

Nativism from Disarray: Evaluating the “Know Nothing” Legislative Success of 1854

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Nativism has long played a pivotal role in American politics. Despite the fact that the United States is a country founded upon immigrants, xenophobic tendencies have resurfaced again and again throughout American history. Nativist crusades in American politics, from the second rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s to the restriction of German-Jewish immigration during World War II to Donald Trump’s anti-Muslim rhetoric today, trace their roots back to the original nativists: the “Native American” Know Nothing party of 1854. Called so because when asked about their secretive meetings the members would respond saying they “knew nothing,” the party emerged onto the American political scene upholding nativist ideals that discriminated against immigrant minorities, specifically Irish Catholic immigrants. Amidst the uncertain and turbulent times preceding the American Civil War, the Know Nothing party experienced an unexpected and monumental rise to power, dominating the 1854 legislative elections at both State and Federal levels. It was an undeniably powerful movement that took the nation by storm and disappeared soon after into the political void from which it came. The reason for this nativist success has long been a point of contention between historians.

Many historians argue that it was the increase of Irish Catholic presence in America that caused the Know Nothing message to resonate particularly well with the American people. Stanford History Professor Carl Fremont Brand is one such historian. Brand ascribes the movement’s success to the increase in Irish immigration and growing influence of the Catholic Church. According to Brand, the Know Nothing order was able to come to prominence by capitalizing on the rising levels of Irish immigration and their prominence in Northeastern life. Brand supports his claims with a wide variety of sources citing many

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pieces from the 1850s expressing anti-Catholic ideas and empirical data from the time.¹ However, Know Nothing expert and Professor of History at George Washington University, Tyler Anbinder, disagrees. While Anbinder acknowledges that nativist sentiment did play a role in the Know Nothing victory, he attributes the overwhelming Know Nothing success to the unstable political environment, specifically the collapse of the Second Party System. Anbinder draws from a broad set of evidence for his claims, relying primarily on over-arching political analyses and well-chosen quotes. According to Anbinder, the fall of the Second Party System provided uncertain and impressionable voters from which the Know Nothings could draw, allowing them to succeed where past nativist groups had foundered.²

The two assertions stated above are generally where most historians fall when analyzing the Know Nothing success. And while it is true that both of these factors likely played an influential role in the Know Nothing success, a comprehensive study of the period seems to suggest that Brand was correct in his assertion that the increasing Catholic presence in America was the driving factor behind the Know Nothing success. Anbinder's argument, while still valid, fails to appreciate the impact, or at least perceived impact, of Catholicism on the average American in his sweeping assessment of American nativism. Specifically, the combination of an increased Catholic immigrant presence in America and a supposed increase of social and political Catholic influence in the lives of Americans are likely what brought the Know Nothing party to such great political heights.

The Know Nothing Political Persuasion

Anbinder's argument, that the astonishing nativist success was due to the collapse of the Second Party System, does hold some merit. The fall of the Second Party System brought down the Whig party and greatly weakened the Democratic and Free-Soil parties, both of which helped increase the amount of potential nativist voters. The change in Congressional party membership in 1854 plainly illustrated this development. Whig membership in the House dropped from 71 to 0 between years 1852 and 1854 while Democrat membership dropped from 157

to 83. Simultaneously, the Know Nothing party jumped into existence, rising from 0 to 51 seats in the House. A near identical shift occurred in the Senate. While the former Whig members split between the Know Nothing party and the catch-all Opposition party, it is clear that the Know Nothings gained their entire political body from former Whig and Democratic members, and could not have done so had the Second Party System not fallen.³ The Massachusetts governor race of 1854, perhaps the greatest Know Nothing state success in 1854, showed a similar shift. In 1853, the Whigs clinched governorship victory with 46% of the vote, compared to 27% for Democrats and 22% for Free Soilers. In 1854, however, the Know Nothings emerged victorious with a decisive 63% of the vote, compared to 21% for Whig, 11% for Democrat, and 5% for Free Soil.⁴ The remarkable Know Nothing success was made possible because of the newly available voters, which in turn was made possible by the end of the Second Party System.

