	Maine	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Herrick	Democrat	Maine	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hunt, J.	Democrat	Michigan	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
King, P.	Democrat	New York	-	-	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
McClelland	Democrat	Michigan	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Purdy	Democrat	New York	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	0
Rathbun	Democrat	New York	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reding	Democrat	New Hampshire	-	-	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
Robinson	Democrat	New York	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
St. John	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	+	+	+	+	0	0	+
Seymour	Democrat	New York	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stetson	Democrat	New York	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thomasson	Whig	Kentucky	-	0	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
Wheaton	Democrat	New York	0	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
White, B.	Democrat	Maine	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Williams	Democrat	Massachusetts	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McCauslen	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	0	+
Morris, J.	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	-	-	+	+	0	+	+
Hungerford	Democrat	New York	-	-	0	0	0	0	+	+	+
Lyon	Democrat	Michigan	0	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Mathews	Democrat	Ohio	-	0	-	-	-	+	0	0	+
Seymour, T.	Democrat	Connecticut	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Simons	Democrat	Connecticut	-	-	-	-	-	+	0	+	+
Stewart, J.	Democrat	Connecticut	+	-	-	-	-	+	0	+	+
Douglas	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	+
Farlee	Democrat	New Jersey	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Henley	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	0	+
Hubbell	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	+
Kirkpatrick	Democrat	New Jersey	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Leonard	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	+	+
Maclay	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	+	+
Murphy	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	+	+
Parmenter	Democrat	Massachusetts	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	0	+

Rhett	Democrat	South Carolina	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-
Roberts	Democrat	Mississippi	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Russell	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-
Senter	Whig	Tennessee	o	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Simpson	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Slidell	Democrat	Louisiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Steenrod	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stiles	Democrat	Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stone, J.	Democrat	Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taylor	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thompson, J.	Democrat	Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tibbatts	Democrat	Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tucker	Democrat	Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woodward	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yancey	Democrat	Alabama	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-

 * listed in Globe as voting both yea and nay on roll call

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .973

28th House of Representatives: Free Soil Roll Calls

Vote #1 - Nay to table the petition of the citizens of Lockport, N. Y. praying for the passage of a declaratory law to operate throughout all national territory west of the Mississippi River, containing the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 "for the government of the territory of the U. S. Northwest of the Ohio River" (to forbid slavery in territory west of the Mississippi River). February 5, 1844. Yea=118 Nay=62.

Vote #2 - Nay to concur in the Senate amendment to H. J. R. 46, which proposed that Texas be admitted as a state; that no debts of the Republic of Texas are to become a charge upon the government of the U. S., and new states not exceeding four in number, in addition to said state of Texas may, with the consent of the state of Texas, be formed out of territory lying south of the line known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without slavery, but in such states as may be formed out of territory north of the Missouri Compromise line, slavery is prohibited. February 28, 1845. Yea=133 Nay=77.

Vote #3 - Nay to pass H. J. Res. 46 with amendment providing for the prohibition of slavery north of the Missouri Compromise line in territory acquired now belonging to the Republic of Texas. January 25, 1845. Yea=120 Nay=98.

Vote #4 - Nay to order engrossment and third reading of H. J. R. 46 with amendment providing for the prohibition of slavery north of the Missouri Compromise line in territory acquired now belonging to the Republic of Texas. January 25, 1845. Yea=120 Nay=97.

Vote #5 - Nay to concur in the amendment as made in the committee of the whole (as a substitute for H. J. R. 46), which provides to admit Texas as a state upon the condition that no debts or liabilities owed by Texas when annexed shall become a charge upon the government of the U. S., and new states, not exceeding four in number, in addition to Texas may be formed out of the territory now belonging to the Republic of Texas, with the consent of the state of Texas, but in such state or states as shall be formed out of said territory north of the line known as the Missouri Compromise line, slavery shall be prohibited. January 25, 1845. Yea=118 Nay=101.

Vote #6 - Nay to order the previous question on an amendment to H. J. Res 46, to annex Texas to the U. S., which amendment proposed to admit Texas as a state upon the condition that no debts or liabilities now owed by the Republic of Texas shall become a charge upon the government of the U. S., and new states, not exceeding four in number in addition to Texas may be formed out of the territory now belonging to the Republic of Texas, with the consent of the state of Texas, but in such states as shall be formed out of said territory north of so called Missouri Compromise line slavery shall be prohibited. January 25, 1845. Yea=113 Nay=106.

Vote #7 - Nay to table the memorial of the society of friends, in New York and Vermont protesting the annexation of Texas and the evils of slavery. January 4, 1845. Yea=86 Nay=86.

Vote #8 - Yea to suspend the rules and introduce an amendment to the resolution for the annexation of Texas, which amendment would divide Texas into two equal parts, one free and one slave. January 10, 1845. Yea=92 Nay=81.

Vote #9 - Yea to amend H. R. 439, a bill to organize a territorial government in the Oregon Territory, by prohibiting slavery in the territory. February 3, 1845. Yea=129 Nay=69.

APPENDIX C

SCALOGRAMS: 29TH CONGRESS

29th Senate
Free Soil Roll Call Vote

Senator	Party	State	Roll Call 1
PRO FREE SOIL			
Allen	Democrat	Ohio	+
Atherton	Democrat	New Hampshire	+
Cameron	Democrat	Pennsylvania	+
Cilley	Whig	New Hampshire	+
Clayton, J.	Whig	Delaware	+
Corwin, T.	Whig	Ohio	+
Davis	Whig	Massachusetts	+
Dayton	Whig	New Jersey	+
Dix	Democrat	New York	+
Evans	Whig	Maine	+
Fairfield	Democrat	Maine	+
Greene	Whig	Rhode Island	+
Huntington	Whig	Connecticut	+
Miller	Whig	New Jersey	+
Niles	Democrat	Connecticut	+
Phelps	Whig	Vermont	+
Simmons	Whig	Rhode Island	+
Sturgeon	Democrat	Pennsylvania	+
Upham	Whig	Vermont	+
Webster	Whig	Massachusetts	+
Woodbridge	Whig	Michigan	+
ANTI-FREE SOIL			
Archer	Whig	Virginia	-
Ashley	Democrat	Arkansas	-

Atchison	Democrat	Missouri	-
Badger	Whig	North Carolina	-
Bagby	Democrat	Alabama	-
Benton	Democrat	Missouri	-
Berrien	Whig	Georgia	-
Breese	Democrat	Illinois	-
Bright	Democrat	Indiana	-
Butler	Democrat	South Carolina	-
Calhoun	Democrat	South Carolina	-
Cass	Democrat	Michigan	-
Chalmers	Democrat	Mississippi	-
Colquitt	Democrat	Georgia	-
Crittenden	Whig	Kentucky	-
Dickinson	Democrat	New York	-
Hannegan	Democrat	Indiana	-
Houston	Democrat	Texas	-
Jarnagin	Whig	Tennessee	-
Johnson, H.	Whig	Louisiana	-
Johnson, R.	Whig	Maryland	-
Lewis	Democrat	Alabama	-
Mangum	Whig	North Carolina	-
Mason	Democrat	Virginia	-
Morehead	Whig	Kentucky	-
Pearce	Whig	Maryland	-
Rusk	Democrat	Texas	-
Sevier	Democrat	Arkansas	-
Soule	Democrat	Louisiana	-
Turney	Democrat	Tennessee	-
Westcott	Democrat	Florida	-
Yulee	Democrat	Florida	-

29th Senate: Free Soil Roll Call

Vote #1 - Yea to amend S. 105, by excluding slavery or involuntary servitude in any territory acquired by or annexed by reason of this appropriation. March 1, 1847.
Yea=21 Nay=32.

