

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-EAU CLAIRE

“THE BRAINIEST MAN I KNOW”: THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN
WISCONSIN AND THE MAN BEHIND THE NAME

History 489: Senior Thesis Research Seminar
Professor: Dr. John Mann
Cooperating Professor: Dr. Oscar Chamberlain
Department of History

By: Ashton Hannack
May 10, 2011

Copyright for this work is owned by the author. This digital version is published by McIntyre Library,
University of Wisconsin Eau Claire with the consent of the author.

ABSTRACT

In the early 19th Century American politics was dominated by two major political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats. By mid-century, however, the American political landscape entered a period of disarray. Many Americans no longer felt these two parties' best represented their interests, and the party's platforms were not changing to address these concerns. Many people began organizing small social interest groups to focus on these issues. From these social interest groups emerged numerous third parties which would challenge the Whigs and Democrats in local, state and national elections. One of these political parties, the Republicans, was organized in Ripon, WI by Alvan Bovay. Bovay, although never a major political leader, was instrumental in creating a party which brought together different political ideologies and unified a large segment of the American population. While Abraham Lincoln is often seen as the "Father of the Republican Party," that title is more properly bestowed on Alvan Bovay.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	4
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	6
METHODOLOGY.....	7
PART I: THE BREAK DOWN OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AND THE RISE OF REFORM.....	8
Immigration, Nativism, and Slavery.....	9
Emergence of Third Party Politics.....	13
The Free Soilers.....	13
Know Nothings.....	16
PART II: A NEW POLITICAL PARTY IS BORN.....	17
Northern Laborers Seek New Opportunities in Wisconsin.....	17
“The Brainiest Man I Know”.....	20
The Rise of a Great Northern Party.....	23
CONCLUSION.....	30
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	32

That the passage of this Bill, if pass it should, will be the call to arms of a great Northern party, such as one the country has not hitherto seen, composed of Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers; every man with a heart in him united under the single banner of “Repeal! Repeal!”

-Ripon Herald, March 1854

Introduction

“I became a Republican that night, and have been one ever since.” George Lynch, a local resident, was one of the people who attended the meeting which gave rise to the Republican Party. In a newspaper article written years later, he recalled some of his experiences that night, “I remember just as well as if it were yesterday, that evening in Ripon back in 1854...I remember meeting Bovay on the street that afternoon, ‘you’ve got to come to our meeting in the school house tonight,’ he said, ‘We’re going to organize our party.’” Lynch said his sister taught in the school house where the meeting was held. Once she dismissed her students, Alvan E. Bovay arranged the meeting. Lynch claimed “[Bovay] was the brainiest man in the entire community.” In March 1854 the Senate passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and fugitive slave, Joshua Glover from Milwaukee, had been captured and jailed; Bovay knew it was time to act. He gathered as many people as he could and held a meeting to create a new political party which would “combine elements of all parties that were opposed to the extension of slavery”. Lynch was impressed with how much thought Bovay had put into his new party and knew he been thinking of it for a long time.¹

The Republican Party as we know it today was not always a major political party in the United States history. In its beginnings, the Grand Old Party started off as a third party and eventually worked its way into national prominence within the two-party system. When most people think of the Republican Party they associate it with conservative social and fiscal values. If one thinks back to the Civil War era and the Republican Party, one might associate it with President Lincoln, because some refer to it as “Lincoln’s party”. Lincoln is often given credit for

¹ "Milwaukee man one of seventeen who christened Republican Party." Unattributed newspaper clipping dated December 1, 1906, from a scrapbook at the Wisconsin Historical Society Library, p 1.

the party's origins. However, he actually was not the first person to propose or support the party, because he did not want to abnegate his Whig ties.²

From the early 1820s to mid 1850s two major parties dominated United States politics. During this period, significant sociopolitical changes were occurring throughout the entire country including increasing numbers of immigrants, the public's growing opposition to slavery, and migration to the west. The lack of the Whig and Democrats response to the changes resulted in many unsatisfied voters. The 1840s and 1850s brought on a rise of third parties to challenge the major parties positions and undertake the new issues.

The focus of this paper will first examine the political landscape throughout the 1840s and 1850s followed by an investigation in Wisconsin politics during the 1850s. As a result of western expansion from east to west, many influential political leaders migrated to Wisconsin because they saw this new territory as a place for free men to create a prosperous life for themselves. Wisconsin like many other states experienced a decline in two-party system electoral politics which gave rise to multi-party system. One of the third parties to form was set in motion in Wisconsin and would rise to become a major national party. The Republican Party is said to have started in Ripon, Wisconsin and was created by Alvan E. Bovay. Bovay, a native of New York held many ties to the east because his good friend Horace Greeley was the editor of the *New York Tribune* and a prominent member of the Whig Party. Bovay too was a member of the Whig Party and was eminent in the political and social spheres. Bovay, although never a major political leader, was instrumental in creating the Republican Party.³

² Robert F. Engs and Randall M. Miller eds. *The Birth of the Grand Old Party: The Republicans' First Generation*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 37.

³ Samuel Pedrick and David Sakrison, "The Birth Place of the Republican Party: In a 'Little White School House in Ripon,'" *Voyageur: Historical Review of Brown County and Northeast Wisconsin* (2005).

Review of the Literature

Historians agree that the Republican Party was formed in response to the passing of the Kansas- Nebraska Act however there is still conflicting disputes of where the party originated and why it was so successful. Frederick Blue, author of *The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics 1854-1856*, claims the party's origins occurred in Ohio and Michigan because both states had a large population of Free-Soilers. Jackson, Michigan is most recognized because the first official Republican Party convention was held there on July 6, 1854. Eric Foner, Professor of History at Columbia University, has written a number of books and articles on the Free Soil and Republican Parties during the Civil War era. One of his monographs, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*, describes how the change in political ideologies in the North and South in the years leading up to the Civil War, gave rise to the Republican Party. Foner showed how northern ideologies on free labor, a man should be able to decide where and how he worked, played a big role in the formation of the Republican Party.⁴

Michael Holt, Professor of American History at the University of Virginia, has also written books and articles on this time period. Many of his books focus on the Civil War and its impact on politics during the time period. William Gienapp, who was a Professor of History at Harvard, wrote *The Origins of the Republican Party: 1852-1856*, along with other books on this era as well. Gienapp argues many historians spend a lot of time analyzing the Civil War but not analyzing the party realignments in the 1850s. Foner in an essay in Robert Engs and Randall Miller's book, *The Birth of the Grand Old Party: The Republican's First Generation*, argued the first generation of the Republican Party played a major role in the creation of anti-slavery and free labor reforms. Mark Neely, Professor in the American Civil War Era at Pennsylvania State

⁴ Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before The Civil War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).; Frederick J. Blue, *The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics 1848-54*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973).

