

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

New Light on the Dark Lantern: The Initiation Rites and Ceremonies of a Know-Nothing Lodge in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania

ONE OF THE MAIN HINDRANCES TO UNDERSTANDING the Know-Nothing Party has been the very nature of the organization itself. Founded as a secret society, the Know-Nothing Party worked hard to ensure that the organization and its maneuverings were kept out of the public eye. Precious little primary documentation survives, therefore, from its formative years. What we do know about the early activities of the Know-Nothings comes from the society's opponents, the public utterances of known Know-Nothing figures, and a few records taken by "careles" society members.¹ These sources are less than satisfactory, in origin and abundance, for scholars attempting to determine the true place of the Know-Nothings in the political upheaval of the 1850s. These same problems beset those investigating the early history of the Know-Nothing Party in Pennsylvania.² The difficulties facing Pennsylvania scholars have

¹ As will be discussed in greater depth in this article, Know-Nothing members were prohibited from publicly divulging any information regarding the activities of the order, such as the name of the order, the names of fellow members, or the proceedings of lodge meetings. While no specific provision regarding the transcription of Know-Nothing business has been discovered, the existence of manuscripts detailing lodge activities increased the chance of these secrecy provisions being undermined.

² Given these problems, the number of works that specifically deal with the Know-Nothing phenomenon in Pennsylvania are few, none of which are lengthy. See Warren F. Hewitt, "The Know-Nothing Party in Pennsylvania" *Pennsylvania History* 2 (1935): 69-85; Hiram H. Shenk, "The Know-Nothing Party in Lebanon County [Pa.]" *Lebanon County Historical Society Papers* 4 (1906-9): 54-74; David R. Keller, "Nativism or Sectionalism: A History of the Know-Nothing Party in Lancaster County" *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 75 (1971): 41-100; and James L. Huston, "The Demise of the Pennsylvania American Party" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109 (1985): 473-97.

perhaps been even more acute, lacking documentation of such basic elements as lodge formation and society principles.³ Scholarly conclusions regarding the nature of the Know-Nothing organization in Pennsylvania, therefore, have been elaborated from sources concerning the society in adjacent states. More definitive statements on the Keystone Know-Nothings require harder evidence.

Recently, some evidence has re-emerged. The Library of Congress holds a number of documents outlining the workings of a Know-Nothing lodge in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania.⁴ These documents confirm much of what we already know about the Know-Nothing organization, notably the importance of republicanism to its fulminations against the foreigner and of a vision of the American Revolution as the key to its conception of republicanism. These documents provide further validation of existing conclusions regarding the mechanics of Know-Nothing initiation and society structure. This collection also sheds new light on previously unknown aspects of Know-Nothingism in Pennsylvania. The documents reveal one method of lodge formation not mentioned in existing scholarship. In addition, it appears that first degree members had to wait longer for initiation into the order's second degree in Pennsylvania than in other states. The records also show that anti-factional sentiment shaped the Know-Nothings experience in Pennsylvania, influencing not only their ideas of good government but also their political appeal to the "true American" voter. Notwithstanding the numerous ties that bound Know-Nothings across the nation, the Pennsylvania Know-Nothings were, in some ways, unique.

In structure and operation, Shippensburg's Fort Morris Council of the Know-Nothings differed little from other councils across the North.⁵ The

³ A minute book detailing the workings of a chapter of the Guard of Liberty in Harrisburg does exist. While the Guard of Liberty espoused nativist principles, it maintained an entirely separate identity from that of the Know-Nothings. Guard of Liberty [Harrisburg, Pa.] Minute Book, Pennsylvania State Archives.

⁴ American Party Papers, Shippensburg, Pa., Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress (hereafter, APP). It must be mentioned that although the term "Know-Nothing" is not used in these documents, the age and procedures outlined therein point to the fact that they are describing the activities of a Know-Nothing lodge. As will be discussed later, moreover, dispensation for the formation of a new lodge had been given by Otis Tiffany. Tiffany was, at that time, president of the Know-Nothing state council.