The actual political sentiments that drove these newly unaffiliated voters to the Know Nothings are more complicated. For one, general discontent with the political establishment led many voters to pursue the relatively new Know Nothings, who were not tied to said establishment. This frustration manifested itself in the *Barre Patriot's* 1855 news article "The Aspect of Parties." The *Barre Patriot* clearly explained how Americans were frustrated with the incompetence of the "three great parties: Whig, Democrat, and Free Soil," and how "American citizens were losing their rights" so "something must be done." The article then described Uncle Sam bringing the Know Nothings into existence during this "propitious time" to help the many dissatisfied Americans who were "glad of a good excuse for throwing off the old party bonds."⁵ The *Barre Patriot's* apt description of the nativist rise directly reveals anti-establishment ideals as a key factor in many Americans minds when moving to the Know Nothings. The *Pittsfield Sun*, *Boston Bee*, and *Springfield Republican* all agreed. These sources described the Know Nothings as an "insurgency" of politically "repressed" groups "against the domineering spirit of political managers."⁶ America in the 1850s contained a palpable spirit in the air pushing those "itching for something new" away from the "old fogy" politicians of the past and to the Know Nothings.⁷ Clearly, many Americans were at least partially

driven to the Know Nothings because they were not considered part of the established political system; they were entirely new.

The appeal of the Know Nothing Party was further compounded by incensed groups of former Whigs who desired to sever all ties with the Whig Party. With many former Whigs still deeply opposed to the Democratic opposition, the nativist cause became a very appealing non-Whig alternative. In many respects, the move away from the Whigs derived from the controversy over whether or not to condone slavery. So when the Whigs finally fell, largely because of their inability to address the slavery issue, many anti-slavery Americans saw the Know Nothings as a new vehicle for their movement. As Minister William C. Whitcomb explained, many supported the Know Nothings because they were under the impression that “it would help the Anti-Slavery cause.”⁸ Because the slavery question was becoming such an influential topic in 1854 (just six years before the secession of the South), its ties to the Know Nothings, elucidated here by Whitcomb, surely helped attract some voters. In another respect, however, the Know Nothings also drew many former Whigs, unwilling to join the Democratic opposition, into their party simply by default. The 1854 article “Know Nothing Prospects” from the *Weekly Herald* concurred with this conclusion. The article described how some voters joined the order because of “a general distaste” for those “usually found in the democratic ranks.” The *Weekly Herald* substantiated their claim by adding that political movements and their durability are determined by their “moral and philosophical character,” and that because of this the nativist movement would be short lived.⁹ In other words, the *Weekly Herald* assessed that a short-lived Know Nothing leadership would suggest its triumph was founded on fleeting political ties rather than deep-seated nativist convictions. Because this is precisely what occurred following the Know Nothing success (the Know Nothing party lost all congressional support by 1860), it would seem that the Know Nothing success was made possible simply because of the fall of the Whigs and not because their nativist rhetoric resonated particularly well with Americans.¹⁰ If it had, according to the *Weekly Herald*, the Know Nothings would have lasted longer. Charles Francis Adams Sr., grandson of John Adams, goes a step further than the *Weekly Herald*, postulating that the nativist success was helped not just by

a default from former Whigs to the next most-promising Democratic alternative, but by a specific “zeal to beat the Whigs.”¹¹ These various ideas were all present at time of the 1854 elections and provided unmistakable rationales to cast a vote for nativism.

All this would suggest that the Know Nothings simply could not have drawn such large support without the fall of the Second Party System; it gave the Know Nothings a greater body of voters to draw from, and provided several political reasons to join them. However, because the Know Nothings were such a distinctly nativist party, it is unlikely that many Americans joined the cause simply for political reasons. So while political factors evidently assisted in the success, the perceived increase in Irish presence and power was more likely to be the crucial motivating factor that brought so many voters into the Know Nothing movement.

Rise of The Catholic Conundrum

One of the most important factors in the push towards the nativist movement was an observed increase in the immigration of Catholics. These observations were not unfounded; immigration to the U.S. increased steadily throughout the 19th century. In the early 1800s roughly 100,000 immigrants entered every decade. From 1830 to 1840 immigration rose to 762,369; then to 1,521,850 in 1840-1850; and to 1,801,000 between 1850 and 1854.¹² Of these immigrants the vast majority were Catholics, who accounted for 49% of immigrants in the decade 1841-1850.¹³ Indeed it is true that the Industrial Revolution and America’s expanding economy attracted immigrants of all religions to the United States. However, several circumstances specifically forced Catholic populations away from their homeland to America. The Irish Potato Famine of 1845 drove more than 1.5 million Irish, an overwhelming majority of whom were Catholic, to the United States. The Revolutions of 1848 in Germany, which also contained a large Catholic population, brought many Germans to the U.S., further contributing to the drastic increase in American Catholic population.¹⁴ Moreover, these incoming Catholics were widely observed and even disdained by many Americans. As early as the 1830s many were commenting on the growing Catholic immigrant population, as reported by writer

