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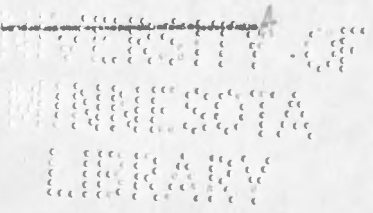
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REPORT
of
Committee on Thesis

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the Graduate School, have read the accompanying
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Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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May 26 1916



1901664.85

Preliminaries of the Presidential Election of 1832.

A Thesis Submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Minnesota

by

Florence Vehon Gumbiner

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts,

June

1916

Preliminaries of the Presidential Election of 1832.

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Chapter I.

Introduction.

The Social and Economic Development of the United States to 1829.

The inauguration of Andrew Jackson in 1829 ushered in a new period in the history of the United States. During the forty years in which the government of the United States had been in operation, many changes had occurred in the social and economic conditions of the people which were certain to have a marked effect on their political sympathies. Great territorial growth had been experienced, followed by a rapid expansion of the population to the west and lower south. The nation had been growing industrially at an enormous pace, with the rise of manufactures in New England and the Middle States and the development of commerce between the east and the west. Though not an active factor during the period up to 1829, slavery was the chief influence working against the growth of national unity by causing the North and the South to develop industrially and socially along different lines. Thus different interests had sprung up between the North and the South; while the East and the West were urging different solutions to similiar problems.¹

But throughout the nation there was a marked growth toward democracy; the people had expressed a willingness to take the

¹. MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy, (Am. Nation Series, XV), 3-13.
McMaster, United States, V, 488-489; 227-267.

reins of government in their own hands. During forty years six men had been in the presidency, four for a period of thirty-two years. Of these six four had come from Virginia, two from Massachusetts. This had been a rule of a relatively small minority of the electorate; the rule of the people was now in order. In the election of 1828 the old order had been represented in the person of John Quincy Adams, the new in Andrew Jackson. The rise of the people had been accomplished through the election of Jackson, "the people's man."¹

Conditions of Parties and Party Appellations.

As this period opens, parties and party alignments were uncertain. Before proceeding, therefore, with a narrative of the political development of Jackson's administration it is nec-

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- 1. MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy, 13-15.
 - McMaster, United States, V, 518-519.
 - Dodd, Expansion and Conflict (Riverside History of the United States), III, 18-19.

" The cry, "Shall the people rule?" was answered by Pennsylvania by a vote for Jackson of 100,000 as against 50,000 for Adams. Virginia gave Jackson so many votes in 1828 as had been cast for all parties in 1824. And the total vote of the country for Jackson was 647,276 as against 508,064 for Adams. The general had won every electoral vote of the South and the West; and both Pennsylvania and New York had sustained him, New England was solid for her candidate, and New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland returned Adams majorities. The lines were drawn, as had been foreseen, just, as in the contest between Jefferson and John Adams twenty-eight years before; and in general the attitude of the social classes were the same. The second alliance of South and West had been effected and "the people" had come to power a second time; only the west was now the prominent element. How would the west and "the people" use their power?"

essary to consider parties at length.¹

Party Development 1816-1829.

There had been little popular interest in the presidential election of 1816; the nation had been occupied with its striving after material progress, rather than concerned with the political strife. In 1820, Monroe was reelected president by a practically unanimous vote of the electoral college.² Although the title of "the era of good feeling" for the administration of Monroe is not accurate, if we consider the agitation which certain great questions such as the Missouri Compromise, aroused, by 1824, party lines had faded and party names had become indistinct in meaning.³ If political parties had ceased to exist in 1824, political strife was not quieted. The struggle over the tariff of 1824,

1. A. D. Morse, "What is a Party?"

Political Science Quarterly XI, 68-81.

In "Thoughts on the cause of the Present Discontents" (1770), Edmund Burke defined a party as "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interests upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed." A political party was defined by Morse as "a durable organization which in its simplest form consists of a single group of citizens united by common principles but in its more complex form of two or more such groups held together by the weaker bond of a common policy; and which, contrary to the views usually held, has for its immediate end the advancement of the interests and realization of the ideals, not of the people as a whole but of the particular group or groups which it represents."

2. McMaster, United States, V, 515-516.

Schouler, United States, III, 3-13.

3. Ibid, 147-155.

the ever important question of preserving the political balance of the North and the South were of disturbing interest.¹ The people had been rallying around certain popular leaders.² This development of the importance of political leaders had its greatest impetus in the election of J. Q. Adams, after which Jackson had branded Clay, "the Judas of the West." The famous corrupt-bargain story, in which Jackson so thoroughly believed, drew to him a large following, while skeptics became organized as his opponents. Such were the personal differences that resulted in party differences.³ Simultaneously a renewed interest in various issues sprang up.⁴ Whether personality was to take a secondary or a primary place, of what importance the abstract principles were in the coming contest is to be solved. According to Adams, writing in January 1829, "the two parties were virtually dissolved, that of the administration irreversibly."⁵ In April, 1829, he wrote, "I have no design or wish that old party distinctions should be revived and do not believe that they will or can be. A struggle by certain individuals of the Federal

¹. Schouler, United States, III, 295-299; 326-337.

². Ibid, 298-304; 304-308.

³. Ibid, IV, 327-342.

MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy, 30-32.
Bassett, Jackson, II, 376.

⁴. Ibid, 391-393.

⁵. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 89, January 4, 1829.

Party to recover the ascendancy they had lost, may render a reaction of the Republicans necessary for their own defense."¹

Remnants of Federalism in 1829.

Before considering party appellations which originated or whose use was greatly extended during this period, let us comment briefly on the remnant of Federalism still existent in 1829. The Federalist Party did not always advocate the same policies or even represent the same principles. The Federalist Party of 1829 was not that of 1800. The old Federalists had generally been friendly to the protection of manufactures and internal improvements. The remains of the Federalist Party in 1829 were divided upon these questions; they had "no public principles peculiar to themselves."²

In spite of the former hostility of the Federalist Party for Clay, the small faction, still existing, was to signify a friendship for him, during the campaign of 1832.³ Although the Federalist had supported the measures of Monroe's and Adams' administrations,⁴ Adams in his candidacy for membership in the House of Representatives, after his retirement from the pres-

1. Colton, Clay IV, 226, April 21, 1829.

2. Ibid, 226, April 21, 1829.
Niles, XLIII, 97, October 12, 1832.

3. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 486, March 3, 1832.

4. Colton, Clay IV, 226, April 21, 1829.

idency, met their organized opposition.¹ However his opposition was double-Federalist and Jacksonite; in 1829, the Federal faction in Pennsylvania had secretly organized in opposition to Jackson.² Although a national Federalist party had ceased to exist we conclude that the Federal factions were not in sympathy with Jackson's administration.

Personal Parties.

In considering the meaning of the various party appellations employed during this period, much use has been made of the news items on state politics appearing in Niles Register. A strong personal element was exemplified in the party names,³ discernible especially in the early portion of this period. The tendency was to apply the name, Jackson, to designated one party, while the opposing party appeared often under the term, Anti-Jackson; sometimes simply Anti. Evidences of this appeared as early as April 1829 and continued throughout the administration.⁴ Anti-Jackson became later to have an especial significance as the name applied to the union of all opposition to Jackson; that is, to the party of Clay, the Anti-Masonic and

¹J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 245, *november* 6, 1830.

²Niles, XXXVII, 117, October 17, 1829.

³Ibid, 67, September 26, 1829.

⁴Ibid, 177, November 14, 1829.

local factions.¹

Occasionally as early as 1829, the names of party leaders appeared opposed to Jackson.² But it was not until late in the year of 1830 that Clay's name was used very extensively to denote the opposing party. The use of his name was employed more or less frequently throughout the period although it's use was the more prevalent during the years, 1830-1831.³ The above tends to demonstrate that the personal was a dominant element during the early years of the Jackson regime. The employment of the names of leaders to designate parties or factions is characteristic of the period. Illustrations of this were the Troup and Clark

¹. Niles, XXXVI, 107, April 18, 1829; 410, August 22, 1829. XXXVII, 67, September 26, 1829; 132, October 24, 1829; 165, November 7, 1829. XXXVIII, 301, June 19, 1830. XXXIX, 55, September 11, 1830; 120, October 9, 1830; Ibid, 121, October 16, 1830; 138, October 23, 1830; 154, October 30, 1830. XLI, 36, September 17, 1832. XLII, 77, March 31, 1832. XLIII, 41, September 15, 1832; 51, September 22, 1832; 83, October 6, 1832; 102, October 13, 1832; 135, October 27, 1832; 149, November 3, 1832; 179, November 17, 1832.

². Ibid, XXXVII, 165, November 7, 1829.

³. Ibid, XXXVIII, 418, August 7, 1830. XXXIX, 53, September 11, 1830; 74, September 25, 1830; 171, November 6, 1830; 334, January 8, 1831; 335, January 8, 1831. XX, 146, April 30, 1831; 342, July 16, 1831. XLI, 1, September 3, 1831; 101, October 8, 1831; 149, October 22, 1831. XLII, 419, ~~August~~ 11, 1832. XLIII, 3, September 1, 1832; 51, September 22, 1832; 102, October 13, 1832; 28, ~~September 2, 1831~~. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 261, January 1, 1831.

tickets of Georgia. These were continued as the names of the opposing parties even after the removal of the latter to Florida and his decease.¹

Occasionally, the terms, Administration and Anti-Administration were used.²

The Use of the Term-Republican.

Turning now to the appellation, Republican, one might well compare it with the extensively advertised name of a dissolved partnership. In the latter case each would desire the benefits to be derived by retaining the established firm name. Similarly each branch of the dissolved Republican party claimed to be the genuine offspring of the mother party and to have the prior claim to the original name. We can well appreciate the difficulties arising from this. In one region, the republican party referred to the opponents of Jackson;³ while as late as 1832, the term was applied to the Jackson party in New York.⁴ Again, editors of the day employed the term, Republican, in the same article to designate both the administration and the anti-administration parties, the confusion arising was so marked that explanations were asked

¹. Niles, XLIII, 3, September 1, 1832; 171, November 10, 1832; 179, November 17, 1832.

². Ibid, XXXVI, 269, June 20, 1829; ~~XXXVI~~ 276, December 18, 1832.

³. Ibid, XXXVII, 177, November 14, 1829.
XXXIX, 138, October 23, 1831.

⁴. Ibid, XLII, 37, March 17, 1832; 114, April 4, 1832.

as to the actual interpretation of the title.¹

Origin of the Name Democratic-Republican.²

Democratic and Republican were applied synonymously in the same article to the Jackson ranks. Such articles might account for the use of the term, Democratic-Republican.² As early as April, 1829, a Democratic-Republican Jackson nomination received mention in Niles.³ But it was not until 1832, that the name appeared at all extensively. Then, again, it was used especially in reference to the Jackson party in Pennsylvania.⁴ Its use had meanwhile been employed in New York with reference to the Albany Regency, for we find the general committee of the Democratic-Republican young men of the city of New York, writing a letter to Martin Van Buren, assuring him of the high estimation in which he was held by them.⁵

"National Republican"; its Origin and Application.

In view of the confusion arising through the employment of the appellation, Republican, the addition of a qualifying adjective appeared very logical. As early as April 1829, in Massachusetts,

¹. Niles, XXXVII, 165, November 7, 1829.

². Ibid, XL, 165, May 7, 1831; 179

³. Ibid, XXXVI, 134, April 25, 1829.

⁴. Ibid, XLII, 420, August 11, 1832.

⁵. Ibid, XLII, 450, August 25, 1832.
XLIII, 138, October 27, 1832.

J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 510, December 24, 1832.

the term, National Republican, was used opposed to the Jackson Party. This application of the term can be traced throughout the period.¹

"Democrat" as Applied to the Jackson Party.

The terms, Democrat and Democracy, had been employed to characterize Jefferson and the Republican Party so that their continual re-appearance occasioned little comment. In March 1829, Niles recorded the name, Democrats, but it was difficult to glean from the article whether reference was made to the Jackson or Anti-Jackson ticket.² In October, 1830, the term Jackson-Democrat occurred in relation to Pennsylvania politics.³ In March 1831, according to the "New Hampshire Patriot," the democracy of New Hampshire rallied again and put down the American System of Henry Clay.⁴

1. Niles, XXXVI, 117, April 18, 1829.
 XXXVIII, 447, August 21, 1830.
 XXXIX, 5, August 28, 1830; 59, September 11, 1830;
 121, October 16, 1830; 137, October 23, 1830;
 302, December 25, 1830; 329, January 8, 1831;
 330, January 8, 1831.
 XL, 114, April 16, 1831; 396, July 30, 1831; ^{TLI} 47,
 September 10, 1831; 237, November 26, 1831.
 XLI, 17, September 3, 1831; 66, September 24, 1831.
 XLII, 154, April 28, 1832; 200, May 12, 1832.
 XLIII, 30, September 8, 1832; 133, October 27,
 1832; 213, December 1, 1832.

2. Ibid, XXXVI, 35, March 14, 1829.

3. Ibid, XXXIX, 138, October 23, 1830.

4. Ibid, XL, 61, March 26, 1831.

By October 1831, the "Democratic ticket" had in many places superceded that of the "Jackson ticket", (in Pennsylvania) and was made up of gentlemen of various political preferences.....¹
all being friendly to the American System. The history of democracy in Pennsylvania was checkered, and by 1832, there was a division into two camps, "Jackson democrats"² and "Van Buren-Jackson democrats." "Republican" was employed in New York to signify the administration party, after its use had been all but discarded elsewhere; but the latter was at length superceded by "democratic."³ The phrase, "wool-dyed democrats" was beginning to have especial significance, indicating the growing tendency of the individual to seek and adhere to party affiliations.⁴

Summary of Party Appellations 1829-1832.

From the above data, we conclude that this was a transition period in America politics, a stage when alliances were being consummated; parties more definitely established. Their names are significant only so far as they impart to us an appreciation of this. We find that Jackson's party was very often designated by the term, Administration; occasionally (especially was this true in the later years of the period) by Democratic or Democratic-Republican; that the opponents of Jackson were distinguished

1. Niles, XLI, 149, October 22, 1831.
 XXXIX, 128, October 23, 1832.

2. Ibid, XLI, 356, January 14, 1832.

3. Ibid, XLII, 125, April 21, 1832.

4. Ibid, XLIII, 65, September 29, 1832.

by the appellation Anti-Jackson, Anti-Administration or Anti; that the most important element of Jackson's opponents were grouped under the names of Clay or National Republican. The term, Republican caused considerable confusion with its application to both factions. The terms Anti-Jackson, Anti-Administration or Anti had two different interpretations; first they signified the element opposed to Jackson, under Clay's leadership; during the campaign of 1832, all opposition to Jackson, whether National Republican, Anti-Masonic or of a local character was included under one of these terms.

Anti-Masonic Party.

Its Origin.