University, also thinks the birth of the Republican Party was a radical reform and created a new start for political and social freedom within the country. There is a lot of information about causes of the Civil War and the politics in the eastern half of the country. However, there lacks sufficient information on Wisconsin's role in politics and how the state influenced the country during this period.⁵

Methodology

The Republican Party became a topic of interest for this paper because of Wisconsin's claim to the birth of the party. It was interesting that the party is said to have formed in Ripon, Wisconsin. It sparked a research question of how Wisconsin, a relatively new state, could give way to one of the two dominant political parties in our nation today. There is an abundant amount of secondary literature on the formation of the party and the political sphere in a more national scope during the time period but there lacked research for Wisconsin claims. Alvan Bovay's name appeared in some secondary literature which was produced by the Wisconsin Historical Society and in some newspapers where he is credited as the "Father of the Republican Party". This paper uses some of his personal papers and letters, as well as newspaper articles and short papers written on him to help enhance the secondary literature.

When this paper discusses the third parties and movements which formed, it is referring movements which took place in the North. Political ideologies were not the same throughout the country and varied from north to south. For the sake of time the focus is centered mostly on northern political and social beliefs during the years leading up to the formation of the

⁵ Engs and Miller, *Birth of the Grand Old Party.*; William Gienapp, *The Origins of The Republican Party: 1852-1856*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).; Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Norton Company, Inc., 1978),

Republican Party. This paper takes a chronological approach and gives background information on the political landscapes which fed into the changing political ideologies to explain why third parties would form. Information regarding nativism and the Know Nothing movement is added to show varying beliefs of the time. The movement and nativist mindset did not directly affect why the Republican Party formed in Wisconsin. It is to give background information to the reader because it was one of the movements happening during the time period discussed.

Part I: The Break Down of the Two-Party System and the Rise of Reform

A new two-party system developed during the Jacksonian era as a result from the Panic of 1819 and early 1820s depression. Lower class citizens felt the economic elites had too many privileges. If a farmer could not pay his debt, he lost his property. Where as if a bank could not pay their debt, they put it off and did not have to suffer consequences for it. Men looked to their state and federal governments to set a standard beneficial for all. Politics became a part of everyday life. Voters now wanted legitimate representatives in government that influenced their values and views. Additionally, disenfranchised citizens sought suffrage rights, so they too could be a part of deciding who represented them.⁶

Southerners also feared the loss of slavery due to great debates between the North and South on whether or not to let Missouri into the Union as a slave state. Many northerners felt slavery was morally and economically corrupt. The South felt attacked and feared Congress might take slavery away all together if they considered not allowing Missouri in as a slave state. The 1820s depression crippled peoples' livelihood and made them realize they needed a stronger government to protect them. People sought comfort with the Whigs and Democrats because these

⁶ Holt, *Political Crisis*, 5, 17-19.

parties developed remedies to the social and economic conditions. The beginning of the Democratic and Whig parties provided men with a secure sense of republicanism, “government by the people in which individual freedom and equality were safeguarded from corruption, privilege, and power.”⁷

The Democrats followed Andrew Jackson’s beliefs and ideologies; whereas the Whig party formed from people opposed to Jackson. Jackson advocated for a strong executive branch with supremacy over the other two branches. In addition, Jackson opposed the nationalization of the banking system in the U.S. and believed all white men should be allowed the right to vote. The Whigs, on the other hand, favored primacy of Congress over the executive branch, and advocated for a national bank to help modernize the struggling economy. These two political parties would dominate politics up until the 1850s. Issues regarding immigration, nativism and slavery led to the demise of the two-party system and gave way to a new brand of political parties that addressed voter concern.⁸

Immigration, Nativism and Slavery

Immigration to the United States decreased in the years following the American Revolution because immigrants were concerned about the stability of the new country. Immigrants were unsure the United States could hold their own in military conflicts going on with European nations, especially England. After the War of 1812 immigration increased and by the 1840s large waves of immigrants sought residence in the United States. This can be illustrated by the 2,900,000 new immigrants who entered the United States between 1845 and 1854. A majority of the immigrants in the nineteenth century were Irish and German. Many

⁷ Holt, *Political Crisis*, 17.

⁸ Holt, *Political Crisis*, 19-38.

people emigrated from Ireland and Germany because of over-population and potato famine in their home countries. More people could afford to leave Europe than ever before because of safer and cheaper transportation across the Atlantic. Cheaper transportation across the Atlantic Ocean and economic hardships in their home countries led the young immigrants to set their sights on America.⁹

Many of the Irish immigrants were Catholic, poor, and unskilled laborers. The potato famine left them with nothing and they looked to make a new life for themselves in America. The German immigrants had been affected by a potato famine and revolutions but had more money than the Irish. With more money to start a new life, a large number of Germans moved west when they landed in the states to pursue agriculture. Most Irish immigrants congregated in big cities because they lacked the money and resources to move west to attempt agriculture again.¹⁰

The large influx of immigrant populations in the cities created feelings of disdain with local populations. Nativism grew in the north towards the new immigrants because workers feared the immigrants would take their jobs because they were willing to work for less pay.¹¹ Additionally, social activities of immigrant populations, such as the consumption of alcohol and their lack of trying to assimilate to the American culture, troubled nativists because they thought it threatened social orthodoxy of the time. Many northerners were also devout Protestants and had a deep rooted disgust for Catholicism, and many Irish were Catholics. German and Irish immigrants enjoyed drinking as a means for socializing, while Protestant nativists viewed them as drunks with immoral behavior. Temperance was a growing movement in many Northern

⁹ Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3-7.

