

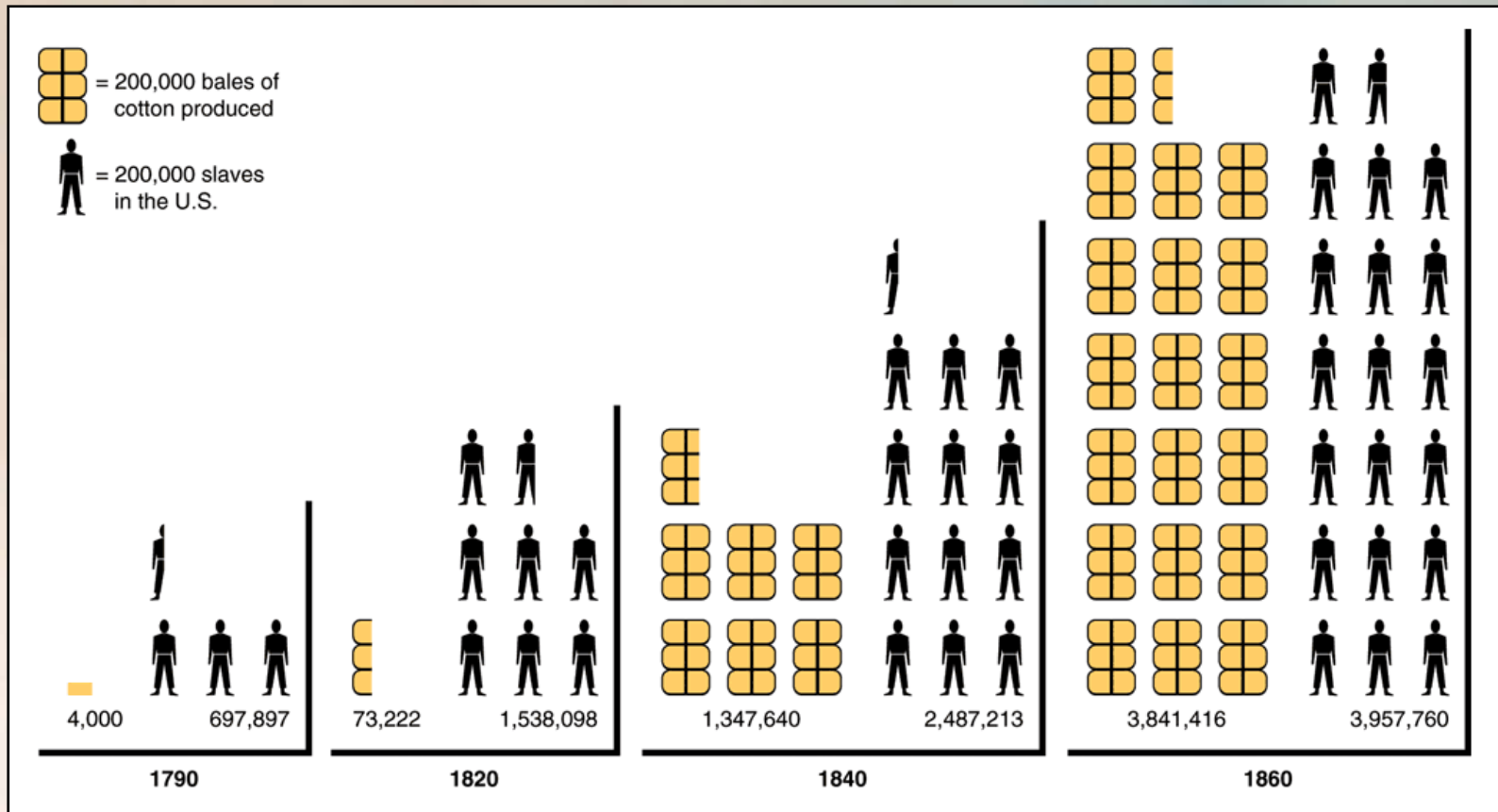
The South and the Slavery Controversy

1793 – 1860

Slavery and the Republic

- **1780s – slavery seemed to be fading**
 - **Revolutionary idealism led some to talk of freeing slaves**
 - **Some predicted that economics would show that slavery was unprofitable**
- **1793 – cotton gin invented**
 - **Made cultivation of short-staple cotton (grown inland) profitable**
 - **Created huge demand for slave labor**
 - **Southern economy came to depend on cotton**

Growth of Cotton Production and the Slave Population, 1790–1860



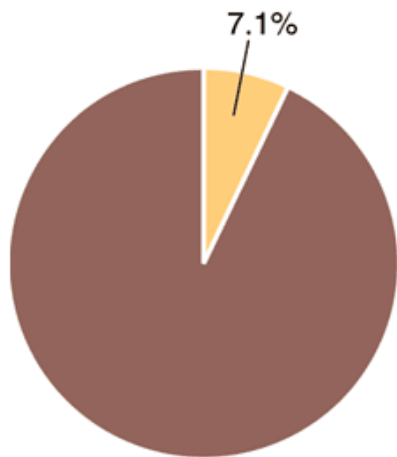
“Cotton is King”

- **Cotton planters spread across South**
 - **Bought more land and slaves to grow more cotton (to buy more land and slaves)**
- **North shipped cotton to England**
 - **Exchanged cotton for manufactured goods**

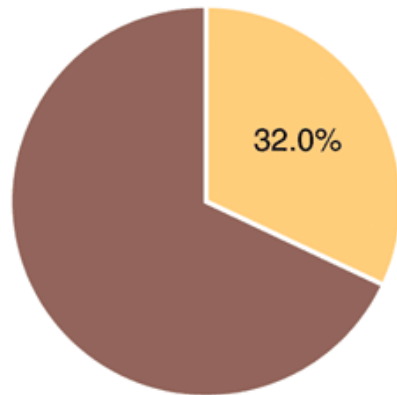
“Cotton is King”

- **Prosperity of North and South relied on cotton (and therefore slavery)**
 - **Post-1840 – cotton was 1/2 of all US exports**
- **South produced 1/2 of world’s supply of cotton**
 - **Other nations relied on South’s cotton**
 - **Britain’s main industrial product was cotton cloth; 75% of Britain’s supply came from South**
 - **South believed (incorrectly) that Britain’s reliance on cotton would force Britain to South’s side in event of civil war**

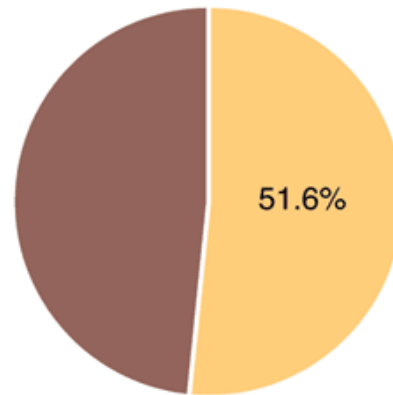
Value of Cotton Exports as a Percentage of All U.S. Exports, 1800–1860



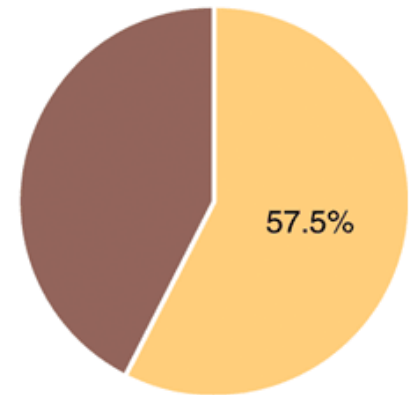
1800



1820



1840



1860

Cotton Shipped From the South



The Planter “Aristocracy”

- **South was an oligarchy (rule by the few)**
 - **Only a few (1,733 families in 1850) owned over 100 slaves**
 - **Lived in large plantation mansions**
 - **Educated children at private schools**
 - **Had time for leisure and study**
 - **Believed in public service (most prominent statesmen were from South, including many presidents)**

The Planter “Aristocracy”

- **Negatives of oligarchy**
 - **Undemocratic**
 - **Widened gap between rich and poor**
 - **Slowed public education (since rich sent their children to private schools)**

The Planter “Aristocracy”

- **Feudalism**

- **Southerners believed they were preserving a feudal society (even though they practiced capitalism)**
- **Sir Walter Scott (who glorified European feudalism) was popular author in South**

The Planter “Aristocracy”

- **Southern plantation women**
 - **Controlled large household staff**
 - **Some women treated slaves kindly; many treated slaves brutally**
 - **No slave-owning woman believed in abolition**
 - **Few women cared when slave families split up**
 - **Some women beat their slaves**

Slaves of the Slave System

- **Plantation system wasteful**
 - **Quick profits in cotton led to over cultivation**
 - **Planters moved west as soil depleted in east**

Slaves of the Slave System

- **Economic system became more monopolistic**
 - **Small farmers moved west as land depleted**
 - **Land sold to rich in area when the small farmers moved**

