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THE GRASS ROOTS APPEARANCE OF A NATIONAL PARTY: THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA, 1852-1856

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IN the early 1850s, the established Whig and Democratic parties were facing new political challenges at the national and local levels. Although the issues of slavery and immigration undermined traditional support for the two major parties at the national level, there is evidence that these issues did not transcend the importance of grass roots issues in various communities throughout the United States. This study will seek to demonstrate how such local issues, in fact, did overshadow national considerations in one northwestern Pennsylvania city in the 1850s and contributed to the formation of a new political alignment in that city.

Generally, it has been established that the Free Soil question and the issue of nativism influenced the character of local and national political debate in the early 1850s and led in turn to the creation of new, lasting political alignments, notably the Republican party. The Free Soil party, organized in 1848, advocated a "radical" policy of limiting slavery to the states where it already existed. Its platform called for the prohibition of slavery in the territories and entrance into

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the union of "free states" only.¹ Clearly, it was a northern, sectional party. By 1854, the nativist Know-Nothings, dedicated to "anti-foreign and anti-Catholic beliefs,"² began to overshadow the Free Soil party. Most members of the Know-Nothing party (later the "Americans") were native Americans of Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock, many of whom formed into secret societies to protest the influx of German and Irish-Catholic immigrants into the United States.³ Know-Nothing "lodges" quickly assumed political overtones and their patrons followed the Free Soilers in challenging the existing political order. The Know-Nothings appeared in Pennsylvania shortly after the Free Soil party in 1852; their emergence state-wide coincided with the Free Soilers' first national campaign in 1852.

In the spring of 1854, the Know-Nothings won the mayoral race in Philadelphia and embarked upon a concerted state-wide campaign to dislodge incumbent Democrats and Whigs from public office.⁴ In July, barely one month after the Know-Nothings' Philadelphia victory, rumors abounded about a local branch of the organization in Erie.⁵

At that time, Erie, a lake port of some 5,858 citizens, was the busy hub of Erie County, population 38,742.⁶ As its population doubled in the 1850s, Erie was characterized by growing pains.⁷ In 1851, the village of Erie received its third-class city charter and saw the inception of a city directory and a volunteer fire department. Four years later, its first municipal department was organized.⁸ The

1 Frederick J. Blue, *The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics, 1848-54* (Urbana, Ill., 1973), 293-96. Blue characterizes the ideology of the rank and file of the Free Soil party as a combination of grass roots idealism, race prejudice, and personal aggrandizement.

2 See John Higham, "Another Look at Nativism," *The Catholic Historical Review* 44 (July 1958): 147-58.

3 From 1845 to 1852, new immigrants to the United States numbered 398,470; most of these were Irish-Catholic and German. *Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, D.C., 1854), 123.

4 "Another Know-Nothing Triumph," *Erie Observer*, June 10, 1854; Henry R. Mueller, *The Whig Party in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1922), 209, 212-13; Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968), 95. In the 1854 Philadelphia election for mayor, Nativist Robert T. Conrad defeated his Democratic opponent by 28,833 to 21,021 votes.

5 "Where Do They Meet?," *Erie Gazette*, July 20, 1854; "Rumors," *Erie Observer*, July 29, 1854.

6 D. P. Robbins, *Popular History of Erie County, Pennsylvania* (Erie, Pa., 1895), 93.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Edward Wellejus, *Erie: Chronicle of a Great Lakes City* (Woodland Hills, Calif., 1980), 37; John Miller, *A Twentieth Century History of Erie County, Pennsylvania; A Narrative Account of Its Historical Progress, Its*

political scene of the city generally reflected the national pattern of Whigs versus Democrats, with the former party holding about a six-to-five voting edge throughout the 1840s.⁹ By October 1854, citizens learned from the Whig-oriented *Erie Gazette* that the nativist Know-Nothings had arrived locally.¹⁰

In the election of 1854, the question of nativism began to make inroads into the traditional political alignments in Erie. The force behind this phenomenon most probably was a surge of anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant feelings sparked by the influx of immigrants into Erie in the 1840s and early 1850s.¹¹ Prior to that time, Erie had been largely a Protestant workingman's community. In the decades from 1840 to 1860, new immigrants accounted for most of the county's 6,858 population increase.¹² Throughout the period from 1840 to 1860, the population of Erie remained roughly one-sixth the county's and paralleled its immigrant versus native-born political patterns.¹³