Cathcart	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	+	o	+	+	o	o	+	+	+
Collin	Democrat	New York	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+

Cummins	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Fries	Democrat	Ohio	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Grover	Democrat	New York	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Johnson, J.	Democrat	New Hampshire	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kennedy	Democrat	Indiana	-	o	+	o	+	+	o	o	+	+	o
Lawrence	Democrat	New York	-	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	+
Levin	NA	Pennsylvania	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o

McDowell, J.	Democrat	Ohio	-	o	+	o	+	+	o	o	+	+	o

Mosely	Whig	New York	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o
Moulton	Democrat	New Hampshire	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Norris	Democrat	New Hampshire	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Perrill	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	+	o	+	+	o	o	+	+	o

Pettit	Democrat	Indiana	o	o	+	o	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
Rathbun	Democrat	New York	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ritter	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sykes	Democrat	New Jersey	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Thurman	Democrat	Ohio	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+

Wentworth	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wilmot	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Yost	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Edsall	Democrat	New Jersey	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Faran	Democrat	Ohio	-	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Foster	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	+	+	o	+	-	+	+	+
Garvin	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	o	-	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+
Henly	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Leib	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	o	+	o	o	+	+	o	+	o
Maclay	Democrat	New York	-	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McCrate	Democrat	Maine	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+
Thompson, J.	Democrat	Pennsylvania	o	o	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Goodyear	Democrat	New York	+	-	o	o	+	+	o	o	+	o	+
Russell	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	o	+	+	o	o	+	+	o
Smith, T.	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	o	o	+	+	o	o	+	+	o
Woodworth	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	o	+	+	+	o	+	o	+
Wright, W.	Whig	New Jersey	o	o	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	o	+

Black, J.	Democrat	Pennsylvania	+	o	-	+	-	+	+	o	+	+	o
Brodhead	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	o	-	+	o	o	+	+	+

Cunningham	Democrat	Ohio	-	o	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
Erdman	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ingersoll, C.	Democrat	Pennsylvania	o	-	-	o	-	+	+	o	+	-	-
McClellan	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Morris	Democrat	Ohio	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Owen	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Strong	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	o	o
Wick	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	o	-	+	o	o	+	+	+
Sawyer	Democrat	Ohio	-	o	-	o	-	-	o	o	+	+	+
Cranston	Whig	Rhode Island	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
Bayly	Democrat	Virginia	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o
Chipman	Democrat	Michigan	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	o	o
Hoge	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	o	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	o
Hopkins	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o
Kaufman	Democrat	Texas	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	+
McClermand	Democrat	Illinois	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	o
Pendleton	Whig	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	o	o	o
Tredway	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	o	-	o	o
Atkinson	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Bedinger	Democrat	Virginia	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Bell	Whig	Kentucky	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Brown, M.	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	o
Brown, W.	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	o
Burt	Democrat	South Carolina	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Clark	Democrat	North Carolina	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Dockery	Whig	North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Douglas	Democrat	Illinois	-	o	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	o
Gentry	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	o
Giles	Democrat	Maryland	o	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	o	-	+
Hilliard	Whig	Alabama	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Houston, G.	Democrat	Alabama	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	o
Houston, J.	Whig	Delaware	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	o
Hunter	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Jones, G.	Democrat	Tennessee	-	o	-	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	o
Jones, S.	Democrat	Georgia	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
King, T.	Whig	Georgia	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	-	-	-	o
Leake	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	o
Ligon	Democrat	Maryland	-	o	-	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	o
Martin, B.	Democrat	Tennessee	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
McHenry	Whig	Kentucky	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Parrish	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	+

McKay	Democrat	North Carolina	o	o	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Morse	Democrat	Louisiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	o	-
Reid	Democrat	North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Simms, L.	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Sims, A.	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Toombs	Whig	Georgia	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Trumbo	Whig	Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-
Woodward	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .975

29th House: Free Soil Roll Calls

Vote #1 - Nay to table a petition protesting against the admission of Texas to the Union as a slave state. December 10, 1845. Yea=114 Nay=72.

Vote #2 - Nay to table the resolutions of the general assembly of Massachusetts providing against the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave-holding state. December 15, 1845. Yea=83 Nay=57.

Vote #3 - Yea to agree to the amendment made in committee of the whole to S. 105, an act making further appropriations to bring the war with Mexico to a speedy and honorable conclusion, said amendment prohibiting slavery in any territory acquired as a result of the war, except that fugitive slaves must be returned. March 3, 1847. Yea=96 Nay=101.

Vote #4 - Yea to order engrossment and third reading of H. R. 534a (with Wilmot Proviso). August 8, 1846. Yea=85 Nay=79.

Vote #5 - Yea to agree to amendment H. R. 622, providing that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory or on the continent of America, except for crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, provided that any person escaping into such

territory may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to person claiming his or her labor. February 15, 1847. Yea=115 Nay=106.

Vote #6 - Yea to pass H. R. 622 with Wilmot Proviso. February 15, 1847. Yea=115 Nay=106.

Vote #7 - Nay to table H. R. 534a, appropriating an additional two million dollars for defraying any extraordinary expense which may be incurred in intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation (with Wilmot Proviso). August 8, 1846. Yea=79 Nay=93.

Vote #8 - Nay to reconsider the passing of H. R. 534a with Wilmot Proviso. August 8, 1846. Yea=70 Nay=83.

Vote #9 - Nay to table H. R. 622 (with Wilmot Proviso). February 15, 1847. Yea=98 Nay=122.

Vote #10 - Nay to amend H. R. 571, providing for a territorial government in Oregon, so as to provide that since the territory lies within the boundaries contemplated in the Missouri Compromise, that there be no attempt to interfere with the sovereign rights of the inhabitants therein to determine the question of slavery for themselves. January 15, 1847. Yea=80 Nay=114.

Vote #11 - Yea to amend H. R. 533, for the establishment of a territorial government west of the Rocky Mountains, to be called the territory of Oregon, by providing that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in said territory, except for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. August 6, 1846. Yea=108 Nay=43.