Slaves of the Slave System

- **Financial instability of plantation system**
 - **Many over-speculated in land and slaves, leading to ruin**
 - **Slaves were large expense (\$1,200 for a strong field worker)**
 - **Could run away or be killed by accident or disease**

Slaves of the Slave System

- **Dangerous dependence on 1 crop**
 - **Price at mercy of world economy**
 - **Discouraged diversification in agriculture and manufacturing**

Slaves of the Slave System

- **Over-dependence on Northern manufacturing and commerce**
 - **Southern plantations had to pay Northern middlemen, agents, shippers**
 - **South depended on Northern manufactured goods**

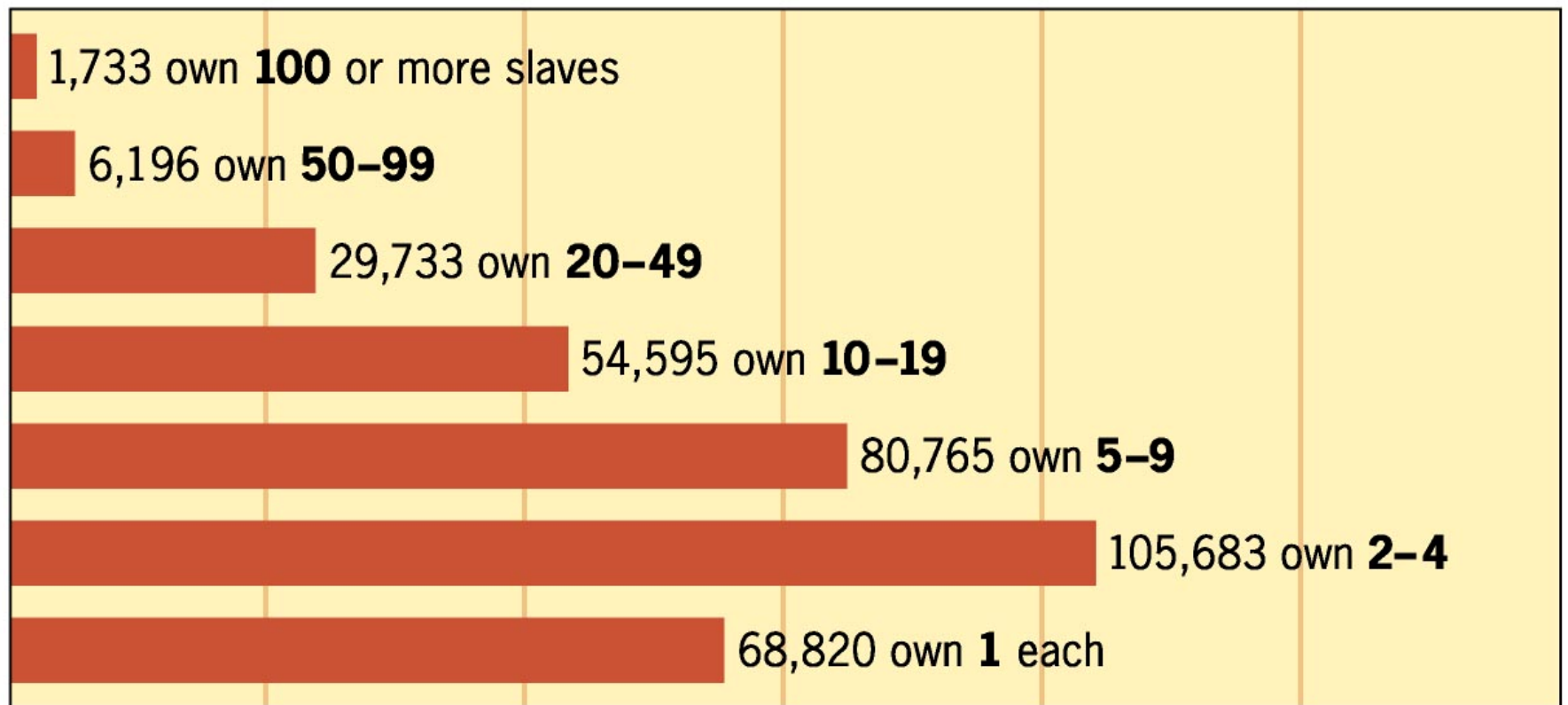
Slaves of the Slave System

- **No large-scale European immigration to South**
 - **Immigration added to manpower and wealth of North**
 - **German and Irish immigration to South discouraged**
 - **Competition with slave labor**
 - **High cost of fertile land**
 - **European ignorance of cotton growing**

The White Majority

- **Social stratification among slave-owning whites (in 1850)**
 - **1,733 families in upper class (over 100 slaves)**
 - **345,000 families (1,725,000 people) were lower class whites who owned slaves**
 - **2/3 of these families (255,268) owned less than 10 slaves**
 - **Only about 1/4 of all white southerners belonged to a family that owned slaves**

Slave-owning Families, 1850



The White Majority

- **Small slaveowners**
 - **Typically small farmers who owned 1 – 2 slaves**
 - **Worked beside their slaves in the field**
 - **Lives resembled small farmers in North more than that of southern planters**

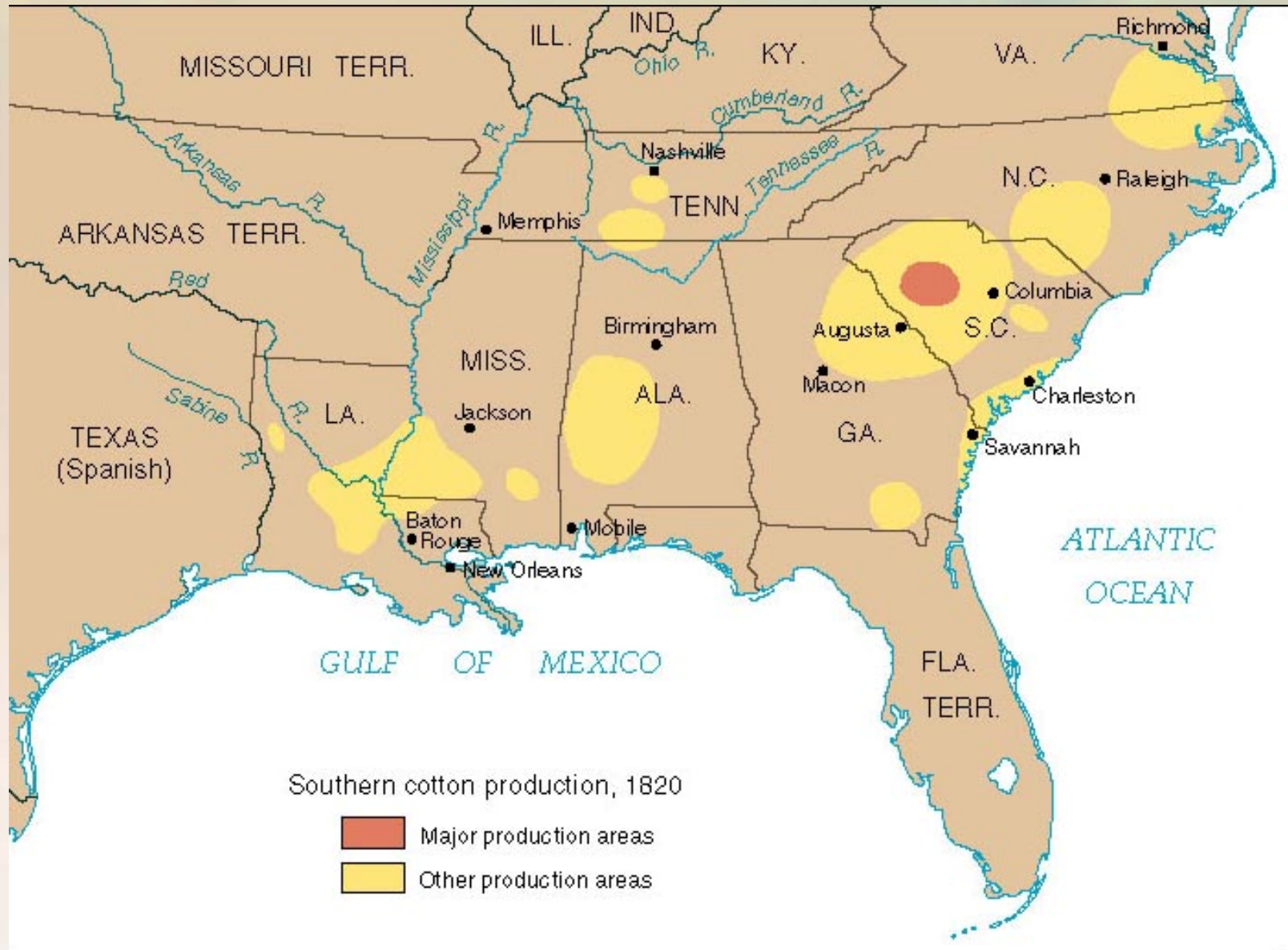
A White Farmer Working with a Single Black Slave