Let us turn now to a brief description of the origin and early development of the Anti-Masonic Party, which was to render systematic party operation and calculations difficult in the presidential election of 1832.¹

Over-zealous members of the Masonic Order, in their solicitude to prevent the publication of a book by William Morgan of New York, disclosing the secrets of Freemasonry, and in 1826, by preversion of legal authority, spirited him away. After his abduction, he was never heard of again; it was believed that violence had been done to him by members of the Masonic order. His mysterious disappearance and the trial of the alleged abductors created the greatest interest, not only in the state of

¹. Colton, Clay, IV, 284, October 6, 1830.
Van Tyne, Webster, 150, March 19, 1830.

New York but also throughout the union. It was claimed that jury and judges were under Masonic influence.

In 1827, the first steps¹ in the organization of a remarkable political party were taken. At meetings of Anti-Masons held, in February, in various places in western New York, resolutions were passed, withdrawing their support from "all such members of the masonic fraternity as countenanced the outrages against Morgan." Later at other meetings, it was resolved to withhold² support from all Masons.

The matter was now brought to the attention of the New York Legislature through a resolution introduced by Francis Granger, a leader in the new cause, petitioning the legislature to interpose its authority since the county courts had proven themselves inadequate. By the defeat of this resolution, the Jacksonian Party then in the majority, was thought to have shown sympathy with the Masons. The fact that the Adams Party had become very weak tended to drive the Nonmasonic opponents of Jackson into the only vigorous party opposed to him. "The Anti-Jackson Masons chose to support him rather than go over to the hated opponents of Masonry." In the local elections, held in western New York, in September and October, the results for the Anti-Masons were very encouraging and high hopes for the general election of 1828

¹•McCarthy, Anti Masonic Party, (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report (1902) I, 371.

²•Ibid, 372.

was entertained.¹ During the last year of the presidential campaign of 1828 the Anti-Masonic Party greatly increased in strength, many Masons seceding from the order.² Alarmed by this, the Jackson party in New York attempted to conciliate the Anti-Masonic element by appointing a special commission to investigate the death of Morgan.³

Attempts to Unite Anti-Masons and National Republicans in New York.

Both parties made every effort to win the Anti-Masonic element. While the Adams party had the advantage in the fact that Jackson was a Mason and Adams was not,⁴ the leading politicians such as Thurlow Weed, were not wholly successful in their maneuvering to affiliate the Anti-Masonic movement with the Adams interests. There were in the new party many fanatical men anxious only for the extinction of Masonry; as a consequence,⁵ Anti-Masonry never presented a united front.

By the end of 1828, Anti-Masonry had become recognized as a political unit.⁶ At an Anti-Masonry convention from different parts of New York, meeting at Albany, early in 1829, it was re-

1. McCarthy, Anti-Masonic Party, (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report 1902), I, 372-374.

2. Ibid, 375.

3. Ibid, 376.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, 378.

6. Ibid, 382.

solved "that at every election, whether general or local an Anti-Masonic ticket should be run." A resolution was also passed "disavowing connection of Anti-Masonry with any of the present political parties of the state or nation."¹

The year, 1829, was a period of great growth for the Anti-Masonic party in New York. In 1828, the Anti-Masonic vote in the state was 33,046; by 1829, the vote had increased to 66,841. The Anti-Masonic members of the legislature were thirteen in 1828; by December 1829, there were twenty-nine Anti-Masons in the legislature.² During the year 1829, and for several years following, Anti-Masonry developed into a more effective party organization in New York.³ In February 1829, an Anti-Masonic convention met, attended by such men as Francis Granger, Thurlow Weed, Henry Dana Ward and William Seward. At this convention, a resolution was passed to hold a national convention in Philadelphia, September 11, 1830. This was an attempt to prepare the movement for its higher national career.⁴

The opposition to the New York Regency was generally separated into the two parties, National Republican and Anti-Masonic.⁵

1. Niles, XXXVL, 37, March 14, 1829.

2. Ibid, XXXVI, 276, December 26, 1829.

3. McCarthy, Anti-Masonic Party, (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1902) I, 388.

4. Ibid, 384-385.

5. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 489, March 7, 1832.

In May 1830, Clay mentioned the chaos existent in New York politics, because of the split in the opposition, of the friends of the late administration, the workingmen's party and the Anti-Masonic party.¹ Francis Granger, Anti-Regency candidate for governor of New York was defeated, in 1830, by a combination of the party of Van Buren and the part of the Masonic party which supported Clay.² Late in 1830, the "New York Standard" divided the New York representatives in Congress³ to those, in favor of Jackson's administration and those opposed to it,³ with no mention of possible groups within the opposition. In the state election of 1831, the contest was almost wholly between the Jackson Party and the Anti-Masonic party.⁴ The old Adams party had become too weak for successful opposition; simultaneously Anti-Masonry had become, so far as its incongruent character would permit, subverted to Anti-Jacksonism.⁵

Development of Anti-Masonry in Pennsylvania.

Efforts were made, as early as 1827, to organize the Anti-Masonic party in Pennsylvania. In 1828, Anti-Masonry made its

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1. Colton, Clay, IV, 267, May 6, 1830.
Niles, XXXVII, 177, November 14, 1829.
 2. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 324, February 24, 1831.
 3. Niles, XXXIX, 202, November 20, 1830.
 4. Ibid, XLI, 237, November 26, 1831.
 5. McCarthy, Anti-Masonic Party, (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report 1902) I, 389.

first appearance as a political party when it put forward a candidate for Congress. By the end of the year, 1829, Anti-Masonry had taken a strong hold on Pennsylvania politics; its success was due mainly, as in New York, to the fact that it was composed of a combination of all elements of discontent. George Buchanan, writing, from Pittsburgh, in 1830, to his brother characterized the party as follows: "Strong, however, as Anti-Masonry is, much of its apparent strength is borrowed from extrinsic circumstances. In this city, for instance, many persons are anxious to be rid of a set of rulers, who managed with so much political dexterity to control the destinies of the country for many years. These men happen to be Masons. No other hobby could be mounted with the same prospect of success. The honest Anti-Masons, the old Adams men and the disappointed office-seekers are easily induced to unit their influence against "The powers that Be." The motley materials are thus thrown into one caldron and stirred up into a dangerous compound. These remarks, I have made to account for the extraordinary strength of Anti-Masonry in this quarter."

Development of the Anti-Masonic Party in Vermont.

Besides the two great centers of Anti-Masonry, New York and Pennsylvania, in the early agitation over the question, Ver-

¹ McCarthy, Anti-Masonic Party, (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report 1902) I. 429.

² Curtis, Buchanan, I, 124, March 4, 1830.

mont caught some of the spirit of Anti-Masonry. In the fall of 1828, a hot contest for a congressional representative was waged between the Anti-Masonic and the National Republican candidates, the Jackson candidate polling a small vote. In August 1829, the Anti-Masonic party was first truly organized in the state, when a state convention was held.¹

While in New York and Pennsylvania, where the Jackson Party was in power, the Anti-Masons sought a coalition with the National Republicans; in Ohio and Vermont, where the National Republicans were in the majority, "the Anti-Masons connected themselves," according to Clay, "with the Jacksonians to get hold of the government and to dispossess those who possessed it."² The "Rutland Herald" reported however, in 1830 that the Anti-Masons in the legislature were all Anti-Jackson men.³ This relationship between the Anti-Masons and the National Republicans was further exemplified by the fact that a Mr. Slade, formerly a clerk in the department of state and ejected by Van Buren, was in 1831 an Anti-Masonic candidate for Congress.⁴ The adoption by the Anti-Masons in 1832, of a National Republican candidate for Congress, is illustrative of the same point.⁵ According to Niles, Palmer, Anti-

¹ McCarthy, Anti Masonic Party, (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report 1902) I, 504-506.

² Colton, Clay, IV, 289, November 24, 1830.

³ Niles, XXXIX, 74, September 25, 1830.

⁴ Ibid, XLI, 237, November 26, 1831.

⁵ Ibid, XLIII, 40, September 25, 1832.

Mason, and Crafts, National Republican, at different times governor of Vermont agreed on all points except Masonry; while perhaps on that subject, they differed principally as to its political character.¹ Clay accounted for "the various and apparently conflicting directions" which Anti-Masonry took, by the assumption that whenever "Anti-Masonry (is) was in the minority, it (will) would seek a connection with any other party which in the same place, (is) was also in the minority." This was, according to Clay, "only an apparent inconsistency, for the object everywhere (is) was the same, the acquisition of powers." "To accomplish this object they believed and their leaders industrially inculcate the belief, that a change of the administration of the actual government (whether general or State) (is) was necessary."²

Development of the Party in Massachusetts.

Political Anti-Masonry in Massachusetts, dated back to a meeting in November 1828, resulting in a political organization in the congressional election of that year. By 1830, the party had shown some political strength and had elected several of its candidates to the state legislature. But in its early development, it showed no great difference from the National Republican party.³ Because of the triangular contest in Mas-

¹ Niles, XLIII, 40, September 15, 1832.

² Colton, Clay, IV, 289, November 24, 1830.

³ McCarthy, Anti-Masonic Party (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1902 I,) 515-516.

sachusetts and as well as in the other states in which Anti-Masonry was prevalent, many trials were often required, in elections, before any of the candidates received a majority.¹

Development of the Party in Ohio.

Introduced as a political issue in Ohio in 1829, Anti-Masonry was characterized by little of the bitterness by which it was marked in Pennsylvania,² New York and even in Massachusetts.³ It was often extremely difficult to distinguish the Anti-Masonic candidates for the legislature from the National Republican.⁴ In 1832, the National Republican party withdrew their candidates for governor and adopted the nominee of the Anti-Masonic convention. Evidences of Anti-Masonry was apparent in the politics of Connecticut and Rhode Island; but in these states the movement was politically, weak and ineffective. In the gubernatorial election of 1832 in Rhode Island, the National Republican candidate received 2,721 votes, the Jackson candidate received 2,341, while the Anti-Masonic candidate received but 729.⁴ Similarly in the gubernatorial contest in Connecticut in 1832, the Anti-Masonic candidate received but 4,681 votes, his opponent,⁵ 12,870.

1. Niles, XLI, 433, August 20, 1831; 269, June 18, 1831; 342, July 16, 1831; 466, September 24, 1831.

2. McCarthy, Anti-Masonic party; 526-527. Niles, XLI, 324, November 19, 1831.

3. Ibid, XLIII, 119, October 20, 1832.

4. Ibid, XLII, 154, April 28, 1830; 200, May 12, 1832. XLIII, 40, September 13, 1832.

5. Ibid, XLII, 200, May 12, 1832.

Chapter II.

The Organization of Jackson's Administration.

Relation with Adams' Administration.

Jackson upon arriving in Washington, did not call upon President Adams and Adams was not present at the inauguration of the president-elect.¹ Adams wrote of the lack of civility shown him by all the members of the new administration except Van Buren.² He was indirectly informed that "it was Gen'l Jackson's intention to pay him a visit, his reason for not having done it before having been the chance there might have been of his meeting Mr. Clay with him."³ These facts are of importance in so far as they illustrate the petty spirit of the time and forecast the nature of the struggle between the parties.

Formation of Jackson's First Cabinet.

A study of the organization of Jackson's cabinet enables one to gain a clearer insight into Jackson's character, his own part in his administration and how far the members of the administration succeeded in exerting their influence.

¹ Kendall, Autobiography, 308.
Niles, XXXVI,⁴ March 21, 1829.

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 128, April 4, 1829.

³ Ibid, 102, February, 1829.

Period of Uncertainty Concerning its Personnel.

January 10, 1829, Clay addressed a letter from Washington to Francis Brooke, in which he stated that nothing was apparently known there, "in respect to the purposes of the new administration, rather the intentions of the President-elect."¹ February twenty-first, he wrote a letter, "speculating"² on the cabinet arrangements; his list proved to be accurate. In reply to the above letter he received a letter from Richmond (Virginia), dated February twenty-third, stating that news of the proposed cabinet had reached there the previous day.³ January seventeenth, Webster wrote that "who (will) would form his cabinet (is) was as well known at Boston as at Washington, "that nobody knew what Jackson would do when he arrived, although his friends pretended to be "very knowing."⁴ February nineteenth, he wrote that nothing had as yet been definitely determined about the cabinet, except that Van Buren would be Secretary of State.⁵ However, on February twenty-third, he wrote that "a prodigious excitement (has) had been produced by the new cabinet list."⁶

¹. Colton, Clay, IV, 217, January 18, 1829.

². Ibid, 222, February 21, 1829.

³. Ibid, 224, February 23, 1829.

⁴. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 467, January 17, 1829. The above memorandum was inclosed in a letter dated January seventeenth.

⁵. Ibid, 470, February 19, 1829.

⁶. Van Tyne, Webster, 141, February 23, 1829.

It was not until February twenty-fifth that Adams gave (in his Memoirs) a list of Jackson's cabinet; but he did not state whether or not his knowledge extended further back.¹ When we turn from the opposition to the (administration), we find early knowledge of the personnel of the cabinet, also, quite deficient. January twentieth, Calhoun wrote from Washington "we have a dead calm in politics, which will continue till after the arrival of the President-elect. There has been much idle speculation, in relation to the foundation of the new cabinet. It is a subject on which General Jackson himself, I take for granted has not made up his mind, nor will he, if he acts prudently till he has had an opportunity of seeing the whole ground."² January fourteenth, Hamilton received a letter from B. Bunner of the House of Representatives, stating that "there (is) was little doubt in his mind that Van Buren (can) could choose his position here though nothing (is) was certainly known."³ On February twelfth, at Jackson's request, Hamilton wrote to Van Buren, offering him the Secretaryship of State and,⁴ February twenty-fifth, Van Buren's letter of acceptance was received.⁵ According to Hamilton, already in 1828, he had been informed by Jackson, of the intention of the latter to make Eaton, Secretary of War.⁶ But February seventeenth, Hamilton wrote that

1. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 99, February 25, 1829.

2. Calhoun, Correspondence,²⁶⁹ January 10, 1829.

3. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 88.

4. Ibid, 90.

5. Ibid, 91-99.

6. Ibid, 88.

"nothing (is) was decided beyond Van Buren for State and Eaton for the war."¹ Van Buren directed a letter to Hamilton, February second, that he had "not heard or thought of Messrs. Branch or Eaton as members of the cabinet and but slightly of Mr. Berrien."² All this gives us some idea of the part played by Jackson's associates at this period.

Cabinet List-Washington Telegraph

Jackson arrived in Washington, on February eleventh.³ On February twenty-sixth, the following list of cabinet officers appeared in the Washington Telegraph; Martin Van Buren of New York, Secretary of State, Samuel D. Ingham of Pennsylvania, Secretary of Treasury; Major John Eaton of Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; John M. Berrien of Georgia, Attorney-General; John McLean of Ohio, Post-Master General.⁴

Basis for the Choice of Cabinet Advisers.

The basis for the choice of the cabinet members is illuminating. A valuable source on the subject is Hamilton's Reminiscences. His statements are sometimes corroborated, but usually his testimony is unsupported.