APPENDIX D

30TH CONGRESS: SCALOGRAMS

30th Senate
Free Soil Roll Call Scalogram

Senator	Party	State	Roll Calls									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PRO FREE SOIL												
Baldwin	Whig	Connecticut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Corwin	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Greene	Whig	Rhode Island	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hale	Liberty	New Hampshire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Miller	Whig	New Jersey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Phelps	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Upham	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MODERATE												
Davis, J.	Whig	Massachusetts	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dayton	Whig	New Jersey	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Clarke	Whig	Rhode Island	+	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dix	Democrat	New York	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Niles	Democrat	Connecticut	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Allen	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dodge	Democrat	Wisconsin	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
Felch	Democrat	Michigan	-	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hamlin	Democrat	Maine	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
Walker	Democrat	Wisconsin	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bradbury	Democrat	Maine	-	-	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+

Atherton	Democrat	New Hampshire	-oo+o-+++o+++
Spruance	Whig	Delaware	--+o+-o-+-+++o+
Breese	Democrat	Illinois	----o-+---o++++
Bright	Democrat	Indiana	--o-----+o+o
Cameron	Democrat	Pennsylvania	o-o-oo-o-+++o+
Douglas	Democrat	Illinois	o---o-----o++o+
Hannegan	Democrat	Indiana	o-----o+o+-
Clayton	Whig	Delaware	o-o+---o-o-o+++
Dickinson	Democrat	New York	-----+---
Fitzgerald	Democrat	Michigan	ooooo+-+---+o+
Houston	Democrat	Texas	-o-----+--+
Sturgeon	Democrat	Pennsylvania	--o-----o++o
Atchison	Democrat	Missouri	-----+---
Badger	Whig	North Carolina	--o-----o-+++
Bell	Whig	Tennessee	--o-----oo+
Benton	Democrat	Missouri	-----+---
Butler	Democrat	South Carolina	-----+o+
Johnson, H.	Whig	Louisiana	-oo--o-----+++
Johnson, H. V.	Democrat	Georgia	o-----o-oo+
Johnson, R.	Whig	Maryland	--o-----o-+o+
Mangum	Whig	North Carolina	-----o---o-ooo
Metcalf	Democrat	Kentucky	oooo-----+o+
Pearce	Whig	Maryland	o-o-oo-o----+o+
Sebastian	Democrat	Arkansas	oooo-----o-oo+
Underwood	Whig	Kentucky	+o+-----+---
Berrien	Whig	Georgia	--o-----o+
Foote	Democrat	Mississippi	--o-----+---
King	Democrat	Alabama	-----o-+---
Rusk	Democrat	Texas	-----o-o-+---
Calhoun	Democrat	South Carolina	-----+o---o
Hunter	Democrat	Virginia	-----+---
Lewis	Democrat	Alabama	o-----o-o-o
Mason	Democrat	Virginia	--o-----o-o-+
Turney	Democrat	Tennessee	-----+---
Westcott	Democrat	Florida	-o-oo-o-+-----o

ANTI FREE SOIL

Borland	Democrat	Arkansas	oooo-----o-
Davis, J.	Democrat	Mississippi	-----
Downs	Democrat	Louisiana	-----o-
Yulee	Democrat	Florida	-o--o-o-oo----

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .985

30th Senate: Free Soil Roll Calls

Vote #1 - Nay to table the motion to receive the petition providing for the termination of the war in Mexico and also that the powers vested in Congress be used for the termination of slavery. December 22, 1847. Yea=33 Nay=9.

Vote #2 - Nay to table the motion for reception of a petition on slavery, which provides that an inquiry be made into the constitutionality of slavery and the propriety of extending the writ of habeas corpus to every inhabitant of the United States. March 30, 1848. Yea=23 Nay=7.

Vote #3 - Nay to table the resolution providing that if any territory be acquired by the United States or annexed thereto, there should be a provision whereby slavery or involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, should be excluded forever from the territory annexed. February 24, 1848. Yea=35 Nay=11.

Vote #4 - Yea to amend the treaty by adding that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the territories hereby ceded, except in punishment of crimes whereof the party has been duly convicted. March 8, 1847. Yea=15 Nay=38.

Vote #5 - Yea to amend S. 324 by providing that the attorneys for the territories, on complaint of any person held in involuntary servitude, shall make in his behalf a writ of habeas corpus and in the return of said writ, said attorney shall appeal therefrom and all records shall be transmitted to the supreme court of the United States. July 26, 1848. Yea=15 Nay=31.

Vote #6 - Yea to amend S. 324 by inserting at the end of the 6th section, "provided however, that no law repealing the acts of provisional government of said territory prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude therein shall be valid until the same shall be approved by Congress.

July 26, 1848. Yea=19 Nay=33.

Vote #7 - Yea to amend S. 324 by providing that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, other than in punishment of crimes." July 26, 1848. Yea=21 Nay=33.

Vote #8 - Nay to amend H. R. 201, establishing a territorial government in Oregon, by inserting words to the effect that line 36 degrees 30 parallel of north latitude, known as the Missouri Compromise line, is extended to the Pacific Ocean: and the 8th section of the act defining the Missouri Compromise line is hereby revived into full force for future organization of territories. August 10, 1848. Yea=33 Nay=21.

Vote #9 - Nay to table the motion to receive the petitions of female inhabitants of the United States, praying for the adoption of measures for preventing the further extension of slavery, and for suppressing the slave trade in the United States. January 8, 1849. Yea=25 Nay=16.

Vote #10 - Nay to engross and read for the third time H. R. 201, which establishes a territorial government in Oregon. August 10, 1848. Yea=33 Nay=22.

Vote #11 - Yea to recede from its amendment to H. R. 201, which amendment extends the line of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific Ocean. August 12, 1848. Yea=29 Nay=25.

Vote #12 - Yea to print, for the use of the Senate, the petition of the people of New Mexico, praying for the establishment of a territorial government, and for certain provisions in the law providing for the same. December 13, 1848. Yea=33 Nay=14.

Vote #13 - Yea to table the resolution declaring that Congress has no power to abolish or prohibit slavery in any state or territory in the Union and that conquest is a

legitimate mode of acquiring territory and that it shall not be competent for the treaty making power of Congress to exclude slavery from such. May 16, 1848. Yea=24 Nay=9.

Vote #14 - Yea to print the resolutions of the legislature of New York, petitioning Congress to procure the enactment of laws for the establishment of governments for the territory acquired by the late treaty of peace with Mexico, excluding involuntary servitude, except for crime, from such territory and to procure the passing of a law to protect slaves from unjust imprisonment, and to put an end to the slave trade in the District of Columbia. January 22, 1849. Yea=45 Nay=6.

