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# Western Massachusetts in the Know-Nothing Years: An Analysis of Voting Patterns

by John Mulkern

In 1854 the American or Know-Nothing<sup>1</sup> party in Massachusetts emerged from its clandestine network of local councils or lodges to spring the greatest election upset in the history of the state. Before the election, the state's political establishment had dismissed the new party as little more than an unpleasant apparition, one which the electorate would soon dispel. Journalists and public figures of every political hue were virtually unanimous in predicting that a political organization, which in a free and open society threatened to strip Roman Catholics and naturalized citizens of their political and civil rights, campaigned only within the confines of its secrecy enshrouded lodges, and pledged its members by oath to vote only for party candidates and "to keep dark" about all party matters must end in defeat and oblivion. Yet when the new party entered its first statewide election in November, it tallied nearly sixty-three percent of the vote and swept its candidates into virtually every elective office in the state.<sup>2</sup> Every constitutional state officer, the entire Congressional delegation, all forty state senators, and all but three of the 379 representatives bore the Know-Nothing stamp. Of the three other parties contending the election — Whig, Free-Soil, and Democratic — only the Democratic party would recover from the Know-Nothing blow.

Every region of the state was caught up in the Know-Nothing tide, although the party's majorities in Hampshire (57%) and Berkshire (55%) fell below its statewide average. Excepting tiny, remote Nantucket, Franklin County alone among those of the state failed to register a majority of its votes for the American party. Nevertheless, the party did carry the county by a plurality (48%) to complete its sweep of the state from Cape Cod to the Berkshires.

Nowhere else in the nation did the American party approach such a landslide victory, evidence in itself that local rather than national matters triggered the destruction of the established party system in the state. The reasons usually given for the rise of Know-Nothingism — the bitter reaction of native-born Americans to mass immigration and its attendant problems (nativism), the widespread fear of sectional conflict (Unionism), and the Northern deter-

mination to check the spread of slavery (free-soilism) — important though they were in winning converts to the movement, fail to account for why the American party attracted so much more support in the Commonwealth than anywhere else.

Concentration by historians on the antislavery crusade and the sectional crisis of the antebellum period has obscured the fact that the outstanding development taking place within Massachusetts during these years was the rapid transformation of the state's relatively simple, homogeneous, and ordered society into one that was complex, pluralistic, and increasingly urban and industrial. Railroad construction begun in the 1830's connected every corner of the state to the country beyond, facilitating the rapid rise of machine manufacturing in formerly remote towns. By 1845, total value of manufactures exclusive of farm and sea products stood at \$83,000,000; ten years later it had soared to \$215,000,000, the mark of an industrial growth rate which the Secretary of the Commonwealth proclaimed "without parallel in the history of the world."<sup>3</sup> Industrialization brought other changes. Nearly one-quarter of a million foreigners (comprising twenty-two percent of the population) attracted by the rapidly expanding economy had settled in the state by 1855. Foreigners and native-born alike streamed into the industrial areas of the state and in the process transformed the Commonwealth into the most densely populated, urbanized and (in per capita terms) industrialized state in the Union.<sup>4</sup> Pressures unleashed by revolutionary developments in communication (the telegraph), transportation (railroads) and industry (machine manufacturing and the factory system) and by concomitant developments such as mass immigration and urbanization impelled the common people to seek political relief from the myriad problems stirred into existence by these forces of modernization.<sup>5</sup>