and scientist Samuel F. B. Morse, developer of Morse code, in 1835: “It is a fact that the greater part of the foreigners in our population is composed of Roman Catholics.”¹⁵ This sentiment only grew as the volume of immigration increased. The illustration “Irish Immigration,” featured in an 1850 edition of *The Illustrated London News*, perfectly encapsulated the image of massive amounts of immigrants piling on British ships for the Americas (see Appendix A). Articles and drawings describing the extent of Irish immigration were widely circulated around the United States.¹⁶

With this rise in notoriety came a simultaneous rise in the negative connotations associated with Catholic immigrants. In addition to showing a massive amount of immigrants, the above mentioned illustration shows a characteristically dirty, poor, and uncivilized group. Likewise, in his pro-Know Nothing book entitled *The Sons of the Sires* of 1855, Protestant Minister Frederick Rinehart Anspach described the rise in Irish immigration as the “many recent arrivals of foreign criminals and paupers.”¹⁷ Historian Carl Fremont Brand echoed this idea by asserting that “the pauper and criminal element among the immigrants was believed to be large.”¹⁸ While it is true that many of these immigrants arrived to America with little money and little education, the perception of the Irish became a caricature; that of a vulgar, dirty, and uneducated Irish Catholic. Cartoons like Frederick Opper’s “Puck’s Gallery of Celebrities. The King of A-Shantee” pictured the increasingly common Irish stereotype of a lowly, primal man (see Appendix B).¹⁹ This image of Irishmen was further reinforced throughout society; job openings specifically discriminated against Irishmen with the prevalent catch phrase “No Irish Need Apply.” The popular drinking song of the same name propagated the idea of a violent, savage Irishman and established the cultural precedent of anti-Irish prejudice.²⁰ Nativist John P. Sander-son’s statistical piece “Adverse Views on Foreign Immigration” analyzing incoming immigration further validated Irish inferiority: “It thus appears that of the 2,244,625 foreign-born population in the United States at that time, 1 of at least every 33 was a pauper [...] while of the 19,979,563 native-born, including the free colored and those returned as of unknown birth, only 1 of every 300 was thus a charge on the public.”²¹ As a result of this social and economic Irish prejudice, their

social status plummeted. By the election of 1854 many considered the Irishman as inferior to the average American as an African slave. Opper's cartoon, referenced previously, hinted at this by referencing both the poor shanty towns many Irish immigrants lived in as well as the Ashanti nation in Africa with the title "The King of A-Shantee."²² A popular saying at the time reiterated the low social status of the Irish. The saying described a slave joking that "my master is a great tyrant, he treats me as badly as if I were a common Irishman."²³ Clearly, a deep-seated prejudice and hate for Irishmen came about from the increase in Irish immigration. This prejudice established their reputation as inferior beings, a reputation which was only worsened by their restricted economic opportunity.

With the rising image of the poor, dirty, and menial Irishmen came notions of a developing Catholic faction in the United States. The *Berkshire County Whig* recounted the twenty new Catholic bishops, the hundreds of new churches, and the thousand new Catholic priests in their 1844 article "Fear of 'Popery.'"²⁴ Similarly, Know Nothing writer Thomas R. Whitney, quoted by historian Carl Fremont Brand in his history of the Know Nothing party, described how between 1808 and 1855 the number of Catholic bishops increased from 2 to 40, Catholic priests from 68 to 1,704 and Catholic churches from 80 to 1,824. Whitney further estimated that the number of Catholic adherents grew from essentially 0 in 1808 to 2,500,000 in 1851.²⁵ While it is certainly possible that Whitney's estimates are somewhat off, considering his nativist bias, claims like these were certainly present at the time and created uneasy feelings throughout the country. "We have cause for alarm at the rapidity with which Popery has spread in this country," declared the *Berkshire County Whig* in direct reference to this growing unease.²⁶

These negative impressions of a massive growth in immigration and Catholicism, which many Americans felt during the 1800s, set a crucial foundation for the Know Nothing party. While it did not specifically drive voters to the Know Nothing party, the perceived increase of Irish-Catholic influence in politics and society was critical in setting the stage for the factors that would ultimately draw voters to the Know Nothings.

