#### Understanding the Success of the Know-Nothing Party

Katherine Eriksson, University of California, Davis and NBER with Marcella Alsan, Harvard University and NBER and Gregory Niemesh, Miami University and NBER

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## Irish Immigration

Of 1 Million Irish by 1855, 250k in Massachusetts, 500k in New York, 250k in Pennsylvania





#### IN FAVOR OF

The protection of American Mechanics against Foreign Pauper Labor. Foreigners having a residence in the country of 21 years before voting. Our present Free School System. Carrying out the laws of the State, as

regards sending back Foreign Paupers and Criminals.

#### OPPOSED TO

Papal Aggression & Roman Catholicism. Foreigners holding office. Raising Foreign Military Companies in the United States.

Nunneries and the Jesuits.

To being taxed for the support of Foreign paupers millions of dollars yearly. To secret Foreign Orders in the U.S.

We are burdened with enormous taxes by foreigners. We are corrupted in the morals of our youth. We are interfered with in our government. We are forced into collisions with other nations. We are tampered with in our religion. We are injured in our labor. We are assailed in our freedom of speech.

The PATRIOT is Published by J. E. Farwell & Co., 32 Congress St., Boston, And for Sale at the Periodical Depots in this place. Single copies 4 Cents.

Henry Gardner's Inaugural Speech, Jan. 1855

- The alien born... cannot be competent to enter into spirit and comprehend the genius of our institutions.
- State Almshouses now contain two thousand foreign paupers... our State Prison, Jails, and Houses of Correction, over six thousand five hundred foreign inmates per annum... a large proportion of whom were shipped here at the expense of foreign authorities, to relieve their native countries from their support.
- ► The present European immigration is deeply prejudicial to the fair remuneration of American labor.

### Hypothesized Factors

#### Labor market ("economic") factors

- Test Fogel's claims that it was immigration-induced labor market crowdout and industrialization-induced deskilling.
- Other ("non-economic") factors
  - (Lack of) Assimilation
  - Fiscal burden

# Summary of Paper

- Labor Market Crowdout and Deskilling positively predict rise of the Know-Nothing party
  - ► Counterfactual reductions of about 15% of Know-Nothing vote.
  - Decisive in 1855.
  - No other factors explain the rise.
  - ► Importance of economic factors fades as get closer to Civil War.
- ► Mechanism not through turnout but through shifting party allegiances.
- Suggestive evidence that the wealth of native workers experiencing higher crowd-out declined between 1850 and 1860.
  - This was partially offset by two responses: Migration and (especially) Occupational Upgrading.
- ▶ No evidence, in the short term, Irish affected industrialization.

## Party Background

Burst onto the American political scene in 1854, by the end of the following year had captured the 8 governorships, over one hundred congressional seats, mayorships of Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, plus thousands of local officials.

► Context:

- Second party system (1828-1854) ended over issues around slavery and anti-establishment sentiment.
- Massachusetts a Whig stronghold increasingly seen as elitist.
- Know-Nothing the "anti-party" most of the rank and file comprised of individuals who had never run for office in the past.
- Know-Nothings built a coalition including anti-slavery, progressive groups but defining feature was nativism.

# Data: Know-Nothing Vote Share

Digitize Annual, town-level votes for Governor



Panel (B): Know Nothings 1857

Source: Massachusetts Register

#### Crowdout Index



- for town i in occupation j
- note: local shares are share of native population in a given town that is in one of ten occupations.
- standardized to mean 0 and std. deviation of 1.

### Constructing Labor Market Crowdout

Required hand entry of 300,000 occupations in the 1855 Mass. Census.



100% 1850 Federal Census for Mass. (IPUMS)  $\rightarrow$  part of shift and local shares.

## Deskilling Index



- ▶ for town *i* in industry *k*.
- note: local shares are share of labor force in manufacturing industry k in 1845 over total labor force (1840 Federal Census).
- standardized to mean 0 and std. deviation of 1.

### Constructing Deskilling

Required entry town-level information on industrial shares from 1845 Mfg Census.

#### 13

#### MANCHESTER.

Boots manufactured, 425 pairs ; shoes, 2750 pairs ; value of boots and shoes, 54473 ; males employed, 11 ; females, 4. Tannery, 1 ; hides tanned, 2000 ; value of leather tanned and curried, \$5500 ; hands employed, 3 ; capital invested, \$7000. Manufactories of Chairs and Cabinet Ware, 12 ; value of chairs and cabinet ware, \$84,500 ; hands employed, 120. Palm-leaf Hats manufactured, 3000 ; value of same, \$300. Vessels built in the five preceding years, 41 ; Tonnage of same, 100 ; value, \$4500 ; hands employed in ship building, 4. Vessels employed in the Cod and Mackerel Fishery, 14 ; tonnage of same, 500 ; cod fish caught, 4500 quintuls ; value of same, \$11,200 ; mackerel caught, 200 barrels ; value of same, \$1600 ; salt used in the cod and mackerel fishery, 4500 bushels ; hands employed, 65 ; capital invested, \$12,300. Ships' Wheels manufactured, 25 ; value of same, \$500 ; hands

employed, 1.

State-level shift in average establishment size based on county-level tabulations from 1855 and 1845 State Manufacturing Censuses. Digitized 1840 Federal Census Mass. for total employment.

### **Estimating Equation**

KnowNothingShare<sub>i,1854</sub> =  $\alpha + \tau$ Crowdout<sub>i</sub> +  $\gamma$ Deskilling<sub>i</sub> +  $X_i\beta' + \delta_{county} + \varepsilon_i$  (3)

- Identification assumption: conditional on other covariates these indices reflect the causal effect of crowdout and deskilling.
- **X**<sub>i</sub> in preferred specification includes:
  - percent Irish
  - urbanization and industrialization controls.
  - assimilation and pauperism control.
  - share manufacturing and share agriculture.
- ▶ Weight by eligible voters (drop Boston). Governor elected by popular vote.

#### Effect of Deskilling on Know-Nothing Vote Shares



#### Effect of Crowdout on Know-Nothing Vote Shares



# Stronghold Locations

	(1) All towns	(2) Stronghold 75 <sup>th</sup> pctile 1854 & 1855
Irish Labor Crowdout	0.035***	0.037***
	(0.010)	(0.010)
Deskilling Index	0.014** (0.006)	0.012** (0.005)
	(0.000)	(0.005)
Stronghold		0.166***
с		(0.016)
Stronghold × Crowdout		-0.044** (0.020)
Stronghold $\times$ Deskill		-0.047***
		(0.010)
Full Controls	Yes	Yes
No. Stronghold		26
No. Observations	307	300
R-squared	0.188	0.317

### Robustness, Placebo Checks, and Heterogeneity

Control for town specific factors which could be correlated with local shares and with error term:

- ► Additional sectoral shares (e.g. commerce, ocean navigation).
- Prior political alignment  $\rightarrow$  Share Whig 1844.

Placebo tests:

- > Placebo crowdout measures (German and British shift) do not yield same results.
- ► Placebo outcomes (decade lagged vote shares) unaffected.
- Permutation tests suggest estimates are outliers.

Heterogeneity:

 Crowdout interacts with percent Irish – where there are more Irish, nativist response to labor supply shock is greater.



- Crowdout and Deskilling contributed to Know-Nothing Rise.
  - ► Counterfactual reductions of about 15% of Know-Nothing vote.
  - Economic factors pivotal in 1855.
  - But Nativist success also exploited underlying fractures in the Second party system to achieve success.
- > Short-lived movement, some legislators subsumed into Republican ranks.
- THANK YOU!