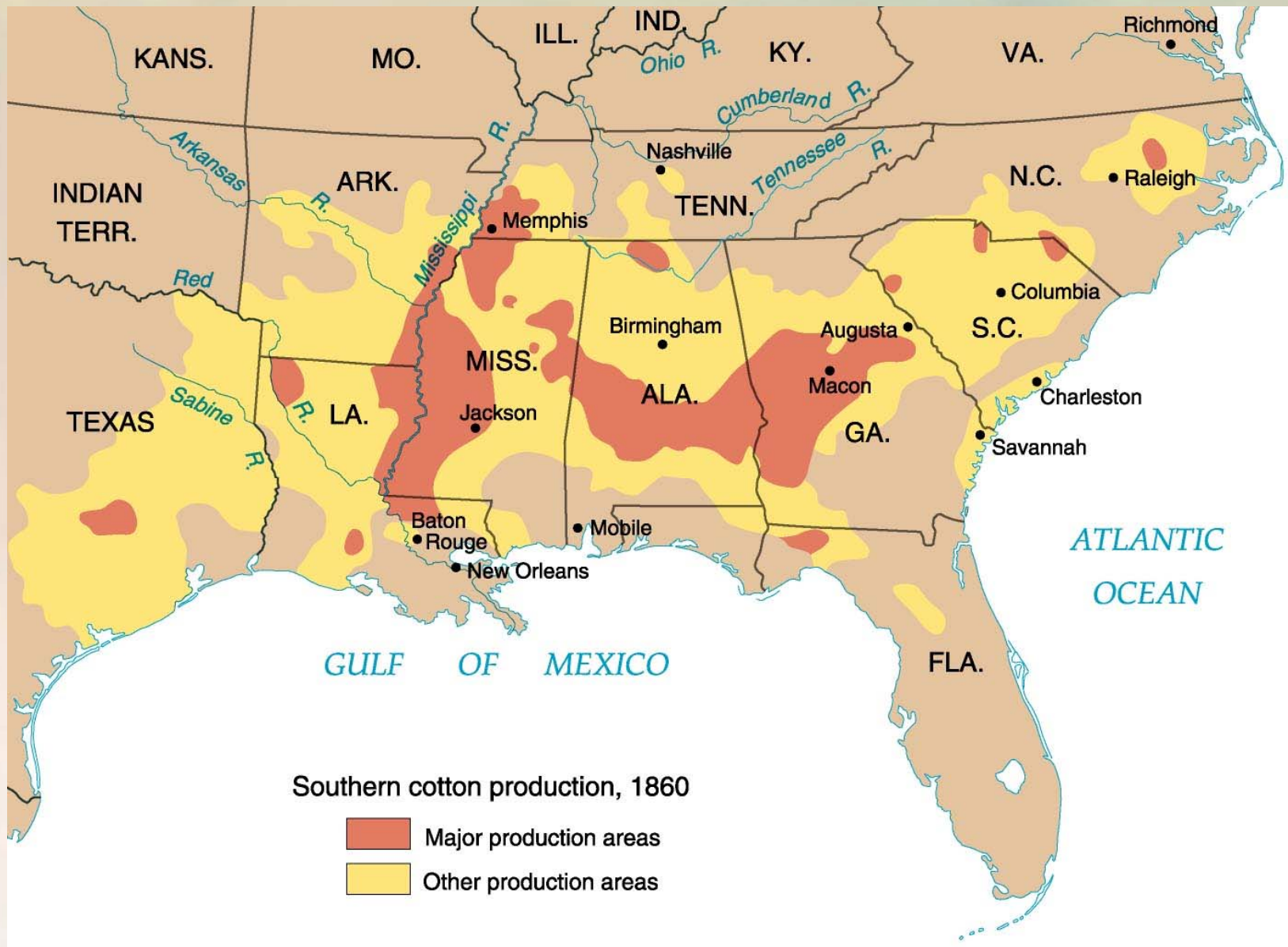
The White Majority

- **Southern whites who did not own slaves**
 - **6,120,825 people in 1860 (3/4 of total population in South)**
 - **Lived in interior backcountry; very isolated lives**
 - **Subsistence farmers (raised corn, hogs for personal consumption, not cotton for trade)**
 - **Some were extremely poor (“white trash”)**
 - **Described as lazy; now known to have suffered from malnutrition and disease**