¹⁰ Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 7-9.

¹¹ Nativism is a term used to describe the discontent or ethnocentric beliefs relating to immigrants and nationalism.

states and adherents viewed the trafficking, selling and consumption of alcohol as sinful. Methodist Churches were leaders in the movement. In 1851 the state of Maine passed the Maine Law, which prohibited the sale of alcohol. Reformers used the passing of the Maine Law to encourage other states to do the same. The temperance movement really aimed at attacking immigrants, which were predominantly the Germans and the Irish. Many immigrants protested the movement because drinking was an important part of their culture and they were not willing to give it up to conform to traditional American ideals.¹²

Nativists also came to despise the aid given to Catholic Parochial Schools. In New York when William H. Seward became governor in 1839, he learned many Irish-Catholic immigrants kept their children out of public schools. Teachers used the Protestant King James Bible and textbooks which encompassed anti-Catholic sentiment. The governor wanted to pass a law to provide aid for parochial schools to be open for immigrant children, so they could be taught in their own language and practice their own faith. Other states such as Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland encouraged tax support for separate Catholic schools as well. Protestant nativists were outraged at the idea of taking away money for their children and public schools and giving it to Catholic immigrant schools. Many Whigs opposed any legislation in favor of supporting Catholic immigrants, and even some pro-immigrant Democrats opposed the legislation. Governor Seward amended his proposal to gain more support but it only heightened anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic attitudes.¹³

Not only was the mid-nineteenth century a period of rising concern for the growing immigrant populations, but also concerns regarding slavery rose in national political debate. The issue of slavery was a constant source of disagreement between the North and the South, but

¹² Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 43-44.; Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party*, 44-46.

¹³ Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 9-13.; Holt, *Political Crisis*, 131-133.

many believed it was an institution which would eventually die out. Consequently, slavery remained and by the 1840s became a prominent issue with the annexation of Texas as a slave state and the newly acquired Mexican territories from the Mexican War. Northerners feared acquiring the Mexican territories would lead to the extension of slavery into the new Federal territories. Many northerners believed the extension of slavery should be stopped because it would challenge their free labor ideologies and Congress should take action to prevent it. Northern Democrat David Wilmot of Pennsylvania proposed the Wilmot Proviso to halt the spread of slavery into the new territories. The Wilmot Proviso was to be added as an amendment to President Polk's appropriation bill stating slavery or indentured servitude shall not exist in the newly claimed territories. Northern Democrats who supported the Proviso including, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Preston King of New York, Jacob Brinkerhoff of Ohio, and John Wentworth of Illinois, were not abolitionists but were anti-extensionists.¹⁴

California, one of the new territories acquired from Mexico, became a destination spot of choice for many Americans after the discovery of gold there in 1848. With California's population growing, Congress pushed for California to become a state. California voted against entering into the Union as a slave state and this upset southern Congressmen. Southerners refused to let California be admitted into the United States unless northerners were willing to compromise on the slavery issue. Southern Congressmen rejected the Wilmot Proviso. They urged for continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia and created the fugitive slave law, which required Northerners to return runaway slaves to their masters. President Taylor at first opposed passing the Compromise but when Millard Fillmore became President he supported it. Prohibiting the expansion of slavery was never about ending slavery for Northerners until the

¹⁴ Blue, *The Free Soilers*, 18-23.; Holt, *Political Crisis*, 39-66.; Blue defines anti-extensionists as those who are not willing to interfere with slavery in the South but were willing to resist the expansion of slavery into new government owned territories and for the slavery to be banned in the District of Columbia.

fugitive slave law was passed. The passing of the fugitive slave law really opened peoples' eyes to the cruelty of slavery. The fugitive slave law would challenge northerner's rights if they were caught helping slaves escape. It would not take long after this for people to realize it was time for change.¹⁵

Emergence of Third Party Politics

When deciding on whether to admit Texas as a state into the Union, the two political parties managed to handle the issue, even though there was disagreement between the North and South. After the Compromise of 1850, many northerners felt they compromised too much and the south gained more political control within the government. There was unrest in the North and people started losing trust in their political parties. With a multitude of issues occurring at the same time, the two-party system became to falter because party leaders had to decide which problems were the most important and worthwhile to solve. Many northerners believed their politicians only cared about party politics and re-election, rather than finding a solution to society's problems.¹⁶

Free Soilers

The Free Soil Party was created in opposition to the expansion of slavery into Federal territories. Some Northerners felt the Democratic and Whig parties failed to take strong stand on the issue. The Free Soilers emerged from the Liberty Party of the 1840s and adopted parts of their platform which attracted many of their leaders and followers. When the Liberty Party first formed many Northerners felt the slavery issue was better left alone because it had no relevance

¹⁵Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 15-19.; Blue, *The Free Soilers*, 16-23.; Holt, *Political Crisis*, 67-99.

¹⁶ Holt, *Political Crisis*, 40.

to most laborers and workers in the north. The Liberty Party strictly opposed slavery and did not take a stance on other matters such as, the national bank, public lands, tariff and international improvements which most people tended to care about during that time. Slavery would not become a topic of interest until the acquisition of the Mexican Territories and the annexation of Texas.¹⁷

The issue of annexing Federal territories and the Compromise of 1850 was a major point of division between the North and South. Southerners were willing to let Texas into the Union, only if, it was admitted as a slave state. Many southerners had already migrated to Texas in the early 19th century brought their slaves with them and established Texas as a slave state. “Slavery and Texas were almost synonymous; [Texans and southerners] would consider annexation under no other terms.”¹⁸ The 1844 presidential campaign and election of James K. Polk over Martin Van Buren for the Democratic nomination had some party members reconsidering where their loyalties should lie. Before Polk was inaugurated in as President, Texas was annexed as a slave state. Polk supported the annexation of Texas and vowed to be fully committed to expansion and slavery, which led to the Mexican-American War in 1846. Northerners believed the war and annexation of Texas would lead to the spread of slavery. Some Democrats felt Polk and his proslavery followers had taken control of the party. Anti-extensionists in both the Whig and Democratic parties knew something needed to be done to stop the proslavery groups from gaining complete control of Congress and the country. The creation of the Wilmot Proviso led to the formation of the Free Soil Party.¹⁹

¹⁷ Blue, *The Free Soilers*, 1-15.