⁵ The name of the council and the names of the council's office-bearers can be found in "Dispensation," APP. Because of the age of the documents, only those names that could be deciphered with full certainty have been included in this paper.

council's executive used relatively complex procedures to initiate members into two degrees of membership. First the council's examiner screened applicants to ascertain their suitability for membership. Like other Know-Nothing councils, this council insisted that its procedures and activities remain secret—a point continually reiterated by the lodge's executive throughout the initiation procedure. Secrecy was necessary, the Know-Nothings argued, to keep the order untainted by foreign influence and avoid weakening its effectiveness at expelling foreign ideas from the public domain. Applicants placed their right hand on a "holy emblem," while the examiner made each one "promise, declare and swear upon that sacred and holy emblem before Almighty God, and these witnesses that [they would] not divulge or make known to any person *whatever*, the nature of the questions I may ask you here, the names of the persons [they] may see here or that [they] know that such an organization is going on *as such*, whether [they became] a member of this organization or not."⁶ Candidates had to affirm that they had been "born in this country" and were not, "by religious faith . . . Roman Catholic."⁷ Candidates were required not just to attest to the religious and ethnic orthodoxy of their forebears but also whether any of them had been "in this country during the Revolutionary War," a question that suggests the importance Know-Nothings placed on the Revolution as the origin of the nation's core political ideals.⁸ Finally, candidates were asked, in a question that reflected the Know-Nothings attraction to nonpartisanship, whether they were willing to use their "influence to elect to all offices of *Honor, Profit, or Trust* none but native-born citizens of *America*, of this *country*, to the exclusion of *all* Foreigners, and to *all* Roman Catholics, *whether* they be of native or Foreign Birth, regardless of all party predilections *whatever*?"⁹

Many Know-Nothing lodges investigated candidates without their knowledge.¹⁰ These documents make no mention of a committee performing a similar function at the Shippensburg lodge. Given the order's dedication to secrecy, however, it is likely that prior investigations were

⁶ "Examiner's Duty," APP.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See Anonymous, *A Few Words to the Thinking and Judicious Voters of Pennsylvania* (n.p., 1854); David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 110–1; Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know-Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York, 1992), 23–24; and Thomas J. Curran, "Know-Nothings of New York State" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1963), 89–93.

carried out to determine a prospective candidate's suitability and receptiveness to Know-Nothing principles.

Candidates whose answers satisfied the examiner were initiated as "first degree" members of the order in a ceremony involving the senior members of the council's executive. At the ceremony, the vice president informed them of their obligations as Know-Nothing members, most of which reflected the order's nativist principles. The obligations set out by the vice president reflected the party's desire to resuscitate a republican system of government established by the Revolution and currently under threat from foreign encroachments. Members were required to be "good and orderly members of this council," for only through order could members, like voters in the republic, make the independent decisions required for political action.¹¹ Similarly, members were asked to "oppose the introduction of Foreign Paupers and Criminals into these United States. And insist upon the extension of the naturalization Laws, or the restriction of the Elective franchise to a term of residence of at least twenty-one consecutive years."¹² Know-Nothings argued that newcomers, because of their religious and cultural backgrounds, lacked the capacity for the independent thought necessary for political participation in a republic. Immigrants needed, therefore, at least twenty-one years to learn the heavy responsibilities they had to shoulder as participants in republican government. Paupers and criminals, meanwhile, by definition, had proven themselves incapable of ever learning these responsibilities. Their presence represented a permanent possibility of corruption. All the obligations and commitments required of Shippensburg initiates were shared by Know-Nothings in Pennsylvania and across the country.

After accepting these obligations and affirming their willingness to proceed, candidates were escorted by the lodge marshal to the president, W. H. Craig, waiting to administer the oath. The oath employed by this particular Know-Nothing lodge differed little from those of other lodges that have come to light.¹³ Candidates had to raise their right hand, repeating after the president to

¹¹ "Vice President's Charge," APP.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See *Rituals of the First and Second Degree*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and M. W. Cluskey, ed., *The Political Textbook or Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia, 1859), 57-58. Pamphlets and newspapers published by groups hostile to the Know-Nothings often contained purported transcripts of the oath of initiation. Despite their hostility to the Know-Nothings and the wide variation in wording nearly all of these accounts, in essence, are correct.