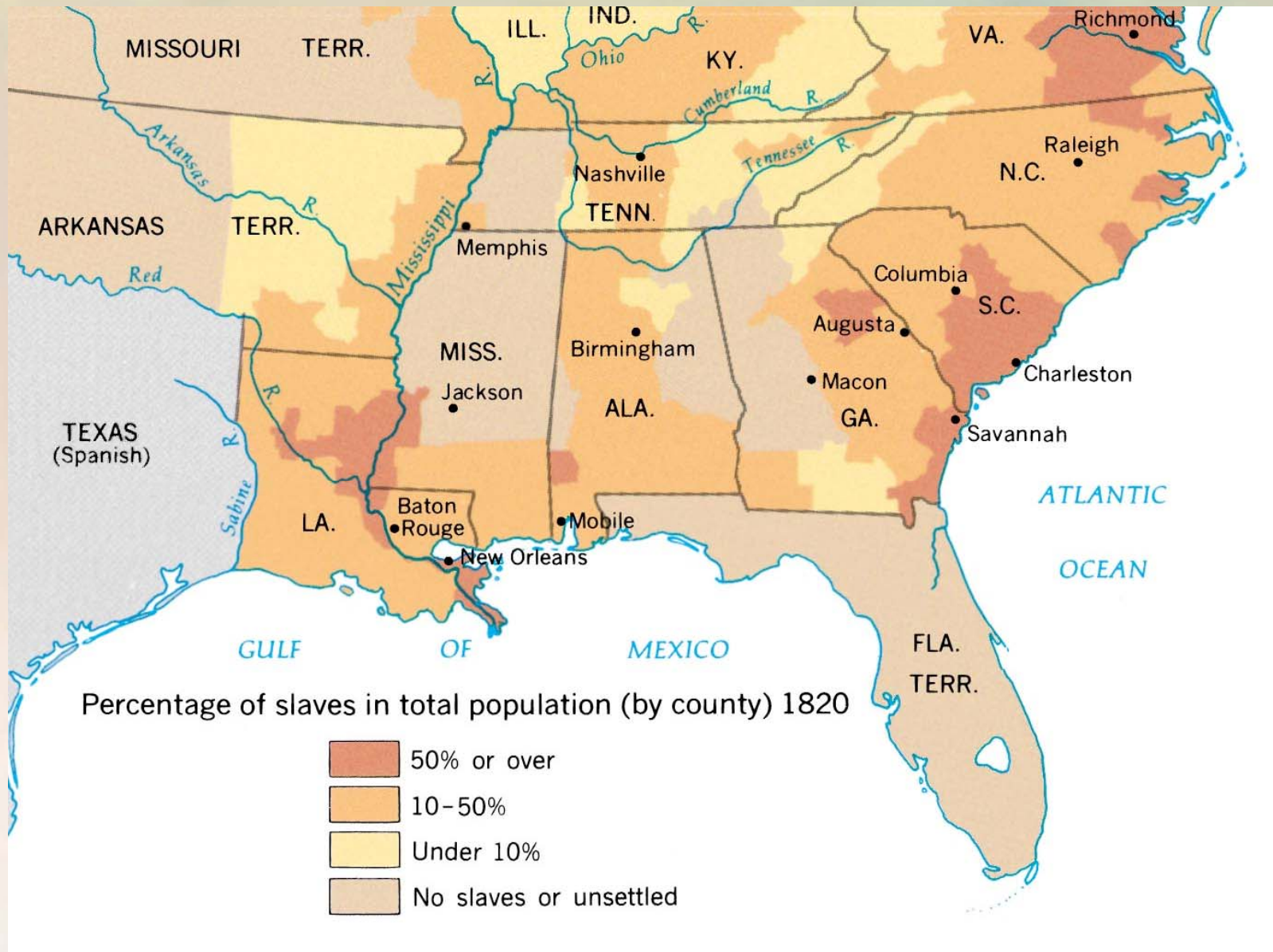
Southern Cotton Production, 1820



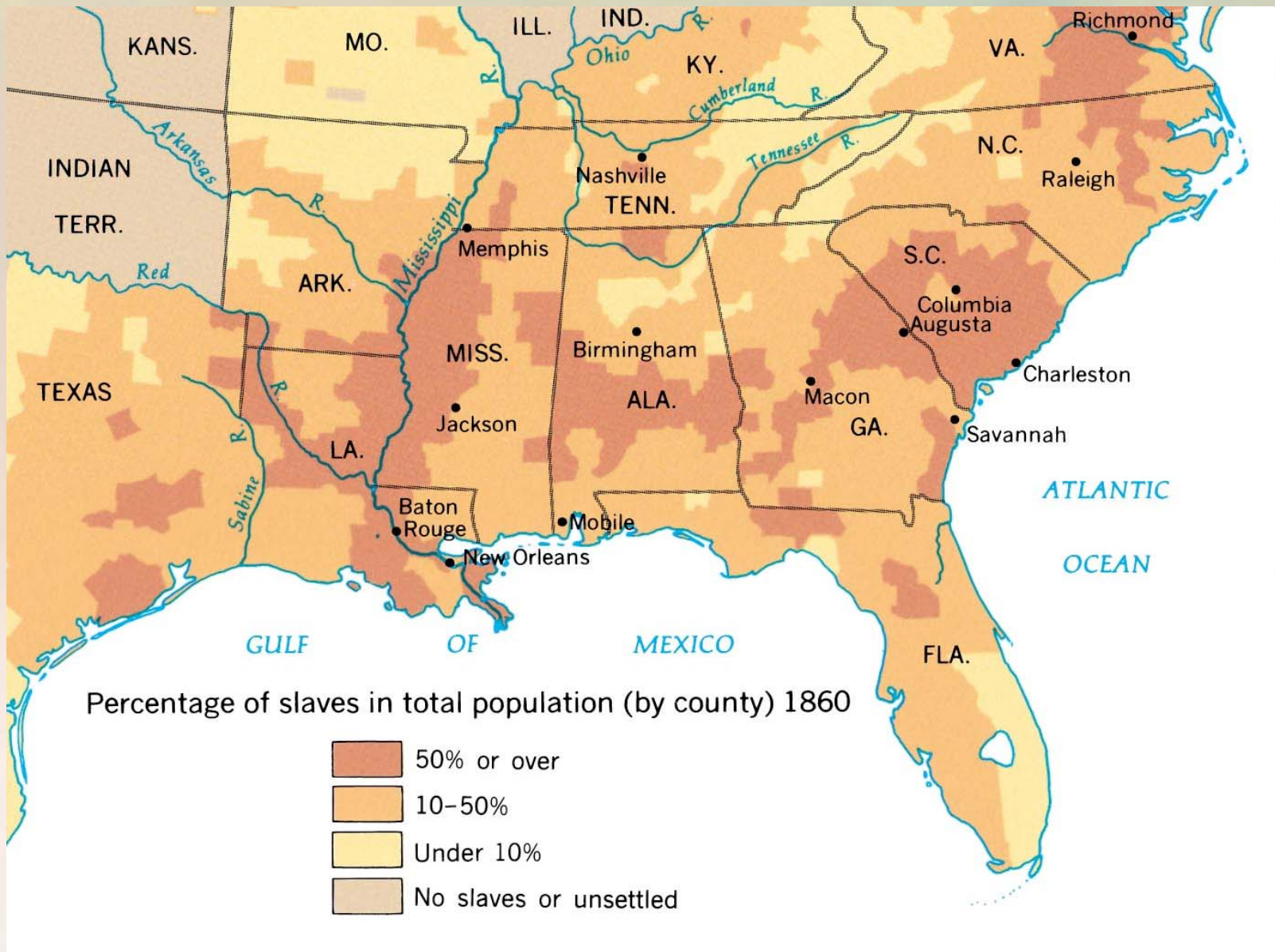
Southern Cotton Production, 1860



Distribution of Slaves, 1820



Distribution of Slaves, 1860



The White Majority

- **Why did poor whites (who did not own slaves) support the slave system**
 - **Hoped to eventually buy their own slaves**
 - **Racism (white racial superiority)**
 - **Despite fact that poor whites were barely above slaves in status or wealth**

The White Majority

- **Whites in highland valleys of Appalachians**
 - **Western Virginia to northern Georgia and Alabama**
 - **Poor farmers, cut off from civilization**
 - **Hated planters and slave system**
 - **Supported Union during Civil War and Republican party after war**

Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters

- **Free blacks in the South**
 - **250,000 by 1860**
 - **How they became free**
 - **Upper South – small wave of emancipation after idealism of Revolutionary War**
 - **Lower South – mulattoes (mixed white/black) children freed by white master**
 - **Some blacks worked enough to buy their freedom; some even came to own slaves themselves**
 - **Could not work in some jobs, could not testify against whites in court**
 - **Vulnerable to capture by slave traders**
 - **Examples to proslavery whites of what might happen if emancipation carried out for all blacks**

Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters

- **Free blacks in the North**
 - **250,000 by 1860**
 - **Widespread discrimination and hatred**
 - **Could not vote; could not attend public schools with whites**
 - **Hated especially by Irish (because both competed for same low-wage jobs)**

Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters

- **Less contact between whites and blacks in North**
 - **Southerners (raised by black nurses) liked individual blacks, but hated the race**
 - **Northerners claimed to like the race, but hated individual blacks**

A White Baby with Its Slave Nurse



Plantation Slavery

- **1860 – 4 million slaves in South**
 - **Quadrupled from 1 million in 1800**
- **Why slave numbers increased**
 - **1808 – Congress outlawed importation of slaves, but smuggling continued**
 - **Natural increase through procreation**
 - **Shows that slavery in US was not as brutal as in South America and Caribbean (where slave population did not increase)**

Plantation Slavery

- **Slavery seen as investment**
 - **Slaves worked hard, but many times at dangerous labor (putting on roof, blasting tunnel)**
 - **Irish wage laborers used for dangerous work; if they died, employer lost nothing**
- **Cotton brought most slaves (over 1/2) to Deep South states**

Slaves Working in a Cotton Field



Plantation Slavery

- **Breeding**
 - **Not openly (but indirectly) encouraged**
 - **Women who bore many kids prized (some even set free)**
 - **Rape of black women by white male owners not uncommon**
 - **Mulatto (mixed white-black) children remained slaves**

Virginian Luxuries, ca. 1810



Plantation Slavery

- **Slave auctions**
 - **Slaves sometimes sold with horses or cattle**
 - **Families separated**
 - **Because of bankruptcy or division of property among heirs**
 - **Horrible psychological toll on slaves**
 - **Abolitionists used practice to attack slavery**

TO BE SOLD, on board the
Ship *Bante-Island*, on tuesday the 6th
of *May* next, at *Ashley-Ferry*; a choice
cargo of about 250 fine healthy



NEGROES,

just arrived from the
Windward & Rice Coast.



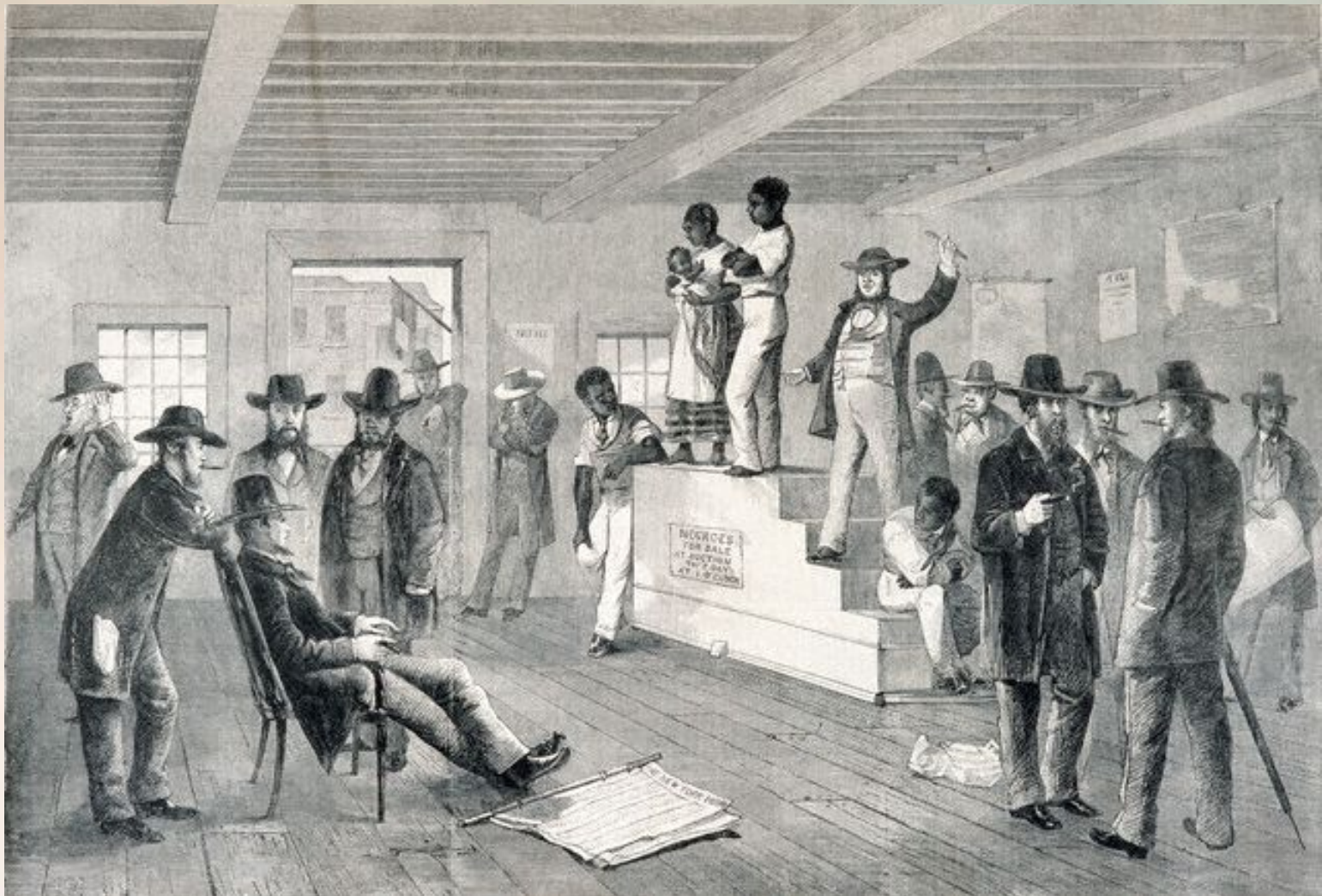
—The utmost care has
already been taken, and
shall be continued, to keep them free from
the least danger of being infected with the
SMALL-POX, no boat having been on
board, and all other communication with
people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.