Immigration from 1840 to 1850 reflected also in the number of new buildings in the area; "foreign dwellings" totaled over one-half of all new housing construction in these years.¹⁴ Moreover, the increase in church construction from 1840 through the 1850s testified further to the rapid influx of Catholics into the Erie area. Prior to 1840, Erie had three Catholic churches. By 1860, the number had expanded to eleven.¹⁵ German Catholics opened their first house of worship in Erie in 1851.¹⁶ Irish Catholics responded a year later with St. Patrick's, their first church in Erie.¹⁷ The regional bishop in Pittsburgh created the Erie Catholic Diocese in 1853.¹⁸

People, and Its Principal Interests, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1909), 1: 247-48; Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, *Erie: A Guide to the City and County* (Philadelphia, 1938), 27.

9 Miller, *Twentieth Century History of Erie*, 1: 422.

10 "Know-Nothing Ticket," *Erie Gazette*, Oct. 5, 1854.

11 *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1841), 24-27; *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 295-301.

12 *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 295-301; *Eighth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1864), 407. This is the sharpest increase in foreign population among all counties in Western Pennsylvania with the exception of Allegheny (Pittsburgh).

13 *Compendium of the Sixth Census*, 26; *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 296, 352; *Eighth Census of the United States*, 407-23.

14 *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 297. Comparable figures for the 1850s are unavailable.

15 Benjamin Whitman, *History of Erie County, Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1884), 1: 255; *Statistics of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1866), 458.

16 Whitman, *History of Erie*, 1: 256.

17 *Ibid.*, 605.

18 *Ibid.*, 256.

Immigration also had a collateral effect on labor. In the 1840s, the number of persons employed in trade and manufacturing actually decreased as the city's population increased. Although some of the lost jobs were recouped in the 1850s, the number of employees in these areas still did not surpass the base figures of the 1840s. Consequently, as workingmen in Erie lost positions through attrition, they faced an even greater threat to employment security from the inflated job competition posed by the influx of immigrants.¹⁹

After being snubbed by Erie labor, these foreigners gathered in tight ethnocultural neighborhoods on the lower east side of the city. Carl Benson, a German immigrant, helped his people bridge the language barrier by founding *Unsere Welt*, the first German newspaper in Erie. In 1852, the *Zuschauer*, a staunchly Democratic paper, also began publication.²⁰ It would seem, then, given the number of new immigrants into Erie and the subsequent resentment against them in the early 1850s, that the city was a rather fertile ground for nativist activity and political inroads. However, as the historical record demonstrates, this was not the case.

What did influence the vote in Erie in the early 1850s was, as almost all chroniclers of Erie history have concluded, the issue as to whether or not the two railroads servicing Erie and surrounding areas could standardize their gauge and thereby eliminate the city as a necessary crossover point.²¹ The ensuing "Railroad War" has been documented by others, most notably Donald H. Kent,²² and is not the subject of this discussion; still, it is instructional to note that the issue grew from economic motivation of a local nature. Indeed, the citizens of Erie became so irate over the Erie and North

19 In 1840, persons employed in trade and manufacturing numbered 1,448, but by 1850 this number had decreased to 1,167, representing some \$1,064,951 worth of annual production, and by 1860 jobs had risen to only 1,386. Many of the lost jobs were attributable to the negative employment effect of the "Railroad War," yet it also appears that Erie's one iron furnace ceased production shortly after the conclusion of the Mexican-American War. *Compendium of the Sixth Census*, 27; *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 301; *Manufacturers in the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1865), 508.

20 Whitman, *History of Erie*, 1: 462.

21 See John G. Carney, *Highlights of Erie Politics* (Erie, Pa., 1960), 31; Whitman, *History of Erie*, 1: 373; Miller, *Twentieth Century History of Erie*, 1: 267-68; Herbert Reynolds Spencer, *Erie: A History* (Erie, Pa., 1962), 147-50; Wellejus, *Erie*, 35-36; Federal Writers' Project, *Erie: A Guide*, 45-46; Donald H. Kent, "The Erie War of the Gauges," *Pennsylvania History* 15 (Oct. 1948): 253-75.

22 Kent, "The War of the Gauges." See also Donald A. Grinde, Jr., "Erie's Railroad War: A Case Study of Purposive Violence for a Community's Economic Advancement," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 57 (Jan. 1974): 15-23 (hereafter cited as *WPHM*).