¹⁸ Blue, *The Free Soilers*, 16.

¹⁹Blue, *The Free Soilers*, 16-20.; President Polk sought funds to purchase territory from Mexico and sign a peace treaty. Anti-extensionist fears led to the Wilmot Proviso which was created to prevent the spread of slavery into the new territories. The Proviso was not created as an abolitionist movement but in opposition to slavery expansion. According to Blue, President Polk thought it was unnecessary and more of an obstruction to his goal of

Constituents in the Democratic, Whig and Liberty parties grew tired of not taking a strong stand against the extension of slavery. The Whig and Democratic platforms in 1844 and 1848 attempted to underscore the importance of the issue. Candidates feared that taking a firm stance on the slavery issue, they would alienate a large group of delegates. As a result northerners felt the South had now assumed control of the national landscape. Liberty Party leaders, like Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, adapted their stance to be opposition to the extension of slavery.²⁰

In order to appease more voters and include a larger Whig and Democratic audience, Free Soilers coined the slogan, “Free Soil, free speech, free labor and free men!”²¹ To please Whigs the Free Soil platform called for better use of federal funds to pay off the national debt and internal improvements. For Democrats, the platform called for the election of civil officials and tariff revenue. To satisfy farmers and the working class the Free Soilers wanted a homestead bill which would include free grants for settlers. When it came to the slavery issue, Free Soilers wanted to put a stop to the southern slave powers; they said “No more slave states, no more slavery territory and no more compromises with slavery anywhere.” The Free Soil Party sparked enthusiasm and spirit for political voices which had been silenced for many years.²²

acquiring more territory. Polk knew the slavery issue could divide his party and felt it should be kept out of politics because it prohibited bigger goals.

²⁰ Blue, *The Free Soilers*, 74.

²¹ Blue, *The Free Soilers*, 74.; John Mayfield, *Rehearsal for Republicanism: Free Soil and the Politics of Anti-Slavery*, (Port Washington, NY: National University Publications Kennikat Press, 1980), 119.

²² Blue, *The Free Soilers*, 20-21, 49-50, 74-80.

Know Nothings

In opposition to the increasing immigrant population, many semi-secret fraternal societies formed in support of nativism. One of the first nativist fraternal societies to form was the Order of United Americans (OUA), which was founded in New York City in 1844. The OUA organized to secure their country from dangerous foreign influence and keep the Catholic Bible out of the public schools. Members of the OUA advocated “love for their country” and “patriotism”.²³ The United Sons of America (USA), another nativist fraternal organization, formed in Philadelphia in 1845. Members of these organizations wanted to prohibit any non-protestant, foreign born individuals from being able to run for a political office. The Know Nothings formed in 1854 in response to a growing hostility towards the main political parties’ lack of addressing public interest and gained major support right away.²⁴

The Know Nothing movement was short but influential; it destroyed the Whig party and badly fractured the Democrats. The movement went through three phases according to Mark Voss-Hubbard. In the beginning the Know Nothings formed as a nonpartisan fraternal organization. Members opposed unprincipled politicians and corrupt parties. They wanted reform and felt political officials ignored the needs citizens elected them to take care of. The second phase of the movement, which Voss-Hubbard calls North Americanism, shifted away from the secrecy of the organization and roughly blended ideas of nativism and anti-slavery together. The movement shifted towards being open to nominating state officials. The final phase of the Know Nothing movement was in 1856 when the American Party elected Millard Fillmore to run for President. Their ideals included patriotic anti-Catholicism and conservative unionism. The Know Nothing platform was narrow minded and called for election of natural born citizens into office,

²³ Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 13.

²⁴ Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 9-14.; Mark Voss-Hubbard, *Beyond Party: Cultures of Antipartisanship in Northern Politics before the Civil War*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 105-107, 114-115.

laws to extend the nations naturalization period to twenty-one years and laws to prevent foreign born militia companies from forming. The last phase of the movement split over the slavery extension issue with the nomination of Fillmore.²⁵

Part II: A New Political Party is Born

The North and South viewed economics in very different ways. People in the North were small farmers and industrial workers. The economy was based on industry and independent labor. The southern economy centered around slave labor and saw it as the best way to make their economy thrive. Northerners saw the system of slavery as “morally unjust, politically unwise and socially pernicious.” Foner states some historians believe that the northern image of the South is based purely on abolitionists’ views. He believes this is not the case at all. He said there are accounts from travelers in Republican newspapers describing how backward the southern economy was because of slavery. Northerners saw slavery not only hurting the African Americans, but the poor, free white man as well because they viewed manual labor a slaves job and did not want to be degraded. This seemed backwards to northerners because they thrived off of farming their own land and being able to make a good living for themselves.²⁶

Northern Laborers Seek New Opportunities in Wisconsin

During the antebellum years in America, young American men were driven to improve their way of living and believed they could do so. This was evident with the steady stream of settlers who moved from their eastern homes seeking western fortunes in the 1850s. Foner

²⁵ Voss-Hubbard, *Beyond Party*, 105-108, 126.

²⁶ Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, 40-47.

describes these people as “middle class business-like farmers” who left their fathers farms to start their own life. These men were not poor adventurers but entrepreneurs in search of reasonable prices and the next best thing. Many of Wisconsin’s young settlers were men of this sort; young, ambitious and looking for means to provide for their family.²⁷

Wisconsin became a new frontier because of the resources it could offer young workers. Southwestern Wisconsin first attracted many individuals because of rich lead deposits in the region. Lead was used for the manufacturing of paint and shot and the deposits in the southwestern part of the Wisconsin territory increased the market for it and the need for workers to mine it. This new lead market increased Wisconsin’s population from two hundred in 1825 to ten thousand just a few years later. Minors were not the only settlers who benefited from the land. Abundant groves of trees provide for rich soil. Farmers soon joined the minors and as mines became used up, some minors switched their professions to farming.²⁸

Along with farmers and minors, settlers from New York, Ohio, and New England made their way to Wisconsin as well. Although their reasons for coming vary, lawyers, land speculators, businessmen, merchants, and politicians all hoped Wisconsin could offer them something they did not obtain from home. Many hoped for the “get rich quick” scheme but failed to do any better than they had at home. For some people Wisconsin was another endeavor for them to find their calling. Venture capitalist tried to turn the frontier territory into a functioning society. Most settlements were built up by individuals and groups who saw openings for opportunity.²⁹

²⁷ Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, 11-20.