N. B. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the
SMALL-POX in their own Country.

Advertisement for a Slave Auction

A Slave Auction in Virginia



Life Under the Lash

- **How did slaves actually live?**
 - **Conditions varied**
 - **Region of country**
 - **Large vs. small farm**
 - **Different masters**

Life Under the Lash

- **General aspects of life under slavery**
 - **Long hours (sunup to sundown)**
 - **Hard work**
 - **Lack of education**
 - **Overseer (could be black or white) watched over slaves**
 - **No rights (except for protection from murder or harsh punishment)**
 - **Difficult to enforce; slaves could not testify against whites in court**

Punishment by a Slave Overseer

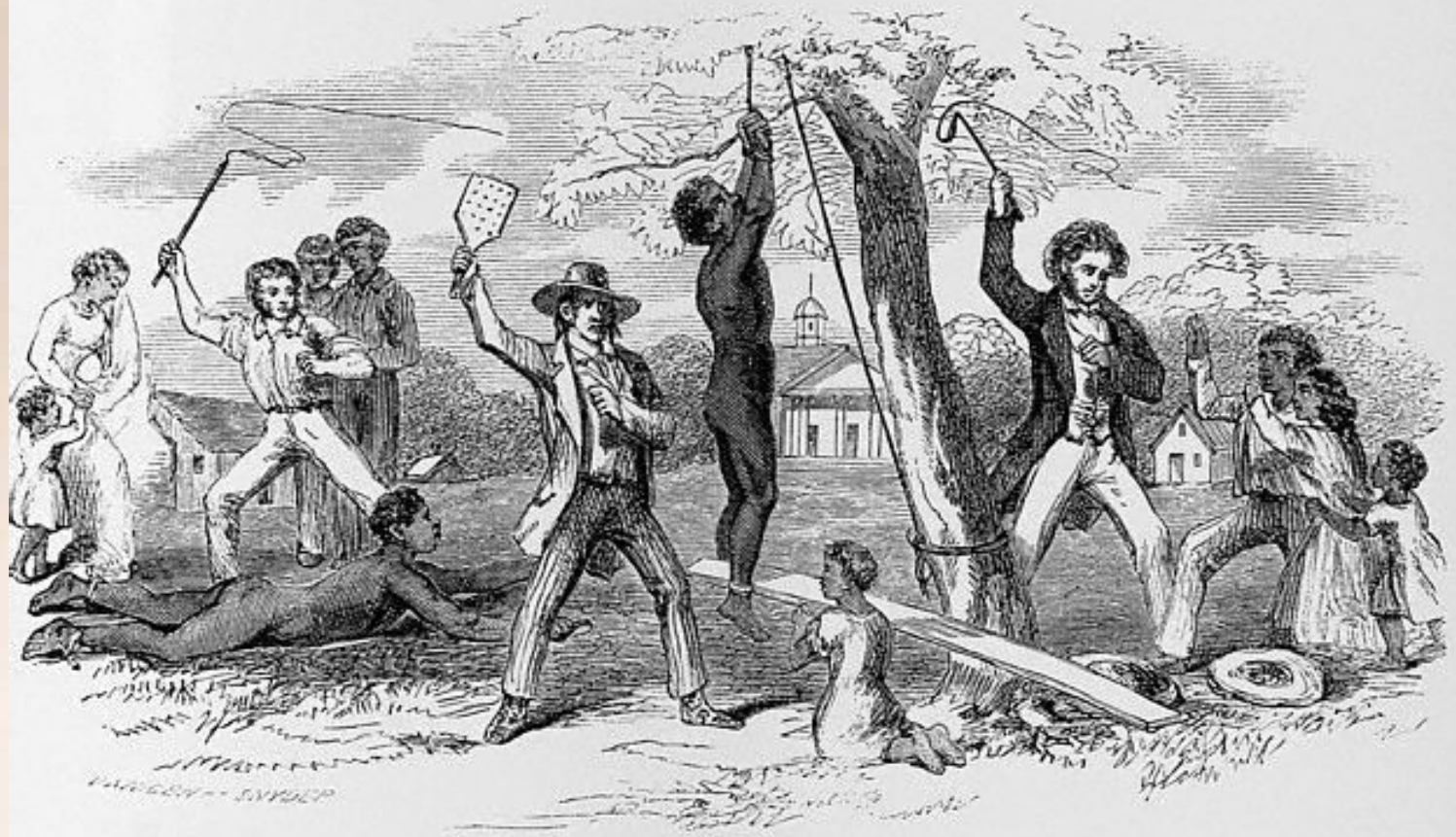


Life Under the Lash

- **Punishments**

- **Whippings used as substitute for wages as incentives for work**
- **“breakers” used extreme punishments to break will of rebellious slaves**
- **Whippings generally used infrequently**
 - **Quality of slave labor lowered**
 - **Whip marks on back hurt resale values**
 - **There were some sadistic masters who beat slaves without mercy**

Slave Whipping



FLOGGING THE NEGRO. (See page 206.)



Effects of Repeated Whippings

Life Under the Lash

- **Most slaves lived on larger plantations (over 20 slaves) in deep South**
 - **Family life more stable; distinctive African American culture developed**
 - **Forced separation of families occurred more in upper South and on smaller plantations**

Plantation Slaves Outside Their Quarters



Life Under the Lash

- **The slave family**
 - **Slave worked to preserve family life**
 - **Most slaves raised with both parents**

Life Under the Lash

- **The slaves' religion**
 - **Christianized during Second Great Awakening**
 - **Combined Christianity and African religions**
 - **Emphasized parts of Christianity that fit their situation (like Moses leading children of Israel out of bondage)**
 - **“responsorial” style of preaching (congregation responded to minister's remarks; adapted from traditional African dance)**

The Burdens of Bondage

- **Slavery degraded its victims**
 - **Lost dignity, responsibility, independence**
 - **Denied education to prevent learning (and rebellion)**
 - **9/10 illiterate**

The Burdens of Bondage

- **Black resistance to slavery**
 - **Slowed pace of work to slowest possible without being punished**
 - **Fostered myth of slave “laziness” among whites**
 - **Took food or other goods produced by their labor**
 - **Sabotaged equipment (to stop work until repairs done)**
 - **A few even poisoned masters’ food**

The Burdens of Bondage

- **All slaves wanted freedom**
 - **Runaways searched for separated family members**
 - **Even death seen as release from bondage**

Advertisement for a Runaway Slave

\$100 REWARD!

RUNAWAY

From the undersigned, living on Current River, about twelve miles above Doniphan, in Ripley County, Mo., on 2nd of March, 1860, **A NEGRO MAN**, about 30 years old, weighs about 160 pounds; high forehead, with a scar on it; had on brown pants and coat very much worn, and an old black wool hat; shoes size No. 11.

The above reward will be given to any person who may apprehend this said negro out of the State; and fifty dollars if apprehended in this State outside of Ripley county, or \$25 if taken in Ripley county.

APOS TUCKER.

The Burdens of Bondage

- **Important slave rebellions**
 - **1800 – Gabriel Prosser led rebellion in Richmond, Virginia**
 - **Informers told whites; leaders hanged**
 - **1822 – Denmark Vesey led rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina**
 - **Informers told whites; Vesey and 30 other slaves publicly hanged**
 - **1831 – black preacher Nat Turner led rebellion; killed 60 whites**
 - **Turner and other leaders captured and hanged**

Scene from the Nat Turner Rebellion

HORRID MASSACRE IN VIRGINIA.