East Company's plan in 1853 to reduce its western-entering road-bed from a six-foot gauge to a standard four-foot-ten-inch gauge with the eastern-entering New York Central that a mob of more than 150 followed Mayor Alfred King's admonitions to violence. That violence resulted in the destruction of the railroad bridge over the main arteries of State and French streets, and the ensuing ripping up of tracks on almost the entire east side of the city.²³ As Edward Wellejus and others have noted, "the Erie Railroad War" dominated local economic and political discussions throughout the 1850s and remained the chief local issue until the Civil War swept Erie along with the rest of the nation.²⁴

Against this backdrop of local fervor, Erie voters cast their ballots in 1854. As one candidate stated: "so far as state and national politics are concerned I am a party man. . . . But in [Erie] on local matters I am not a party man. . . ." ²⁵ The results of the election of 1854 tended to substantiate the fact that voters had little interest in national questions and political affiliation.

Besides demonstrating that the nativist and Free Soil parties had little political impact in Erie in 1854, the figures showed as well that the five splinter parties (factions) did siphon off some votes from the Democrats and Whigs. Furthermore, the Whigs, the traditional majority party in Erie, claimed victory in 1854 only by a narrow plurality. In effect, the 1854 election served as a harbinger of decline and demise for the Whigs. Eventually, the disappearance of the Whigs left a political void that would be filled by the local branch of an entirely new political party — the Republicans.

The name "Republican" first was applied to a new political alignment when a large convention of Northern Whigs, Northern Democrats, and Free Soilers, who opposed the territorial policies of the Franklin Pierce administration and Senator Stephen A. Douglas's proposal of "popular sovereignty," met at Ripon, Wisconsin, in February 1854.²⁶ These new political allies so strongly opposed Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act that they frequently were dubbed the

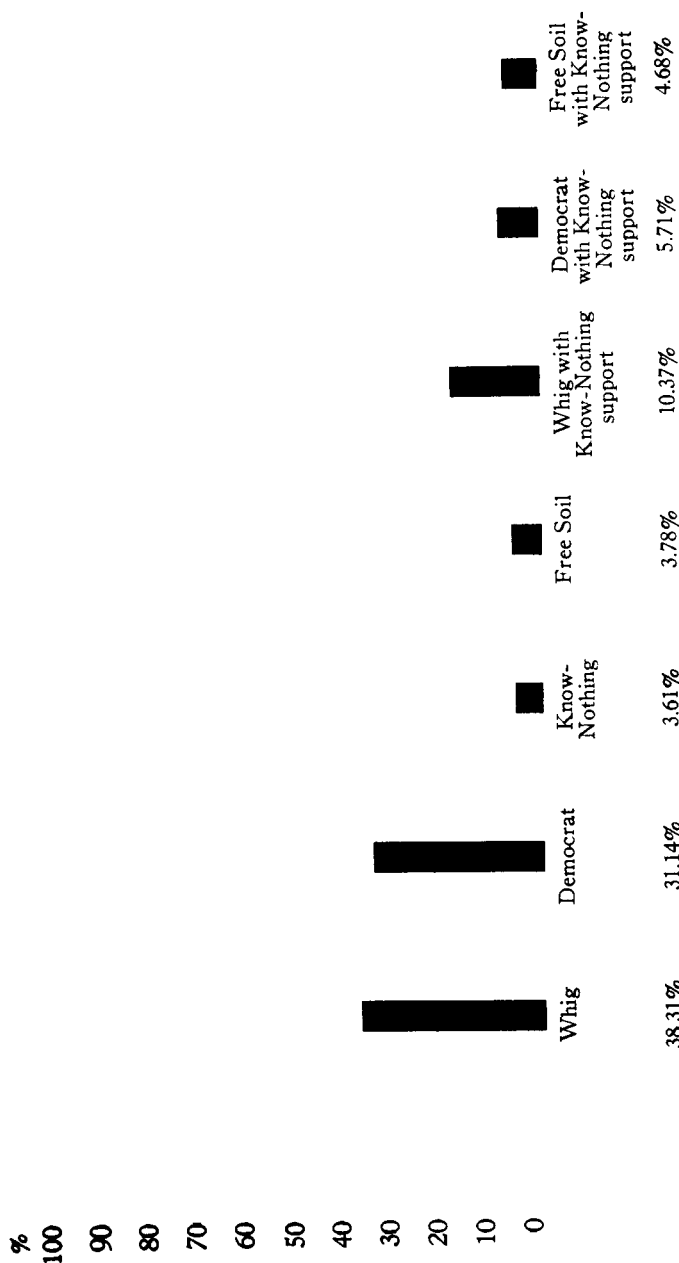
23 Federal Writers' Project, *Erie: A Guide*, 45; Wellejus, *Erie*, 35-36.