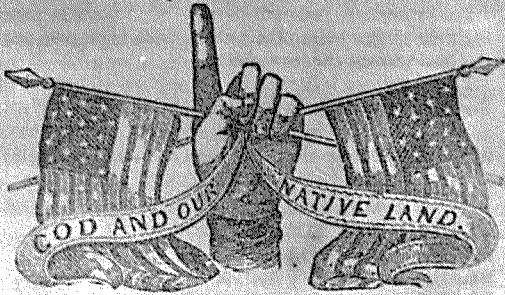
Even as industrialization spread throughout the state at a bewildering pace, the former mainstays of the state's economy — agriculture, commerce, and the fisheries — declined. Yankee mariners and fishermen faced by the steady decline of commerce and the fisheries and unwilling to work for the going wages (about eighteen dollars a month) put ashore in such great numbers that by the 1850's foreigners comprised three-quarters of the hands on Bay State fishing and merchant vessels.<sup>6</sup> Those who wrested their living from the land experienced equally difficult conditions. Cheap and bountiful western agricultural products had been flowing into the state since the 1830's via the transportation network that connected the state's urban markets to the fertile lands of New York and Ohio. Grain and livestock farmers, located mostly in the central and western parts of the state, found the competition increasingly difficult. Thousands of farmers were forced off their land. Many made their way to the richer lands of the west. Others gave up their way of life and sought employment in the factory towns sprouting up all over the state.<sup>7</sup> There they encountered other kinds of problems. Yankee mechanics, factory operatives, common laborers, clerks, small jobbers, tradesmen, and struggling entrepreneurs in the cities and the larger towns had to live cheek by jowl with impoverished foreigners and face directly the challenge that the immigrants

(most of whom were Irish Catholics) presented to their institutions and to their accustomed lifestyle. They blamed the Irish as well as treacherous politicians and wealthy Brahmins for undermining the old way of life and for American working people having "to seek employment under disadvantages."<sup>8</sup> To most Yankee Protestants, burgeoning Catholicism and the hordes of poverty-stricken Irish crowding into every city and manufacturing town in the state posed a clear and present danger to job security, social mores, and the established way of life. Clearly, widespread Yankee resentment of Irish newcomers facilitated the Know-Nothing task of politicizing the common people of Massachusetts. But the same could be said of other offshoots of modernization such as unregulated corporations, emerging monopolies, and cyclical unemployment, which, like mass immigration and urban slums, were all part of the changing times.

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To get such men to abandon their own parties and to vote Know-Nothing required something more than a torrent of nativistic polemics. Ordinary citizens joined Know-Nothing lodges because of their disenchantment with an elitist party system that had ceased to work in the common interest. They had good cause to resent a political system that had failed to adjust to the egalitarian pressures of the new industrial age or to develop programs to ameliorate the lot of the common man, to protect him from corporative and monopolistic abuses, or even to acknowledge that poverty was a fact of life for many of the state's farmers, fishermen, day laborers, and industrial workers.

What was needed to challenge the established political order and its special legislation for the few was a political party attuned to the needs and aspirations of most people, a party that could deal with the myriad problems raised within a rapidly expanding urban industrial society. None of the existing parties, however, was capable of meeting this need.

The Whig party, operating on the premise that what was good for business was good for the general welfare, opposed any reform that might threaten the business community or Whig control of the state government. When the Whigs were in power (which was most of the time), no governmental programs were mounted to deal with the problems of change in a time of unprecedented change. On the other hand, the Democratic party, in spite of its professions of concern for the common people, was too factionalized to marshal their solid support. Its urban wing and the party press was controlled by the National Democrats, a breed of politicians more interested in "federal pap" than in reform. Consequently, "Locofoco" or reform Democrats drew most of their support from small towns and rural areas which furnished a poor base for contesting statewide elections. More important, perhaps, Democratic wooing of the foreign vote and their espousal of "doughface" or pro-Southern policies alienated many Bay Staters. Hence, in more than twenty years of contesting annual elections with the Whigs, the Democrats had grown accustomed to second place finishes.<sup>9</sup> Like the Democrats, the Free-Soilers were also accustomed to losing elections. Their party, by confining its attention mainly to the slavery question, offered too narrow a base to attract winning support. In 1850 the Free-Soilers and "Locofoco" Democrats joined forces to wrest control of the state government from the Whigs. Their differences on national issues, however, proved too great to sustain their coalition in the presidential election of 1852, and the Whigs returned to power.<sup>10</sup> Two years later the Whigs were still in power and were still maintaining the status quo. Having defeated the Democrats and Free-Soilers both singly and jointly, the Whigs looked forward to the coming election with considerable optimism.<sup>11</sup> Yet even as the Whigs began their campaign for reelection, the instrument of their party's destruction — the American party — had already rallied the masses to its standards.