²⁸ Larry Gara, *A Short History of Wisconsin*, (Madison, WI: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1962), 38-39.

²⁹ Gara, *A Short History of Wisconsin*, 47-55.

Several people from New York moved to Wisconsin and contributed a lot of their skills to the state. Doctors, teachers and lawyers brought college educations and professional work ethics to the area. The New Yorkers also brought previous political and business know-how. They were land speculators, lawyers, merchants, newspaper editors, town promoters, railroad boosters and political leaders. “Wisconsin’s transplanted Yankees” as Larry Gara refers to them in his book, *A Short History of Wisconsin*, were prominent within political, social and economic spheres within the state. Some were big into reforms such as temperance and anti-slavery issues. These social and political leaders would become very influential in Wisconsin’s political sphere.³⁰

Immigrants were attracted to Wisconsin for the same reason as the American settlers, because of the farmland and inexpensive costs of living. Throughout the 1840’s there was an increase in people emigrating to the United States and westward. One of the larger groups to come to Wisconsin was the Germans. In the 1840s the state of Rhineland, Germany went through a phase of industrial revolution which oppressed the working class because of the poor working conditions and environment. Along with the industrial revolution, Germany also faced crop failures, food shortages, inflation, unemployment and business depression. In 1845, they experienced a potato famine which was a main food source for the poor. In 1848 severe weather and record low temperatures brought pervasive illness across the area. This discontent brought some Germans to push for reform while others chose to escape the awful conditions and start over in the United States. The German immigrants who came to the United States after 1848 became referred to as the German forty-eighters. Many of the forty-eighters who came to Wisconsin had been small farmers and unlike the Irish immigrants, their potato famine had not

³⁰ Gara, *A Short History of Wisconsin*, 55, 88.

deterred them from trying to farm again. Wisconsin was ideal for them because of the rich land and resources they needed to survive.³¹

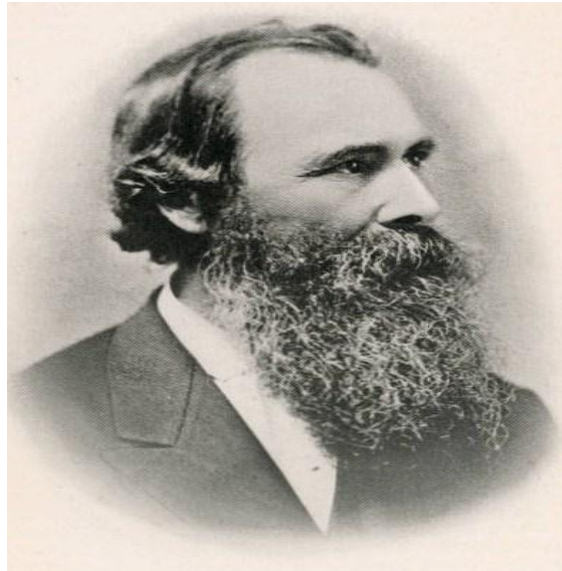


Figure 1. Alvan E. Bovay, Founder of the Republican Party. Reproduced with permission from the Wisconsin Historical Society.

“The Brainiest Man I Know”

One of these settlers who came to Wisconsin from New York was Alvan Bovay. Bovay was a hard working entrepreneur looking to take on a challenge and establish himself as Wisconsin resident. Alvan Earle Bovay was born in Adams, Jefferson County, New York, on July 12, 1818. At age 23, Bovay graduated from Norwich University in Vermont and began teaching first as a language arts professor at a military college in Bristol, Pennsylvania then as a mathematics professor at the New York City Commercial Institute. Later he took up the study of

³¹ Gara, *A Short History of Wisconsin*, 88-96.; Gregory A. Borchard, “Revolutions Incomplete: Horace Greely and the Forty-Eighters at Home and Abroad,” *American Journalism*, 27:1 (Winter 2010): 13-15.;

law and was admitted to the bar in New York at Utica. Bovay had a hard life growing up and made something of his young self through manual labor and teaching to pay his way through college. He knew what hard work was and was interested in helping the working man out. Bovay began his political activities in New York by contributing to three progressive papers of the time, *Young America*, *The New York National Reformer* and the *Subterranean and Workingman's Advocate*.³²

“From talking radicalism with Horace Greeley and agrarianism with Ransom Smith...Bovay was drawn into the reform movement, where he became an officer of the association of the National Reformers,”³³ Bovay soon became an advocate for the working man. Bovay believed free land should be preserved for the individual laborer so he could make a living off of it. In the *Subterranean and Workingman's Advocate* journal, Bovay would express his opinions that men have a human right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness and a guaranteed right for enough land to obtain sustenance. Bovay truly believed in the idea of free labor and free men. He said, “Man cannot be free unless he has within himself means of supplying his own necessities.” In order for this to happen, Bovay wanted the government to guarantee these rights to men and be equal and just. However, Bovay did not believe the present government could do that.³⁴

While practicing law, Bovay got involved in New York State's Anti-Rent War which sought to eliminate the laws requiring tenants to pay their landlords unreasonable amounts of rent. Current rent laws also made it hard for tenants to move out and create their own means of living. This led Bovay to advocate that western lands should be free and saved for small farmers

³² Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay*, 2, 4.; Pedrick and Sakrison, “*The Birth Place of the Republican Party*,” 49.

³³ Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay*, 2.; Bovay married Ransom Smith's daughter Caroline.