24 See Wellejus, *Erie*, 36; Miller, *Twentieth Century History of Erie*, 1: 267. The local press consistently referred to the railroad problem as "the Erie Railroad War." See for example, *Erie Observer*, "The R.R. Companies vs. the Citizens of Erie," Jan. 28, 1854.

25 "To the Voters of Erie County," *Chronicle* (Erie, Pa.), Oct. 2, 1854.

26 See Roy F. Nichols, "The Kansas-Nebraska Act: A Century of Historiography," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43 (Sept. 1956): 187-212; and, Robert R. Russel, "The Issues in the Congressional Struggle Over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854," *The Journal of Southern History* 29 (May 1963): 187-210.

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²⁷ "Official Election Results," *Erie Observer*, Oct. 21, 1854. In all tables, the percentages and totals are computed by the author from official published election results.

"anti-Nebraska" party. Later, in 1854, this group agreed at Jackson, Michigan, that the time had come to take direct political action to end the expansion of slavery into the territories.²⁸

On November 27, 1854, an anti-Nebraska meeting in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, acted to form a state-wide Republican party.²⁹ Bradford County was an appropriate site for the meeting since its congressional representative, David Wilmot, had gained national recognition for his attacks on slavery. In 1846, the "Wilmot Proviso," designed to bar slavery from all territory acquired from Mexico, had provoked such a bitter sectional debate that numerous congressmen felt the Union itself was in serious danger.³⁰ Later events, of course, substantiated their fears.

In September 1855, the first state Republican convention met at Pittsburgh. Henry Catlin, prominent in the railroad dispute and also affiliated with *The True American*, a labor-oriented newspaper circulating in northwestern Pennsylvania, attended the meeting as a founding representative of the fledgling Erie Republican organization.³¹ Catlin's support gave evidence that at least one railroad partisan saw the young Republican party as the most viable political vehicle for establishing his views.

Erie's two major newspapers, the *Erie Gazette* and the *Erie Observer*, covered the convention with keen interest. Apparently, the editors realized the convention results would have a significant effect locally. Delegates from sixty-four of Pennsylvania's sixty-five counties attended the meeting and subsequently molded this amorphous political assemblage into a unified state-wide political party. Pennsylvania's new Republican party adopted a largely Free Soil and Temperance platform with a lesser commitment to nativism. Because of financial restrictions, those in attendance decided to campaign actively only at the local level; their sole candidate for state office was a Philadelphia Quaker, Passmore Williams. Williams, nominated for canal commissioner, reposed in a Philadelphia jail for refusing to return runaway slaves — mother and child — to a claimant under

28 Andrew Wallace Crandall, *The Early History of the Republican Party, 1854-1856* (Gloucester, Mass., 1960), 20-21.

29 C. Maxwell Myers, "The Rise of the Republican Party in Pennsylvania, 1854-1860" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1941); and Wilber Charles Wolf, "Western Pennsylvania and the Republican Party, 1855-1860" (M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1935), present useful studies in this area.

30 See Robert H. Jones, *Disrupted Decades: The Civil War and Reconstruction Years* (New York, 1973), 83-85.

31 *The True American* (Meadville, Pa.), Apr. 15, 1855; *Erie Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1885.

terms of the recently revised Fugitive Slave Act. Although Williams became a cause célèbre for most Pennsylvania Republicans, the press in Erie ignored him and chose instead to continue its emphasis on the railroad controversy and associated issues.³²

By the middle of September 1855, the *Erie Gazette* and *Erie Observer* both noted that the growing Erie branch of the Republican party was almost totally concerned with local questions like the "Railroad War," or what the press called the "Erie Question."³³ As one researcher has stated: "the candidates were voted for with reference to [local issues] entirely."³⁴ The national debate over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the question of Free Soil, as John G. Carney has recorded, never became the main political debate in Erie.³⁵ Indeed, it appeared that the Republicans in Erie simply provided a convenient political umbrella under which the city's disparate political elements found it convenient to group. Just before election day, the *Erie Gazette* reported: "About twenty-five delegates representing the various [political] Organizations met pursuant to previous notice . . . yesterday week, and after some discussion showing considerable difference of opinion agreed to ratify the Ticket of the 'Reform' Republican County Convention in this city. There seems to be a general 'Fusing' process going on. . . ." ³⁶

The 1855 election itself aroused little enthusiasm in Erie. The *Erie Observer* commented that: "The election . . . passed off in a quiet manner. There was little interest (outside the Railroad politicians) and consequently a very light vote."³⁷ The Whigs and Democrats ran a close race, but the new Republican amalgam of political factions accounted for a respectable percentage of votes.