Contemporaries and historians alike have linked the Know-Nothing success in converting a majority of voters to their party to the passage of the Kansas-

Nebraska Act and the seizure of runaway slave Anthony Burns in Boston and his forceable return to slavery, both of which occurred in May of 1854. Popular outrage with these events, it is argued, was so intense and universal as to swing the mass of people behind the antislavery cause. With the Free-Soil party defunct on the national level, their best, indeed their only hope to check the incursions of the Slave Power was the recently organized American party.<sup>12</sup> Hence, the American party simply because it was the only viable political organization available to antislavery voters — Whigs, Democrats, and Free-Soilers alike — gained their support and swept to victory.

Some historians, while agreeing that the slavery issue keyed political developments in the Bay State, have attributed the landslide proportions of the Know-Nothing victory to a recrudescence of the Free-Soil/Democratic Coalition. Although defeated in 1852, the Coalition nevertheless had convinced a majority of voters that year to call a constitutional convention to reform the state government. The convention delegates, about a third of whom were farmers, hammered out the details of a new state constitution and a series of referenda whose main design was to increase the political power of rural, small town Massachusetts at the expense of the urban-based Whig hegemony.<sup>13</sup> Their hopes were dashed, however, when a majority of Bay Staters voted down the proposed changes.

Those who view the Coalition as a major dynamic within the Know-Nothing movement argue that the Coalitionists blamed Irish voters for their defeat. Hence, when the nativistic American party began organizing shortly after the 1853 election, the Coalitionists, still smarting over the Irish bloc vote against their interests, shifted en masse into the Know-Nothing camp.<sup>14</sup>

Election returns and census data support neither of these interpretations. Those who tag Irish voters with responsibility for the defeat of constitutional reform cite the evidence that one-quarter of the state's foreign-born lived in Suffolk County and that Suffolk County led the state in opposition to the proposed Constitution (Table I). The vote in other counties, however, reveals little if any relationship between the proportion of foreign residents and the vote for or against the constitution.

Fortunately, for purposes of comparison, the anti-Coalition National Democrats had broken with the pro-Coalition wing of the party over the constitutional question and had run their own gubernatorial candidate. Table I illustrates that the vote against the constitution followed party lines (Whig and National Democratic) and that the great bulk of the opposition came from the Whig voters. Presumably, Irish voters who were solidly Democratic and who were opposed to the constitution backed the National Democratic candidate. His poor showing (4.3% of the total vote) bears witness to the fact that the impact of the foreign vote in 1853 was marginal at best. The fact that Hampden and Worcester Counties topped the state in their vote for constitutional change in spite of their high concentration of foreigners underscores this point.

TABLE I  
Comparison of County Foreign-Born Population Distribution and  
Party Vote Against 1853 Constitution

County <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of 1853 Vote				Rank According to	
	Whig	National Democrat	Whig-ND Total	Against 1853 Const.	Whig-ND Total	% of Foreign-Born in Pop. <sup>2</sup>
Suffolk	60.9	6.3	67.2	72.3	1	1
Dukes	63.5	0.0	63.5	64.3	2	13
Norfolk	45.9	13.4	59.3	61.0	3	2
Nantucket	50.9	4.7	55.6	59.1	4	14
Barnstable	53.9	0.0	53.9	56.0	6	12
Middlesex	45.0	5.7	50.7	54.1	7	3
Essex	45.6	4.7	50.3	53.2	8	7
Hampshire	54.1	0.0	54.1	52.1	5	9
Plymouth	43.8	5.0	48.8	51.5	9	10
Bristol	45.8	2.0	47.8	49.8	10	6
Berkshire	46.8	0.0	46.8	45.5	11	8
Franklin	45.4	0.0	45.4	44.5	13	11
Hampden	43.7	2.0	45.7	44.0	12	4
Worcester	34.6	1.8	36.4	37.4	14	5
State	45.9	4.3	50.2	51.9		

<sup>1</sup>Arranged according to vote against the 1853 constitution

<sup>2</sup>DeWitt, Census of Massachusetts 1855, 98-132.