1. Hamilton Reminiscence, 102.
 2. Ibid, 92.
 3. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 96, February 11, 1829. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 89.
 4. Van Tyne, Webster, 144, February 26, 1829. Niles, XXXVI, 1, February 28, 1829.

25.

According to Hamilton, "in this important work by President Jackson, no thought appeared to be given as to the fitness of the persons for their places." Although he had numerous conversations with Jackson concerning his cabinet appointments, not a word was ever uttered by Jackson, concerning the qualifications of the prospective cabinet officers.¹

February 15, 1829, Van Buren wrote to Eaton; "You want for the other concern (evidently the cabinet) practical intelligent and efficient men, who are conversant with the affairs of the nation, and in whom the people have confidence; men whose capacities are adapted to the discharge of the public business, whether they might, or might not, shine in the composition of essays on abstract and abstruce subjects."² March, 1829, Van Buren wrote to Hamilton concerning the appointment of William Barry to the Post-Master Generalship: "I cannot, from my total want of knowledge as to Barry's professional talents, speak as to the propriety of his appointment. Politically it would be well."³

According to Hamilton, "Van Buren was certainly not eminently fitted for the State Dep't. by his knowledge of public service, by his education which was very limited or his intellectual en-

¹. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 97.

². Ibid, 93,97,129,139.

³. C. R. Fish, Civil Service and Patronage, 122.

downments."¹ If we compare his political career with that of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State under Monroe, we see the justice of this criticism. Adams' boyhood and early manhood was spent in Europe, pursuing a course of severe study and at the age of fourteen, becoming private secretary to the United States minister at St. Petersburg. Graduating from Harvard, he became a professor at his alma mater; then practicing law in Boston; later serving in the legislature in Massachusetts and in the United States Senate. He had aided in framing the treaty at Ghent, following the War of 1812, and had been minister to five European courts, before he had accepted the state office under Monroe.² Although the public career of Henry Clay, had been, by no means as varied as that of Adams, his long experience in Congress and his work as an envoy in negotiating the treaty of Ghent had eminently qualified him for the office of Secretary of State under Adams.³ With the public life of Adams and Clay, contrast the comparatively limited public service of Van Buren. Initiated into politics by Aaron Burr and engaged, prominently in the practice of law, Van Buren assumed an important position in New York state politics, as state senator and as attorney-general. In 1821, he was elevated to the United States senate, leaving that body in 1828, to become governor of New York. After

1. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 88-97.

2. Morse, J. Q. Adams, (American Statesmen), 1-100.

3. Schurz, Clay, I, 39-202.

serving but a brief period, he resigned the governorship, to
 take the chief place in Jackson's cabinet.¹ His talents had
 been, in the main, employed upon points of political intrigue; he
 was accredited with bringing the present administration into
 power.² The politician rather than the statesman was, at this
 period, the more evident in him. The selection of his name for
 the state department had been however long anticipated.³

Eaton was made Secretary of War because Jackson desired
 near him an old friend upon whom he might rely.⁴ When attempts
 were made to induce the president not to appoint Eaton and such
 attempts were made, particularly, by the Tennessee Delegation,
 the Gen'l rising with outstretched arms said, "I will sink or
 swim with him, By God."⁵

Opposing Influences in the Cabinet.

According to one report, Ingham was devoted to the vice-
 president.⁶ Hamilton also asserted that he was chosen because
 of the necessity of doing something for Pennsylvania.⁷ He is

1. Shepard, Van Buren, (American Statesmen), 1-150.

2. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 154, July 8, 1829.

3. Colton, Clay IV, 222, February 21, 1829.

4. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 88, 97.

5. Ibid, 102.

6. Ibid, 88, January 21, 1829.

7. Ibid, 102.

said to have come to Washington; hoping to be Comptroller; and the Pennsylvania delegation insisted on his selection for the higher position.¹ Branch had been an old friend of the President in Tennessee. Berrien is generally conceded to have been a Calhoun man,² although his popularity in Georgia had also much to do with his selection.³ McLean, who was slated to retain the office of post-master general was likewise a Calhoun man.⁴ As McLean declined to serve as the broom to sweep the post-office,⁵ "Barry was selected in his place, in obedience to the wishes of the Kentucky Delegation."⁶ According to Hamilton Calhoun attempted to gain control over the new administration by the appointment of his allies to cabinet posts. "His game was Tazewell, Secretary of State; Ingham, Treasury; Berrien, Attorney-general and John McLean, Secretary of War."⁷ Van Buren wished Louis McLane for the Treasury and Cleves for the Navy.⁸

1. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 97, 102.
 2. Ibid, 91.
 3. Ibid, 227, March 18, 1829.
 4. Ibid, 91.
 5. Ibid, 99, 100.
 J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 109, March 10, 1829.
 Story, Life and Letters of Joseph Story, I, 564, March 1829.
 6. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 97, 100.
 7. Ibid, 91.
 8. Ibid, 92, February 2, 1829.

McLane seemed especially to have had Van Buren's confidence.¹

From the above data, we draw the conclusions that Ingham and, in a lesser degree, Berrien, were Calhoun men; while McLean is also given as having a leaning toward the Vice-President.² Jackson has included in his cabinet his friend, Major Eaton, and his less intimate associates, Branch and Barry.³ Van Buren, in occupying the leading place in the cabinet, was to make his influence felt.⁴ As early as February twenty-sixth, Webster wrote that "The elements of disension would (will) be in the cabinet itself. Mr. Calhoun (who though not nominally in the cabinet) was (is) likely to be near the President) and Mr. Van Buren and ^{Mr} McLean would (will) all be looking out for the ⁵accession."

The Harmonizing Influence in the Cabinet.

It was asserted that Jackson's ruling principle, in the construction of his cabinet was opposition to Clay. Five men in the cabinet, Berrien, Branch, Eaton, Ingham, and Barry were known as Anti-Clay men with definite measures to their credit to bear out this statement.⁶ The following is also illustrative of Jackson's animosity toward Clay, who was Secretary of State under

1. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 88, January 14, 1829.

2. Ibid, 91.

3. Ibid, 97, 102.

4. Colton, Clay, IV, 224, February 3, 1829.

5. Van Tyne, Webster, 145, February 26, 1829.

6. Schurz, Clay, I, 328.

Adams, Jackson, in conversation with Hamilton, said: "Colonel, you don't care to see me inaugurated? Yes, General, I do, I came here for that purpose. Now, go to the State House, and as soon as you hear the gun fired I am President and you are Secretary. Go on and take charge of the Department."¹

According to Adams, Ingham had been one of his basest slanders; Branch and Berrien, the meanest among his persecutors.²

Geographical Grouping of the Cabinet Members.

The geographical grouping of the cabinet, with Van Buren and Ingham from the east, Branch and Berrien from the south and Eaton and Barry from the west, called forth this comment from Clay: "The composition of the new Administration indicates the intention to conciliate the South. Perhaps means will be found, also, of propitiating the west. New England will not be a favorite; nor it would seem will Virginia; but there is now no propensity to opposition in either."³ "Webster said that "in Virginia, especially the cabinet was (is) unpopular."⁴

¹. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 107.

Ibid, 91, March 12, 1829; 102.

Hamilton had been appointed temporary Secretary of State, until the arrival of Van Buren.

². J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 128, April 4, 1829.

³. Colton, Clay, IV, 227, April 21, 1829.

⁴. Van Tyne, Webster, 144, February 26, 1829.

Comments on the Cabinet by the Opposition.

Jackson's disposition was, at the opening of his administration very much misunderstood and his capacity possibly, underestimated. It was thought he would, readily, yield his leadership to one of stronger mold; Van Buren was designated to play in that role.¹ Not only did Hamilton consider the men selected for the cabinet unqualified,² but according to Francis Brooke of Virginia, writing to Clay, "the news of the cabinet filled the Jackson party with consternation." Brooke stated that he thought General Jackson would have brought around him "great moral worth" and "feeling" must have superseded this instinct.³

Webster called it, on the whole a very weak cabinet, Niles commented on the dissatisfaction with the new cabinet.⁴ This attitude was to have been expected on the part of the friends of the late administration, who were very naturally, not consulted, as to its selection. "Because of the different feelings or interests of the large majority which united for the support of General Jackson,.....these feelings or interests (would be) were regarded in selections made."⁵

1. Colton, Clay, IV, 224, February 23, 1829.

2. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 97.

3. Colton, Clay, IV, 222, February 23, 1829.

4. Van Tyne, Webster, 144, February 26, 1829.

5. Niles, XXXVI, 17, March 7, 1829.

Jackson's Failure to Consult his Cabinet.

In arriving at a correct understanding of Jackson's administration, we should fully comprehend the position that the cabinet bore in his opinion. Niles' issue of July 11, 1829, throws some light on this by the following: "The New York Courier and Enquirer, the proprietor of which has lately been in Washington informs its readers, that no cabinet council has been held since the present administration came into office and the presumption is that the president does not approve of formal assemblages of the cabinet for the purposes of getting their views on important questions. It is the custom of president Jackson, and we consider it a good one, whenever a question a question occurs on which he requires the opinion of his cabinet, to send for or wait upon each individual separately and by this course, he obtains a frank and honest impression of opinion without the formality of a general meeting, and prevents that collision which has heretofore grown out of the discussion of questions in which the different members of the cabinet might, with propriety entertain equally honest but opposite views."¹

The "Kitchen Cabinet."

A small group of political friends surrounded Jackson and were his real advisors. Because of the nature of the so-call

¹.Niles, XXXVI, 317, July 11, 1829.

ed "Kitchen Cabinet," its exact membership is difficult to establish. Major Lewis, Amos Kendall and Duff Green were always included in this council; Major Donelson, J. Watson Webb and General Call are generally, included.¹ There is some confusion with reference to Van Buren and Eaton, in that they were members of the regular cabinet, at the same time enjoying the more intimate confidence of the president.² Various members of the group held council with Jackson with respect to the inaugural address and the formation of the cabinet.³

Federal Appointments.

As early as November 2, 1828, it was announced in the Telegraph by Duff Greene, that it was not known what lines of policy General Jackson would adopt, but that it was taken for granted that he would reward his friends and punish his enemies.⁴

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1. Parton, Jackson, III, 180.
Schurz, Clay, I, 344.
Bassett, Jackson, II, 437.
MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy, 351.
Niles, XL, 191, May 14, 1831.
 2. Bassett, Jackson II, 437.
MacDonald, Jacksonian, Democracy, 351.
 3. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 104.
 4. Fish, Civil Service and Patronage, 107.

Anticipation of the Administration Position.

The position that the new administration was to take on the question of civil service and patronage was well outlined in the actions of the senate, prior to March fourth.¹ The Senate debated the question whether they would act upon any of Adams' late nomination.² Seymour, Senator from Vermont told Adams that "the majority of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate had determined to report against acting upon (my)^{his} nominations at the session unless in cases of special necessity." Seymour and Webster formed the minority of the Committee against the resolution; the major-³ity members of the committee being Berrien, Seymour and Hayne.

On December 18, 1828, John Crittenden of Kentucky was nominated to be judge of the Supreme Court, and the nomination was referred to the committee on the Judiciary.⁴ On January twenty-sixth, Berrien, Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, reported the following resolution, "that it is not expedient to act upon the nomination of John I. Crittenden, as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, during the present session

¹. Coleman, Crittenden 79, (1829).
Story, Life and Letters of Joseph Story, I, 565, February 11, 1829.

². J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 95, February 6, 1829.

³. Ibid, 91, January 17, 1829.

⁴. Executive Journal III, 662.

of Congress."¹ It was not until February twelfth that ^{the} resolution was adopted by the senate, yeas 23, nays 17.² It has been said that Crittenden's nomination was rejected because he had voted for John Quincy Adams and had a just appreciation of Henry Clay.³ Many other nominations were reported on in a manner similar to the Crittenden nomination and the nominations were generally rejected by the senate.⁴ Woodbury, who became a member of Jackson's second cabinet, as chairman of the Committee of Commerce, reported on several nominations referred to that committee, that further consideration of the nominations be postponed to the fourth of March.⁵

It is interesting to note the position that the close allies of Jackson took in the matter of patronage. Branch and Eaton, members of Jackson's first cabinet and Woodbury and White, members of Jackson's second cabinet, always voted in favor of the rejection or the postponement of the nominations, while Barrien, member of his first cabinet and McLean, of his second, voted likewise in the majority of cases.⁶

¹ Executive Journal III, 636.

² Ibid, 643.

³ Coleman, Crittenden, 77, (1829), 79, February 2, 1829.

⁴ Executive Journal III, 644, February 16, 1829; 645, February 17, 1829; 646, February 18, 1829.

⁵ Ibid, 645, February 17, 1829; 647, February 19, 1829; 648, February 20, 1829.

⁶ Executive Journal, III, 620-650.

After Jackson's inauguration, all appointments not acted upon¹ were withdrawn.

Office Seekers in Washington at Jackson's Arrival.

A few days after Jackson's arrival, Washington, according to Webster, was full of speculation and spectators, apparently hungry for office.² Webster wrote on March fourth to his son:

"A monstrous croud of people is in the city. I never saw anything like it before. Persons have come five hundred miles to see General Jackson and they really seem to think that the country is rescued from some dreadful danger."³ "Men come, women came to sustain the applications of their husbands and other relatives."⁴

Kendall was greatly surprised to meet so many men who claimed the merit of producing Gen'l Jackson's election to the presidency and had come to Washington to receive appropriate reward."⁵ An office-seeking friend said to him, "I am ashamed of myself, for I feel as if every man I meet knew what I came for." Don't distress yourself," replied Kendall, "for every man you meet is on the same business."⁶

¹. Executive Journal, IV, 6, March 6, 1830.

². Van Tyne, Webster, 143, February 5, 1829.
Parton, Jackson, III, 168.

³. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 473, March 4, 1829.

⁴. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 98.

⁵. Kendall, Autobiography, 307.

⁶. Ibid,

Description of the Inauguration (1829) in its Democratic Aspect.

Descriptions of the inauguration of Jackson are illustrative of the spirit of democracy that had developed. "The show lasted only half an hour. The senate assembled at eleven, the judges and foreign ministers came in, the President elect was introduced and all seated by half-past eleven. The Senate was full of ladies, a pause ensued till twelve. Then the President followed by the Senate, etc., went through the great rotunda on the portico, over the eastern front door; and those went with him who could, but the croud broke in as we were passing the rotunda and all became confusion. On the portico, in the open air the day very warm and pleasant, he read his inaugural and took the oath. A great shout followed from the multitude and in fifteen minutes, "silence settled, deep and still." Everybody was dispersed."¹ Niles estimated the number of persons present at the capitol, within, around and in front, not short of 12,000.²

"After the ceremony was over," wrote Joseph Story, "The President went to the palace to receive company, and there he was visited by immense crowds of all sorts of people, from the highest and most polished down to the most vulgar and gross in the nation. I never saw such a mixture. The reign of King "Mob" seemed triumphant."³

¹ Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 473, March 4, 1829.