Growth of the Immigrant Influence

The massive increase in immigration during the 1850s created a substantial Catholic population in the United States. And with the growing racism and prejudice against this population came the idea that Catholicism presented a real danger to the American people. Many saw Catholicism encroaching upon American politics, American social life, and their own Protestantism. Catholicism became viewed as the very embodiment of an anti-America, a threat to everything America stood for. "A stealthy foreign hand has framed to strangle the foster-mother that shelters and nourishes those outcasts who fled to her bosom for protection," described a Know Nothing supporter in 1855.²⁷ It is from these sentiments that the nativist movement emerged. It began with the simple goal of first protecting native American culture, and second aggressively countering the supposed dangers these immigrants presented by disenfranchising and discriminating against them. These are the ideas that built the Know Nothing party and allowed it to garner such a wide following in the legislative elections of 1854.

Protestantism is as much engrained into American culture as nativism. The very first settlers in America were Protestants seeking religious freedom. Protestantism shaped the very fabric of our America and constituted the dominant religious force throughout the 1800s. So it is not surprising that a growing body of Catholics, with 2.5 million new adherents following a single Pope, was seen as a threat, even an assault, on the Protestant religions.²⁸ As early as the 1830s Americans were warning others of a supposed anti-Protestant Catholic conspiracy. "It is a fact that [...] a society was organized in the Austrian capital, called the St. Leopold Foundation, for the purpose 'of promoting the greater activity of Catholic missions in America'" explained Samuel Morse in 1835.²⁹ This fear of a Catholic attack only grew in the years leading up to 1854. The *Berkshire County Whig* affirmed in 1844 that "the subjects of the Pope" make "a bon-fire of the Bible."³⁰ Later in 1855, nativist Frederick Anspach in his Know Nothing support piece, *The Sons of The Sires*, explained how "for a number of years there have been systematic, but in many instances veiled efforts made, to [...] weaken and ultimately de-

stroy the Protestant element in our country.”³¹ Likewise, cartoons warning the public of the Catholic danger, such as “The Propagation Society” by Louis Maurer, became fairly common (see Appendix C). Maurer’s cartoon depicted a group of Catholics reaching the shore of America, stepping out aggressively, sword in hand, vowing to conquer the land, “burn up” the Bible, and “take charge of [America’s] spiritual welfare.” The cartoon even personified the Know Nothing cause through the figure of Uncle Sam by placing him leaning confidently against the American flag “determined to ‘Know Nothing’ but [the Bible]” and ready to defend the native religion from those who wish to destroy it.³² It was this image of a Catholic attack on Protestant America that fueled such a momentous fear of Catholic political power. It is also worth noting that several circumstances confirming Catholic attacks on Protestantism greatly strengthened the nativist call. Anspach referred in *The Sons of The Sires* to one such case, the well-known imprisonment of the Madiari family of Italy in 1853 for reading a Protestant Bible. Anspach captured many Americans’ views of the event in his description of the “oppressions” of the “hapless family, for no other crime than that of reading the scriptures.”³³ As Anspach eloquently illustrated, many Americans heard of this deliberate Catholic repression of Protestant beliefs and began to fear that it could be a real possibility in the United States. An additional compounding circumstance was the adoption of these Anti-Protestant claims by many Protestant clergymen, either to preserve Protestant beliefs or maintain a popular following in the face of the looming Catholic faith. Whig politician Edward Everett echoed this in his letter to Mrs. Charles Eames saying that “our orthodox religionists generally [favored] the organization,” and thus propagated their nativist message.³⁴ These worries of Catholic religious attacks and their reinforcement from Protestant religions encouraged many Americans to fight for their religion and congregate under the wing of the Know Nothings.