30th House
Free Soil Roll Call Scalogram

Congressman	Party	State	Roll Calls						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PRO FREE SOIL									
Abbott	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ashmun	Whig	Massachusetts	+	o	-	+	+	+	+
Bingham	Democrat	Michigan	+	+	+	o	+	+	+
Brady	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	o	+	+
Butler	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Canby	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Collamer	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Collins	Democrat	New York	+	+	+	o	+	+	+
Conger	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Crowell	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cranston	Whig	Rhode Island	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Dickey	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dixon	Whig	Connecticut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Duer	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+

Duncan, D.	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	o	+	o

Dunn	Whig	Indiana	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Eckert	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	o	+	+	+	+	+

Edwards	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Embree	Whig	Indiana	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Evans, N.	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Farrelly	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	o	+	+	+

Fisher	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Freedley	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	o	+	+	+	+	+

Fries	Democrat	Ohio	+	o	+	+	o	+	o

Giddings	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	o	+

Gott	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Gregory	Whig	New Jersey	+	o	+	+	+	+	+

Grinnell	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hale	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hall, N.	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hammons	Democrat	Maine	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Hampton, J.	Whig	New Jersey	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
Hampton, M.	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	o	+	o	+	+	+
Henry	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Holmes, E.	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Hubbard, S.	Whig	Connecticut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hudson	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hunt	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Irvin	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	o	+	+	+	+
Jenkins	Democrat	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Kellogg	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
King, D.	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lawrence, S.	Democrat	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lawrence, W.	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Lincoln	Whig	Illinois	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marsh	Whig	Vermont	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Marvin	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McClelland	Democrat	Michigan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McIlvaine	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	o	+	+	+	+	+

Morris	Democrat	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Mullin	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nelson	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Newell	Whig	New Jersey	+	o	+	o	+	+	+
Palfrey	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peaslee	Democrat	New Hampshire	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Peck	Democrat	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pollock	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Putnam	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Reynolds	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rockwell, John	Whig	Connecticut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rockwell, Julius	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	o	+

Root	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Rumsey	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
St. John	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Schenck	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	o	+	+	+

Sherrill	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Silvester	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Slingerland	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith, C.	Whig	Indiana	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith, T.	Whig	Connecticut	+	+	+	+	+	+	o
Starkweather	Democrat	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stewart	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	o	+	+	+
Strohm	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stuart	Democrat	Michigan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Tallmadge	Whig	New York	+ + + + + + +
Taylor	Whig	Ohio	+ + + + + + +
Thompson, R. W.	Whig	Indiana	+ + + + + + +
Thompson, W.	Democrat	Iowa	+ + + + + + +
Thurston	Democrat	Rhode Island	+ o + + + + +
Van Dyke	Whig	New Jersey	+ o + - + + +
Vinton	Whig	Ohio	+ o + + + + +
Warren	Whig	New York	+ + + + + + +
Wentworth	Democrat	Illinois	+ o + + + + +
White	Whig	New York	+ + + + + + +
Wilmot	Democrat	Pennsylvania	+ o + + + + +
Wilson	Whig	New Hampshire	+ o o + + o +

MODERATE

Adams, G.	Whig	Kentucky	- + + - + - +
Blanchard	Whig	Pennsylvania	o + + + o + o
Henly	Democrat	Indiana	- + + + + + +
Ingersoll, J.	Whig	Pennsylvania	o + + o o + +
Petrie	Democrat	New York	o + + + + + +
Rockhill	Democrat	Indiana	o + + + + + +
Strong	Democrat	Pennsylvania	o + o + + + +
Tuck	Whig	New Hampshire	o + + + + + +
Cathcart	Democrat	Indiana	- o + + + + +
Clark, F.	Democrat	Maine	- o + + + + +
Cummins	Democrat	Ohio	+ - + + + + +
Darling	Democrat	Wisconsin	o o + + + + +
Dickinson	Democrat	Ohio	- - + + o + o
Faran	Democrat	Ohio	+ - + + + + +
Lahm	Democrat	Ohio	+ - + + + o +
Lord	Democrat	New York	- o + + + + +
Lynde	Democrat	Wisconsin	o o + + + + +
Maclay	Democrat	New York	- o + + + + +
Mann, H.	Whig	Massachusetts	o o + o + + +
Mann, J.	Democrat	Pennsylvania	- - + + + + +
Nicoll	Democrat	New York	o o + + + + +
Pettit	Democrat	Indiana	- o + o + + +
Ritchey	Democrat	Ohio	- - + + + + +

Rose	Whig	New York	0	0	+	0	+	+	+
Smart	Democrat	Maine	0	-	+	+	+	+	+
Smith, R.	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Thompson, J.	Democrat	Pennsylvania	0	0	+	+	+	+	+
Turner	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	+	0	0	+	0
Wiley	Democrat	Maine	-	0	+	+	+	0	+
Williams	Democrat	Maine	-	-	+	0	+	+	+

Johnson, J. H.	Democrat	New Hampshire	+	-	0	+	+	0	+
Levin	Native Am	Pennsylvania	-	0	0	+	+	0	+
Murphy	Democrat	New York	0	0	0	+	+	+	+
Robinson	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

Birdsall	Democrat	New York	-	-	-	0	+	-	+
Brodhead	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	0	+	-	+
Buckner	Whig	Kentucky	0	-	0	-	+	-	+
Clapp	Democrat	Maine	-	0	0	-	+	0	+
Ficklin	Democrat	Illinois	-	0	-	-	+	+	+
Leffler	Democrat	Iowa	+	0	0	-	+	0	+
McClernand	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Richardson	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	-	+	0	+
Wick	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	0	+	+	+

Kennon	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
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Miller	Democrat	Ohio	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
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Sawyer	Democrat	Ohio	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
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Brown	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	0	-	0	-	0
Daniel	Democrat	North Carolina	-	0	-	-	-	-	0
Haskell	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	0	-	-	0
Ingersoll, C.	Democrat	Pennsylvania	0	0	-	-	0	-	+
McKay	Democrat	North Carolina	-	0	-	-	0	-	0

ANTI FREE SOIL

Atkinson	Democrat	Virginia	-	0	0	-	-	-	-
Barringer	Whig	North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barrow	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	0	-	-	-	-
Bayly	Democrat	Virginia	-	0	-	0	-	-	-
Bedinger	Democrat	Virginia	-	0	0	0	-	-	-
Bocock	Democrat	Virginia	-	0	-	-	-	-	-
Botts	Whig	Virginia	0	0	-	-	-	-	-
Bowdon	Democrat	Alabama	-	0	-	0	-	-	-
Bowlin	Democrat	Missouri	-	0	-	0	-	-	-
Boyd	Democrat	Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Boyden	Whig	North Carolina	-	-	0	-	-	-	-
Brown, A.	Democrat	Mississippi	-	0	-	-	-	-	-

Brown, W.	Democrat	Virginia	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Burt	Democrat	South Carolina	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cabell	Whig	Florida	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-
Chapman, J.	Whig	Maryland	o	o	-	o	-	-	-	-
Chase	Democrat	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clarke, B.	Democrat	Kentucky	-	o	-	o	-	-	-	-
Clingman	Whig	North Carolina	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cobb, H.	Democrat	Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cobb, W. R. W.	Democrat	Alabama	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cocke	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crisfield	Whig	Maryland	-	o	-	o	-	o	-	-
Crozier	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Donnell	Whig	North Carolina	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-
Duncan, W.	Whig	Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Evans, A.	Whig	Maryland	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Featherston	Democrat	Mississippi	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-
Flournoy	Whig	Virginia	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
French	Democrat	Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fulton	Whig	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gaines	Whig	Kentucky	-	o	o	-	-	o	-	-
Gayle	Whig	Alabama	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-
Gentry	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	o	-	o	-	-
Goggin	Whig	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Green	Democrat	Missouri	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hall, W. P.	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Haralson	Democrat	Georgia	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
Harmonson	Democrat	Louisiana	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Harris	Democrat	Alabama	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hill	Democrat	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hilliard	Whig	Alabama	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Holmes, I.	Democrat	South Carolina	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
Houston, G.	Democrat	Alabama	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-
Inge	Democrat	Alabama	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Iverson	Democrat	Georgia	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jameson	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	-	o	-	o	-	-
Johnson, A.	Democrat	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Johnson, R. W.	Democrat	Arkansas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jones, G.	Democrat	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jones, J.	Whig	Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kaufman	Democrat	Texas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
King, T.	Whig	Georgia	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-
La Sere	Democrat	Louisiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Ligon	Democrat	Maryland	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lumpkin	Democrat	Georgia	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
McDowell	Democrat	Virginia	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
McLane	Democrat	Maryland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meade	Democrat	Virginia	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-
Morehead	Whig	Kentucky	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-
Morse	Democrat	Louisiana	-	-	o	-	-	-	o	-
Outlaw	Whig	North Carolina	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pendleton	Whig	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peyton	Democrat	Kentucky	-	-	o	-	-	-	o	-
Phelps	Democrat	Missouri	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-