The 1855 election signaled a major political realignment in Erie. The Republican party's consolidation of the disparate factions that had characterized the 1854 election marked the Whig party's loss of political dominance. In 1855, the Whig party for the first time in years failed to win an impressive city-wide showing. The political lesson was not lost on the citizens of Erie. The "Old-Line" Whigs, realizing apparently that their moribund party was beyond salvaging,

32 Myers, "Rise of the Republican Party," 62-64; Wolf, "Western Republican Party," 27-36; Mueller, *Whig Party in Pennsylvania*, 220-21; Editorial, *Erie Observer*, Sept. 6, 1885.

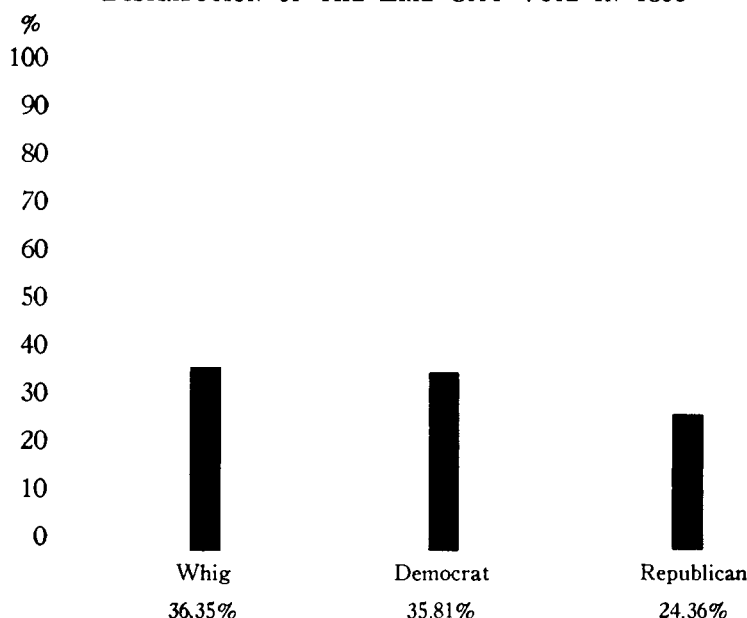
33 See, for example, "The Democratic Party and Our Local Difficulties," *Erie Observer*, June 24, 1856.

34 Whitman, *History of Erie*, 1: 374.

35 Carney, *Highlights of Erie Politics*, 31.

36 "Temperance Convention," *Erie Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1855.

37 "The Election," *Erie Observer*, Oct. 13, 1855. Original parenthesis.

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began to defect en masse to more promising political environs. Erie never again listed "Whig" on an official ballot.

The significance of the trend toward political realignment was equally apparent at the national level. Local organizations throughout the country determined that the time was propitious for dealing a final deathblow to the withering Whig organization. Some Republican partisans even felt that they could supplant the section-torn Democratic party. In January 1856, further steps were taken toward creating a unified national Republican party. A preliminary election convention was called to meet in Pittsburgh on February 22. Erie County sent to this meeting labor leader Henry Teller and candidate for sheriff Allen A. Craig.³⁹ The *Erie Gazette* editorialized wryly that the convention became too preoccupied with the Free Soil question and offered no "panaceas" for the voters of Erie.⁴⁰

38 "Official Election Results," *ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1855.

39 "Pittsburgh Republican Convention," *Erie Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1856. For a further analysis see Leonard H. Bernstein, "Convention in Pittsburgh: The Story of the National Founding Convention of a New Party," *WPHM* 49 (Oct. 1966): 289-300.

40 *Erie Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1856.