The threatening influence of Catholic immigrants was also seen by many in the various controversies and bouts of violence that had followed them throughout their time in America. Perhaps the greatest example of this “riotous conduct” were the Gavazzi Riots of 1853, which occurred just one year before the nativist victory.³⁵ Italian Alessandro

Gavazzi, former Catholic priest, visited the extremely Catholic Quebec in 1853 to deliver a series of talks advocating against Catholicism. Gavazzi's talks incited heated debates, multiple riots, one of which resulted in the deaths of 11 demonstrators, and a widespread fear of Catholic violence. Other events similar to this, in which Catholic tensions resulted in sudden violence, appeared throughout the 1800s. The Cincinnati Riots of 1853 that killed a demonstrator and arrested 60 others, the repeated gang violence between Irish gangs and nativist gangs in New York City (which would later culminate in the infamous 1857 "Dead Rabbits Riot" popularized in Martin Scorsese's film *Gangs of New York*), and the already well-founded stereotype of the violent Irishman all reinforced the association between Catholicism and violence in America. The *Weekly Herald* clearly described this in an article entitled "Know Nothing Prospects." The Cincinnati Riots, "excited a good deal of angry feeling; the Gavazzi riots bred a deep dislike to Catholicism; occasional, and we must say not infrequent, instances of Irish riots must have awakened a strong sentiment of hostility to the offending race."³⁶ It was this "hostility," this worry about Catholic violence, that convinced many Americans to oppose the influence of Catholicism by actively working against them through the Know Nothing party. Furthermore, these controversies, while certainly a cause for American paranoia of Catholic violence, were greatly amplified by the increase in immigration at the time. Catholic immigrants had branched out into smaller towns, causing exposure to Catholicism, and thus fears of Catholic violence, to reach deeper into the nation and not just in the large cities where immigrants had previously been concentrated.³⁷

However, perhaps the greatest threat that the immigrant populations presented to Americans was their influence on politics. Factually speaking, by the 1850s Democratic politicians had noticed and taken advantage of the newly available immigrant demographic. Candidates would often cater heavily to the Irish immigrant population to gain their many votes; Catholics are estimated to have cast as many as a quarter of a million, or 15%, of the votes in the elections of 1852.³⁸ And this catering did not go unnoticed. Anspach, in support of the

nativist cause, explained that if “the Catholics would support [a candidate] with unanimity, he was considered worthy to bear the standard of the party.” Catholicism, Ansbach claimed, “has made and unmade governors, legislators, and Presidents.”³⁹ Similarly, the fact that “Roman Catholic priests have interfered to influence our elections” was commented upon endlessly by Morse.⁴⁰ The *Berkshire Whig* concurred, stating that “Romanism interferes with our elections, attempts to control our politicians.”⁴¹ The ubiquitous claims of Catholic political influence explicitly recounted here seemed to come to fruition in the eyes of many Americans with the highly controversial appointment of Catholic James Campbell to the U.S. Cabinet by president Franklin Pierce in 1853.⁴² However, these evident political fears of Catholicism became so influential because of two other key considerations. For one, Catholics tended to be fairly liberal in their views, such as their general opposition to the temperance alcohol movement of the 1850s. For more conservative voters, a difference in specific political beliefs with Catholics were an appealing political reason to oppose the spread of Catholicism.⁴³ More importantly, however, Catholicism had a wide reputation for authoritarianism, as its hierarchy with a single leading figure, the Pope, seemed to hold all power. Because this contrasted so starkly with America’s hallmark values of freedom and democracy, the idea of Catholicism’s influence in politics was seen as especially destructive. “Popery is opposed in its very nature to democratic republicanism; and it is, therefore, as a political system, as well as religious, opposed to civil and religious liberty, and consequently to our form of government” described Morse in his nativist piece.⁴⁴ All in all, these circumstances created a large appeal for a nativist cause, an appeal that the Know Nothings capitalized on. A speech by House representative and future Know Nothing leader Lewis C. Levin perfectly encapsulated the sentiments at the time by describing the “danger of subversion by the influx of that horde of aliens who combine to break down its barriers that they may command in the citadel.”⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, worries of a Catholic rise in the political system pushed voters into the Know Nothing fold.

A Nation Dividing

A comprehensive analysis of the time period clearly suggests that the Know Nothing triumph was more likely a result of increasing prejudice against the Irish and fears of their growing influence than of political instability. Regardless of the specific cause, it was indisputably the disarray of emotions and politics in the 1850s that drew such a wide nativist following. Today, there exists an astonishingly similar situation. A Know Nothingism is emerging out of the Republican party directly from 2016 presidential candidates Marco Rubio, Ted Cruz, and of course, Donald Trump. This nativism, however, does not target Catholic immigrants, but an immigrant minority of far more foreign proportions: Syrian immigrants and refugees. While this certainly marks the considerable progress Americans have made in accepting different cultures over the 160 years since the Know Nothings, it also highlights a key concern: America isn't learning from history. Nearly every American today would agree that the dangers posed by Irish immigrants in the 1850s were not remotely enough to justify discriminating and disenfranchising them like the Know Nothings advocated. Certainly there were some harmful Catholic immigrants, but the overwhelming majority were not under orders from the Vatican, were not inciting violence against the United States, and were not planning to take over the government.