Pilsbury	Democrat	Texas	-	o	-	o	-	-	-
Preston	Whig	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhett	Democrat	South Carolina	o	o	-	-	-	-	-
Roman	Whig	Maryland	-	o	-	o	-	-	-
Sheppard	Whig	North Carolina	-	o	-	-	-	-	-
Simpson	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	-	o	-	o	-
Stanton	Democrat	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	o	-
Stephens	Whig	Georgia	-	-	-	o	-	-	-
Thibodeaux	Whig	Louisiana	-	-	-	-	o	o	-
Thomas	Democrat	Tennessee	-	o	-	-	-	-	-
Thompson, Jacob	Democrat	Mississippi	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thompson, John	Whig	Kentucky	-	-	o	-	-	-	-
Tompkins	Whig	Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Toombs	Whig	Georgia	-	-	-	o	-	-	-
Venable	Democrat	North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woodward	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .983

30th House: Free Soil Roll-Calls

Vote #1 - Nay to table resolution to prohibit slavery in territory acquired from Mexico over which territorial government established. February 28, 1848. Yea=105 Nay=93.

Vote #2 - Nay to table the petition of John Sinclair and others requesting the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories. December 28, 1847. Yea=76 Nay=70.

Vote #3 - Nay to concur in the amendment, as in committee of the whole, to H. R. 201, which amendment strikes out the extension of the Ordinance of 1787 over Oregon Territory. August 2, 1848. Yea=88 Nay=114.

Vote #4 - Nay to table resolution to instruct committee on territories to report a bill or bills providing a territorial government for each of the territories of New Mexico and California and excluding slavery therefrom. December 13, 1848. Yea=80 Nay=107.

Vote #5 - Yea to pass H. R. 685, a bill to establish the territorial government of upper California. February 27, 1849. Yea=126 Nay=87.

Vote #6 - Nay to concur in the Senate amendment to H. R. 201, which amendment extends the Missouri Compromise line, as defined in the act of March 6, 1820, to the Pacific Ocean, and re-enacts the eighth section of said act together with the compromise therein effected. August 11, 1848. Yea=82 Nay=121.

Vote #7 - Nay to table H. R. 685, a bill to establish the territorial government of upper California. February 27, 1849. Yea=86 Nay=127.

APPENDIX E

31ST CONGRESS: SCALOGRAMS

31st Senate
Free Soil Roll Call Scalogram

Senator	Party	State	Roll Calls																						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3

PRO FREE SOIL

Baldwin, R.	W	CT	+++++-----
Chase	FS	OH	+++++-----o+++++
Clarke, J.	W	RI	++o++++o++o+++++o++++o++++
Davis, J.	W	MA	++o+o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++
Dayton	W	NJ	++o+o++++o+o+++++o+++++o++++
Dodge, H.	D	WI	+++++---+-----o++++
Greene	W	RI	++o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++
Hale	FS	NH	+++++---+-----o++++
Miller	W	NJ	++o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++
Smith, T.	W	CT	+++++o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++
Upham	W	VT	++o+o++++o++++o++++o++++o++++
Walker	D	WI	++o+---+-----o++++

MODERATE

Corwin	W	OH	oo+++++o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++
Phelps	W	VT	oo+oooo++++o+++++o+++++ooo+++++
Bradbury	D	ME	oooo+++++---+-----o++++
Felch	D	MI	ooo+++++o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++
Hamlin	D	ME	ooo+++++o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++
Norris	D	NH	--o+++++o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++
Seward	W	NY	ooo+++++o+++++o+++++o+++++o++++

Douglas	D	IL	--o-++++-o+--+o+++oo-o+++++o+++
Shields	D	IL	--oo+++++++o+++++++--+o+++o+++++
Cooper	W	PA	--oo-+++oo+++ooo+ooo+++++++o+++++
Whitcomb	D	IN	--o-+-+++--+o--o+--++++++o+o--++
Wales	I	DE	---oooooo--o+oooo+o+o+o+++++++
Benton	D	MO	--o+----+--+o+++++oooo+--+o-++
Dodge, A.	D	IA	---+--+--o+--++++--+--++++++++--+
Jones, G.	D	IA	---o-+----+--+o+--+--+--++++++++o+++
Spruance	W	DE	-----+--o+--+--o-++++++o+++++o+++++
Bright	D	IN	--o---+++--+--o+--++++o+++++--++++
Cass	D	MI	--o-+-+-----+--+o+oo+o+o+o+++o
Webster	W	MA	--+o---oo-o+o+o+o---+--oo+oooo+oooo
Sturgeon	D	PA	-----+---o-----oo--o+++--+--++++
Clay	W	KY	-----+-----o+-----oo-oo+++o+++
Dickinson	D	NY	ooo-+-+---o-----+--+--++++
Pearce	W	MD	--o-----o-----o-----o+--+o-oo+--+
Badger	W	NC	-----o-----o--o--+++++
Mangum	W	NC	ooo-----o-----ooo--o-oo+++
Underwood	W	KY	-----+-----+--+--+--+--o+--o-+++++
Pratt	W	MD	--o-----o-----oo-----o-----o+--o
Bell	W	TN	-----o-----o-----o+--+o-oo-+o+
Atchison	D	MO	-----o-----o-----o-----+
Butler	D	SC	-----o-o--+-----o-----+
Clemens	D	AL	-----o-----o-----o-----+
Foote	D	MS	-----o-----o-----o-----+
Hunter	D	VA	-----o-----o-----o-----+
King	D	AL	-----o-----o-----o-----+
Mason	D	VA	-----o-----o-----o-----+
Morton	W	FL	-----o-----o-----o-----+
Sebastian	D	AR	--o-----o-----o-----o-----+

ANTI FREE SOIL

Berrien	W	GA	---o-----oo-----ooo-----o-----
Davis, J.	D	MS	-----o-----o-----o-----
Dawson	W	GA	---o-----oo-----ooo-----o-----
Downs	W	LA	-----o-----o-----o-----
Houston	D	TX	---o-----oo-----ooo-----o-----
Rusk	D	TX	-----o-----o-----o-----
Soule	D	LA	-----o-----o-----o-----

Turney	D	TN	--o-----o---o-----o----
Yulee	D	FL	-----ooo--+-----o-o-----

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .993

31st Senate: Free Soil Roll Calls

Vote #1 - Nay to amend S. 225, which amendment admits Utah and New Mexico into the Union with or without slavery, as their constituents may provide at the time of their admission. June 17, 1850. Yea=38 Nay=12.