Hampshire County's vote clearly demonstrates the relationship between party affiliation and the vote on the proposed constitution. Hampshire alone among the western counties had consistently recorded majorities for the Whig party, and, in 1853, in spite of the political advantages that would accrue to it if the constitution were adopted, Hampshire's ties to the Whig party held. This would hardly have been the case if the constitutional issue were the catalyst that precipitated the downfall of the established party system. Voting in other western counties also followed the statewide pattern, their vote in favor of the constitution running at about the same level as their vote for Free-Soil and Democratic candidates.<sup>15</sup>

The 1854 election returns also fail to substantiate the claim that the defeat of the constitution triggered party realignment in the state. For example, city voters, sixty-one percent of whom spurned the constitution in 1853, favored the American party the following year by exactly the same margin. Voters in the large towns (over 3000) who also had rejected the constitution ran up even higher majorities for Know-Nothing candidates than did the city residents.

Conversely, Berkshire and Franklin voters, who had enthusiastically endorsed constitutional change in 1853, trailed the rest of the state in their vote for the American party the following year, strange behavior indeed for a people supposedly fired up by the rejection of the constitution.

Nor does the evidence uphold the contention that the sectional crisis and outraged antislavery sensibilities suddenly converged in May of 1854 to convert rank and file Whigs and Democrats to Know-Nothingism. To maintain this is to assert that the antislavery impulse in Massachusetts could exert enough pressure to engender a landslide vote in 1854 but not enough to attract so much as a third of the turnout to the Free-Soil party in 1853 or to the Republican party in 1855. Based on the election returns, it would be more realistic to conclude that few men, other than former Free-Soilers, voted Know-Nothing because of an overriding concern with the slavery question.

TABLE II

Comparison of Town Voting Totals for the Know-Nothing, Free-Soil, and Republican Parties, 1853-1855

Types	No.	Percentage of Vote		
		Know-Nothing (1854)	Free-Soil (1853)	Republican (1855)
Towns over 3000	72	67.0	24.5	25.2
Fastest Growing Towns <sup>a</sup>	58	67.4	26.5	27.3
Manufacturing Towns <sup>b</sup>	83	68.8	28.9	29.7
Poorest Towns <sup>c</sup>	61	69.1	26.4	29.5
Subtotals <sup>d</sup>	166	66.7	25.6	28.4
Remaining Towns	145	54.5	21.2	33.2
State Average	—	62.6	22.5	26.9

<sup>a</sup>Towns which increased in population twenty-five percent or more, 1850-1855. DeWitt, *Census of Massachusetts, 1855*, 204-15.

<sup>b</sup>Towns in which the number of industrial workers amounted to twenty percent or more of the population. DeWitt, *Statistical Information, 1855*, 1-650.

<sup>c</sup>Towns with per capita distribution of personal wealth under \$100 (excluding the towns of Berkshire and Franklin Counties where there was no correlation between the wealth factor and the Know-Nothing vote). Data are found in *The Gazette* (Dedham), daily issues 1855 and 1856; *Cambridge Chronicle*, Nov. 7, 1857; *Chelsea Telegraph and Pioneer*, July 7, 1855; Town Documents (State House Library); and Oliver Warner, *Journal and Documents of the Valuation Committee of the Year 1860* (Boston, 1861), 70-146.

<sup>d</sup>Analysis of variance tests were run comparing the Know-Nothing vote in each of these selected types of towns with that in all other towns. The results in each case were significant at the .001 level, that is, the probability that random effects alone caused the variation in these types of towns is less than one in one thousand.



As Table II reveals, the strength of the American party centered in communities most affected by industrialism, urbanization, rapid growth, and poverty. Its particularly strong showing in those towns where pressures fueled by the new industrial order were highest and where political support for the antislavery cause by comparison was negligible points towards the conclusion that local rather than national developments determined the outcome of the 1854 election.