So how different is the Syrian "problem" today from the Irish "problem" then? Most would argue that the dangers posed by Irish immigrants in the 1850s are small and insignificant compared to the dangers posed by modern Islamic terrorism. There are various reasons for this idea, one being the massive amount of technology available to modern Islamic terrorists in comparison to 1850 Catholics, another likely being the visible racial divide between the average white American and a Syrian immigrant. However, if one were to eliminate any preconceptions and examine the issue on a pragmatic level, they would find that the simple odds of an American being directly harmed by Syrian immigrants now are lower than by a Catholic immigrant in the 1850s. In addition to there simply being more instances of Catholic violence in the 1850s than Syrian violence today, in 1850 there were 20 million people in

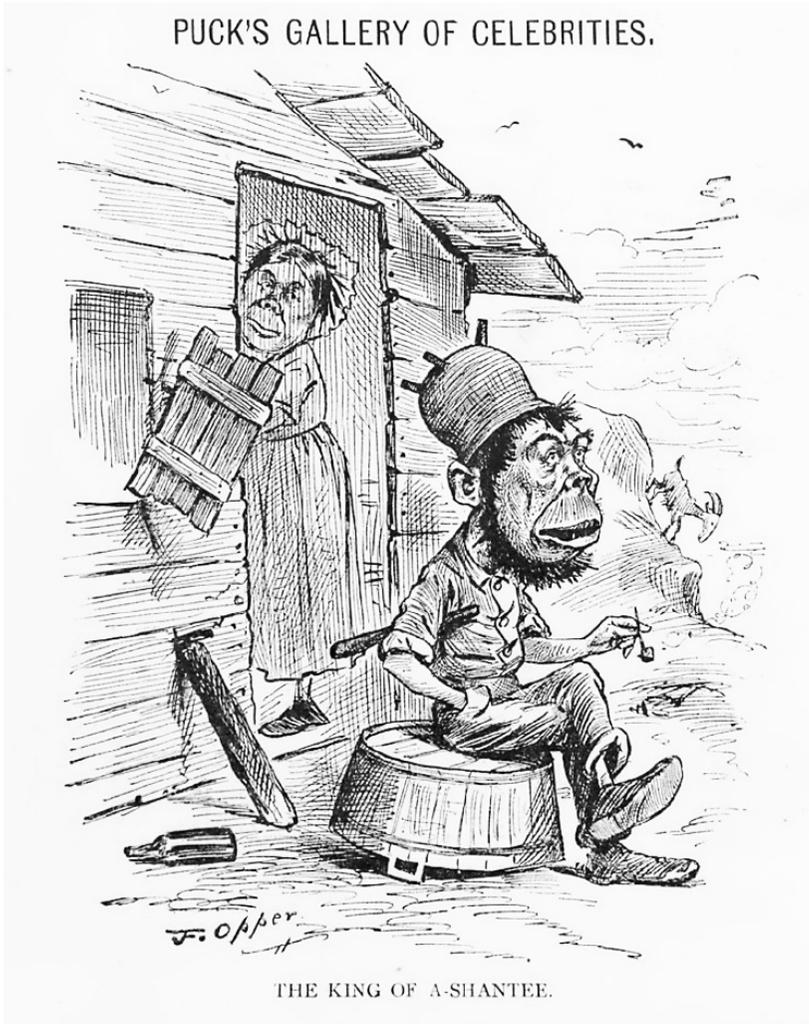
this nation; today there are over 300 million. In 1850 Catholics constituted roughly 8% of the population.⁴⁶ Today Syrian Americans make up less than half of 0.1%. While this certainly oversimplifies the issue, it is clear that the perceived danger of Syrian immigrants is perhaps overstated. More importantly, however, it is certainly not a perception worth dividing the nation over, let alone the Republican party. For the safety of this dividing nation, one can only hope that today's nativism dies as fast as the Know Nothings of 1854. ●

Appendix A



Source: "Irish immigration" Illustration. *The Illustrated London News*, July 6, 1850. Accessed March 2, 2016. <http://issues.abc-clio.com.menloschool.idm.oclc.org/>

Appendix B



Source: Opper, Frederick Burr. "Puck's Gallery of Celebrities. The King of A-Shantee." Cartoon, February 15, 1882, Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97512306/>.