The National Republican Nominating Convention convened in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856, barely one week after the Democrats had gathered in Cincinnati and nominated Pennsylvania's favorite son, James Buchanan. The remnants of the Know-Nothing organization had met the previous February, at which time they reorganized under the "American" banner and selected Millard Fillmore as their presidential candidate and Andrew Donelson as vice president.⁴¹ In June, the national Republicans counted among their ranks men from all walks of political life, including "conscience" Whigs, dissident Democrats, and as many as one-half of those who previously had been affiliated with the Americans.⁴²

The *Erie Gazette*, now a converted Republican organ, editorialized in support of the candidacy of Ohio judge John McLean for the Republican nomination. However, McLean, considered by the large radical faction as weak on the slavery question, mustered only 196 first ballot votes at Philadelphia. This total was well below the 359 ayes for the "Old Pathfinder" and Free Soil champion, John C. Frémont, who secured all but thirty-eight votes on the first formal ballot. After Frémont's confirmation, the convention agreed that campaign rhetoric would pivot upon the slogan "Free-Soil, Free Labor, Free Speech, Free Men, Frémont."⁴³

By the late summer of 1856, Erie had an active and confident Republican organization. It had completely absorbed the former Whigs along with the wandering Know-Nothings, and even numbered among its ranks Temperance Democrats. The "Shriekers for Freedom," as they were called by the Democrat *Erie Observer*, approached the election in high spirits.⁴⁴ Numbers were on their side. Seldom did the cry of "Free-Soil, Free Labor, Free Speech, Free Men, Frémont" enter their campaign rhetoric as reflected in the local press, but the vigorous electioneering by the Erie Republicans for their local "fusion ticket" did prove a rather effective campaign tactic.⁴⁵ True to

41 N. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1950), 136-38.

42 See Roy F. Nichols, "Some Problems of the First Republican Presidential Campaign," *American Historical Review* 28 (Apr. 1923): 492-96.

43 George H. Mayer, *The Republican Party, 1854-1966* (London, 1967), 44.

44 "The Shriekers in Council," *Erie Observer*, Sept. 6, 1856. Others, for example, Whitman, *History of Erie County*, 1: 376, identify the early Republicans as "Fusion" candidates.

45 See Whitman, *History of Erie*, 1: 374-76. An important sidenote is that the Erie County Republican campaign according to the local press was financed solely with local funds; few funds, in fact, were available even at the national level, and most of those funds were private contributions from friends of General Fremont. See James A. Rawley, "Financing the Fremont

tradition, the local organization, as reported in area newspapers, soft-pedaled the slavery question and focused on the "Railroad War" issue. The Democratic party, unable to cloak its railroad corporation contacts, admitted gloomy prospects as polling day drew near.⁴⁶

The high hopes of Erie Republicans were confirmed on election day. The tactic of ignoring the Free Soil question and articulating issues of local concern enabled the local Republicans to outstrip the national Republicans' voter turnout by a more than two-to-one margin. Returns in the other sixty-four counties of Pennsylvania generally ran counter to Erie's. Buchanan captured the state with 230,000 votes — a margin of almost 100,000 votes over Frémont.⁴⁷

The period from 1852 to 1856 was one of bitter partisanship at the national level over the issue of slavery. It is doubtful, however, that the slavery question affected voting patterns in Erie. Moreover, the national focus on the Free Soil issue, the Kansas-Nebraska Act debate, and the question of nativism got little attention in Erie. Rather, area voters focused on local issues, the most notable of which was the "Railroad War." The railroad problem and associated local questions monopolized political discussions in Erie during the early and mid-1850s and thus gave potent local ammunition to the new Republicans as they sought to supplant the crumbling (nationally and locally) Whig organization. By the election of 1854, the Republican party had its name and a growing organization in Erie. It had attracted large support from disheartened Whigs and other political factions in the city for whom the recently organized party represented a new vehicle for achieving political power. The Erie Republican organization even carried the stamp of a "fusion" party through its early years. The election of 1856 marked the great ascent of the Republican party in Erie and the demise of the Whig party, which had conducted an uninspired and futile campaign. The political realignment that characterized Erie politics from 1854 to 1856 was evidenced in future elections. For example, Lincoln easily captured Erie in 1860, as did Grant in 1868.⁴⁸