solemnly promise and swear, before Almighty God, and these witnesseth, that you will not divulge or make known, to any person or persons, other than those whom you may know, to be good and true members of the order, the name, secrets, mysteries, or objects of the same, Binding yourselves unde [sic] the no less penalty than that of being excommunicated from the Society; and having your name posted, and circulated throughout the different Societys [sic] of the Order, in the United States; as a traitor and perjurer to both your God and your Country. And as being unworthy to be employed, countenanced, or supported in any business transaction whatever, and as unworthy the confidence of all good and Honorable men. And one at whom the finger of scorn, Shall ever be pointed, all of which foregoing you voluntarily and freely subscribe to; of your own free will and accord. Under the above penalty, (So help you God.).¹⁴

Unlike conventional political parties that simply expelled dissident members, the Know-Nothings, as with most secret fraternal orders, used stringent social and economic ostracism to maintain discipline. Know-Nothing members were forbidden to maintain contact with ex-members, under pain of also being cast out from the lodge. This threat was often carried out, particularly in the society's formative years, by Know-Nothing executives keen to strengthen the foundations of their lodges. In 1854, the mayor of Lancaster, Christian Kieffer, was expelled from "Lodge 42" of the Know-Nothings in the northeastern ward of Lancaster for membership irregularities. An investigation by the lodge's executive found that another member of the lodge, William G. Kendrick, had instructed the mayor in the secrets of the Know-Nothing order before he had become a member. Kendrick was expelled from the order and the Know-Nothings of the city threw their support behind Jacob Albright, who defeated Kieffer in the municipal elections of 1855. Although this lodge's fondness for purges played a role in its demise soon after, Kieffer's political career was over.¹⁵ In a large urban area, such as Philadelphia, this threat probably aroused less trepidation among Know-Nothing members, as most could form new social and economic connections in time. Shippensburg, however, was more homogenous, and any deviation from Know-Nothing orthodoxy by members of the Fort Morris Council could

¹⁴ "President's Charge and Oath, 1st Degree," APP.

¹⁵ W. U. Hensel, "A Withered Twig: Dark Lantern Glimpses into the Operation of Know-Nothingism in Lancaster Sixty Years Ago," *Lancaster County Historical Society Papers* 19 (1915): 175-77; and Keller, "Nativism or Sectionalism," 69.

have been socially fatal.¹⁶

Once sworn in by the president, new members heard from the council's judge advocate. Probably intended as a reminder to the new members of their obligations, the judge advocate's address enunciates the basic beliefs and purposes of the council and emphasizes their foundations in Know-Nothing conceptions of good government. The address reveals that Shippensburg Know-Nothings differed little from their nativist brethren elsewhere on the broad purpose of their organization and how it was to achieve its goals. In keeping with the party's self-perception as appointed defenders of the American Revolution, the judge advocate referred repeatedly to the Founding Fathers and the sacrifices they made. Members, he stated, were "to guard and keep inviolate, the principles of our Constitution and Government, as laid down and established by *Washington, Jefferson, and their Compatriots.*"¹⁷ Moreover, he goes on,

As Americans, we believe that inroads upon the sacred and free institutions of our Country, have been and are continually being made to undermine the real and true principles of that Constitution and Government as established by those patriotic *Fathers*, and transmitted to us as a bulwark against oppression, and an inheritance worthy to be protected. Let us as sons of such sires, do our duty to their memory, to our country, and to ourselves. *Brothers*, we welcome you as friends in behalf of this our order, established, as we believe, for the general and universal good, not only, for the members of this society, but for all those, whose interests, and feelings are in accordance with American Liberty, as best understood by the framers and founders, of our Republican institutions. They planted the Banner of freedom, won by their noble deeds of sacrifice, and intrepid [*sic*] daring, within the sacred walls of the Constitution. Let us not fail to guard and protect it, as a rich legacy bequeathed to us by those who believe us worthy of its blessings and true to its trust.¹⁸

Outlining the work needed to roll back the encroachments of foreign influence, Shippensburg's judge advocate presumed to speak for the

¹⁶ According to United States census figures for 1850, Philadelphia had a population of 408,762. Cumberland County, meanwhile, had a total population of 34,327. Approximately 28.8 percent of Philadelphians were immigrants as compared to 2.6 percent of Cumberland County's residents. As one would expect, the census figures show that Philadelphia was the more industrialized of the two. In Philadelphia, 14.2 percent of its population was employed in manufacturing, while in Cumberland County, just 0.4 percent of its population was working in this sector.