In western Massachusetts, Hampden County alone had been vitally transformed by the processes of industrialization and urbanization. Springfield, the only city in western Massachusetts, was heavily industrialized. So, too, were the county's four largest towns whose factories and mills like those in Springfield probably attracted large numbers of employees from nearby farming communities. Manufacturing establishments employing hundreds of people were situated in most parts of the county, their influence radiating out to the surrounding countryside. It is no coincidence, then, that the American party obtained landslide majorities (over sixty percent) in every town in Hampden except those located along the remote western periphery bordering Berkshire County.

The other western counties were not entirely immune from the forces of change. People living in the industrial pockets around Adams in Berkshire County and Ware in Hampshire displayed the same degree of enthusiasm for the American party as did their neighbors in Hampden County. But in the main Berkshire, Franklin, and Hampshire Counties were rural and agrarian, and their voters, less subject to the pressures that rapid modernization had unleashed elsewhere, turned to the American party more out of dissatisfaction with the established parties than approval for the new, urban-oriented party.

Know-Nothingism derived its strength from widespread public concern with the unprecedented change that in a fifteen year period had transformed the state from an essentially rural, small town society into one in which industry and urban growth predominated. The American party's triumph heralded the state's first political response to the new industrial age. It also marked the passing of the old political order which ironically had ushered in the new age. Failure to deal in a meaningful fashion with the pressures and problems that railroad transportation, industrialization, urbanization, and mass immigration had unleashed and the disintegrative impact that these forces had on the Yankee majority led to the destruction of that political system.<sup>16</sup> Now it was up to the American party to deal with these changes.

Farmers also felt the force of modernization. Railroads snaking out towards the rich agricultural lands to the west brought ruinous competition. The figures speak for themselves: In 1840, Bay State farmers produced 101,178 bushels of wheat; ten years later production had fallen to 28,487 bushels. In the same decade the number of sheep declined from 343,390 to 179,537, reason enough to stir agrarian wrath against Brahmin Whiggery whose newspapers

prattled on about the prosperity that their system had brought to the common people.<sup>17</sup>

Know-Nothing attempts to address the problems spawned by revolutionary change featured programs tailored to the needs of the ordinary people living in urban communities.<sup>18</sup> Their efforts gained the American party enough support to return it to office in 1855, albeit by a considerably reduced margin. However, Know-Nothing legislation, shaped as it was by representatives from industrial areas, proved no more sensitive to the problems besetting farmers than had that of its predecessors.

Not surprisingly, then, most western Bay Staters after only one year of Know-Nothing rule cast about for an alternative. Both the Democratic and the Republican parties proved attractive. Berkshire County, its vote divided almost evenly between the American, Democratic, and newly-formed Republican parties, was the only western county carried by the Know-Nothings. In Hampden County, the resurgent Democrats bested the Know-Nothings and Republicans, in that order. But in spite of their third place finishes in Hampden and Berkshire, western Republicans could look towards the future with confidence. Their share of the total vote in the two counties least responsive in the state to Free-Soilism was triple that garnered by the 1853 Free-Soilers (Table III). Moreover, the Republican surge in Hampshire and Berkshire Counties was even more impressive. Solid Republican pluralities in both counties, more than double the previous Free-Soil totals, carried them for the party.<sup>19</sup>

TABLE III

Comparison of the 1853 Free-Soil and 1855 Republican  
Votes in the Counties

County <sup>1</sup>	% Free-Soil (1853)	% Republican (1855)	% of Difference
Hampden	8.6	26.0	+ 202.3
Berkshire	10.7	31.8	197.2
Hampshire	21.7	49.9	130.0
Franklin	22.1	47.1	113.1
Suffolk	11.8	15.0	27.1
Cape Cod and Islands	14.1	17.8	26.2
Bristol	23.5	26.1	11.1
Middlesex	20.7	22.7	9.7
Essex	23.2	25.1	8.2
Plymouth	31.9	30.4	- 4.7
Worcester	36.3	34.4	5.2
Norfolk	25.9	20.2	22.0

<sup>1</sup>Arranged according to increase of Republican over Free-Soil percentage of vote.

Republicanism in western Massachusetts not only had taken root; it also had (unlike other sections of the state) drawn most of its votes from people who had not voted Free-Soil in 1853. Its impressive gains over the Free-Soil totals attest to that. At the same time, the strong Democratic pluralities and the virtual disappearance of Whig support in each of the four counties suggest that most western Republicans were former Whigs.