³⁴ Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay*, 3.

and exploited wage workers. Bovay and Thomas Devyr, an Anti-Rent leader, went on a speaking tour about the Anti-Rent War and the possibilities of forming a national Free Soil Party which would include abolitionists. Bovay's friend Horace Greely, editor of the *New York Tribune*, gave his approval for Bovay's cause in private but would not acknowledge it publicly because Greely had strong Whig ties.³⁵

After his tour with Devyr and the National Reformers, Bovay met with Greely and discussed his fascination with the west. Bovay's tour brought him to many places and he liked the frontier spirit. He came across a little town in Wisconsin which had only been in existence since 1849. Bovay believed he could satisfy political and business aspirations in Wisconsin that New York could not give him. Bovay heard about Wisconsin through a friend's letters and was intent on going there. He packed up his family and moved from New York to Wisconsin in 1850. Upon arrival in Wisconsin, Bovay dropped his family off in Milwaukee and headed up to Cresco, in the present day Ripon area.³⁶

When Bovay and his family arrived in Ripon, there were only thirteen homes. Bovay continued to practice law when he settled in Ripon and was first lawyer in the area to open an office. Although he continued his career in law, Bovay aspired to become active in investment and the real estate market. He bought a section of land, Section 21, in town and used it for residential purposes. His plot contained some of the best homes in the city and earned him more money than practicing law did. Bovay also got involved in educational matters. He kept up a school in the Village of Cresco and helped establish Brockway College in 1851, which is now

³⁵ Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay*, 2-5.

³⁶ Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay*, 5.

present day Ripon College. Bovay was a member of the board and served as its secretary until the Wisconsin Conference of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches took over.³⁷

Along with his devotion to developing the community, Bovay remained in touch with Greely to keep up on the politics and events of the period. Bovay was a member of the Whig party but realized the demise of his party was possible. He told Greely the Whigs no longer held the attention of the people. In 1852 Bovay visited Greely during the national Whig convention and proposed forming a new political party, and suggested they call it "Republican." Greely ignored Bovay's idea because he still fully supported the Whig party and had faith their candidate, Winfield Scott, would win the Presidential election against Franklin Pierce. Bovay went back to Wisconsin and continued to support the Whigs as well but the idea for his new party would still be on his mind. Pierce ended up winning the Presidential election and the Whig Party started to fall apart after their loss. Many east coast members of the Whig Party would join the Know Nothing movement as their party fell apart.³⁸

The Rise of a Great Northern Party

In 1854 Senator Stephen A. Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The bill caused great hostility in the North among anti-slavery groups. The bill, if passed, would repeal the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and allow people who lived in or were moving to the new territories to decide whether or not they wanted to allow slavery in the territories.³⁹ Northerners saw this as another win in Congress for the South. Not only did they believe this would lead to

³⁷ Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay*, 6-7.; "He was the father of the Republican party." *Milwaukee Journal*. (Milwaukee), 2 June 1929, p. 3-4.

³⁸ A.F. Gilman, *The Origins of the Republican Party*, (Wisconsin, 1914), p. 4-5.; Geinapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party*, 47-56.; Pedrick and Sakrison, *The Birth of the Republican Party*, 50-51.

³⁹ The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was an agreement passed in Congress in 1820 between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery groups to regulate slavery in the western territories. It prohibited slavery in the former Louisiana Territory north of the parallel 36°30' north except within the boundaries of the state of Missouri.

the permanent extension of slavery but complete southern domination, especially since the passing of the fugitive slave law in 1850 required northerners to return slaves back to their masters. Northerners feared if the bill passed their free labor economy would be infringed upon. Many Midwestern farmers had an interest in moving to the Kansas-Nebraska territories and the territory had been promised for free soil and labor since 1820. The ending of the Missouri Compromise had some northerners convinced of a slave power scheme to take control of the government and spread slavery throughout the United States against the majority of Americans will.⁴⁰

By now many northerners lost faith in their political parties. Since 1848, Free Soilers warned people of the dangers of the slave power but nobody wanted to make slavery a main issue. The introduction of the bill sparked a fear within northerners and made them question the validity of republicanism. Some northerners truly feared the South would become very powerful if this bill passed and their freedom and liberties would be at stake. A few northerners also believed the South might abolish equality within the nation and end majority rule.⁴¹

For Bovay the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was “the earthquake [he] had been waiting for.” In a letter to a friend he said “I immediately went to work in my locality to effect a dissolution of the local Whig organization.” Bovay foresaw this moment two years prior to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He went around town to recruit prominent political leaders to help establish his party. “I went first to Amos Loper as one of the leading Whigs and obtained his cooperation.” Bovay then visited Jehdiah Bowen, who was a leading liberal Democrat in the Ripon area, to gain his support. He also went to see Garret H. Baker, a prominent Free-Soiler and went around town with “paper and pencil in hand to nearly every voter in town” to get them interested in joining his

⁴⁰ Holt, *Political Crisis*, 139-149.

⁴¹ Holt, *Political Crisis*, 151-153.

party. Bovay sent a letter to his friend Greely telling him the people of Ripon had a strong feeling against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He urged Greely to put a note in his paper the *New York Tribune* asking all opponents of the bill in the free states to unite together under the name Republican, "the only name that would serve all purposes...and the only one that would live and last." Bovay did not wait for Greely's response. He took immediate action and put a note in the "Ripon Herald" on February 28, 1854 saying "NEBRASKA. A meeting will be held at 6 1-2 o'clock this Wednesday evening at the Congregational church in the Village of Ripon to demonstrate against the Nebraska swindle. (Signed) Many Citizens."⁴²

Bovay called the first meeting to protest against the bill. Protestors at the meeting adopted a resolution that if the bill was passed they would leave their old parties and form a new party committed to preventing the non-extension of slavery. The people of Ripon and cities throughout the Midwest awaited Congress decision. On March 3, 1854 the Senate passed the bill. Now their fate landed in the hands of the House. Bovay knew it was only a matter of time before the House passed the bill too. On March 9, 1854, fugitive slave Joshua Glover, who had been living in Racine, WI, was captured by his master and brought to the Milwaukee jail. A strong abolitionist, Sherman Booth led a mob to the jail to free Glover. Booth was imprisoned for breaking the federal fugitive slave law. The incident involving Booth and Glover troubled many Wisconsinites because they lived in a free state and thought it absurd to have to abide by the fugitive slave law; it was an infringement upon their freedoms.⁴³

⁴² Alvan Bovay, Papers, *About Major Alvan Earle Bovay*, 1.; *Bovay, Papers, Correspondence Letter*, June 14, 1888, p.2. Ripon Historical Society; Gilman, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 5-6.; Pedrick and Sakrison, *The Birth of the Republican Party*, 51.; Geinapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party*, 69-102.; Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay*, 10.