The scenes which the above Plate is designed to represent are—Fig. 1, a Mother intrusting for the lives of her children.—2, Mr. Travis, cruelly murdered by his own Slaves.—3, Mr. Barrow, who bravely defended himself with his wife escaped.—4. A comp. of mounted Dragoons in pursuit of the Blacks.

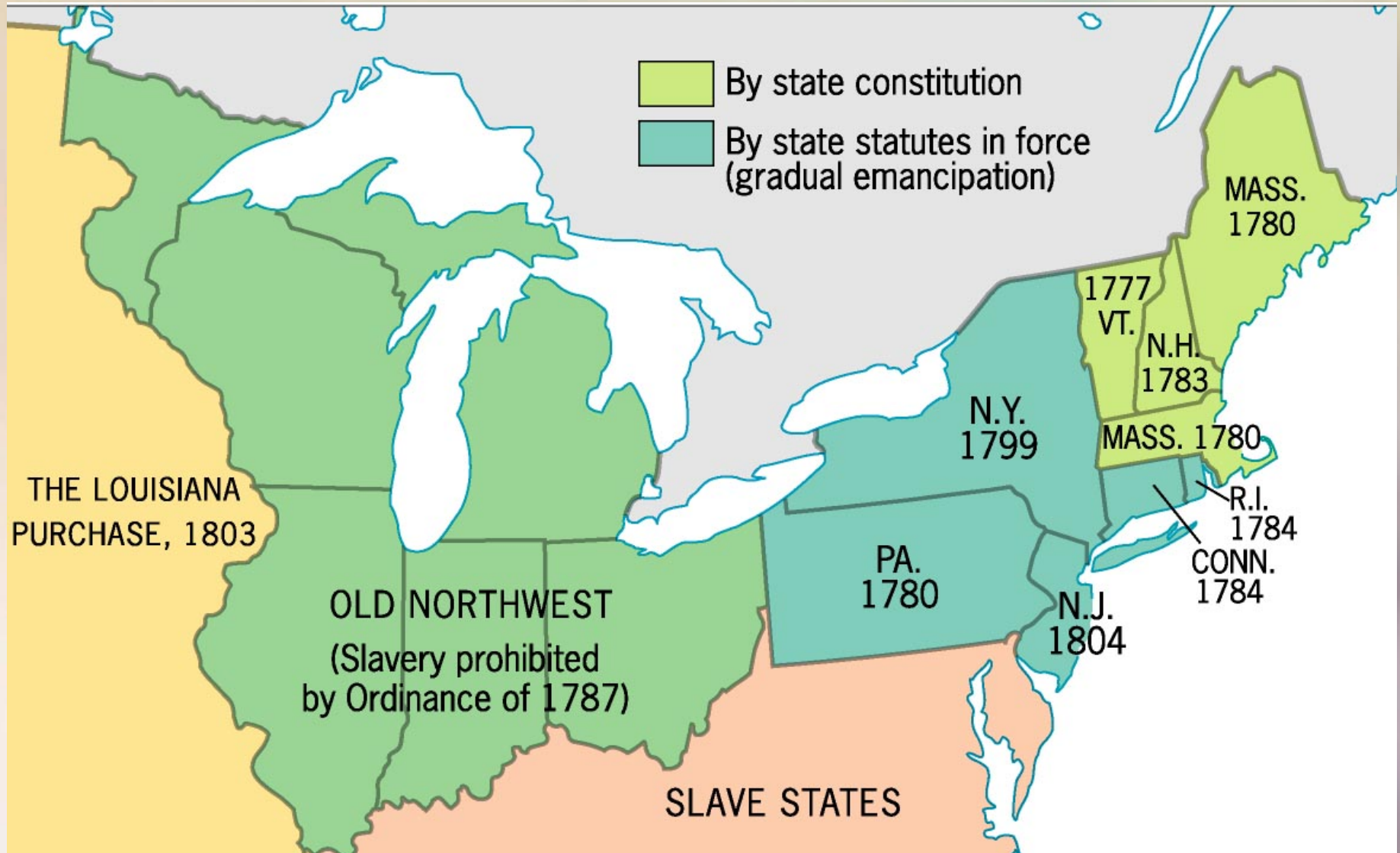
The Burdens of Bondage

- **Effects of slavery on whites**
 - **Fostered cruelty (whip, dogs, branding irons)**
 - **Whites lived in state of siege**
 - **Imagined they were surrounded by rebellious blacks inflamed by abolitionist northern propaganda**
 - **Belief in biological racial superiority**
 - **South became reactionary (extremely conservative) while North became progressive and modern**

Early Abolitionism

- **Early abolitionism began during Revolution**
 - **Especially among Quakers**
 - **Generally focused on transporting blacks back to Africa**
 - **1817 – American Colonization Society founded to transport slaves**
 - **1822 – Republic of Liberia (West Africa) founded for former slaves**
 - **15,000 slaves transported there until Civil War**

Early Emancipation in the North



An Early Abolitionist Engraving



Early Abolitionism

- **Most blacks did not want to be transported to Africa**
 - **By 1860 – almost all blacks in South were African Americans – not Africans**
 - **Blacks had become partially Americanized**
- **Colonization appealed to whites (including Lincoln) up to Civil War**

Early Abolitionism

- **1830s – abolitionism became much more powerful**
 - **1833 – British had freed their slaves in West Indies**
 - **Second Great Awakening helped Christians see the sin of slavery**

Early Abolitionism

- **Theodore Dwight Weld**
 - **Had been converted by Charles Finney in 1820s in Burned Over District**
 - **Appealed to rural farmers with simple speech and direct abolitionist preaching**
 - **Wrote Slavery as It Is in 1839**
 - **Powerful abolitionist tract; influenced Uncle Tom's Cabin**

Early Abolitionism

- **Brothers Arthur and Lewis Tappan**
 - **Helped pay Weld's admission to antislavery Lane Theological Seminary**
 - **Weld expelled (with a few other students) for organizing debate on slavery**
 - **Spread out across Old Northwest, preaching abolitionism**

Early Abolitionism

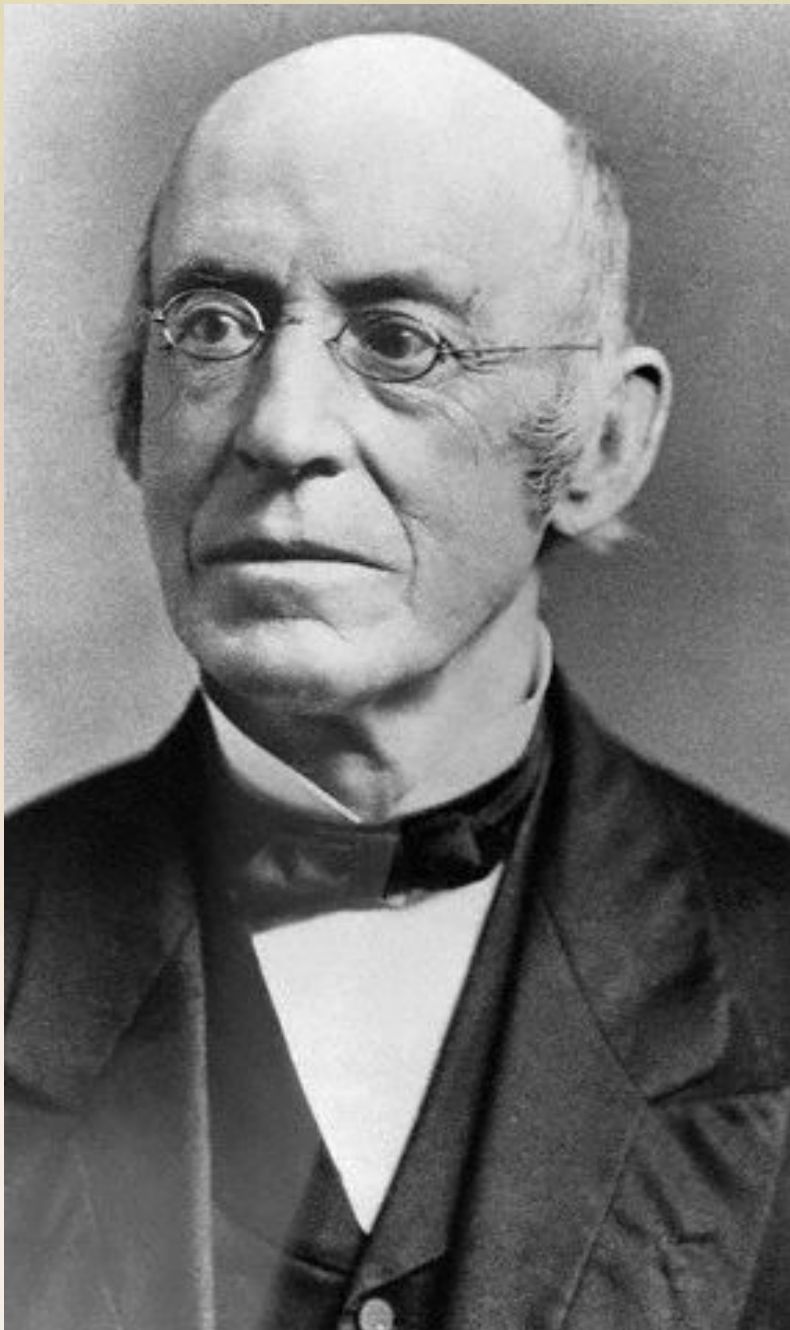
- **The Beecher family**
 - **Lyman Beecher (father) and children Harriet Beecher Stowe, Catherine Beecher, and Henry Ward Beecher**
 - **Lyman presided over Lane Theological Seminary**
 - **Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin**
 - **Catherine Beecher was a general reformer (including abolitionism)**
 - **Henry Ward Beecher was a antislavery preacher**