¹⁷ "Judge Advocates Charge, 1st Degree," APP.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Founding Fathers, highlighting the nonpartisanship that Know-Nothings saw as crucial for the operation of politics.

As an order we believe in electing and electing such men only, to all offices of Honor, Profit, or trust, whom we may know, to be right capable and true, men who have been schooled in politics, purely American, and who understand those principles, as they were understood by such enlightened, and *patriotic* statesmen as *Washington* and the framers of our Glorious Constitution. We do not believe that noble band of patriotic *spirits*, ever for one moment, intended, or expected, that the patronage of the local or General Government, were ever to be administered through foreign influence, or by foreign hands or that either should be brought to bear, in the administration of American Justice, or in the framing of American Laws. May the God of Heaven forbid it! Let us as Americans forbid it! Binding ourselves together as one man—Let us enter our solemn protest against all such interference, let it come from whatever quarter it may, whether from despotism abroad, or their slavish and deluded minions among us . . . [M]ay we ever act, and even feel, relying upon that All wise and Beneficial Creator, who rules the destinies of all men, and sustained our *Revolutionary Fathers* in their perilous struggle for the boon of Liberty, and the rights of man, to support us and aid us to maintain *inviolable* these institutions in their original purity, and to transmit them, unimpaired to future generations, as the magic wand, that shall break the scepter [*sic*] of tyranny and hurl despotism and Priestcraft, to the shades of eternal oblivion.¹⁹

Scant reference is made in this address to the Know-Nothings' antipathy toward Catholics and Catholicism. While the society's anti-Catholic predilections would have been no secret to these new members, the documents pertaining to the first degree of Know-Nothing membership suggest that senior lodge members preferred to provide initiates with only as much information as they needed to know. The documents do not indicate that new members were shown signs, grips or passwords of recognition, or told the true name of the society.²⁰ Such information may have been shared but not recorded, since in order for members to wield any influence outside the council meetings it would appear necessary for them to be able to recognize one another. Nevertheless, the formal silence on secret signals may indicate that new members' devotion to Know-

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ This accords with the account provided by Humphrey J. Desmond, *The Know-Nothing Party: A Sketch* (Washington, D.C., 1905), 54.

Nothing principles was still being stringently tested in this first period of membership.

The documents of the second degree of membership suggest that first degree members were indeed kept ignorant of certain secrets. In his address to second degree initiates, the judge advocate stated,

The period has arrived that you are to receive, the Signs, Grips, Passwords, and name of the Society, you were promised these in the first degree, but with the understanding it would depend on the caution used by each member, individually, and it is our pleasing duty to inform you, that you have been found worthy to be entrusted with all the secrets of this degree.²¹

Moreover, the lodge marshal in his address to the initiates explained that "Considerable time has intervened since you were initiated and admitted to the lower degree of this Order. During that time you have been found worthy, to be admitted and advanced, to full Fellowship, in the second degree of the Order."²² All of this indicates that in administration and operation, a significant degree of variety existed among the multitude of Know-Nothing lodges. In his examination of the Know-Nothing Party in Lancaster County, David Keller found that a first degree member was eligible for second degree membership after a two-week trial period.²³ Likewise, Tyler Anbinder, using documents pertaining to the order in Wisconsin, writes that a first degree member could apply for second degree membership after three weeks.²⁴ One can infer from the Shippensburg records, however, that the "apprenticeship" first degree members served there was considerably longer.²⁵

While second degree members enjoyed increased standing within the lodge, the initiation ceremonies for these members differed little from those for first degree initiates. Those seeking second degree membership heard from the lodge's senior offices and learned of their new responsibilities. The second degree oath, with its emphasis on secrecy, society orthodoxy and pernicious foreign influence, mirrored that of the first,

²¹ "Judge Advocate's Charge, 2nd Degree," APP.