² Niles, XXXVI, 28, March 7, 1829.

³ Story, Life and Letters of Joseph Story, I, 562, March 7, 1829.

30.

Jackson's Inaugural on Civil Service and Patronage.

"The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribed on the list of executive duties in characters too legible to be overlooked the task of reform, which will require particularly the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the federal government into conflict with the freedom of election and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment and placed or continued power in faithless ¹ or incompetent hands." Thus did Jackson in his inaugural outline his policy on the question of patronage.

Comments upon the Inaugural and Early Interpretations of Jackson's Position.

Joseph Story characterized the inaugural as "feeble and evasive except upon the point of reform." The above passage was interpreted to mean that there would be "general removals."² "Adams spoke of the fact that the inaugural was "remarkable chiefly for a significant threat to reform."³ "What it (the inaugural) says about reform in office," wrote Webster, "may be either a prelude to a general change in office or a mere sop to soothe the

1. Senate Journal, 20 Congress, 2 Session, Appendix, 198-199.

2. Story, Life and Letters of Joseph Story, I, 562, March 7, 1829; 564, March 1829.

3. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 105, March 4, 1829.

hunger, without satisfying it of the thousand expectants for office who throng the city and clamor all over the country. I expect some changes but not a great many at present.¹ That Jackson's position was fully realized may be gleaned from the letter written by Clay, March 21, 1829; "Among the official corps here (in Washington) there is the greatest solicitude and apprehension.....No one knows who is next to encounter the stroke of death or which with many of them is the thing is to be dismissed from office."²

Extent of Removals during Jackson's First Administration.

Before the first regular session of Congress in December 1829, Jackson had, to a considerable extent, accomplished his proscription.³ In his annual message, Jackson formulated the principle by which he had been guided when he said: "Offices were not established to give support to particular men at the public expense.....No individual wrong is, therefore, done by removal, since neither appointment to nor continuance in office is matter of right."⁴

Webster, writing on March second, stated that very little

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1. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 473, March 4, 1829.
 2. Colton, Clay, IV, 215, March 12, 1829.
 3. Fish, Civil Service and Patronage, 118.
 4. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the President, II, 448-449.

was known, concerning Jackson's intentions; that although he would certainly make some changes, that the removals would, probably, not be immediately, very extensive.¹ However, by May, three hundred postmasters had been removed.² March nineteenth (1830) Webster wrote that "the stock of patronage (is) was exhausted and many (are) were left unprovided for and they (are) were looking out for other parties and other leaders."³

Conflicting statements appear as to the extent of removals made by Jackson. According to Kendall, the removals in Washington were but one-seventh of those in office; and most of those for bad conduct and character. In the post-office department, toward which have been directed the heaviest complaints, the removals were only about one-sixteenth. In the whole country they were one-eleventh.⁴ In pursuance of a resolution of the senate an official list of removals of the post-master general was sent to the senate in April 1830, and the number was four hundred ninety-one.⁵

It is only by comparison with former administrations, that we can fully appreciate the extent of the removals in Jackson's

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1. Van Tyne, Webster, 145, March 3, 1829.
Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 472, March 2, 1829.
 2. Niles, XXXVI, 199, May 23, 1829.
 3. Van Tyne, Webster, 150, March 19, 1830.
 4. Kendall, Autobiography, 301.
 5. Niles, XXXVIII, 105, April 3, 1830.

administration. While in J. Q. Adams' administration of four years, there were but two removals and these for causes; in Monroe's term of eight years but nine; and while Jefferson, the greatest offender, in that connection removed but from thirty-six to thirty-nine, the removals during the first year of the Jackson regime were variously estimated from one to two thousand.¹

Responsibility for the Removals.

That Jackson was not entirely responsible for the policy, we may gather from the following letter of Van Buren, written in March 1829; "So far as depends on me my course will be to restore by a single order every one who has been turned out by Mr. Clay for political reasons, unless circumstances of a personal character have since arisen which would make re-appointment in any case improper.....It would be perfectly agreeable to me to take the responsibility of that measure myself and I cannot think that it can be necessary to do anything about it until I come down."² This letter was written while Van Buren was still in Albany. He was not ready however to have his preferences for the cabinet urged in his name.³

¹. Niles, XXXVIII, 407, July 31, 1830.
2000 removals accredited to Jackson's first year, ("Richmond Whig").
XLIII, 9, September 1, 1832.
(990 removals accredited to Jackson's first year.)

². J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 129, March 18, 1829.

³. Ibid, 92, February 2, 1829.

Profession and Character Jackson's Nominees.

Although Jackson had contended before his election, that members of congress should not receive appointment to office, he very soon, appointed many members of congress to position.¹ Branch, Eaton and Berrien retained their seats in the Senate, after they had been nominated as members of the cabinet; Ingham was a member of the House.

The editors as a class fared very well under Jackson. As early as February nineteenth, the newspaper men had already assembled in Washington; namely Isaac Hill from New Hampshire, Duff Greene, from Boston, Mordecai Noah of New York and Amos Kendall from Kentucky. Very shortly Jackson had selected comfortable berths for several of these.² Appointments of editors were often attacked, although Niles explained that such appointments were not objectionable, if the editors severed their relationship with their papers, otherwise the franking privilege would give their papers an advantage over the others.³ Kendall Noah and Greene continued their activity in newspaper work.⁴

According to the opposition, the appointments could not have been worse if the very lowest elements had been extracted from the penitentiaries of the union, that such a number of in-

1. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 112, March 13, 1829.

2. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 470, February 19, 1829.
J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 116, March 19, 1829.

3. Niles, XXXVI, 221, May 30, 1829; 250, June 13, 1829.

4. Fish, Civil Service and Patronage, 123.
Kendall, Autobiography, 372.
Niles, XXXVI, 221, May 30, 1829.

famous and degraded individuals had never before been collected in the federal positions of trust, during the forty years of the existence of the nation.¹

Although the sweep from office was very large, many old public servants were retained either for personal reasons or because of their merit, sometimes through a direct appeal to Jackson, again through the intervention of an influential friend such as Hamilton or Van Buren.²

The Senate Action Upon Jackson's Nominees.

Earnest debates were held in the senate upon the presidential nominations, during the first session of Jackson's first congress. The senate proved very evenly divided and the defection of even one member often proved decisive.³ The way that Tazewell of Virginia would cast his vote was often doubtful, as he appeared to be wavering in his allegiance to Jackson.⁴ Sometimes, the confirmation or rejection of an appointment was determined by the casting vote of the vice-president.⁵ There were however in the senate, a majority of two or three allies of the administration who were bound to support all the measures of the party;

1. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 172, January 17, 1830.
158, February 15, 1830.

2. Fish, *Civil Service and Patronage*, 125.
Hamilton, *Reminiscences*, 98.

3. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 179, January 21, 1830.

4. *Ibid*, 179, January 21, 1830; 222 April 26, 1830.

5. Clay, *Colton*, IV, 272, May 23, 1830.

although annoyed at Jackson's assumption of all the rights, of the senate in the matters of appointments, they did not at first oppose him.¹ By March 1830, only one name had been rejected, the much stigmatized name of Henry Lee.²

Discussion raged over the nomination of Isaac Hill as second Comptroller of the Treasury; it was prophesied that the vote would be very close;³ but the nomination was rejected by a vote of thirty three to fifteen.⁴

The nomination of Amos Kendall was confirmed by the casting of the vice-president, in spite of the fact that Calhoun claimed to disapprove of the system of proscription and the appointment of editors.⁵ Kendall, as well as Hill, were editors. There was a project, in case of the rejection of Kendall for the appointment of a third Deputy Postmaster General. This appointment could have been made without the concurrence of the Senate and Kendall was to have been made third deputy.⁶ Jackson was indeed very persevering in the aim of rewarding his friends; after the rejection, by the senate of individuals nominated by him, the same individuals were often renominated. In one case at least,

¹ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 206, March 25, 1800.

² Ibid, 188, February 15, 1830; 206, March 23, 1830; 212, April 2, 1830.

³ Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 488, February 27, 1830.

⁴ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 217, April 12, 1830.

⁵ Clay, Colton, IV, 272, May 23, 1830.

⁶ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 197, March 4, 1830.

this renomination took place in the absence of two or three of those who had voted against the applicant in the first place.¹ The opposition, seeing the uselessness of cutting off nominations in detail, sought to put a limitation on the power of the president.² In 1831, the Senate adopted a resolution, declaring "that it is inexpedient to appoint a citizen of any State to an office which may be vacated or become vacant in any other State...without some evident necessity for such appointments."³ There was considerable question as to the presidential power of creating vacancies without giving his reasons therefore, to the senate, However, it seemed to have been established by the acts of the senate, that the president might remove officers at his pleasure, although they had been appointed for a certain period of time, and without a specification of his reasons for so doing.⁴ Adams said that the discretionary power of the president to remove was settled by law and by the uniform practice of forty years.⁵

¹ Niles, XXXVIII, 406, July 31, 1830.
 Executive Journal, IV, 112, May 10, 1830.
 Ibid, 114, May 27, 1830.
 For example the vote on nomination of Mordecai Noah, May 10, 1830, was yeas 23, Nays 25.
 May 27, 1831, the same individual was again renominated, the vote standing yeas 22, nays 22.

² Fish, Civil Service and Patronage, 119.

³ Executive Journal, IV, 150, February 3, 1831.

⁴ Niles, XXXVIII, 49, March 13, 1830.
 J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 189, February 15, 1830.

⁵ Ibid.
 Niles, XXXVIII, 105, April 13, 1830.

Effect of the Spoil System on the Administration.

Jackson was condemned for his position on patronage and the fact that he abused it, apparently, for electioneering purposes.¹ United States Senator March of New York, in the course of the debate on the nomination of Van Buren as ambassador to England, stated that the politicians of New York saw, "nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belongs the spoils of the enemy."² The dissatisfaction concerning the employment of patronage was apparent among Jackson's friends as well as opponents. Hamilton wrote, April 23, 1829, that he was "cruelly disappointed at the manner in which and to the extent removals and appointments are made."³

"The proscriptive course, which has been pursued in relation to removals and appointments," commented Philip Hone in March 1831, "has served to cool their friends and to exasperate their enemies.....If Jackson succeeds for another term, it will be owing to the difficulty of agreeing upon his successor, rather than to the popularity of his administration."⁴

1. Niles, XXXVIII, 111, April 3, 1830.
Ibid, XXXIX, 275, December 18, 1830.

2. Ibid, XLIII, 8, September 1, 1832.

3. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 136, April 23, 1829.

4. Philip Hone, Diary I, 15, March 26, 1831.

Chapter III.

Breakup of Jackson's Personal Party.

Calhoun-Jackson Controversy.

Rivalry Between Van Buren and Calhoun.

The rivalry between Van Buren and Calhoun in reference to the formation of the cabinet has already been mentioned. It was very evident early in 1830, that all was not harmony within the ranks of the administration party (as Calhoun and Van Buren, were both candidates for the succession.)¹ Adams reported Johnston United States Senator from Louisiana, as saying that there were three divisions of the Administration party, "one of Gen'l Jackson and his friends who wished for his reelection, one for Mr. Van Buren and one for Calhoun." According to Johnston, Van Buren seeing that he could not remain in the Department of State for eight years, was anxious to succeed to the presidency at the end of four years and insisted that Jackson had pledged himself not to serve longer than one term. Calhoun was equally impatient but according to Johnston was afraid to declare himself on the leading measures of the administration.² Clay's judgment of Calhoun's course or his character was that he would have been regulated altogether by his estimate of the probability of successful opposition to Jackson. If he had believed that he could have defeated Jackson, he would have opposed his re-election; if not,

¹ See above, page 28 and 29.

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 166, January 12, 1830.

he would have supported his chief and endeavored thus, to have enlisted the gratitude and sympathies of the Jackson party, with the chances of being elevated to the presidency later.¹ It was however apparent that Calhoun was forming a party against Van Buren and "as the president (is) was supposed to be Van Buren's man, the Vice-president (has) had great difficulty to separate his opposition to Van Buren from opposition of the president."²

Webster-Hayne Debate in its Relation to State Sovereignty.

In the resolution, introduced into the United States Senate, December 29, 1829, by Samuel Foot of Connecticut, to inquire into the expediency of suspending for a time the sale of public lands,³ we fail to discover on the surface adequate cause for the outburst of eloquence that followed. Rather, we must seek for it in the temper of the people, exemplified by the spirit of their representatives.

In 1828, Congress had enacted a tariff act which became historically famous under the name of the "Tariff of Abominations" and which was vigorously protested against by certain of the southern states. In December 1828, the "Exposition," a vigorous arrangement of the tariff written by Calhoun, was adopted by the legislature of South Carolina.⁴ Finally, when Robert Hayne, in

1. Colton, Clay, IV, 262, April 24, 1830.

2. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 499, February 27, 1830.

3. Debates of Congress, VI, Part I, 13.

4. MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy, 83-87.

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addressing the United States Senate, January nineteenth, on the Foot Resolution, said: "I am one of those who believe that the very life of our system is the independence of the states and that there is no evil more to be deprecated than the consolidation of this government,"¹ he kindled a fire which was not to be quenched the remainder of the session. Throughout the great Webster-Hayne debate, that ensued, Hayne advocated the right of a state to render null and void an unconstitutional act of congress; Webster stood as the champion of the constitution, arguing for the indissolubility² of the union.

Jefferson Birthday Dinner; the Toasts of Calhoun and Jackson.

Calhoun's position on nullification was well known; the position of Jackson was indefinite.

On the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, April 13, 1830, a banquet was held in Washington, to which the president, the vice-president, the cabinet and many leading members of congress had been invited.³ The ostensible purpose was to honor Jefferson's birthday; in reality it was intended for political effect, to bring out the weight of Jefferson's name in favor of the new doc-

¹. Debates in Congress, VI, Part I, 3.

². Debates on the Foot resolution, continued from December twenty ninth when the resolution was first introduced, to May twenty-two.

³. Niles, XXXVIII, 153, April 24, 1830.

trine concerning state rights.¹ The members of the Pennsylvania delegation although they had subscribed to the dinner, agreed un-animously to stay away, upon seeing that the toasts, prepared,² savored of an anti-tariff and nullification character.² Niles suggested, that an entire list of the members of congress attending would have been a curiosity and that their constituents might have been "instructed" by it.³

Twenty-four regular and eighty volunteer toasts were presented during the banquet. The president responded with a volunteer toast, which has become famous:

"Our Federal Union: It must be preserved."

This brief and simple sentiment received special emphasis from the attendant circumstances. It showed the president ready to resist the nullification of a federal law even to the point of summoning the people to a defense of the union.⁴ The toast caused considerable comment and was received with hostility in South Carolina.⁵

¹. J. Q. Adams, VIII, 228, May 22, 1830.
Niles, XXXVIII, 153, April 24, 1830.

². J. Q. Adams, VIII, 228, May 22, 1830.
Niles, XXXVIII, 411, July 31, 1830, Kentucky Address (Fayette Corresponding Committee, June 21, 1830).