Vote #2 - Yea to amend amendment to the bill, S. 225 providing for the admission of California into the Union, establishing territorial government in Utah and New Mexico, and making proposals to Texas, establishing her northern and western boundaries, which amendment eliminates the clause permitting the admission of Utah and New Mexico as states and leaving the question of slavery to be decided by each state and adding a provision giving the people of each of these states the rights of United States citizens, according to the principles of the constitution. June 17, 1850. Yea=12 Nay=38.

Vote #3 - Nay to amend the bill, S. 225 by granting California permission to form two states from her territory, both states to have the right of admission into the Union under the constitution with or without slavery, as the people of each state may direct. June 18, 1850. Yea=26 Nay=9.

Vote #4 - Yea to amend the resolution which amendment proposes that this committee shall not make California a party to or in any way connect her with any provision in the nature or with the intent of a compact relating to slavery or to any slave state or slave territory other than the compacts of the constitution. April 18, 1850. Yea=16 Nay=29.

Vote #5 - Yea to amend S. 225, which amendment opposes in order to prevent legislation by any state on the subject of slavery and imparts force and application to the laws of the United States relating thereto. June 5, 1850. Yea=21 Nay=33.

Vote #6 - Yea to amend the bill, S. 225, which amendment forbids slavery and involuntary servitude except for conviction of crime, in Utah and New Mexico. June 5, 1850. Yea=23 Nay=33.

Vote #7 - Yea to amend S. 225, which amendment maintains Mexican laws prohibiting slavery in full force and effect in said territory until altered or repealed by congress. June 6, 1850. Yea=23 Nay=32.

Vote #8 - Nay to amend the resolution for the committee of thirteen to take up all questions relating to slavery and endeavor to effect a compromise thereon, which amendment gives this committee full power to arrive at their own conclusions uninstructed. April 17, 1850. Yea=29 Nay=21.

Vote #9 - Yea to refer to the committee on territories, the resolution looking to the adjustment of all questions between the states on the subject of slavery. April 11, 1850. Yea=23 Nay=31.

Vote #10 - Yea to amend the bill, S. 170 which amendment proposes that slavery be prohibited in these territories by legislative enactment. August 14, 1850. Yea=20 Nay=25.

Vote #11 - Yea to amend S. 225, by which amendment prohibits any legisltion on the subject of slavery or excluding slavery altogether. June 5, 1850. Yea=21 Nay=36.

Vote #12 - Yea to amend the bill, S. 225, which amendment provides that nothing in this bill is to be construed as an authorization of slavery or holding of persons as property

within said territories. June 5, 1850. Yea=25 Nay=30.

Vote #13 - Nay to table a petition presenting to the Senate a memorial of an association of friends for promoting the abolition of slavery, improving the condition of the free people of color, asking congress to prevent the increase of slavery and praying that no new state be admitted into the Union, nor territorial governments established whose constitutions or organic laws do not expressly prohibit the establishment or countenance of slavery within their limits. February 7, 1850. Yea=25 Nay=21.

Vote #14 - Yea to table the resolution providing for the selection of a committee of thirteen to take up all questions relating to slavery, endeavoring to effect a compromise thereon, and proceed instead to consideration of the bill, S. 169, for the admission of California into the Union as a state. April 17, 1850. Yea=24 Nay=28.

Vote #15 - Yea to table the motion postponing consideration of the resolution to choose thirteen senators as a select committee to take up all questions relating to slavery, endeavoring to effect a compromise thereon, in order to proceed instead to consideration of the bill, S. 169, for the admission of California into the Union. April 18, 1850. Yea=24 Nay=28.

Vote #16 - Nay to amend the bill, S. 225 which amendment forbids interference with the primary disposal of the soil or with the establishment or prohibition of slavery. June 5, 1850. Yea=30 Nay=27.

Vote #17 - Nay to proceed to the consideration of the resolutions of February 28, 1850, relative to the adjustment of all questions in controversy between the states on the subject of slavery. March 12, 1850. Yea=24 Nay=22.

Vote #18 - Nay on concurring in the amendment in committee of the whole to S. 225, which amendment forbids the enactment of any statute establishing or prohibiting

African slavery by these territories seeking to be admitted as states. July 15, 1850. Yea=27 Nay=25.

Vote #19 - Yea to table the resolution looking to the adjustment of all controversy between the states on the subject of slavery. April 11, 1850. Yea=26 Nay=28.

Vote #20 - Yea to amend the resolution relating to the adjustment of all questions between the states on the subject of slavery by providing that nothing therein authorizes the committee on territories, to consider admitting California into the Union as a state. April 11, 1850. Yea=26 Nay=28.

Vote #21 - Nay to table the resolution that certain petitions and remonstrances on the subject of slavery be referred to the select committee of thirteen appointed this day. April 19, 1850. Yea=24 Nay=23.

Vote #22 - Nay to amend S. 225 by changing the southern boundary of Utah from parallel 38 degrees to parallel 36 degrees 30 minutes. July 31, 1850. Yea=26 Nay=27.

Vote #23 - Yea to receive and refer to the committee on territories, the petition from the citizens of Honesdale, Wayne County, Pennsylvania, for the establishment and protection of freedom in the territories of the United States also to secure to alledged fugitives the right of trial by jury. March 6, 1850. Yea=19 Nay=18.

Vote #24 - Nay to amend the bill S. 225, which amendment proposes that nothing herein contained shall prevent territorial legislation for the protection of property, held in or introduced into said territory, as long as it is in conformity with the constitution and laws of the United States. June 5, 1850. Yea=26 Nay=29.

Vote #25 - Nay to amend S. 169, by admitting California upon an equal footing with the states in the Union, when its

inhabitants in assembled convention have agreed upon certain boundaries therein set forth, limited their representatives to one until the next United States census, and consented that the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, known as the Missouri Compromise, be declared in full force and extend to the Pacific Ocean. August 6, 1850. Yea=24 Nay=32.

Vote #26 - Nay to table the question of the reception of the petition signed by 1,483 women of Dover, New Hampshire, praying that slavery be not extended into the territory of New Mexico and California. February 12, 1850. Yea=19 Nay=26.

Vote #27 - Nay to amend S. 225 by establishing the line of the Missouri Compromise as the southern boundary of California. July 19, 1850. Yea=23 Nay=32.

Vote #28 - Nay to amend S. 169, by reducing the southern boundary of California to the line of 36 degrees, 30 minutes, and creating a territorial government souof that line to be called Colorado. August 2, 1850. Yea=23 Nay=33.

Vote #29 - Nay to table, in order to prevent reception of, petitions from citizens of three towns in the state of New York, praying that no state be admitted into the Union unless the constitution of such state expressly prohibits slavery within its limits. March 13, 1850. Yea=15 Nay=22.

Vote #30 - Nay to amend S. 307, which amendment proposes that the territory ceded to the United States by Texas be joined into a state and admitted into the Union, with the people thereof to determine the question of allowing or prohibiting slavery. August 9, 1850. Yea=19 Nay=29.