**Harriet
Beecher
Stowe, Author
of Uncle
Tom's Cabin**

Radical Abolitionism

- **William Lloyd Garrison**
 - **January 1, 1831 – first issue of militant antislavery newspaper, The Liberator published in Boston**
 - **Liberator published for next 30 years**
 - **Garrison refused to compromise with slavery**
 - **“I WILL BE HEARD” across top of newspaper**



**William
Lloyd
Garrison**

Front Page of the Liberator



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. I.] WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. [NO. 17.
 BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1831.]

THE LIBERATOR
 IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY
 AT NO. 11, MERCHANTS' HALL.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

- [C] Two Dollars per annum, payable in advance.
- [C] Agents allowed every sixth copy.
- [C] No subscription will be received for a shorter period than six months.
- [C] All letters and communications must be POST PAID.

AGENTS.

- CHARLES WHIFFLE, *Newburyport, Mass.*
- JAMES E. ELLIS, *Providence, R. I.*
- PHILIP A. BELL, *New-York City.*
- JOSEPH CASSEY, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
- HENRY OGDEN, *Newark, N. J.*
- WILLIAM WATKINS, *Baltimore, Md.*

THE LIBERATOR.

Is not the plea, that emancipation is impracticable, the most insipid and the most glaring absurdity ever propounded for contemplation? Can any supposition expediently, any dread of political disorder, or any private advantage, justify the prolongation of corruption, the necessity of which is unequalled, or repel the holy claim to its extinction? The system is so entirely corrupt, that it admits of no cure but by a TOTAL and IMMEDIATE abolition. For a gradual emancipation is a virtual recognition of the right, and establishes the restitude of the practice. If it be just for one moment, it is hollowed for ever; and it is inequitable, not a day should it be tolerated.

two committee men and a constable interfered, and would not permit him to take his seat! He was finally driven away, and the pew passed into other hands.

We purpose shortly to visit all our meeting-houses, and ascertain what places are provided for the accommodation of our colored people. A house dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, should be the last place for the exercise of despotic principles.—But here is the extract:

With deep regret we have observed some articles in the columns of the "Liberator," of Boston, apparently from this city, in which its inhabitants are implicated; and which we believe the editor of that publication will deem very injudicious, as well as unkind, when knowing the truth is the case. So far from wishing to deprive the colored population of an opportunity to worship God, by the co-operation of the friends of religion with that part of the inhabitants, a good and convenient house was erected a few years since; clergymen of different denominations have often solicited, gratuitously, from Sabbath to Sabbath; and when disappointed, in the labors of a Minister, lay brethren have stood, at their request, and made exertions to promote the prosperity of their congregation; for many years a Sabbath School has been taught, composed entirely of colored children and adults; in addition to this, if we mistake not, at their request the public school money is given them in proportion to the number of their children, and they thus have a day school of their own.

After such interest had been shown for that class of people, was it to be expected that an attack should be made upon the very persons who have shown such liberality? This is indeed gratifying to the friends of benevolent exertions; and were the

be elevated and improved in this country; unanimous in opposing their instruction; unanimous in exciting the prejudices of the people against them; unanimous in apologising for the crime of slavery; unanimous in conceding the right of the planters to hold their slaves in a limited bondage; unanimous in denying the expediency of emancipation, unless the liberated slaves are sent to Liberia; unanimous in their hollow pretence for colonizing, namely, to evangelize Africa; unanimous in their true motive for the measure—a terror lest the blacks should rise to avenge their accumulated wrongs. It is a conspiracy to send the free people of color to Africa under a benevolent pretence, but really that the slaves may be held more securely in bondage." It is a conspiracy based upon fear, oppression and falsehood, which draws its aliment from the prejudices of the people, which is sustained by duplicity, which is impotent in its design, which really upholds the slave system, which fascinates while it destroys, which endangers the safety and happiness of the country, which no precept of the bible can justify, which is implacable in its spirit, which should be annihilated at a blow.

These are our accusations; and if we do not substantiate them, we are willing to be covered with reproach.

In attacking the principles, and exposing the evil tendency of the Society, we wish no one to understand us as saying, that all its friends are equally guilty, or actuated by the same motives. Nor let us suppose, that we exonerate any of them from

virtue. I doubt not this conviction will ultimately prevail in every community, where the obligations of religion and philanthropy are acknowledged; though the process may be slow; having to contend with much ignorance, prejudice and error. This conviction, however, is but the first step towards a result as desirable as the total abolition of slavery. Every long established custom acquires a strong hold on the feelings of those who are habituated to its control; we know that its power in many cases is almost unconquerable; and this is especially the case, where a custom, however injurious in its tendencies, is a source of pecuniary emolument, or worldly aggrandizement to those interested in its continuance. It therefore becomes necessary for the attainment of this great and good object—the universal emancipation of our colored brethren—the complete overthrow of this abominable traffic in human flesh—to investigate the whole subject fairly and candidly; to discuss it fully and freely; to ascertain, as far as possible, what are the best means and methods for the accomplishment of this great end. On this point, I find there is great diversity of opinion. Men of equal talents, equal piety, and equal benevolence, take different and almost opposite views of the whole subject; my mind has been much perplexed, by hearing what seemed to me very strong arguments on both sides of the question.

With regard to the main subject, universal emancipation, as I before remarked, I have no doubt. I think it may, and it ought to be accomplished; but with regard to the means of its accomplishment, I do

Radical Abolitionism

- **1833 – American Anti-Slavery Society founded**
 - **Wendell Phillips prominent in society**
 - **From Boston upper class**
 - **Refused to eat sugar or wear cotton (both were produced by slaves)**

Radical Abolitionism

- **Black abolitionists were also very important to cause**

Radical Abolitionism

- **David Walker**
 - **Published “Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World” (1829)**
 - **Advocated violent overthrow of white domination**

Radical Abolitionism

- **Sojourner Truth**
 - **Freed black woman in New York**
 - **Fought for emancipation and women's rights**



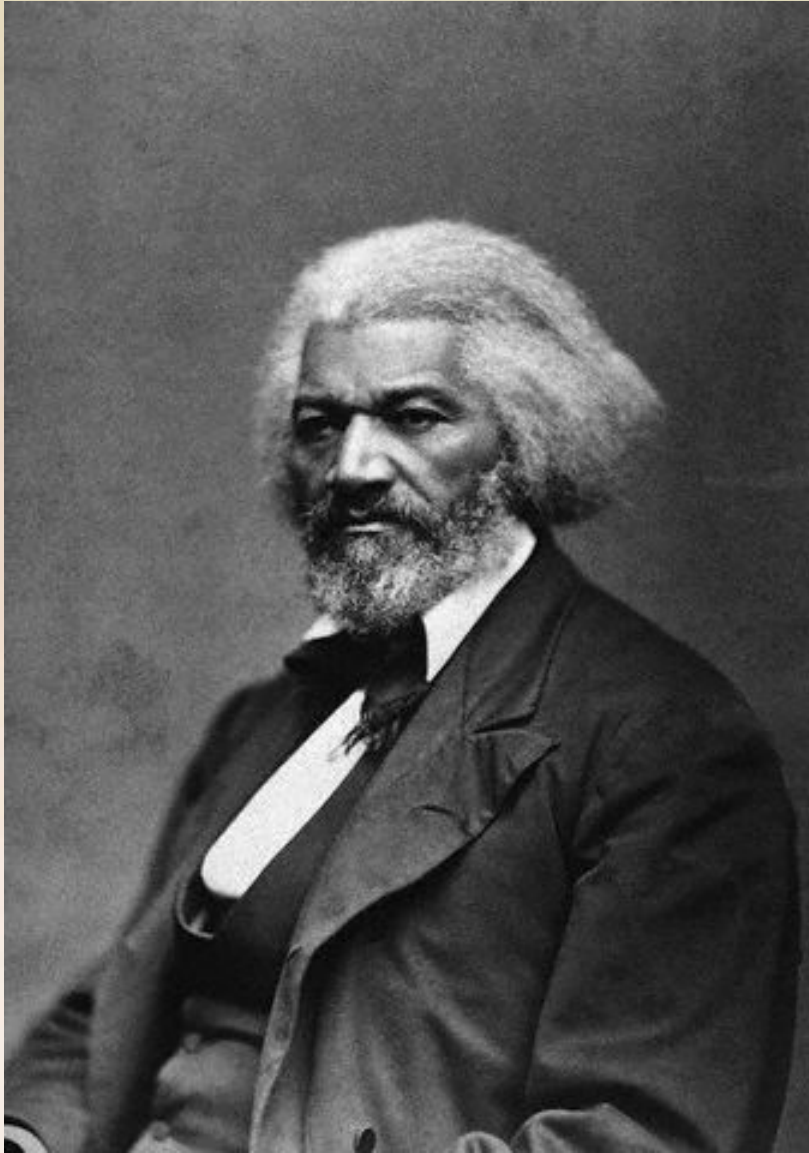
Sojourner Truth

Radical Abolitionism

- **Martin Delaney**
 - **Black person who believed in recolonization of blacks to Africa**
 - **Even visited West Africa in 1859 to scout a location**