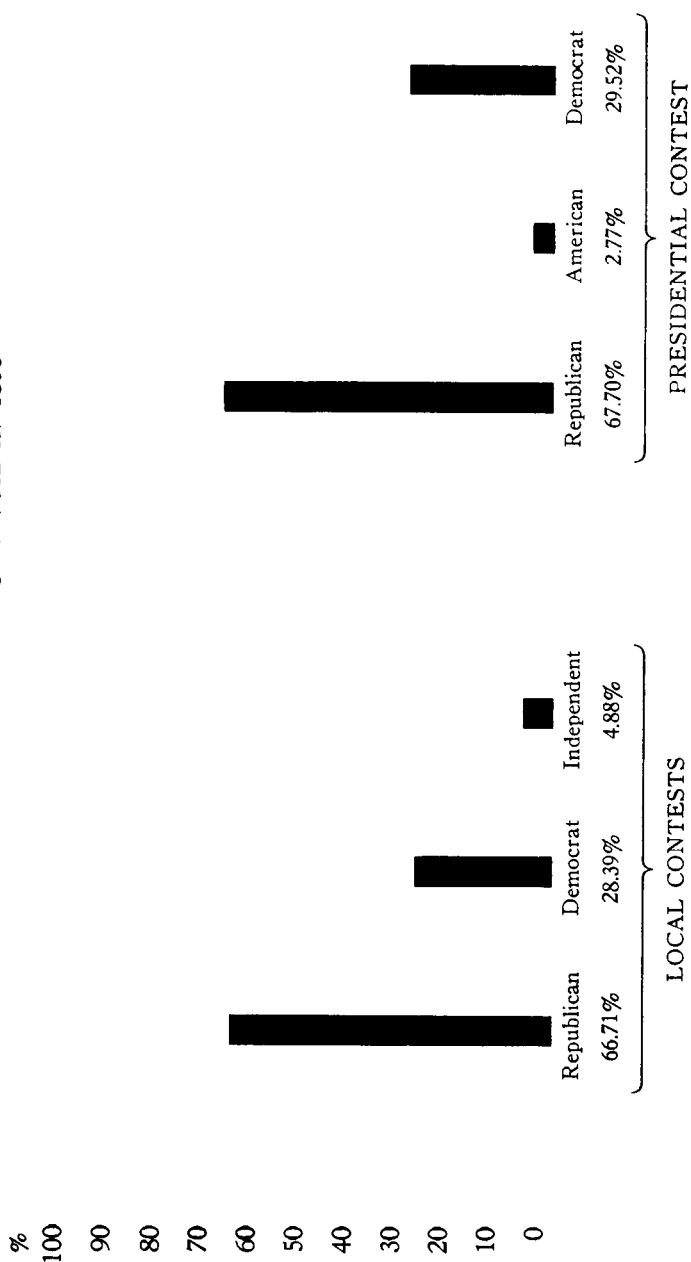
Although the focus of this study has been on Erie, Pennsylvania, the following question arises from a broader historical perspective: did the Republican party grow in other local communities across the United States as the inheritor of the Free Soil issue, as some promi-

Campaign," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 75 (Jan. 1951): 33-35.

46 "A Few Words," *Erie Observer*, Oct. 11, 1856.