Their dissatisfaction with Know-Nothing government, stemming as it did from the failure of that government to respond to the needs of rural, agrarian western Massachusetts, was not shared to any great extent by other former Whigs living in the more industrialized regions of the state. Republican totals in the non-western counties closely followed those set by the 1853 Free-Soilers, because the Republican party failed in its efforts to draw significant numbers of Democratic and Whig Know-Nothings to their antislavery crusade. Hence, these counties managed to offset the Republican trend in central and western Massachusetts and send the new party down to defeat. Nevertheless, the western Republican trend proved portentous.

In 1856, the Republican party, in order to win Know-Nothing votes for its presidential ticket, did not contest the state election with the American party. The following year, however, the parties again locked in battle, and this time the results were different. There were too many problems for the incumbents to overcome. Severe economic depression gripped the state, hitting the industrial areas particularly hard. Moreover, the American party after three years in power had drifted far enough to the right as to take on the appearance if not the substance of the former Whig party.<sup>20</sup> It bore little resemblance to the grass roots urban populist movement which had swept the state in 1854. It was this party that the Republicans defeated. The trend set by western Massachusetts in 1855 as the vanguard of Republicanism had become two years later the pattern followed by the rest of the state. Hampshire and Franklin voters by running up landslide totals for the Republican party again topped the state. Nearly half the voters of Hampden and Berkshire Counties shared the enthusiasm of their regional neighbors for the Republican party, a far cry from the less than ten percent total which they had accorded the Free-Soil party.

The most recent study of political realignment in antebellum Massachusetts ascribes the Republican triumph over Know-Nothingism mainly to voter support for the antislavery movement.<sup>21</sup> Regional voting patterns, as has been noted, indicate otherwise. Republican success hinged on broadening its appeal so as to win over non-Free-Soil voters; but as Table III shows, the 1855 Republican clarion call for all Bay Staters to join the antislavery crusade elicited little favorable response other than from former Free-Soilers. Only in western Massachusetts did former Whigs surge into the Republican ranks, transforming that section which had been least supportive of Free-Soilism into the Republican vanguard. In no other region did appreciable numbers of Whigs vote Republican in 1855, evidence that local factors rather than the

national antislavery campaign triggered political realignment in western Massachusetts.

Two years later a large number of non-Free-Soil voters in the rest of the state shifted into the Republican ranks and thus completed the process of party realignment begun in the 1854 election. The statewide plurality by which the Republican party carried Massachusetts in 1857 (47%) was unimpressive compared to the 1854 majority of the American party, but it proved decisive. Following its defeat in the 1857 election, the American party, its working class populism now muted, faded rapidly and soon followed the shade of the Whig party into history. In 1858 the Republican party won by a majority, the first of its many majority victories in the generations to come.

#### NOTES

1. So-called because its members when asked about their secret organization answered: I know nothing.
2. Voting statistics in this paper, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from Massachusetts, Official Election Returns for Governor (State Archives).
3. Francis DeWitt, *Statistical Information Relating to certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts for the Year Ending June 1, 1855* (Boston, 1855), xiii-xiv, 642-43.
4. *Ibid.*; Oliver Warner, *Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts, 1860* (Boston, 1863), 286, 293-94; Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York, 1966), 258.
5. For a discussion of the relationship between these forces and the Know-Nothing movement in various parts of the country, see Michael F. Holt "The Politics of Impatience: The Origins of Know-Nothingism," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. LX, No. 2 (Sept., 1973), 309-331.
6. *The Barnstable Patriot*, March 21, 1854 and Jan. 6, 1857; *Worcester Palladium*, July 13, 1853.
7. George S. Boutwell, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs* (2 vols., New York, 1902), I, 29; Francis DeWitt, *Abstract of the Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for June 1, 1855*, (Boston, 1857), 244; *Boston Daily Journal*, Nov. 15, 1850.
8. *The City Advertiser* (Charlestown), Nov. 15, 1854; speeches of Know-Nothing officeholders J.V.C. Smith and A.C. Carey quoted in part in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 17, 1854, Feb. 14 and 18, 1856.
9. Boutwell, *Reminiscences*, I, 114, 195; Arthur B. Darling, *Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824-1848* (Cos Cobb, Conn., 1968), 77, 83, 342-43; Albert Bushnell Hart (ed.), *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (4 vols., New York, 1927-1928), IV, 78-81.
10. Boutwell, *Reminiscences*, I, 123, 216-17, 233; Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), 94; David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1961), 189; Henry Wilson, *The Rise and Falls of the Slave Power in America* (3 Vols., Boston, 1872-1877), II, 111-12, 339, 364-65; *Worcester Palladium*, July 13, 1852.
11. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 15, 1854.