³. Niles, XXXVIII, 153, April 24, 1830.

⁴. Ibid, XXXVIII, 153, April 24, 1830.

⁵. Ibid, 153, April 24, 1830; 216, May 15, 1830.

Calhoun followed Jackson with his toast:

"The Union: Next to our Liberty the most dear; may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States, and distributing the benefits and burden of the Union."¹

"This toast", according to Benton, "touched all the tender parts of the new question-liberty before union-only to be preserved-States-rights-inequality of burdens and benefits. These phrases, connecting themselves with Mr. Hayne's speech, and with proceedings and publications in South Carolina, unveiled Nullification, as a new and distinct doctrine in the United States, with Mr. Calhoun for its apostle, and a new party in the field of which he was the leader."²

Such marked antithesis in the toasts of the president and the vice-president indicates a possible cause for the rupture between the two; it indicates that they had been growing far apart in their political concepts, long before the breach, apparently over a more personal matter occurred.

Development of the Jackson-Calhoun Quarrel.

The controversy between the two was caused by the deliberations in Monroe's cabinet of which Calhoun was Secretary of War and the condemnation at the time by Calhoun of Jackson's conduct.³

1. Niles, XXXVIII, 153, April 24, 1830.

2. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 148.

3. Niles, XXXIX, 441, February 19, 1831.

It was in November 1829, according to a narrative of Major Lewis, when Jackson heard of Calhoun's attitude that anger against the vice-president was aroused. Beginning May 13, 1830, with Jackson's letter of inquiry to Calhoun, concerning the accuracy of the former's information on the subject, a long correspondence between the president and the vice-president ensued. Calhoun in his desire to stand well with the president answering at great length. "Instead of taking the proper and dignified ground of declining to reveal the proceedings of a cabinet council" he attempted to justify his opinion of Jackson's conduct and proposed the investigation of Jackson's conduct by a court of inquiry. May thirtieth, Jackson replied that he had no wish to call into question Calhoun's conduct or his motives; that he was ~~a~~ relieved by the knowledge, he had received of Calhoun's attempt to "destroy his reputation;" and concluded the letter by saying that "no further communication on the subject was necessary." Calhoun persisted however, in continuing the correspondence, adding nothing of importance to what had been stated in his first communication.

For months, the controversy had been a subject of "much speculation" in the newspapers. Finally, in February 1831, Calhoun issued a pamphlet containing the above correspondence between him and Jackson. It was in vain that Calhoun had attempted

¹Parton, Jackson, III, 321-333.

²J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 316, February 14, 1831.
Colton, Clay, IV, 268, November 14, 1830.
(It was November 14, 1830, that Clay first recorded a knowledge of the rupture between Calhoun and Jackson.)
Niles, XXXIX, 441, 447, February 19, 1831.

an explanation;¹ it was useless for the administration party to look upon the matter as a mere personal affair between the two; Jackson had resolved that it should affect the political situation; that Calhoun was a public enemy.² The breach between the president and the vice-president was irreparable; the president refusing further communication with the vice-president.³

Effect of the Quarrel.

It was believed by both the administration and the opposition that Jackson was somewhat injured in the estimation of his friends by the controversy and also that the personal friends of Calhoun would be divided over the matter.⁴

The publication of the correspondence by Calhoun did not have the result anticipated. It was confidently expected that the Virginia legislature might be induced to act precipitately upon the first impression of the pamphlet; and that by union of Calhoun's personal friends with the opposition, the nomination of Calhoun for president might have been affected. But Virginia stood firm to its first faith; the resolution to nominate Calhoun was not adopted.⁵

1. Parton, Jackson, III, 332.
 2. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 316, February 14, 1831.
 3. Niles, XXXIX, 457, February 27, 1831.
 XL, 179, May 14, 1831. (Richmond Enquirer)
 (Calhoun Correspondence, 292, May 25, 1831. Calhoun wrote:
 "Between General Jackson and myself any connection personal and political is rescinded.")
 4. Curtis, Buchanan, I, 122, February 18, 1831.
 Colton, Clay, IV, 262, April 24, 1830.
 5. Curtis, Buchanan, I, 122, February 18, 1831.
 Niles, XL, 72, March 26, 1831. ("Globe," communicated.)

The "Telegraph's" Statement of the Cause of the Quarrel.

The Telegraph laid the blame for the trouble between Jackson and Calhoun to Van Buren, stating the belief that the plan for Calhoun's destruction had been settled by Van Buren, Eaton and Lewis before Jackson's inauguration.¹ Van Buren was anxious to fight the war of succession early and conceived of a way of eliminating his rival. Jackson could have had no motive for assailing Calhoun but Van Buren had a motive for forcing Calhoun into opposition. According to the same report, Van Buren issued "orders to all his presses to open a bitter and uncompromising war upon Calhoun." With this quarrel, we have the establishment of the "Globe" with Francis Blair as editor, taking the place of Duff Greene of the Telegraph in the intimate council of the president. Duff Green's "Telegraph had become the organ of the Calhoun faction."²

Dissolution of the Cabinet.

The "Eaton Malaria" and Early Gossip of the Cabinet Resignations.

The lack of harmony in the cabinet and the lack of confidence

1. Niles, XL, 447, August 20, 1831, (United States Telegraph).
(Letter of Desha, Member of Congress from Gallatin Tennessee to the editor, July 20.)

2. Ibid, 71, March 26, 1831. (Maine Democrat)

of Jackson toward his official advisors has already been alluded to. In September 1829, Hamilton received a letter from Van Buren denying any dissension in the cabinet and stating that the utmost¹ harmony and the best of feelings existed between the members. However, as early as March 1829, it had been reported that Mrs. Eaton, the wife of the Secretary of War had visited the president to complain of the treatment accorded her by the women of the official family at Washington and had obtained from him a promise to expound her cause.² This reported interview of Mrs. Eaton and the president was designated a fable by Hamilton;³ yet the fact that such an interview was even rumored as having occurred would signify that there was some trouble brewing. By December, Mrs. Eaton had become the "center of much political intrigue and controversy."⁴ Jackson forced Mrs. Donelson, niece of the president, and mistress of the White House, to visit Mrs. Eaton and invite her to the christening of her child.⁵

In March 1830, Adams, reported in his Memoirs, that Berrien, Branch and Ingham were ready to hazard their places in the cabinet rather than permit their wives and children to associate with Mrs. Eaton.⁶ Mrs. Calhoun had refused to give countenance

¹ J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 143, September 8, 1829.

² Ibid, 127, March 8, 1829.

³ Ibid, 129, March 21, 1829.

⁴ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, December 30, 1829.

⁵ Ibid, 197, March 3, 1830.

⁶ Ibid, 203, March 18, 1830.

to and associate with Mrs. Eaton.¹ Jackson, with his chivalry toward women and remembrance of the slanders toward his own wife, had championed Mrs. Eaton's cause. In this he had been supported by Barry and Van Buren.² By February 1830, the president had determined to remove Branch from the navy and was restrained for fear of an entire break-up of the cabinet, Jackson having been given to understand that Ingham and Berrien would resign if Branch were retired. He was also restrained by the threat that the North Carolina senators would join the opposition and that many nominations before the senate would be rejected.³ That either the resignation or the dismissal of Branch was seriously considered at this early date is further emphasized by the fact that Branch gave Mr. Wirt,⁴ whose house, he occupied, notice that he would vacate it in May. By June 1830, it seemed probable that Eaton or Donelson would retire.⁵ By November, the difficulties had reached a crisis, with the possibility this time, of the removal at least of Ingham, probably Berrien.⁶

As late as April 1831, the "Globe" and the "Richmond Enquirer,"

¹ Niles, XL, 447, August 20, 1831, (Letter from Congressman Desha.)

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 203, March 18, 1830.

³ Ibid, 184, February 6, 1830.

⁴ Ibid, 203, March 18, 1830.

⁵ J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences 168, June 15, 1830; 170, June 27, 1830.

⁶ Ibid, 170, June 27, 1830; 191, November 30, 1830; Adams, VIII, 289, January 21, 1831.

both administrations organs, maintained not the slightest indication had been given authorizing the belief that Ingham would either retire or be removed.¹

Resignations.

April 20, 1831, there appeared in the Globe a letter from Van Buren, dated the eleventh of the Month, tendering his resignation and the reply of the president, dated the twelfth, accepting the same. The "Globe," stated further that Eaton had tendered his resignation on the seventh and that it had been accepted. Ingham and Branch resigned April eighteenth and twentieth respectively, and according to the Telegraph at the request of the president.² Barry, postmaster-general, tendered his resignation, but the president prevailed upon him to remain in office, the pretext being that there were charges made against his offices, which Jackson thought should be refuted. It was rumored, also, that Berrien had resigned, but as he was absent from Washington, the report could not be verified.³ It was not until June 15, 1831, that Berrien handed in his resignation, having deferred it until his return to the city.⁴

¹ Niles, XL, 113, April 16, 1831.

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 357, April 19, 1831; 357, April 20, 1831.

³ Ibid, 359, April 21, 1831.
Niles, XI, 129, April 23, 1831; 179, May 24, 1831.

⁴ Ibid, 304, June 25, 1831.

The Social Freedom of Jackson's Advisors.

We would not understand the full significance of the dissolution of Jackson's cabinet, if we gained the impression that the event hinged on a single cause. When we examine the newspapers explanations of the affair, the letters of resignations, and Jackson's pretext for asking for the resignations of Ingham, Branch and Berrien such a tangle of evidence is presented as to make it difficult to unravel.

The Telegraph asserted that a member of Congress had waited on Ingham, Branch and Berrien, in January 1830, and informed them, that it was Jackson's determination to remove them from office unless they conformed to his wishes in compelling their families to associate with that of Major Eaton and asked the "Globe" to deny it.¹ The "Globe" denied emphatically that any member of congress was ever authorized by the president to inform the above members of his intentions.² Rather Colonel Johnson, the member of Congress, inferred to be the president's agent in the matter, assured the cabinet members that the president did not require social intercourse between the families of the members of the cabinet.³ Then the "Globe" asked the "Telegraph" for proof of their statement.⁴ This resulted finally in the publication of a statement by the "Telegraph" in which Colonel Johnson

1. Niles, XL, 268, June 18, 1831.

2. Ibid, 300, June 25, 1831.

3. Ibid, XL, 347, July 16, 1831.

4. Ibid, 373, July 23, 1831.

(denies) denied having called at the request of General Jackson but (admits) admitted that it was with his permission and approbation. He (states) stated that "the complaint made by General Jackson against this part of his cabinet (Messrs. Ingham, Branch, Berrien) was specific, that he had been informed and was induced to believe that they were using their influence to have Major Eaton and his family excluded from all respectable circles, for the purpose of degrading him and thus drive him from office, and that the attempt had been made even upon the foreign ministers and in one case had the desired effect. We proposed no mode of accommodation but declared expressly, "What if such was the fact, he would dismiss them from office." He also (states) stated that the president then read to him a paper containing the principles upon which he meant to act. "To prevent the rupture" Colonel Johnson (says) said he "requested of the president to postpone calling upon those members of his cabinet," and giving him (Johnson) an opportunity of two days to converse with them. The "Richmond Enquirer", the Virginia Official, published the president's statement, that the right of every member of society to the most perfect freedom in the choice of his associates.....was so familiar to every mind-that no man could except upon the meanest grounds, be supposed guilty of the flagrant absurdity of calling it in question.^{1 2}

Contrasting Versions of the Cause of the Dissolution.

The "New York Courier and Enquirer" stated on June twenty-

¹. Niles, XL, 426, August 13, 1831.

². Ibid, XL, 347, July 16, 1831.

third that the real causes of the dissolution of the cabinet would be in time given to the public and it would be evident that Mrs. Eaton had no part in the matter; that it would be shown that the plot had been organized before Jackson had been sworn into office.¹

Even if the above explanation were sufficient for the resignations of Ingham and Branch, the reason for the resignation of Eaton and Van Buren would still be wrapped in mystery.² Eaton's letter of resignation throws very little light on the problem. Van Buren introduced an entirely new element into the solution, when he wrote, in his letter of resignation, as follows:

"From the moment of taking my seat in your cabinet, it has been my anxious wish and zealous endeavor to prevent a premature agitation of the question of your successor and at all events to discountenance and if possible repress the disposition at an early day manifested, to connect my name with that disturbing topic. Of the sincerity and the constancy of this disposition, no one has had a better opportunity to judge than yourself. It has, however, been unavailing, Circumstances not of my creation and altogether beyond my control, have given this subject a turn which cannot now be remedied, except by a self-disfranchisement which even if dictated by my individual wishes could hardly be reconcilable with propriety or self-respect."³

¹ Niles, XL, 317, July 2, 1831.

² Ibid, 145, April 30, 1831.

³ Ibid, 143, April 23, 1831.

When asking for the resignations of Ingham and Branch, Jackson complimented them upon their "integrity and zeal." We might well ask the question then, why Ingham and Branch should have been turned out because Eaton and Van Buren resigned.¹ Jackson attempted an explanation of this, when he wrote that the moment Van Buren and Eaton resigned there was but one course for him to adopt, renew his cabinet proper, claiming, nevertheless that he parted from his friends with regret.² Between the resignation of Eaton and Van Buren and of Ingham and Branch, a period of ten days elapsed. With all parties on the spot, could the secretary of treasury and of the navy have been kept in ignorance of the resignations of the secretary of war and of state for over a week? If such ignorance were even, merely, affected, it would indicate that the cabinet had been "ill tempered and in a state of open quarrel."³ Ingham wrote in May 1831, "that the official intercourse of the heads of departments with each other and with the president (has) had never, to (my) his knowledge been interrupted for a moment, nor (has) had any differences of opinion as to the measures of the government, divided the cabinet in a single instance, so far as (I) he (recollect) recollected, according to the line of separation now so

1. Niles, XL, 145, April 30, 1831.

2. Ibid, 152-153, April 30, 1831.

3. Ibid, 145, April 30, 1831.

generally ascribed in the public papers." In direct opposition to the above, Branch spoke of a "want of harmony in the cabinet;" while the president, in a letter to Ingham, admitted, that the cabinet had ceased to be a "unit."¹

The Dissolution of the Cabinet as one Aspect of the
General Division Among the Administration Ranks.

The dissolution of the cabinet was explained, by Hamilton, as being merely one aspect of the general division among the administration ranks, when he wrote: "The scandal in relation to Mrs. Eaton had produced some discord.....That, however, was not the leading motive of the opposition in Congress and elsewhere on the part of Mr. Calhoun and his friends. It was only laid hold of as an ostensible cause of difference. The real one was the fear of Mr. Van Buren's power and influence with the president and his cabinet in the government. Mr. Calhoun, well knew that, if that power continued undiminished, Mr. Van Buren would be his most formidable competitor, He, therefore, determined to strike at home, careless whether he should hit the President or not. The consequence of that course of Mr. Calhoun was that he distracted the administration party in both Houses so much as to make it powerless. He was not prepared for the coup d'etat which followed, and which, from present appearances has frustrated him. Van Buren has the merit with Jackson's friends of

¹.Niles, XL, 220, May 29, 1831.