Radical Abolitionism

- **Frederick Douglass**
 - **Son of white father and black mother**
 - **Escaped from South in 1838**
 - **1841 – gave speech at antislavery meeting in Massachusetts**
 - **Became national leader of antislavery cause**
 - **Traveled throughout US, enduring beatings and threats**
 - **1845 – published Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass**
 - **About his mixed birth, struggle to learn to read and write, and escape**



Frederick Douglass

Radical Abolitionism

- **Frederick Douglass**
 - **Looked to politics to end slavery**
 - **Liberty Party (1840), Free Soil Party (1848), Republican Party (1850s)**
- **William Lloyd Garrison**
 - **Idealistic and stubborn**
 - **Demanded North secede from South, without explaining how this would end slavery**
 - **1854 – burned copy of Constitution because of its acceptance of slavery**

Radical Abolitionism

- **Abolitionists (even pacifists like Garrison) came to support Civil War as only way to end slavery**
 - **Answered important question: when is evil so enormous that it must be denounced, even at the risk of precipitating bloodshed and butchery?**

The South Lashes Back

- **Before 1830 – antislavery movement in South**
 - **More antislavery societies in South than north**
 - **1831 – 1832 – Virginia legislature defeated emancipation proposals**

The South Lashes Back

- **Post 1830 – South moved to tighten slavery**
 - **1831 – Nat Turner rebellion made white Southerners fear slave rebellions**
 - **Abolitionists seen as inciting slave revolts; Garrison and The Liberator especially blamed (had also appeared in 1831)**
 - **1832 – nullification crisis (between Jackson and the South) incited white fears of federal power ending slavery**

The South Lashes Back

- **Post 1830s – South tightened slave codes (restrictions on slaves)**
 - **Rational discussion of slavery replaced by violence**

The South Lashes Back

- **South launched strong defense of slavery**
 - **Ignored previous concerns**
Southerners themselves had about slavery
 - **Not just based on states' rights, but that slavery was a positive good for all**

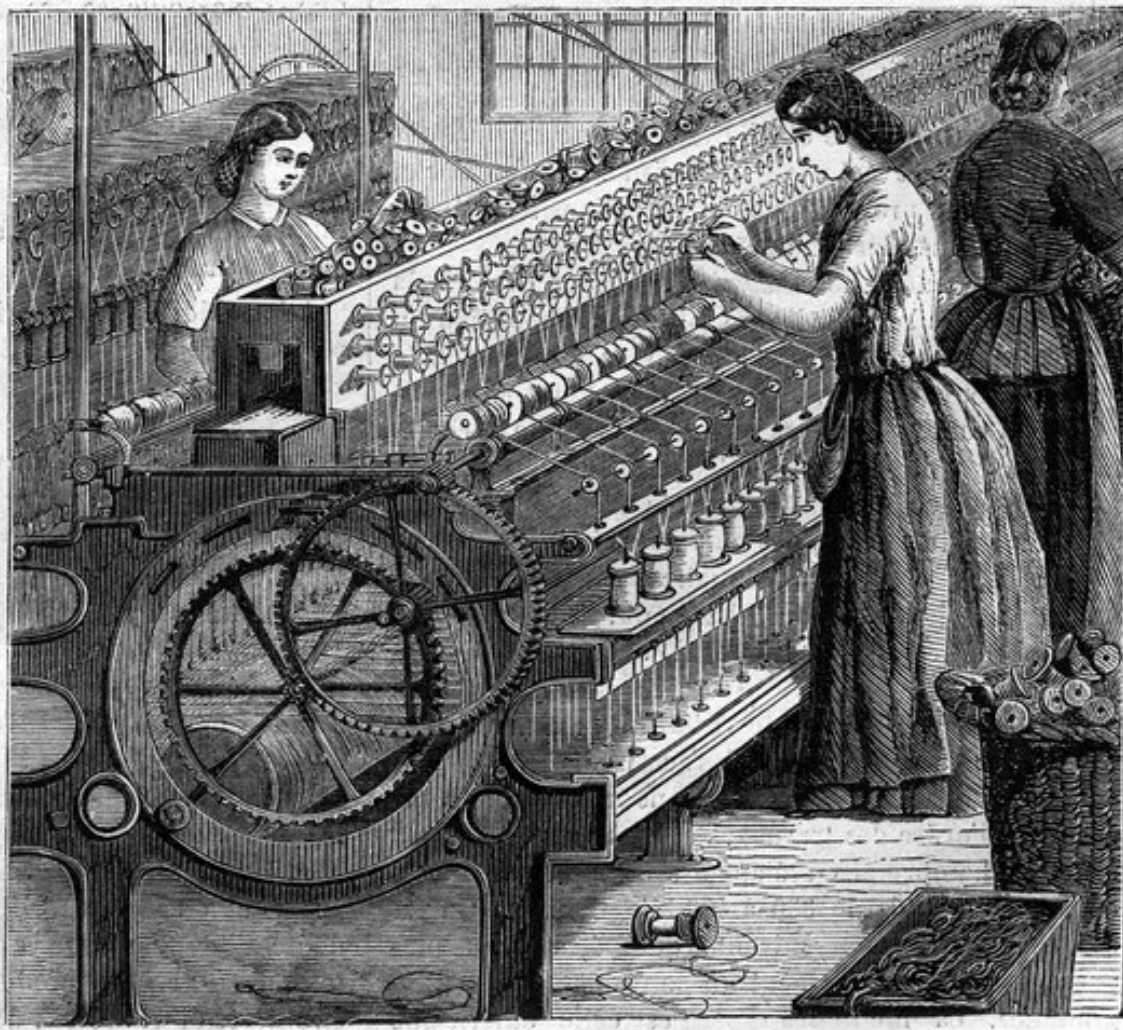
The South Lashes Back

- **Supported by Bible and Aristotle**
- **Good for Africans (received civilization and Christianity)**
- **Master-slave relationship like that of family**
 - **Sometimes this was actually true, but usually not**

The South Lashes Back

- **South attacked North for brutal treatment of “wage slaves”**
 - **Slaves worked in open sunlight**
 - **Northern workers worked long hours in dark factories**
 - **Slaves given work (and food) year round**
 - **Northern workers could be laid off in slow times**
 - **Slaves taken care of by masters in old age**
 - **Northern workers dismissed when too old to work**

Northern “Wage Slaves”



The South Lashes Back

- **Arguments over slavery widened gulf between South and North**
 - **South reacted defensively to any attack on slavery**

The South Lashes Back

- **Slavery endangered free speech**
 - **Gag Resolution**
 - **Passed by House in 1836**
 - **Required all antislavery petitions sent to Congress to be tabled (put aside) without debate**
 - **Repealed in 1844**
 - **Abolitionist literature in South**
 - **South feared incitement to riot by slaves**
 - **Southerners burned post office in 1835**
 - **1835 – Washington ordered post office to destroy abolitionist literature in South**

The Abolitionist Impact in the North

- **1830s – 1840s – abolitionists were unpopular in North**
 - **Constitution's clause on slavery were agreement between North and South that should be accepted**
 - **Garrison's talk of secession was not acceptable**

The Abolitionist Impact in the North

- **North had large economic stake in South**
 - **\$300 million loaned to South by northern banks**
 - **Money would be lost if Union dissolved**
 - **Northern textile mills depended on cotton from South**
 - **Workers would be fired, factories closed if supply lost**

The Abolitionist Impact in the North

- **Anti-abolitionist riots in North**
 - **Leaders like Garrison attacked, presses burned; a few even killed**
- **Politicians in North avoided being seen as agreeing with abolitionists**

The Abolitionist Impact in the North

- **1850s – North changed by abolitionist arguments**
 - **South seen as land of unfree**
 - **Few wanted to totally abolish slavery**
 - **Many wanted to restrict its growth into western territories (“free-soilers”)**