Vote #31 - Yea to amend S. 225 by eliminating from section 10 the words, "establishing or prohibiting African slavery" thereby leaving the question open to Congress for determination and decision. July 31, 1850. Yea=32 Nay=20.

31st House
Free Soil Roll Call Scalogram

Congressman	Party	State	Roll Calls								
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

PRO FREE SOIL											
Alexander	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Allen	Free Soil	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	o
Baker	Whig	Illinois	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+
Bennett	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bingham	Democrat	Michigan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Booth	Free Soil	Connecticut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Butler, T.	Whig	Connecticut	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+
Burrows	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cable	Democrat	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+

Calvin	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Campbell	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+

Cartter	Democrat	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cole	Democrat	Wisconsin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Corwin	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Crowell	Whig	Ohio	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Dickey	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	o	o	+	+	+
Doty	Democrat	Wisconsin	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Duncan	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Durkee	Free Soil	Wisconsin	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+

Evans, N.	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+

Fitch	Democrat	Indiana	+	+	-	o	+	+	+	+	+
Fowler	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Giddings	Free Soil	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+

Gott	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gould	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+
Halloway	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+
Harlan	Democrat	Indiana	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o
Hebard	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Henry	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Howe	Free Soil	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Hunter	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Jackson, W.	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+
Julian	Free Soil	Indiana	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o
King, P.	Free Soil	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mann, H.	Free Soil	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Matteson	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Meacham	Whig	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+
Moore	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+

Morris	Democrat	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Newell	Whig	New Jersey	+	o	+	+	o	o	+	+	+	o
Ogle	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	o

Olds	Democrat	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Otis	Whig	Maine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peaslee	Democrat	New Hampshire	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peck	Democrat	Vermont	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Putnam	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reed	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Reynolds	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rockwell	Whig	Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	+	+	+

Root	Free Soil	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Rumsey	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sackett	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sawtelle	Democrat	Maine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Schenck	Whig	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+

Schermerhorn	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+
Schoolcraft	Whig	New York	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Silvester	Whig	New York	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sprague	Free Soil	Michigan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stetson	Democrat	Maine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stevens, T.	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+

Sweetser	Democrat	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+

Tuck	Free Soil	New Hampshire	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Van Dyke	Whig	New Jersey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Waldo	Democrat	Connecticut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wentworth	Democrat	Illinois	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Whittlesey	Democrat	Ohio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MODERATE

Conger	Whig	New York	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+
Freedley	Whig	Pennsylvania	-	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
King, G.	Whig	Rhode Island	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McGaughey	Whig	Indiana	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Clarke	Whig	New York	+	-	+	+	-	o	+	+	+	+
Dixon	Whig	Rhode Island	+	-	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
King, J.	Whig	New Jersey	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
King, J. A.	Whig	New York	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McKissock	Whig	New York	+	-	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+
Thompson, J.	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Vinton	Whig	Ohio	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Andrews	Whig	New York	-	o	-	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Disney	Democrat	Ohio	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Grinnell	Whig	Massachusetts	-	o	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nelson	Whig	New York	+	-	-	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
Taylor	Whig	Ohio	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thurman	Whig	New York	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Underhill	Whig	New York	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
White	Whig	New York	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Albertson	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Briggs	Whig	New York	-	-	-	-	+	o	+	+	+	+
Buel	Democrat	Michigan	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dimmick	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dunham	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fuller	Democrat	Maine	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gerry	Democrat	Maine	o	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hibbard	Democrat	New Hampshire	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hoagland	Democrat	Ohio	-	o	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Leffler	Democrat	Iowa	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Littlefield	Democrat	Maine	-	+	-	-	+	o	+	+	+	+
McDonald	Democrat	Indiana	+	+	-	-	o	o	+	+	+	+
Pitman	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	-	-	-	+	o	+	+	+	+
Potter	Democrat	Ohio	-	+	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
Robinson	Democrat	Indiana	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	o
Rose	Whig	New York	-	o	-	-	+	o	+	+	+	+
Walden	Democrat	New York	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wildrick	Democrat	New Jersey	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wilson	Whig	New Hampshire	o	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

Bokee	Whig	New York	-	o	-	-	o	o	+	+	+
Bowlin	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
Brooks	Whig	New York	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Brown, W.	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	-	o	o	+	+	o
Butler, C.	Whig	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	o	+	+	+	+
Casey	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	o	-	-	o	+	+	+	+
Chandler	Whig	Pennsylvania	+	o	-	-	o	+	+	+	+
Duer	Whig	New York	-	o	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Eliot	Whig	Massachusetts	-	o	-	-	o	o	+	+	+
Gentry	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	o	o	+	+	+
Gorman	Democrat	Indiana	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
Hammond	Democrat	Maryland	-	o	-	-	-	+	o	o	-
Harris, T.	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	-	o	o	+	+	+
Houston, J.	Whig	Delaware	-	-	-	-	-	o	+	+	+
Kerr	Whig	Maryland	-	o	-	-	o	o	+	+	+
Levin	Native Am.	Pennsylvania	-	o	-	-	o	o	+	+	+
Mann, J.	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
McClernand	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	-	-	o	+	o	+
McLanahan	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	o	o	+	+	+	o
Phoenix	Whig	New York	-	-	-	-	o	+	+	+	+
Richardson	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Robbins	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	o	+	+	+	+
Strong	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	+	-	-	o	o	+	+	+
Young	Democrat	Illinois	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

Bay	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o
Gilmore	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Haymond	Whig	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
Phelps	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	o
Ross	Democrat	Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	o	-	+	+	+
Stanly	Whig	North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	o	+
Williams	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

Beale	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	+	-
Hall, W.	Democrat	Missouri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Sheppard	Whig	North Carolina	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	+	-

Breck	Whig	Kentucky	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Caldwell, J.	Whig	North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Morehead	Whig	Kentucky	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	o
McWillie	Democrat	Mississippi	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Morton	Whig	Virginia	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	+
Thompson, J.	Whig	Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Watkins	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o

ANTI FREE SOIL

Alston	Whig	Alabama	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anderson	Whig	Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ashe	Democrat	North Carolina	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Averett	Democrat	Virginia	o	-	o	+	-	-	-	-	-
Bayly	Democrat	Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-
Bowdon	Democrat	Alabama	o	-	o	+	-	o	-	o	-

Venable	Democrat	North Carolina	o	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Wallace	Democrat	South Carolina	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Wellborn	Democrat	Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woodward	Democrat	South Carolina	o	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .959

31st House: Free Soil Roll Calls

Vote #1 - Yea to commit S. 307 to the committee of the whole, with instructions to amend same by excluding slavery in territory acquired from Mexico. September 5, 1850. Yea=80 Nay=119.

Vote #2 - Nay to table a resolution relating to territorial government in land ceded to United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and prohibiting slavery therein. February 4, 1850. Yea=105 Nay=79.

Vote #3 - Nay to agree to the amendment of Mr. Boyd (as amended) to S. 307, which provides for a territorial government for New Mexico, excluding the Wilmot Proviso, but permitting people to allow or prohibit slavery as they decide, and the government shall not be in effect until the Texas boundary is settled. September 5, 1850. Yea=107 Nay=99.