Having made a great sacrifice to the success of the administration. They are, therefore, bound to him by indissoluble ties. He has removed from Calhoun all pretence of a continued opposition."¹

Niles, in his issue of April 9, 1831, mentioned the fact that the rumor of the resignation of Ingham was supposed to have an immediate connection with Mr. Calhoun's affairs, Mr. Ingham being his personal and political friend.²

Finally, the "National Intelligencer" gave the following explanation of the recent disturbances among the administration ranks:

"The dissolution of the late cabinet, it is now officially avowed was from the beginning, the act of the president and did not take place in consequence of the letter of Van Buren to the president resigning his office or that of Mr. Eaton but in consequence of the deliberate determination of the president himself. It was no wonder that Mr. Van Buren's letter was an enigma to the public or that Mr. Ingham was slow to comprehend how the reasons alleged for the secretary of state's resignation could affect him. The writer of the "Globe" says: "When this issue was made by Mr. Calhoun's appeal, with himself personally, the president found his cabinet divided and an entire re-organization was determined upon."³ This determination, therefore, must have been made about the time that congress adjourned and of course long before the date of the resignation of Mr. Van Buren as the alternative to a self-disfranchisement."

1. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 222, May 28, 1831.
2. Niles, XL, 90, April 9, 1831.
3. Ibid, 349, July 16, 1831.

Contrary to this interpretation, Berrien, in a letter, dated September 22, 1831, asserted that although Eaton had made every effort to attribute the dissolution of the cabinet to the intrigues of the partisans of Calhoun "rather than to the feeling which had been excited by the attempt to control the social intercourse at Washington, that his efforts were in vain and that public judgment on the subject was irrevocably fixed."¹

Summing up, then, we conclude that, while Jackson and his supporters denied the relation of the Eaton Affair to the dissolution of the cabinet, emphasizing the importance of the intrigues of Calhoun and the lack of harmony and unity among the president's advisors; the deposed members of the cabinet with their allies placed special stress upon the political importance of the "Eaton Malaria."

Effect of the Dissolution upon Van Buren; his Rejection by the Senate.

Appreciating Jackson's desire to make out of Mrs. Eaton, a person of reputation, so Adams reports Greene as saying, Van Buren "took this opportunity", "to ingratiate himself" with his chief, kindling Jackson's jealousy against Calhoun "by making him believe that Calhoun's moral puritanism, was only a political cant of hypocrisy to head a party against the administration and prevent the re-election of Jackson." Webster prophesied that this

¹ Niles, XLI, 81, October 1, 1831.

dispute in the social world would have great political consequences and that it might even, determine, the success of the present chief magistrate.¹

According to the Clay, Van Buren's letter of resignation from the cabinet was a labored effort to conceal the true motive and to assign assumed ones, "for this step," under the evident purpose of profiting by the letter. Clay thought the "delicate step" had been taken because, foreseeing the gathering storm he wished to secure a safe refuge.² Hamilton considered that Van Buren's course had been dictated by profound wisdom, that resignation, was a master's stroke which would rebound to his advantage and possibly be useful to the president.³

Hailed as a most disinterested patriot by his party, it was soon rumored that he was to be sent to England as minister, and later would be run on the Jackson ticket for vice-president.⁴ Having been nominated by the president as minister to Great Britain and having embarked, for England;⁵ his nomination was rejected by the senate (forty-six members being present) by the casting vote of the vice-president. Had the two absent members

¹ Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 483, January 15, 1830.
J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 356, April 18, 1831.

² Colton, Clay, IV, 299, May 1, 1831.

³ J. A. Hamilton, 214, May 1, 1831; May 3, 1831.

⁴ Ibid, 222, May 28, 1830.
Niles, XL, 180, May 14, 1831. (United States Gazette.)

⁵ Ibid, 201, May 21, 1831.

of the senate been present, the result would have been the same.¹ Apparently the triumvirate, Clay, Webster and Calhoun, had leagued themselves to aim a blow at the president. "Clay was aware of the keen and canine appetite with which (Mr.) Calhoun was prepared to devour his victim and therefore, insidiously, contrived to place the banquet before him." According to the Richmond Enquirer Calhoun seized upon his enemy with "eager delight."² That, in spite of the "banquet", Van Buren was still in the political arena, future events were to reveal. The rejection of the nomination of Van Buren produced a universal feeling of indignation among the friends of the administration.

Effect of the Dissolution upon Jackson's Position.

In settling the difficulty within the cabinet, two courses were open to the president, the one that he took, the other, an authoritative change in three of the departments. "The boldness of the latter course would have commanded respect and probably intimidation; and at the same time it would have afforded an opportunity to have made an exposition in relation to recent events that would have been useful."⁴ "Although Hamilton considered that the course pursued gave Van Buren a strong hold on the public,

1. Niles, XLI, 393, January 28, 1832.
 XLII, 262, June 2, 1832, (Globe)
 Senate Journal, 22, Congress, I, Session, 211, Appendix, 507, January 25, 1832.

2. Niles, XLI, 477, February 25, 1832. (Richmond Enquirer.)

3. Ibid, XLII, 77, March 31, 1832.

4. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 214, May 3, 1831.

he confessed to have had gloomy apprehensions" for the president. According to the "Richmond Enquirer," the opposition might "chuckle at the dissolution of the cabinet," yet they were far from benefited by it." Their great plan of sowing the seeds of strife between the friends of Calhoun and Van Buren (is) was broken up-Van Buren (has) had withdrawn to retirement....He (has) had no longer the ear of the president-nor the weight of office; nor any of those applicances, which he (has) had been charged with abasing. The opposition (can) could no longer, therefore turn these things to account. They (can) could no longer insidiously fan the flame of jealousy and scatter discord in the republican ranks."²

Clay felt that his cause could "not fail to be benefited by the measure." For it was "a broad confession of the incompetency of the President's chosen advisors, no matter from what cause to carry on the business of the Government."³ A Virginia correspondent of the United States Telegraph said that Jackson was pursuing the very course that his enemies would have chosen for him; that his friends were fast losing their confidence in him.⁴

¹. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 214, May 3, 1831; May 1, 1831.

². Niles, XL, 179, May 14, 1831.

³. Colton, Clay, IV, 300, May 1, 1831.

⁴. Niles, XL, 350, July 16, 1831.

According to Adams, not a human being of any party regretted the loss of the services of any of the Secretaries withdrawn.¹

Formation of a New Cabinet.

Very shortly after the cabinet had been formed, attorney-General Berrien proving undesirable, the feeling ripened to offer his place to Louis McLane,² who had been urged for consideration by Van Buren, at the organization of the first cabinet. In January 1831, there was a rumor that McLane was being considered for Ingham's place, as Secretary of the Treasury.³ Adams reported, in his Memoirs, April 19, 1831, that Edward Livingston was to be appointed, Secretary of State, Hugh White Secretary of War, Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy.⁴ April twenty-fifth, Hamilton noted this same list, but, with the addition, that if Berrien resigned, someone from Virginia, not yet decided on would be chosen.⁵ By April thirtieth, it was reported that Livingston had accepted the Secretaryship of State; that White would decline because of family afflictions; nothing had been heard as to McLane and Woodbury;⁶ there was also a report that James Buchanan

1. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 360, April 25, 1831.

2. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 130.

3. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 280, January 21, 1831.

4. Ibid, 357, April 19, 1831.

5. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 214, April 25, 1831.

6. Niles, XL, 146, April 30, 1831.

would supersede Berrien as Attorney-General, it being settled¹ that he would ~~settle~~, retire, or be invited to resign.

As late as May fourteenth, all the resigned secretaries, except Van Buren, whose place was already occupied by Livingston, were yet acting, so far as signing names to official papers.² By May twenty-eighth, Woodbury had entered upon his duties in the Navy Department; McLane had been offered the office of Secretary of the Treasury, Ingham to remain in the Treasury, until some unfinished business, upon which he was engaged, was completed. It was also reported that Senator White had declined the department of war; that Colonel R. M. Johnson of Kentucky would be appointed; meanwhile the duties of the department were being performed by Eaton.³ On June tenth, before the resignation of Berrien had been announced, the "Richmond Enquirer" announced by authority, that P. P. Barbour had declined the attorney-generalship.⁴ Finally the National Intelligencer announced that that office of attorney-general having been offered to and declined by G. M. Dallas of Philadelphia,⁵ had been tendered to Roger B. Taney of Baltimore.

¹ Curtis, Buchanan, 126, April 29, 1831, 1831.

² Niles, XL, 180, May 14, 1831.

³ Ibid, 220, May 28, 1831.

⁴ Ibid, 269, June 18, 1831.

⁵ Ibid, 289, June 25, 1831.

June seventeenth, Eaton ceased to act as Secretary of War. Dr. Randolph, chief clerk being appointed acting secretary in the interim; June twentieth, Ingham retired from the treasury department.¹ By July second, Roger Taney had accepted the attorney-generalship;² and by July sixteenth, Lewis Cass of Ohio had been appointed Secretary of War.³ By August sixth, McLane had arrived in Washington and on August seventh, Cass arrived and the cabinet was again complete with:⁴

Edward Livingston of Louisiana.....	Secretary of State.
Lewis Cass of Ohio.....	Secretary of War
Louis McLane of Delaware.....	Secretary of Treasury.
Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire.....	Secretary of the Navy.
Roger Taney of Maryland.....	Attorney-General.
William T. Barry of Kentucky.....	Postmaster-General.

Comments upon the new Members.

Kendall considered the second cabinet far superior to the first in talents, qualifications, as well as in harmony of feeling.⁵ Hamilton considered the new cabinet a strong one, although he had

¹. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 372, June 27, 1831.

². Niles, XL, 305, July 2, 1831.

³. Ibid, 337, July 16, 1831.

⁴. Ibid, 417, August 13, 1831.

⁵. Kendall, Autobiography, 301.

great doubt as to Woodbury. Having been engaged in the cabal with Calhoun and Tazewell, at the first formation of the cabinet, believing himself to be suspected, Woodbury, according to Hamilton, would probably be false.

¹J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 214, May 1, 1831.

(Jameson, Calhoun (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report 1899), 290-291, May 26, 1831, "I am of the impression the whole of Van Burens motive in the late dissolution may be summed up in two; to increase his influence in the government, and to diminish his responsibility. The place of Ingham will be filled by a devoted partisan; and that of Branch by one that can be controlled. Livingston is a personal and political friend of the Ex. Secretary; and Judge White who is exclusively attached to the President though intelligent and pure is cautious to timidity. If to these we add, Lewis Kendall (1), Heyward, Smith all men of great influence with the President, and devoted to Mr. Van Buren, you will readily see, that the Ex. Secretary's presence is no longer necessary to his control, though it might increase his responsibility.")

Chapter IV.

Development of Party Issues, (Part I.)The Difficulty of Jackson's Position.Jackson's Platform, 1828.

The platform, upon which Jackson had been elected, in 1828, had been later interpreted by the opposition to include the following principles: (1) That the "pre~~cedent~~cedent of one presidential term of four years" should be established. (2) That, in order to preserve the integrity of the legislature from corruption of the executive power and patronage, appointment of members of Congress to public office should be opposed. (3) That the practice of rotation of office should be established. (4) That American Industry should be protected by an adequate tariff. (5) That internal improvements should be promoted.¹

Lack of Early Knowledge of Jackson's Opinions.

February 21, 1829, Van Buren wrote to Hamilton from Albany; "I hope the Gen'l will not find it necessary to avow any opinions upon constitutional questions at war with the doctrine of the Jefferson school. Whatever his views may be, there can be no necessity of doing so in an inaugural address."²

¹ Niles, XXXVIII, 406, July 31, 1830, (Kentucky Address)
(Fayette Corresponding Committee June 21.)
Ibid, XL, 387, July 30, 1831. (United States)(Philadelphia Gazette.)

² J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 94, February 21, 1829.

Jackson's Inaugural; Its Composition.

The collection of Jackson's papers contained three copies of the inaugural address. One is a copy in his own handwriting and endorsed by him, "Rough Draft of the Inaugural Address ." From the inscription upon it, from the fact that it was written by his own handwriting, because of the obscure form of many of the sentences, it has been concluded that this copy was his own original work.¹

There is a manuscript, in the hand of a copyist, endorsed by Jackson, himself, "Inaugural address^{as} delivered." This draft was evidently the result of consultation with his friends, Henry Lee, Major Lewis and possibly Major Donelson, at the home of Lewis

¹ Bassett, Jackson, II, 425-326.

The following sentences are illustrative of the structure of the sentences contained in the first draft.

"To be elected under the circumstances which have marked the recent contest of opinion, to administer the affairs of a government deriving all its powers from the will of the people--a government whose vital principle is the right of the people to control its measures, and whose only object and glory are the equal happiness and freedom of all the members of the confederacy, cannot but penetrate me with the most powerful and mingled emotions of thanks, on the one hand, for the honor conferred on me, and on the other, of solemn apprehensions for the safety of the great and important interests committed to my charge."

"In the present stage of our history, it will not be expected of me on this occasion to enter into any detail of the first principles of our government. The achievements of our fathers, our subsequent intercourse with each other, the various relations we have sustained with the other powers of the world, and our present attitude at home, exhibits the practical operations of these principles, all of which are comprised in the sovereignty of the people."

in Nashville, Tennessee. This draft was slightly revised by his friends in Washington, Hamilton, according to his own account, assuming an active part in this work.¹ Among Jackson's papers was found a third copy, based on this revision and this was the one from which Jackson read at the inauguration, since it is, in every respect, like the official copy of his first inaugural.²

A Summary of Jackson's Pronouncements in his Inaugural.

Jackson declared it his intention in his inaugural, in "administering the laws of Congress, to keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the executive power." He stated that it should be his purpose "to preserve peace with foreign nations," cultivating their "friendship on fair and honorable terms." With regard to the "Rights of the separate states" he hoped "to be animated by a proper respect for those sovereign members of our union; taking care not to confound the powers, they have reserved to themselves with those they have granted to the confederacy." "To facilitate the extinguishment of the National debt," a "strict and faithful economy" in the management of the public revenue was promised. In regard to the tariff, Jackson contented himself, with the vague statement that "the spirit of equity, caution and compromise, in which the constitution was formed, required that the great interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, should be equally favored;

¹ J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 104.

² Bassett, Jackson II, 429.

and that perhaps the only exception to this rule should consist in the peculiar encouragement of any products of either of them that may be found essential to our national independence." Internal improvements, together with the diffusion of knowledge, was disposed fo in short order, with the statement that, "so far as they can be promoted by the constitutional acts of the federal government," they "are of high importance." Standing armies were pronounced "dangerous too free governments in time of peace," and no increase was to be encouraged. "A just and liberal policy "toward the Indians was guaranteed." The declaration, concerning the Civil Service, has already been commented upon.

Comments upon the Inaugural.