²² "Marshal's Charge, 2nd Degree," APP.

²³ Keller, "Nativism or Sectionalism," 59.

²⁴ Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 24.

²⁵ In Warren Hewitt's brief sketch of the order in Pennsylvania, he states that the "probationary" period lasted three months. If this is correct, then, given these documents, it would appear that three months would have been the minimum period one could conceive first degree members having to wait before becoming eligible for second degree membership. Hewitt, "The Know-Nothing Party in Pennsylvania," 71.

You do solemnly promise and swear, before Almighty God, and these witnesses, that you will not divulge or make known the name, or objects of this society or order, or its operations [*sic*], to any person or persons, other than those to whom you may know to belong to the order, in good and regular standing. And you further promise and swear that, you will not either Engrave, write, Print, Paint, cut or carve, the name of this society or order, or cause the same to be done by any other person, or reveal the name of any member, to any human being, *other* than those that have been regularly initiated, in the first degree of this order, and found worthy, unanimously passed, and admitted to all the privileges, and immunities, of this the second degree of the order.

And you further promise and swear, that you will in all cases conform to the will of the majority of the members of the order, in selection of candidates for office, to fill all stations of *Honor*, *Profit*, or *Trust* in the Gift of the people, provided such candidates shall have been born of American parents, and education in American institutions. And that you will use all the influence you possess, to forward and elect all such candidates, whom you may know to be opposed to all Foreign influence, to *Catholicism*, and *Popery*, without any hesitation *whatever*.

And you will further promise and swear, that you will strictly conform to, and abide by, the *oath*, or *obligation*, under no less penalty, than that of being branded as a Traitor, to both your *God*, and *Country*, and as totally unworthy of the confidence of all Good and Honorable men. All of the foregoing, you voluntarily, and freely subscribe to, of your own free will and accord under the above penalty, (So help you God.)²⁶

The most substantive differences between initiation into the first and the second degree of membership appear in the tone of the oaths and speeches of the lodge's executives. Whereas in the first degree ceremonies the presiding officers focused on the Founding Fathers and their legacy, the second degree ceremonies emphasize the purpose of the society itself—overthrowing the corrupting influence of foreigners and Catholicism on the Revolutionary republic. In his address to second degree candidates, for example, the judge advocate exhorted that they were obligated “to oppose all Foreign influence and inroads upon the sacred, and free institutions of our country, in whatever shape, or in whatever Garb it may appear.”²⁷ The president already instructed second degree members to use their influence “to forward and elect all such candidates, whom you may

²⁶ “President’s Charge and Oath, 2nd Degree,” APP.

²⁷ “Judge Advocates Charge, 2nd Degree,” APP.

know to be opposed to all Foreign influence, to *Catholicism*, and *Popery*, without any hesitation *whatever*.”²⁸ Although the spirit of the republic’s founders was present in these ceremonies—the president, in his charge, spoke of the “framers of our constitution”—the names of Washington and Jefferson, invoked so readily to stir the pride of new initiates, are conspicuous by their absence in the ceremonies for the second degree.²⁹

Second degree initiates also heard something of the lodge’s view of its progress toward attaining its political goals. The judge advocate, in his address, explained,

We now congratulate you upon the success of this society, beyond the most Sanguine Anticipations of its friends. In numbers we are formidable. In influence we expect to wield the *ballance* [*sic*] of power at the *Ballot Box*, between the two political parties, and compel one, or *both* to elevate only native born American citizens, to all posts of *Honor*, *Profit* or *Trust* in the Gift of the people. When we have done this, the object for which this society was formed, will have been established on a solid foundation.³⁰

This denunciation of major party complicity in the rise of foreign influence in politics reveals once again, that the Know-Nothing’s political prescription relied heavily on promoting non-partisanship. By agreeing to support for public office those whose only allegiance was to America, rather than to a foreign power or a particular party, voters were able to choose candidates for their position on issues, rather than for any extraneous reason. This was imperative, Know-Nothings believed, for the success of the system of government bequeathed to them by the nation’s founders. Interestingly, this passage states that lodge members were to choose candidates from the two existing parties. These documents challenge the assertion of some historians that the Know-Nothing founders intended to establish a separate political party.³¹ In any event, written in the midst of the huge expansion of mid-1854, this statement epitomizes the optimism with which the order viewed its political future. Given the order’s resounding triumph at the Pennsylvania state election a short time later, the ambitions of this particular lodge appear modest and would, no doubt, have been revised. Despite the order’s ensuing rapid demise, its optimism adds credence to the predictions of political

²⁸ “President’s Charge and Oath, 2nd Degree,” APP.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ “Judge Advocate’s Charge, 2nd Degree, APP.