⁴³ Gara, *A Short History*, 99-102.; Alvan Bovay, *Papers*, 1-2.; "He was the father of the Republican party." *Milwaukee Journal*. (2 June 1929).

The passing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill by the Senate and the jailing of Glover pushed Bovay and his followers to call a second meeting. In regards to Bovay's letter he sent to Greely, Greely told Bovay to form his party if the people were willing. Greely was still an ardent Whig and never mentioned Bovay's request in the *Tribune* for opponents of the bill to align and organize the Republican Party. Even without Greely's full support Bovay never lost sight of his goal. He went from door to door to assemble as many supporters as he could to attend the second meeting. He even stopped people on the street and asked for their name to get them to come to the meeting. George Lynch was one of the men Bovay stopped on the street the afternoon of the meeting. He urged Lynch and others to come to the meeting because they were going to organize the new party.⁴⁴



Figure 2. Republican Party Birthplace, Circa 1913. Wisconsin Historical Society Image ID# 39661. Reproduced with permission of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

On March 20, 1854 in a little white school house in Ripon, Wisconsin, Bovay called for a second meeting. On this cold and windy day Bovay gathered fifty-four out of the one hundred voters composed of Whigs, Democrats and Free-Soilers. The meeting was called to address the

⁴⁴ Gilman, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 6-8.; "Milwaukee man one of seventeen who christened Republican Party," p 1.

passing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the recent events in regards to Glover's capture. Many of the people present were young and mostly in their twenties. Bovay himself was only thirty-six at the time. Farmers, the blacksmith and shopkeepers met to defend their freedoms. Many of the older Whigs had trouble letting their party go. Bovay insisted if the Whig Party continued on it would only give more power to the Democrats. In order to combat the slave power Bovay believed all the parties should be dissolved so the Republican Party could triumph. The men at the meeting knew the decision at hand was not up for debate. With a vote it was decided to dissolve the Whig and Free Soil parties in Wisconsin and adopt a unified party opposed to slavery. Bovay named the new party "Republican."⁴⁵

Lynch said the name raised some debate. Lynch suggested they call the party 'Democratic-Republican' and others proposed names as well. Bovay had the final say because of his connection to the *Tribune* and he initiated and organized the party. Bovay chose the name Republican because he believed,

Political parties should have significant names and this name was not only significant but it indicated the thing they wished to symbolize: "Res publica," a common weal. It also suggests equality, that "you are as good as I," not like the Democratic doctrine that "I am as good as you." It should be simple and not a compound word like the free-soil, free-democrat, or liberty party...this name had been applied by Thomas Jefferson to his party and it would be held in reverence by the best people of the land; and that...it would attract foreign element. He said, "These people (the foreigners) will at once decide that the Republican Party is the one for them..."⁴⁶

Bovay wanted the name to stand out and be remembered. Bovay said the formation of his party was not created like the other parties of the time. According to Bovay, parties formed as "sort of blind unconscious outpouring of sentiment." The names were not thought out but more thrown

⁴⁵ "He was the father of the Republican party." *Milwaukee Journal*. (2 June 1929).; Alvan Bovay, Papers, *Correspondence Letter*, March 23, 1854, Ripon Historical Society, Ripon, Wisconsin.

⁴⁶ Gilman, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 4-5.; "He was the father of the Republican party." *Milwaukee Journal*. (2 June 1929).

together in the moment. He said “[the parties] grow, they are not made, ours was made.” As stated earlier, Bovay first mentioned forming a Republican Party to Greely at a Whig Convention in 1852. Bovay had been constructing this party for years. He put a lot of thought behind what he wanted it to stand for and how he could make it last. For Bovay, the name was as important as the issues the party stood for. The name was the first association one would make with the party.⁴⁷

On May 22, 1854 the House passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Thirty House members composed of Whigs and Democrats, who opposed the bill, came together to discuss the need to create a new party to oppose the extension of slavery. May 30, 1854 President Pierce, who favored it strongly, passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. On June 3, 1854 the *Weekly Tribune* published an article mourning the bill. Bovay again wrote to Greely urging him to realize the time had come for them to form the Republican Party and for him to make mention of it in the *Tribune*. Bovay again stressed the importance of the name Republican for the party to Greely and sent it by June 12, 1854 so Greely would receive the letter no later than June 18, 1854. That way, if he chose to Greely could publish an article on the Republican Party in the issue which came out on June 24, 1854. Greely did publish an article in the Tribune and called it “Party Names and Public Duty” and made note of creating a party which would preserve the Union and what it stood for. He also wrote, as Bovay had asked many times, that the party should be called Republican.⁴⁸

Many Midwestern states took action towards forming their own Republican Party. Finally Bovay’s dream was coming true. The party he had brainstormed and talked about was taking root

⁴⁷ Bovay, Papers, *Correspondence Letter*, June 14, 1888.; “Milwaukee man one of seventeen who christened Republican Party,” p 1, Ripon Historical Society, Ripon, Wisconsin.

⁴⁸ Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay*, 11-12.; Gilman, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 8-9.

within America. On July 6, 1854 the first official Republican Party Convention was held in Jackson, Michigan. The convention initially was held in opposition of the bill but Greely urged them to form and adopt the Republican Party. Jackson, Michigan often times gets credited with being the birthplace Republican Party because it held the first true party convention. A week after the convention, which established the party in Michigan, men in Wisconsin and Vermont held conventions and adopted the Republican Party as well. The convention in Wisconsin was held in Madison on July 13, 1854. Approximately three thousand people attended the convention. A committee was elected to adopt resolutions and the platform they would stand for. The party would be against the extension of slavery in the territories, the fugitive slave law and would be for confining slavery to its current limits.⁴⁹