Webster declared that he made very little of the address, "except that it was (is) anti-tariff, at least in some degree." March seventh, Niles, recorded, "the fear that the new administration may stand opposed to the encouragement of domestic industry and internal improvement." A member of the National House of Representatives, from South Carolina, considered, "the tone of the president's inaugural address," "as calculated to

1. Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 436.
 2. See above, Page 36.
 3. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 473, March 4, 1839.
 4. Niles, XXXVI, 17, March 7, 1829.

soothe the too justly excited feelings of the south."¹

Jackson's position was indeed difficult and the inaugural address which has been generally characterized as vague and meaningless, seemed to Parton, "to be as plain and straightforward as his (Jackson's) peculiar and difficult position admitted. By his writings and notes," "committed to a protective tariff and improvement policy," "elected to the presidency by a strict constructionist party," "his inaugural was a clear enough acceptance of the leadership of the party which had elected him."²

Clay's Prophecy of Disintegration in the Administration Ranks.

July 18, 1829, Clay addressed a letter to his friend Senator Johnston, in which he prophesied, that the next session of Congress would greatly disintegrate the administration party. For, whatever Jackson should recommend in his message, a division of his friends in Congress would be inevitable. If he remained silent, each section would claim him as its advocate and there would be a resultant quarrel. In expressing his views he would alienate all his party, opposed to his sentiments and this faction would attach itself to the party, opposed to Jackson. For example, if he should come out for the tariff, the South would desert him; if he should oppose the Tariff, there

¹. Niles, XXXVI, 131, April 25, 1829. (Greenville, South Carolina). Mountaineer, From Mr. Davis, Washington, March 5.

². Parton, Jackson, III, 171.

would be "such an opposition to him in the Tariff States, as must prevent his reelection." "The worst course for those who were opposed to his election and are now unwilling to see him reelected is "according to Clay," "that he should declare himself unequivocal-ly for the Tariff, The best course for them is that he should come out clearly against the Tariff."¹

Confused Ideas of Jackson's Political Principles.

That the confusion concerning Jackson's political principles and lack of concord among his early followers continued throughout the first session of Congress is apparent from the following extract:

"All the representatives from Pennsylvania and Ohio, who support this administration," wrote Stanberry, member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, in 1830, "are in favor of laws for the protection of the domestic industry of the country and for judicious measures for its internal improvement. The line between us and the supporters of General Jackson in the South or elsewhere, who deny either the policy or constitutionality of these measures is clearly drawn and distinctly marked and we will continue firmly to occupy the ground on which we stand, and resist all attacks which may be made upon us, from any quarter, to drive us from it. He (Jackson) was recommended to us expressly on the ground, that he was in favor of the tariff and of internal improvement. And we were able to refer to such evidence of measures as could not be mistaken. We have had no reason to believe that

¹. Colton, Clay, IV, 238, July 18, 1829.

he has changed these opinions."¹

Adams wrote, however in June, that the interest of internal improvement and domestic industry had strengthened rather than weakened the popularity of the present administration. The slave holders of the South had concluded that internal improvements operated against their interests. "Jackson, who to promote his election and obtain western votes (had) truckled to it for a time, (has) had.....taken his decided stand against it."²

Finally, June twenty-first, we have from the Fayette (Kentucky) Corresponding Committee, the following interpretation of the political situation: "The government of the United States presents at this period a most singular spectacle-that of a president elected by a majority of the nation and yet that president and his cabinet governed by the policy of a minority, not the minority who opposed his election, but a minority of those who contributed to secure it. During the canvass which preceded the late election, it was affirmed and denied with equal confidence that General Jackson was in favor of the tariff and internal improvements. In parts of the Union where these internal improvements were popular, he was held up as their friend, whilst in others where they were unpopular, he was held up as their opponents."³

¹ Niles, XXXVIII, 235, May 22, 1830.
(To the Editor of Newark (O) Advocate)

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 233, June 25, 1830.

³ Niles, XXXVIII, 410, July 31, 1830.

Possible Position of the Opposing Parties.

The opposition was not long in determining to their satisfaction the policies of the administration. "Parties must now, necessarily be started out anew," wrote Webster to Clay, in May 1830, "and the great ground of difference will be Tariff and Internal Improvements. You are necessarily at the head of one party, and General Jackson will be, if he is not already, identified with the other."¹ Webster summarized this view of the policy of the opposition when he wrote, in March 1830, that the north should not change their attitude toward the Tariff; that they should go temperately and cautiously for internal improvements; that they should "agree in all measures having in view the payment of the debt; that the truly national spirit should be cultivated." The "selfishness and pretense of the men in power" should be exposed as much as possible. "Only such measures as deserve no support" should be opposed. Webster advocated holding "absolutely aloof from Van Buren and Calhoun" and being² ready to act for themselves when the proper time came.

Adams has given us the following summary of Jackson's policies together with the attitude of the people toward them:

"The system of internal improvement and the promotion of domestic industry, which upon the close of the last war with Great Britain had been pursued until the present administration came into power, will be abandoned and, as they offer in its

¹ Colton, Clay IV, 276, May 29, 1830.

² Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 492, March 6, 1830.

stead the remission of taxes, they will in all probability be supported by the people. The control of the General Government over the separate States will also be abandoned and the power of the Judiciary Department prostrated. The people will also sustain this. The entire discharge of the national debt will dissolve one of the strongest ties which hold the union together; and the doom of the National Bank ~~at~~ the expiration of its charter is already sealed. Of the two systems, that of the present Administration, sacrifices its future and remote benefit to the present and therefore addresses itself more to the feelings and prejudices of the people."¹

Internal Improvements.

Jackson's Position with Reference to Internal Improvements prior to his Election.

While in the United States Senate, in 1823-1825, Jackson had voted in favor of the several bills for internal improvements; such for example, as a bill to improve the navigation of the Mississippi, Ohio and Missouri;² a bill for laying out and making a road in Missouri;³ a bill to extend the Cumberland road to Zansville;⁴ he had also voted in favor of a subscription by the

¹J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 373, January 13, 1831.
²Senate Journal, 18, Congress, 1 Session, No. 88, 441, May 10, 1824.
³Ibid, 111, January 26, 1825.
⁴Ibid, 192,193, February 24, 1825.

United States of stock in the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company.¹ Eaton had likewise voted for these measures, while Branch, Van Buren, Hayne and others who were later to take their stand definitely for strict construction had voted against them.² During the campaign of 1828, in answer to a letter from Governor Ray of Indiana, written at the suggestion of the Senate of that state, Jackson made the statement that his opinion concerning internal improvements remained unaltered.³

Internal Improvements in the Inaugural.

In his inaugural address, there was one brief meaningless sentence, which was, however, generally interpreted that Jackson viewed the promotion of internal improvements by the federal

¹ Senate Journal, 18, Congress, 1 Session, No. 88, 194, February 24, 1825.

Ibid, No. 84, 126, 127.

January 23, 1824, Jackson had also voted for a bill authorizing a road from Memphis in the state of Tennessee to Little Rock in the Territory of Arkansas. (Memphis being located on the Mississippi River, it was perhaps supposed that no money would be expended within the state of Tennessee.)

Ibid, Page 184.

February 20, 1824, he had voted for a bill laying out and making certain roads in the Territory of Florida. (In neither as the above bills was the opposition based on the same ground as that now taken by the president.)

Ibid, Page 344.

May 1, 1824, he had voted for a bill, "to procure necessary surveys of roads and canals." (Its passage had been opposed by nearly all strict constructionists; Hayne had voted for the bill, Eaton, in opposition.)

² See references on Page 80, No. 2-3-4.

³ Niles, XXXIX, 30, September 4, 1830.

government with disfavor.¹

To this brief sentence, the second copy of the inaugural, the one which was evidently brought from Tennessee, had added the following paragraph:

"After liquidating the national debt, the national income will probably exceed the ordinary expenses of government, in which event the apportionment of the surplus revenue among the states, according to the ratio of their representation for these purposes will be a fair, federal and useful disposition of it. Every member of the Union in peace and in war, will benefit by the improvement of our inland navigation and the construction² of highways in the several states."

The sentiments which this paragraph expressed were echoed³ in Jackson's first annual message to Congress.

Jackson's First Annual Message and Internal Improvements.

In his first annual message, December 1829, Jackson explained his views on internal improvements, very clearly. He admitted that every member of the union was "benefited by the improvement of inland navigation and the construction of highways in the several states." He declared however that the mode,

1. Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 437, "Internal Improvements and the diffusion of knowledge, so far as they can be promoted by the constitutional acts of the federal government, are of high importance."

2. Bassett, Jackson, II, 429.

3. Richardson, Messages, and Papers II, 451-452.

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hitherto adopted to attain that benefit, had been deprecated by many as unconstitutional, "while others had considered it inexpedient. He suggested therefore that the surplus revenue after the extinguishment of the public debt, should be proportioned among the several states according to their representation in congress. If such a measure were not warranted by the constitution he recommended that an amendment authorizing it, be proposed to the state. Occasion was taken at this time, to discountenance all encroachments of the general government upon the legitimate sphere of State sovereignty.¹

Presidential action upon Internal Improvement Bills
of twenty-first, Congress, first Session.

May 27, 1830, Jackson's veto message of a bill, authorizing "a subscription of stock in the Maysville, Washington, Paris and Lexington Turnpike Road Company" was received by the House of Representatives. This veto was based mainly on the reason, that the improvement in question was of local character. Although the right to make appropriations for internal improvements of a national character was admitted by Jackson, he maintained that it was highly expedient that appropriations even of such a

1. Richardson, Message and Papers II, 451-452.
Jameson, Calhoun 293, May 25, 1831.

According to Calhoun, "The American system itself (is) was not so odious here as the distribution scheme. It (has done) did much to destroy General Jackson in the South!"

nature be deferred until after the payment of the national debt.¹
 In a letter to the Hawkins County (Tennessee) committee, Jackson wrote that his course, "in withholding (my) his approval of the Maysville, road bill, was plainly pointed out.....by the constitution" and he trusted that it might have had "the effect of awakening public attention to the importance of extinguishing as speedily as possible to the public debt."²

On May thirteenth Jackson sent a message to the House of Representatives, announcing that he had signed the bill, entitled "An act making appropriations for examinations and surveys, and also for certain works of internal improvement" Jackson indicated in his message that it was to receive the following particular construction, that a road from Detroit to Chicago for which an appropriation had been made should not be extended beyond the limits of Michigan Territory.³ The construction of laws, making appropriations for roads, depended on the president; but "the explanatory message qualifying the signature of the President to

1. Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 483-493.

2. Niles, XXXIX, 105, October 9, 1830.
 Ibid, XXXVIII, 408, July 31, 1830.
 Kentucky Address (Fayette Corresponding Committee, June 21), "The president assigns as a further reason for withholding his approbation from the bill, the motive of paying the national debt. (1) It did not prevent the president from recalling at a great expense to the nation our foreign ministers. (2) It did not prevent his recommending the Indian measure by which \$500,000 is placed immediately at his disposal and millions are to be hereafter expended. (3) It did not prevent the establishment of numerous new officers. (4) It did not prevent appropriations for internal improvements in other states."

3. Niles, XXXVIII, 285, June 12, 1830.
 Richardson, Messages and Papers, II, 483.

an Act of Congress "was characterized by Adams, as "unexampled in this country and contrary to the spirit of the constitution—a usurpation of the judiciary power, and susceptible of great abuse as a precedent."¹

On May thirty-first, a bill "to authorize a subscription of stock in the Washington Turnpike Road Company" was returned to the Senate the latter being referred by Jackson to his veto message to the House of Representatives on the Maysville Bill for his objections.²

At the close of the same session of Congress, he also vetoed by pocketing two bills, namely, "An act for making appropriations for building light-houses, life-boats etc. and, "An act to authorize a subscription for stock in the Louisville and Portland Canal Company."³

Jackson's Second Annual Message (1830).

In his second message, December 1830, he took occasion to explain his reasons for withholding his approval of the bills. "The importance of sustaining the State sovereignties as far as (is) was consistent with the rightful action of the Federal Government" was again emphasized. "The power which the General

1. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII 230, June 6, 1830.

2. Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 493-494.
Niles, XXXVIII, 285, June 12, 1830.

3. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 230, June 6, 1830.

Government would acquire within the several states by becoming the principal stockholder in corporations," such as those suggested in the above bills, was declared by Jackson to be "dangerous to the liberties of the people." The unequal distribution of expenditures for internal improvements among the states in the past years, was considered, by Jackson, another serious objection to the system. Although admitting that such improvements might be made more beneficially in some states than in others, he thought that "the want of this equitable distribution (can) could not fail to prove a prolific source of irritation among the states."

Internal Improvements through Federal Agency, 1830-1831.

However, by March 1831, the advocates of internal improvements had become greatly encouraged for they claimed a decided majority² in both houses of Congress favorable to the policy. March 2, 1831 two acts were approved by the president, the first "making additional appropriations for the improvement of certain harbors and removing obstructions in the mouth of certain rivers, the second "making appropriations for carrying on certain roads for works of internal improvements and for providing for surveys."³ In all the appropriations amounted to about six hundred and fifty

¹ Richardson, Messages and Papers, II, 510-514.

² Niles, XI, 58, March 26, 1831.

"How could it have been otherwise? General Jackson is a western man and those who support him naturally have a friendly feeling for the western country."

³ Debates of Congress, VII, Appendix, 34-38.

thousand dollars, almost equaling the sum appropriated for that effect at recent sessions.¹

Omission of mention in the Third Annual Message.

In Jackson's third annual message, December 1831, the subject of internal improvements was not mentioned,² notwithstanding the fact that it had been reported early in that year that the administration had become "more decidedly anti-tariff and anti-internal improvement than ever."³

Jackson's Inconsistency with Respect to the Internal Improvement Bills of 1832.

"An act making appropriations for certain internal improvements for the year, 1831, was approved by Jackson July 5, 1832.⁴ On the other hand a bill proposing appropriations for the

1. Niles, XL, 58, March 26, 1831.

2. Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 544-548.
J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 435, December 12, 1831.

3. Niles, XL, 146, April 30, 1831.

4. United States Statutes at Large IV, 551-557.

The appropriations amounted to from one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty thousand dollars and included numerous items, of various amounts and for vastly different purposes, illustrated by the following:

For removing obstructions in the Berwick branch of the Piscataque river, \$250.

For removing a sand bar at the mouth of the Black River, Ohio, \$6,680.

For continuing the road from Detroit toward Chicago, \$15,000.

For continuing the Cumberland road in the State of Illinois, \$70,000.

improvement of certain harbors and rivers in a number of states amounting to more than a half million dollars was retained by the president at the close of the session and did not become a law. Examining the contents of the two bills, it must be admitted that Jackson displayed considerable inconsistency. If there were any distinction in principle between the internal improvement bills, which the president approved and the harbor bill which he rejected, it was, according to Niles, in favor of the bill rejected, the constitutionality of which "no one could have doubted."

State Legislatures and Internal Improvements.