12. See, for example, C.F. Adams, *Diary*, Nov. 12, 1854, Charles Francis Adams Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society, hereafter cited as MHS); Edward Everett to Caleb Cushing, October 11, 1854 and to J.A. Hamilton, Nov. 10, 1855, *Letterbooks*, Edward Everett Papers (MHS) Josiah Quincy to Horace Mann, June 6, 1854 and Samuel Downer to Horace Mann, Nov. 13, 1854, Horace Mann Papers (MHS) James W. Stone to Charles Sumner, March 15, 1854, Charles Sumner Papers (Houghton Library, Harvard University); Wilson, *Slave Power*, II, 419; Harry J. Carman and Richard Luthin, "Some Aspects of the Know-Nothing Movement Reconsidered," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXIX (April, 1940), 220-21, 224; Martin Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams, 1807-1886* (Stanford, Calif., 1968), 194; and Thomas O'Connor, *Lords of the Loom: The Cotton Whigs and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1968), 114-20.
13. Massachusetts, *Official Report of the Debates and Proceedings in the State Convention, 1853* (3 vols., Boston, 1853), I, 936; *The Laurence Courier*, June 28, 1853.
14. For example, see William G. Bean, "Party Transformations in Massachusetts with Special Reference to the Antecedents of the Republican Party, 1843-1860" (Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 1922), 89, 223, 236, 261-62; Donald, *Charles Sumner*, 268-69; Frank Otto Gatell, *John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 178, 192; Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants, A Study in Acculturation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 198-200; and Samuel Shapiro, *Richard Henry Dana, Jr., 1815-1882* (East Lansing, Mich., 1961), 95-6.
15. There was a slight but significant difference in the regional pattern of voting on the constitution question (Table I). The vote against the constitution in every county except those of western Massachusetts slightly exceeded the combined Whig-National Democrat vote. Only in the four western counties did the vote against the constitution fall below the Whig-National Democrat total, a demonstration that the Coalitionists' lure of increased political representation for rural communities did cause some otherwise loyal Whigs in that region to vote for constitutional change.
16. Two-thirds of the total Know-Nothing vote came from communities whose populations exceeded 3000.
17. *Boston Daily Journal*, November 15, 1850.
18. For example, Know-Nothing legislators abolished imprisonment for debt, passed laws establishing mechanics' liens, compulsory vaccination and attendance for public school children, and extended public control over corporate and banking interests. See Mass., *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court in 1855* (Boston, 1855), chap. 30, 710; chap. 329, 733; chap. 458, 783; chap. 487, 983; chap. 124, 569; and chap. 414, 812-131; Mass., *House Documents*, 1855 (Boston, 1855), No. 302; Mass., *Revised Statutes (Supplement 1855)* (Boston, 1855), chap. 431, 225; and chap. 238, 169.
19. The only other county that the Republicans carried was Worcester, a Free-Soil stronghold whose Republican vote trailed slightly behind the Free-Soil margin in 1853.
20. Know-Nothing Governor Henry J. Gardner, a former conservative Whig, had taken advantage of "the iron law of oligarchy" to transform the party from one which has been essentially populist and reformist into one which was tailored to his political ambitions.
21. Dale Baum, "Know-Nothingism and the Republican Majority in Massachusetts: The Political Realignment of the 1850's" *The Journal of American History*, LX IV, No. 4 (March, 1978), 959-986.