Vote #4 - Nay to agree to an amendment in the nature of a substitute to S. 307, which amendment provides for the establishment of a territorial government upon the non-intervention principle. September 4, 1850. Yea=99 Nay=106.

Vote #5 - Nay to table a resolution that the committee on territories be instructed to report a bill, S. 170, providing for a government for the territory ceded by Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and prohibiting slavery therein. December 31, 1849. Yea=83 Nay=101.

Vote #6 - Yea to consider the New York resolutions to discontinue slavery in the District of Columbia, in territory acquired from Mexico, Texas, the admission of California as a state of the Union, to oppose attempts to effect a dissolution of the Union. March 11, 1850. Yea=107 Nay=63.

Vote #7 - Nay to amend S. 169, by setting the southern boundary of California at 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. September 7, 1850. Yea=76 Nay=131.

Vote #8 - Nay to amend the amendment of Mr. Wentworth, which proposes to commit S. 307 to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union with instructions to amend same by excluding slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico, by committing bill, with instructions to report a bill establishing the boundaries of the state of Texas as established by the Texas legislature of 1836 thus allowing slavery in the territory of Texas. September 5, 1850. Yea=72 Nay=128.

Vote #9 - Nay to amend Mr. Boyd's amendment to S. 307, relating to the territorial government for New Mexico without the insertion of the Wilmot Proviso, by adding that all that portion of territory acquired from Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which is to constitute the territory of Colorado, shall be governed in all respects similar to the government provided for the territory of New Mexico. September 4, 1850. Yea=68 Nay=128.

APPENDIX F

SELECTED BIOGRAPHICAL DATA: OHIO CONGRESSMEN, 1843-1851

Name	a Party	b Dis- trict	Birth date	Birth place	c Free Soil Vote			
					28	29	30	31
Allen, William	D	*	1803	NC	mod	pro	mod	-
Bell, John	W	6	1796	PA	-	-	-	abs
Brinkerhoff, Henry	D	21	1787	PA	abs	-	-	-
Brinkerhoff, Jacob	D	11	1810	NY	mod	pro	-	-
Cable, Joseph	D	17	1801	OH	-	-	-	pro
Campbell, Lewis D.	W	2	1811	OH	-	-	-	pro
Canby, Richard S.	W	4	1808	OH	-	-	pro	-
Cartter, David K.	D	18	1812	NY	-	-	-	pro
Chase, Salmon P.	FS	*	1808	NH	-	-	-	pro
Corwin, Moses B.	W	4	1790	KY	-	-	-	pro
Corwin, Thomas	W	*	1794	KY	-	pro	pro	mod
Crowell, John	W	19	1801	CT	-	-	pro	pro
Cummins, John D.	D	16	1791	PA	-	mod	mod	-
Cunningham, Francis	D	2	1804	SC	-	mod	-	-
Dean, Ezra	D	18	1795	NY	mod	-	-	-
Delano, Columbus	W	10	1809	VT	-	pro	-	-
Dickinson, Rudolphus	D	6	1797	MA	-	-	mod	abs
Disney, David T.	D	1	1803	MD	-	-	-	mod
Duncan, Alexander	D	1	1788	NJ	mod	-	-	-
Duncan, Daniel	W	10	1806	PA	-	-	pro	-
Edwards, Thomas O.	W	9	1810	IN	-	-	pro	-
Evans, Nathan	W	14	1804	OH	-	-	pro	pro
Ewing, Thomas	W	*	1789	VA	-	-	-	abs
Faran, James J.	D	1	1808	OH	-	mod	mod	-
Fisher, David	W	2	1794	PA	-	-	pro	-
Florence, Elias	W	9	1797	VA	pro	-	-	-
Fries, George	D	17	1799	PA	-	mod	pro	-
Giddings, Joshua R.	W,FS	20	1795	PA	pro	pro	pro	pro
Hamer, Thomas	D	7	1800	PA	-	-	abs	-
Hamlin, Edward S.	W	21	1808	NY	mod	-	-	-
Harper, Alexander	W	14	1786	Ireland	pro	pro	-	-
Hoagland, Moses	D	16	1812	MD	-	-	-	mod
Hunter, William F.	W	15	1808	VA	-	-	-	pro
Johnson, Perley B.	W	13	1798	OH	pro	-	-	-
Kennon, William, Jr.	D	15	1802	Ireland	-	-	mod	-

Lahm, Samuel	D	18	1812	MD	-	-	mod	-
Mathews, James	D	16	1805	OH	mod	-	-	-
McCauslen, William	D	17	1796	OH	mod	-	-	-
McDowell, Joseph J.	D	7	1800	NC	mod	mod	-	-
Miller, John K.	D	11	1819	OH	-	-	mod	abs
Moore, Herman Allen	D	10	1809	VT	abs	-	-	-
Morris, Jonathan D.	D	7	1804	OH	-	-	pro	pro
Morris, Joseph	D	15	1795	PA	mod	mod	-	-
Olds, Edson B.	D	9	1819	VT	-	-	-	pro
Parrish, Isaac	D	13	1804	OH	-	mod	-	-
Perrill, Augustus	D	9	1807	VA	-	mod	-	-
Potter, Emery D.	D	5	1804	RI	mod	-	-	mod
Ritchey, Thomas	D	13	1801	PA	-	-	mod	-
Root, Joseph M.	W,FS	21	1807	NY	-	pro	pro	pro
Sawyer, William	D	5	1803	OH	-	mod	mod	-
Schenck, Robert C.	W	3	1809	OH	pro	pro	pro	pro
St. John, Henry	D	6	1783	VT	mod	pro	-	-
Starkweather, David	D	18	1802	CT	-	pro	-	-
Stone, Alfred P.	D	10	1813	MA	mod	-	-	-
Sweetser, Charles	D	10	1808	VT	-	-	-	pro
Tappan, Benjamin	D	*	1773	MA	mod	-	-	-
Taylor, John L.	W	8	1805	VA	-	-	pro	mod
Thurman, Allen G.	D	8	1813	VA	-	mod	-	-
Tilden, Daniel R.	W	19	1804	CT	pro	abs	-	-
Vance, Joseph	W	4	1786	PA	pro	pro	-	-
Vanmeter, John I.	W	8	1798	VA	pro	-	-	-
Vinton, Samuel F.	W	12	1792	MA	pro	mod	pro	mod
Weller, John B.	D	2	1812	OH	mod	-	-	-
Whittlesey, William	D	13	1796	CT	-	-	-	pro
Wood, Amos E.	D	6	1810	NY	-	-	-	abs

a = Political Party: D-Democrat, W-Whig, FS-Free Soil

b = Congressional District: *-United States Senator,
#-see Figure 1

c = Free Soil Vote: pro free soil, moderate, absent over
half of roll calls

VITA

Thomas Lee Franzmann

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: OHIO CONGRESSMEN AND THE 1840s: FREE SOIL,
THE SECOND PARTY SYSTEM, AND THE RISE OF
ANTI-SOUTHERN SENTIMENT

Major Field: History

Biographical:

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