³¹ See, for example, Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 110.

observers at the time that significant political change was looming.³²

The popularity of the Know-Nothings in the Shippensburg area is reflected too in a dispensation provided by the lodge's executive to members from Newburg wishing to form their own lodge. This document reveals a hitherto unknown method of forming Know-Nothing lodges. Contemporary scholarship describes two broad procedures for the creation of new lodges. Nativists interested in founding a new chapter could petition the state president in person. If the state president, Otis Tiffany in Pennsylvania, gave his consent, the founders paid the requisite fee, were initiated into the order and given a charter. The procedure could also be reversed, if the state president sent a deputy empowered to create new lodges to travel around the state and meet with people interested in starting a chapter.³³ The dispensation for members from Newburg indicates, however, that the officers of an existing lodge were empowered with this same function. In July 1854, eight new initiates from Newburg were,

regularly organized as a subordinate Council . . . with Full power to discharge any and all business appertaining to a Subordinate Council of our Order . . . By the Officers of Fort Morris Council located at Shippensburg Penn. and acting under the Jurisdiction and Authority of the Grand Council of Penna. And Special Agents for the Establishment of said Council by the Authority of Prof. Tiffany.³⁴

While this document reveals a new means by which Know-Nothing lodges could be formed, it also reinforces existing conclusions regarding the distribution of power within the order. Tiffany had invested the lodge executive with the authority to create a new lodge. Regardless of how the new lodge came into being, the consent of the state president was paramount. Despite the Know-Nothings assertion that their structure was more responsive to the wishes of their members, this was a situation, as scholars have noted, that provided each state president with enormous

³² The belief that the Know-Nothings were a force to be reckoned with was a constant theme in the correspondence of Pennsylvania political figures in mid-1854. See, for example, E. A. Penniman to William Bigler, June 8, 1854, William Bigler Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Daniel T. Jenks to James Buchanan, June 9, 1854, James Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Thomas Ross to Simon Cameron, June 15, 1854, Simon Cameron Papers, Historical Society of Dauphin County (Pa.).

³³ Ethan Allen Council [Canandaigua, N.Y.] Minute Book, June 15, 1854, Ontario County (N.Y.) Historical Society. Quoted in Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 22.

³⁴ "Dispensation," APP.

influence over the affairs of the order.³⁵

The documents at the Library of Congress can help scholars significantly by providing a fuller picture of perhaps the strangest, and certainly the most enigmatic, political party in American history. The Know-Nothing Party in Pennsylvania, in particular, can receive the attention that it deserves. As the documents reveal, this Know-Nothing lodge in Shippensburg had much in common with Know-Nothing lodges throughout the United States. Its organizational structure and initiation procedure were similar to those of other Know-Nothing lodges. Moreover, it voiced the anti-party arguments, grounded in the order's conception of republicanism, and exhibited the obsession with secrecy that were synonymous with American Know-Nothingism. The documents also show, however, that significant variations could exist among lodges within the order. While the specific differences may seem minor, it is perhaps not the differences themselves that matter in the efforts to understand more fully the political changes of the 1850s, but rather the fact that variation existed. Part of the reason behind the Know-Nothings' success, no doubt, lay in the fact that a reasonable degree of variation was tolerated at the local level for the sake of strengthening the order. In the increasingly turbulent political atmosphere of the early 1850s, the flexible Know-Nothing organization may have been better equipped to adapt than the comparatively monolithic major party establishment. It can only be hoped that more pieces of the puzzle can be unearthed so that a greater understanding of the Know-Nothing Party and its place in the enormously complex political changes of the 1850s can be reached.

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³⁵ William Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* (New York, 1987), 92; and Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 22.