As the Republican Party got under way, members in Wisconsin looked to increase the number of their voters. Some members wanted to focus on temperance issues but with a big German immigrant population, they knew that would alienate a lot of voters. Carl Schurz was a German refugee who settled in Wisconsin and later went on to become very prominent in state and national politics. He tried to recruit German farmers in Wisconsin to join the newly founded Republican Party but realized “he was much more popular among the Americans than the Germans.” In a newspaper article in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* German editors also tried to get the German working class to join the Republican Party. The article said the party was called into existence because of a “great crisis.” The party was young and still working on what it stood for but was headed in the right direction. The article also said they could tell the party had the

⁴⁹ Howard, R.F, “Edwin Hurlbut of Oconomowoc Claims to be The Founder of the Republican Party,” *Oconomowoc Free Press*, 14 September 1903, p. 2.

potential to become something great. The Germans needed to join their American friends so they too could have a voice and have their political views understood.⁵⁰

Conclusion

Once Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill Midwest and Northeastern states took action to adopt Bovay's party to protest the extension of slavery. The Republican platform was not the same in every state at first. However, they all shared a general consensus that they opposed the extension of slavery, the fugitive slave law and were adamant on making sure slavery stayed confined to its current areas. In 1856 a convention was held in Pittsburg, the name Republican was adopted and the national party was formed. In the years leading up to Civil War the Republican Party grew with prominence in the political sphere. Many Republicans were elected into Congress between 1854-1856 in response to the opposition of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The party dreamed up by Bovay was making a name for itself and made no indications of being another third party which would eventually die out.⁵¹

The Whigs and Democrats made a name for themselves by being able to handle the political issues of the early 1820s and for the next twenty years to come. Social and political changes in the 1840s challenged their dominance and made many people question the validity of their political parties. Social changes, which included new immigrants who had a hard time assimilating and the opportunity to expand the country west, would come to conflict political ideologies. Third party politics formed due to the lack of response and action of the Whig and Democrat Parties on new issues people found important. Wisconsin, like many other states, experienced the social and political changes. Wisconsin was a state whose inhabitants were

⁵⁰ Gregory A. Borchard, "Revolutions Incomplete," 15.; "Meeting of the German Republican editors of Wisconsin." *Milwaukee Weekly Sentinel*. (1 September 1858).

⁵¹ Gilman, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 9-12.

mostly small farmers, entrepreneurs and members of the working class looking to develop the frontier and create a working society. When the fugitive slave law and Kansas-Nebraska act threatened their livelihood, they knew they must act. Alvin Bovay foresaw the need for a party which would protect men's right to free land and labor. He gathered together Whigs, Democrats and Free-Soilers to protest the changing society and insisted upon the formation of the Republican Party. Bovay, although never a major political leader, was instrumental in creating a party which brought together different political ideologies and unified a large segment of the American population.

Primary Source Bibliography

Newspapers

"He was the father of the Republican party." *Milwaukee Journal*. (2 June 1929); online facsimile at: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=648>; Visited on: 10/16/2010

Howard, R.F. "Edwin Hurlbut of Oconomowoc Claims to be The Founder of the Republican Party". *Oconomowoc Free Press*. (14 September 1903); <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org>.

"Meeting of the German Republican editors of Wisconsin." *Milwaukee Weekly Sentinel*. (1 September 1858). Online facsimile at:
<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=647>; Visited on: 10/17/2010

"Milwaukee man one of seventeen who christened Republican Party." Unattributed newspaper clipping dated December 1, 1906, from a scrapbook at the Wisconsin Historical Society Library. Online facsimile at: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=948>; Visited on: 10/28/2010

Manuscript Collections

Bovay, Alvan. Papers. Correspondence. Ripon Historical Society Archives. Ripon, WI.

Hurlbut, Edwin. Papers, 1834-1903. Correspondence and Legal Documents. Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, WI.

Letter and Notice of Republican State Committee Affairs." Unpublished manuscripts in the Horace Tenney Papers (Wis Mss BE) in the Wisconsin Historical Society Archives; Online facsimile at: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=88>; Visited on: 10/28/2010

Books

Gilman, A. F. *The Origin of the Republican Party*. (Wisconsin: A.F. Gilman?, 1914?). Online facsimile at: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=137>; Visited on: 10/28/2010.

Articles

Williams, Harry and Helen J. "Wisconsin Republicans and Reconstruction, 1865-1870." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 23, Number 1, September 1939, pgs. 17-39.

Secondary Source Bibliography

Books

- Anbinder, Tyler. *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850's*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Blue, Frederick J. *The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics 1848-54*. University of Illinois Press, 1973.
- Crandall, Andrew Wallace. *The Early History of the Republican Party 1854-1856*. Gloucester, Massachusetts: De Pauw University, 1960.
- Engs, Robert F. and Miller, Randall M. eds. *The Birth of the Grand Old Party: The Republicans' First Generation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Gienapp, William E. *The Origins of the Republican Party 1852-1856*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Gara, Larry. *A Short History of Wisconsin*. Madison, WI: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1962.
- Holt, Michael F. *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*. New York: W.W. Norton & Norton Company, Inc., 1978.
- Janik, Erika. *A Short History of Wisconsin*. Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2010.
- Mayfield, John. *Rehearsal for Republicanism: Free Soil and the Politics of Anti-Slavery*. Port Washington, New York: National University Press Kennikat Press, 1980.
- Potter, David M. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. New York, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1976.
- Stamp, Kenneth M. *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Voss-Hubbard, Mark. *Beyond Party: Cultures of Antipartisanship in Northern Politics before the Civil War*. Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Articles

Borchard, Gregory A. "Revolutions Incomplete: Horace Greely and the Forty-eighters at home and Abroad". *American Journalism* Vol. 27, No. 1 (Winter 2010) p. 7-36.

Byrne, Frank L. "Maine Law versus Lager Beer: A Dilemma of Wisconsin's Young Republican Party", *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 42 (Winter 1958-59), pp. 115-120.

Foner, Eric. "Politics and Prejudice: The Free Soil Party and the Negro, 1849-1852". *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Oct. 1965), pp. 239-256.

Pedrick, Samuel M. and Sakrison, David. "The Birth Place of the Republican Party: In a little White School House in Ripon". *Voyageur* Vol. 21, No. 2, (2005) pp. 48-53.

Sellers, James L. "James R. Doolittle". *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 17, Number 2, Dec. 1933, pgs. 168-178.