Notes

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2. Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery* (New York: Oxford University, 1992), 95.
3. *Party Divisions of the House of Representatives 1789-Present*, table, Washington D.C.: U.S. Congress, 2015, House of Representative Office of Art and Archives, <http://history.house.gov/Institution/Party-Divisions/Party-Divisions>; *Party Division in the Senate, 1789-Present*, table, Washington D.C.: U.S. Congress, 2015, Senate Historical Office, <http://www.senate.gov/history/partydiv.htm>.
4. *Whig Almanac* in Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 93.
5. "The Aspect of Parties," *The Barre Patriot*, January 19, 1855, Newsbank.
6. "Know Nothingism," *The Pittsfield Sun*, December 21, 1854, Newsbank.
7. *Springfield Republican* in Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 93.
8. William C. Whitcomb to Charles Sumner, Jan. 16, 1855, in Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 92-93.
9. "Know Nothing Prospects," *Weekly Herald* (New York, NY), July 8, 1854, Newsbank.
10. *Party Divisions of the House*, table; *Party Division in the Senate*, table.
11. Adams to S.C. Philips, Nov. 16, 1854 in Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 93.

12. Frederick Rinehart Anspach, *The Sons of The Sires* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1855), 189.
13. "No Irish Need Apply," *Annals of American History*.
14. James M. Bergquist, "Ebb and Flow of American Immigration: 19th Century," *Daily Life through History*, last modified 2016, <http://dailylife.abc-clio.com.menloschool.idm.oclc.org/Search/Display/1380888>.
15. Samuel F. B. Morse, "The Dangers of Foreign Immigration," *New York Journal of Commerce*, 1835, *Annals of American History*.
16. "Irish Immigration," cartoon, *The Illustrated London News*, July 6, 1850, *Issues: Understanding Controversy and Society*.
17. Anspach, *The Sons of The Sires*, v.
18. Brand, "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana," 55.
19. Frederick Burr Opper, "Puck's Gallery of Celebrities. The King of A-Shantee," cartoon, February 15, 1882, Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97512306/>.
20. "No Irish Need Apply," *Annals of American History*.
21. John P. Sanderson, "Adverse Views on Foreign Immigration," *Republican Landmarks: The Views and Opinions of American Statesmen on Foreign Immigration*, Philadelphia, 1856, *Annals of American History*.
22. "No Irish Need Apply," *Annals of American History*.
23. Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City*, (Cornell University Press, 2006), 231.

24. "Fear of 'Popery,'" *Berkshire County Whig*, November 21, 1844, Newsbank.
25. Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy in Brand*, "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana," 57.
26. *Berkshire County Whig*, "Fear of 'Popery.'"
27. Anspach, *The Sons of The Sires*, 9-10.
28. Whitney, in Brand, "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana."
29. Morse, "The Dangers of Foreign Immigration."
30. *Berkshire County Whig*, "Fear of 'Popery.'"
31. Anspach, *The Sons of The Sires*, 25.
32. Louis Maurer, "The Propagation Society. More Free than Welcome," cartoon, *Currier & Ives*, 1855, Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003656589/>.
33. Anspach, *The Sons of The Sires*, 31.
34. Everett to Mrs. Charles Eames, Nov. 22, 1854 in Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 94.
35. Morse, "The Dangers of Foreign Immigration."
36. "Know Nothing Prospects," *Weekly Herald*.
37. Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 95.
38. Brand, "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana," 56.
39. Anspach, *The Sons of The Sires*, 46.

40. Morse, "*The Dangers of Foreign Immigration.*"
41. *Berkshire County Whig*, "Fear of 'Popery.'"
42. Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 95.
43. Brand, "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana," (55-56).
44. Morse, "*The Dangers of Foreign Immigration.*"
45. Lewis C. Levin, "Americans and the Foreign-Born," (speech, House of Representatives, Washington D.C., December 17, 1845), *Annals of American History*.
46. Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy in Brand*, "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana," 57.

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