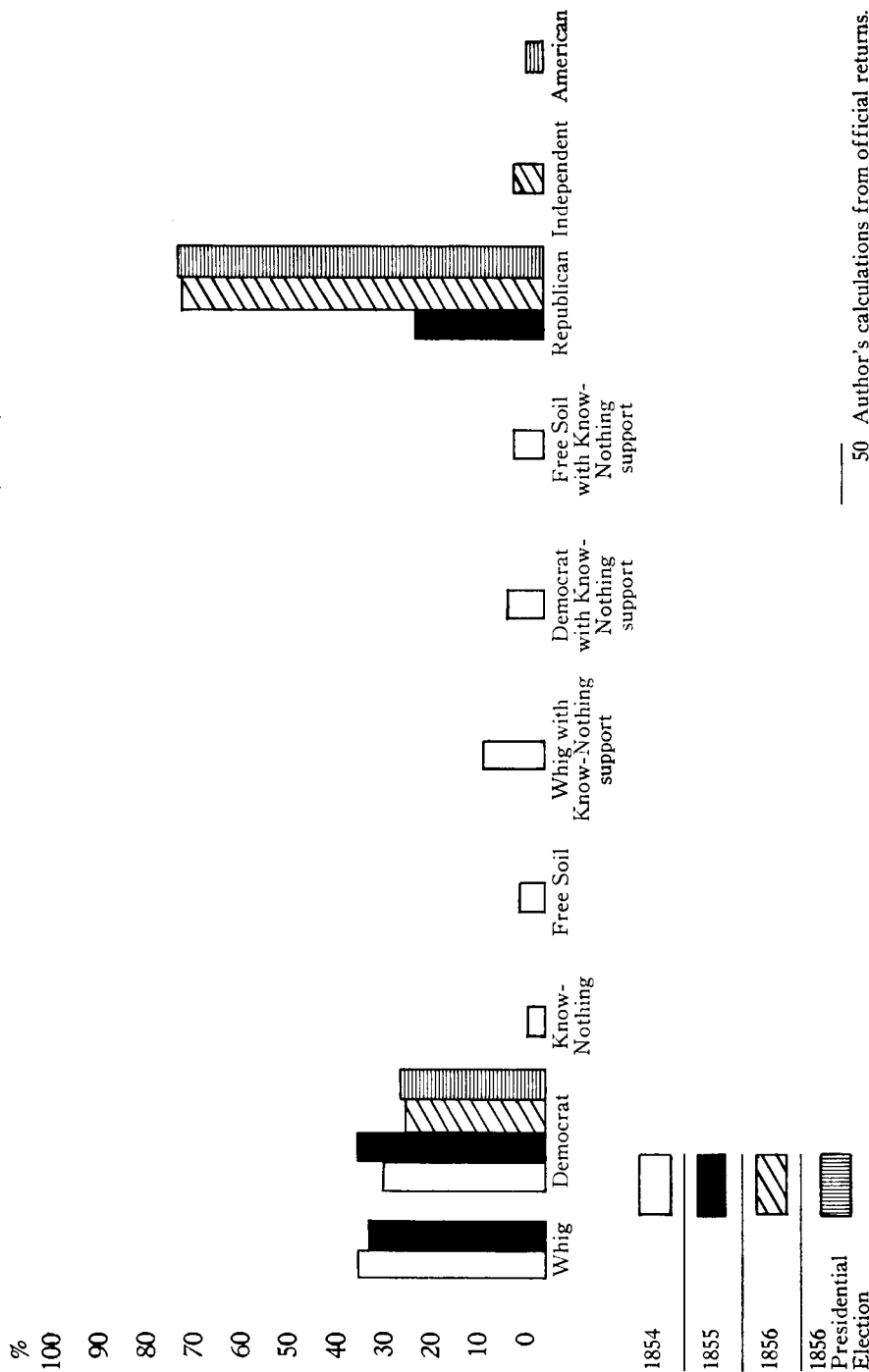
47 Myers, "Rise of the Republican Party," 137.

48 Miller, *Twentieth Century History of Erie*, 1: 423-24.

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⁴⁹ "Official Election Results," *Erie Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1856.

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⁵⁰ Author's calculations from official returns.

nent historians have argued,⁵¹ or did it offer local candidates who were concerned with local issues a chance to fill the political void created by the moribund Whigs? Put another way, is it possible that the issue of antislavery politics did lead to the creation of the national Republican party, but that other human motivation provided the stimulus for establishing the party at the local level? An increasing number of social scientists such as historian Michael F. Holt and political scientists Thomas E. Mann and Barbara Hinckley, using the tools of quantitative analysis, are determining that local political alignments frequently are shaped by issues directly affecting the community and not by ideological debates of national scope.⁵² Clearly, increased local studies are needed before a composite picture of the formation of the Republican party, or of any national party, can be accurately presented. A brief review of the creation of the Republican party in Erie demonstrates that local factors certainly were the catalyst in that city.

51 See, for example, Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York, 1970), 130.

52 The seminal work of this nature for the Republican party is Michael Fitzgibbon Holt, *Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848-1860* (New Haven, 1969). Holt concludes that in Pittsburgh the Republicans aligned with Know-Nothings and other political dissidents to replace the traditional Whig hegemony. Republican leaders were barely aware of national party rhetoric as they focused their own rhetoric on antiforeignism — the issue of greatest importance to Pittsburgh laborers during the two decades preceding the Civil War. For an analysis of the new methodology see Michael W. Whalon, "The Republican Party in Its Early Stages: Some New Perspectives," *Social Science Quarterly* 51 (June 1970): 148-56; Eric Foner, "The Causes of the American Civil War: Recent Interpretations and New Directions," *Civil War History* 20 (Sept. 1974): 197-214. See also, Thomas E. Mann, *Unsafe at Any Margin: Interpreting Congressional Elections* (Washington, D.C., 1978); Barbara Hinckley, *Congressional Elections* (Washington, D.C., 1981).