The Maysville road led across that part of Kentucky which had been in the most friendly to Jackson. The exercise of the veto on the bill produced great excitement through the State; public meetings of the people were held in various places; many of Jackson's supporters denounced him. Clay was much encouraged by the effect produced.

It was suggested to assail the veto by proposing an amendment to the constitution, requiring a majority of all members elected to each house of Congress, instead of two-thirds, sub-

1. Niles, XL, 146, April 30, 1831.

The "Harbor Bill" was called, included such items as the following:

For improving the navigation of the Hudson River, \$70,000.

For the improvement of Black Creek, \$20,000.

For the improvement of the Harbor of Baltimore, \$25,000.

For removing a bar in James River below Richmond, \$21,000.

2. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 504, June 7, 1830.

Ibid.

sequently to pass the bill. The policy of proposing such an amendment appeared very obvious to Clay under the present conditions. If the administration agreed, it would have been adopted; if they would have opposed it, the opposition would have had the "weather-gage" of them.¹

A convention of Democratic-Republican members of the Senate and House of Representatives of New Hampshire, meeting June 15, 1830, resolved "that the appropriation of money, collected from the whole people of the United States, to the making of roads or canals, for the benefit of particular states or neighborhoods,was "unequal, unjust and corrupt in its effect and dangerous to the nation." They also passed the resolution, that if any surplus remained after accomplishing the legitimate ends of the general government, it would be well "to divide it among the states to be applied to internal improvements, than that it should be appropriated to those objects by Congress."²

¹ Colton, Clay, iv, 274, June 16, 1830; 280, June 16, 1830. Niles, XXXVII, 428, February 20, 1830.

The General Assembly of Kentucky had passed a resolution that Congress possessed the power under the constitution to adopt a general system of internal improvements, as a national measure for national purposes.

² Ibid, XXXVIII, 393, July 24, 1830, (New Hampshire Patriot). Ibid, XXXVII, 276, December 26, 1829. Senate Journal, 21 Congress, 1 Session No. 191, 86.

The House of Representatives of South Carolina had passed resolutions which Webster had presented to the United States Senate January 18, 1830, "requesting their senators and representatives in Congress, to oppose any appropriations for internal improvements, from the general government and particularly all such appropriations for the benefit of South Carolina.

Appeals to Congress by the state legislatures for aid in constructing works of internal improvements were viewed as protests directed against the Maysville veto.

The general assembly of Louisiana passed a resolution, instructing their senators and requesting their representatives to use their influence to obtain aid of the national government in deepening the mouth of the Mississippi.¹ A resolution, passed by the Senate of Pennsylvania asking an additional subscription of a million dollars of Congress for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal,² was regarded by many as a protest against the veto. The general assembly of Missouri, the majority of which had been Jacksonian, affirmed the power of the Federal Government to construct works of internal improvements, at the same time asking aid of Congress for the continuation of the Cumberland road and for an appropriation for the removal of obstructions in the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers.³ The Legislature of Delaware passed a resolution, disapproving of the conduct of Jackson in refusing his signature to the Maysville road bill and other bills for the promotion of internal improvements.⁴

Almost every state, at some time, asked the aid of the general government to make internal improvements and yet such a construction of the constitution was violently opposed by several.

1. Niles, XXXIX, 427, February 12, 1831.
XL, 30, March 19, 1831.
2. Ibid, 25, March 12, 1831.
3. Ibid, 58, March 26, 1831.
4. Ibid, XXXIX, 452, February 19, 1831.

The legislature of North Carolina asked aid of the general government in re-opening the Roanoke inlet while the House of Representatives of that state passed a resolution, "denying a power in the general government to prosecute internal improvements within the limits of a state."¹ A great meeting was held at Mobile, to ask of Congress the gift of three million acres of land to assist in the accomplishment of the junction of the waters of the Tennessee and the Alabama. It has been asserted that if the right of the general government to assist by a subscription of money ~~was~~ unconstitutional, then the right to assist by gifts of land, equally the property of the nation, was likewise contrary to the constitution. The Alabama legislature passed a resolution praising Jackson for the course he had pursued, in opposing the² passage of the Maysville road bill.

Position of the Cabinet.

In a speech delivered at Cincinnati, Clay spoke thus of the attitude of Jackson's cabinet toward internal improvements: "It (the veto on the Maysville Road Bill) does not express his opinion, but those of his advisors and councilors, especially those of his cabinet. If we look at the composition of that cabinet, we cannot doubt it. Three of the five who, I believe, com-

1. Niles, XXXIX, 426, February 12, 1831.

2. Ibid, 317, January 1, 1831; 450, February 19, 1831.

pose it (whether the post-master general be one or not, I do not know) are known to be directly and positively opposed to the power; a fourth, to use a term descriptive of the favourite policy of one of them is, a non-committal and as to the fifth, good Lord, deliver us from such friendship as his to Internal Improvements.¹"

Van Buren whom we recognize as the "non-committal" in the cabinet denied, later, the existence of a power residing in Congress to appropriate money for internal improvements. He was probably disposed to distribute the surplus revenue among the states, according to the ratio of representation; but only after the constitution was amended to give Congress, the power described above. He concurred in the opinions expressed by Jackson in the Maysville veto.²

When Livingston was appointed to the office of Secretary of State, his opinions on the constitutional right of the national government to appropriate money for the making of roads and canals became highly important. Examining his record in the United States Senate, we find that he had been an open advocate of the constitutional power of Congress to appropriate money for internal improvements.³

1. Niles, XXXIX, 30, September 4, 1830. (Delivered August 3, 1830.)

2. Ibid, XLII, 199, May 12, 1832;
XLIII, 125, October 20, 1832.

3. Senate Journal, 21, Congress, 1 Session, No. 191, 33 December 17, 1829.

Resolution submitted by Mr. Livingston, enquiring into the expediency of constructing a direct road from Washington to New Orleans was considered and agreed to.

Position of Calhoun.

In August, 1831, Calhoun stated his attitude on the question as follows:

"I have no doubt of its (the subject of internal improvements) great importance and within proper limits, its constitutionality; but I think experience has abundantly shown, that the system cannot stand on a solid or satisfactory basis without insertion of express provisions authorizing its exercise, and guarding against its abuses. When the debt is paid, I would be glad to see such a provision, and think the publick lands would constitute the proper funds under proper guards to be appropriated to this great object."¹

Senate Journal, 36, December 21.

Certain resolutions submitted by Mr. Livingston on Thursday last on the subject of opening a water communication between the Mississippi and Lake Pontchartrain, was agreed to.

Debates of Congress, Vol. VI, Part I, 341-342, April 16, 1830.

"Mr. Livingston said that when the Senate came to consider the question of striking out this part of the bill (appropriating money for internal improvements, or completing the survey and estimate of a canal to connect the waters of the Atlantic with the Gulf of Mexico), they were to determine whether they will or will not carry on a system of canals most important to our national defence in time for war.... When this greatest of all national works, calculated to be the greatest benefit to the commerce of the North and East, as well as of the South and unequalled for the purpose of commercial safety and cheapness of defence in time of war, the cost of a few thousand dollars is to be counted."

¹ Jameson, Calhoun, (Am. Hist. Assoc. Reports, 1899), 296, August 5, 1831.

Position of the Opposition.

Adams had been elected to the lower house of the twenty-second Congress; his views concerning the principal political issues are therefore important. He was an ardent exponent of the doctrine of the general government's power to appropriate money for internal improvements. In December 1831, he proposed to the Secretary of the Treasury that five million dollars be reserved to such purposes, to be applied thus in time of peace, while at prospect of war, the sum would serve as a fund for the emergencies of the occasion.¹

Turning now to the position of Clay, in a letter to his confident, Francis Brooke, October 4, 1831, he made the following unusually clear statement concerning his views of internal improvements:

"In regard to internal improvements, I never have thought or contended that a single cent of duty ought to be laid or continued for their promotion. I believe the power is possessed by the general government. In any prudent adjustment of the Tariff to produce a revenue say of twelve million^s, sound policy requires that a deficit should be guarded against by laying duties enough. In some years owing to the fluctuations of commerce, there may be a surplus, which might not be wanted. Such an occasional surplus, I would apply to the purpose of internal improvements. But the great resource on which I think we should rely for that

¹. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 439, December 20, 1831.

object, after the payment of the public debt, is the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. There is an obvious fitness in such an appropriation. And I think that a more liberal application to the Western States ought to be made, of this fund, than to the other reasons; first That the public domain is there situated and improvements in that quarter have a tendency to enhance the value of the unsold residue; Second, As a sort of counterbalance to the expenditures on a navy and fortifications which are for the more immediate benefit of the maritime frontier. It is true, that each part of the Union is concerned in the safety and prosperity of every other part. But this interest is sometimes only indirect. The maritime States would have quite as much of this indirect, interest in internal improvements made under the authority of the general Government, in the West, as the Western States would have in Eastern fortifications and a navy. But I would leave the consideration of what is due to the Western States from the above views, to the enlightened sense of Congress."

He contended that there was not the slightest authority in the constitution for the doctrine of distributing the surplus revenue among the several states. "The General government (can) could not more devolve upon the States the duty of discharging any one of its own powers than the States (can) could delegate the general Government without an amendment of the constitution the duty of local or municipal legislation."¹

¹ Colton, Clay IV, 315, October 4, 1831.
See below page 163, for his interest in the meetings of protest on the Maysville veto in Kentucky.

Chapter V.

Development of Party Issues, (Part II).

A Protective Tariff.

Jackson's Position on Protective Tariff in 1824.

Having been asked by Dr. Colman to give his views on the tariff, Jackson replied, April 26, 1824, that he favored a judicious examination and revision of the tariff. He summarized the arguments in favor of a "judicious" tariff, as follows:

"That it was¹ much wanted to pay our national debt and afford us the means of that defense within ourselves, on which the safety and liberty of our country depends; and last, though not least, give a proper distribution of our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence and wealth of the community."¹

The Inaugural, Intrepreted as Anti-Protective.

Although it had been widely held that Jackson's first in-²augural had been anti-protective, there had been, as stated above, various interpretations of that sentence in his address³ relating to the tariff. As an example of this the Fayette Cor-

1. Parton, Jackson, III, 356.

2. See Above Pages 75 and 76.

3. Richardson Messages and Papers, II, 437.
"With regard to a proper selection of the subjects of imposts with a view of revenue it would seem to me that the spirit of equity, caution and compromise, in which the constitution was formed requires that the great interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, should be equally favored; and that perhaps the only exception to this rule should consist in the peculiar encouragement of any products of either of them, that may be found essential to our national independence."

responding Committee (Kentucky) maintained, June 21, 1830, that "in his inauguration speech the president asserted that revenue should be the object of tariff and threw out doubts whether it ought to be extended even to articles of prime necessity."¹

Jackson's first Annual Message.

In his first annual message, Jackson stated that some of the provisions of the existing tariff would require modification. He believed that duties should be graduated in such a way that articles of our growth and manufacture would be placed in fair competition with those of other countries. Especially should articles of "primary necessity in time of war" be protected. Jackson advised the modification of the duties on those articles of importation which could not come in competition with our own production, tea and coffee being especially mentioned. He emphasized the importance of merging local feelings and prejudices "in the patriotic determination to promote the great interests of the whole." "The North, the South, the East and the West should unite in diminishing any burthen of which either may justly complain."² The recommendation that discussion of the tariff should be kept separated from the "party conflicts of the day" was char-

¹. Niles, XXXVIII, 411, July 31, 1830, (Kentucky Address, Fayette Corresponding Committee, June 21).

². Richardson, Messages and Papers, II, 449, 450.

acterized by Niles, as "praiseworthy."¹

Jackson was thought by some to recognize the principle of a protective tariff and not to contemplate any material change in the system.² Especially did the message rouse opposition in the South.³ On the other hand it, was interpreted as favorable to the reduction, not only of those duties intended to protect manufactures but of those exclusively laid for revenue.

First Session, Twenty-first Congress and the Tariff.

Early in this session a member of Congress wrote that there was no possibility that a majority of Congress would vote for a reduction of the tariff, whatever the opinion of the president.⁴ January 15, Webster wrote: "The tariff sleepeth. It may

1. Niles, XXVII, 257, December 19, 1829.

2. Ibid, 354, January 25, 1830.

3. Ibid, 342, January 10, 1830.
(Edgefield (S. C.) Carolinian.)

"In relation to the great southern question by intimating no doubt in the matter; it recognizes the constitutionality of the tariff. Indeed, all that is said on this subject is as dangerous to our rights as anything that could be desired by human ingenuity. The very soul of the protecting system—that our manufactures are to be brought into fair competition with foreign products by the aid of high duties upon which the foreign articles is stated as the principle upon which the tariff should be adjusted while the remarks upon the paramount importance of agriculture and the danger of frequent legislations on the tariff, are calculated by their location to gloss over the injurious scheme, and delude the southern people by the appearance of moderation into their own ruin."

4. Ibid, 354, January 23, 1830.

be jagged a little during the session, but I think not awakened.. I think the duties on tea and coffee will be reduced; and that then reduction will stop."¹ Although it was generally conceded that the South might make an effort to bring up the question of the tariff, during the session, little could be predicted as to their success, except in the articles of tea and coffee.²

As the session progressed, there was the belief that the subject would be agitated in both houses and as there were several of the existing duties which operated oppressively upon the commerce and manufactures of New England, it was suggested that the representatives from that section might unite with the Southern members in removing those burdens.³

February 5, McDuffie (South Carolina) from the Committee of Ways and Means of the House reported a bill, recommending a downward revision of duties on certain specified articles, such as iron, wool, cotton, sugar and allowing a drawback on spirits distilled from foreign materials. A motion made by Strong of New York that the bill be put on the table was carried, Yeas 107 Nays, 79. This vote indicated that a decided majority of the House of Representatives was "indisposed to any general revision

1. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 483, January 15, 1830.

2. Niles, XXXVII, 292, January 2, 1830.

3. Ibid, 396, February 6, 1830.

of the tariff," during that session.¹

Finally, April twenty-sixth, a debate on the tariff was precipitated in the House by McDuffie. This debate, Clay thought, could not fail to widen the breach between the sections, of the Jackson party.² Throughout the months of April and May, various tariff bills were passed by the House and the Senate with large majorities.³ These bills were incorporated in the acts of May

1. Niles, XXXVII, 409, February 3, 1830; House Journal, 21 Congress; 1, Session No. 194, 257, February 5, 268, February 8.

Van Tyne, Webster, 151, March 19, 1830.

The administration senators held a caucus in March in their endeavor to unite but, according to Webster, they were "irreconcilable" as to measures and there was little possibility of their "stirring" against the tariff.

2. Colton, Clay IV, 273, May 6, 1831; 267, May 9, 1830. Debates of Congress, VI, 819.

3. House Journal, 21, Congress, 1, Session, No. 194, 552, April 20.

Bill to reduce the duties on coffee and tea passed the house, yeas 108, nays 70.

Page May 14.

Amendment of Senate to bill entitled an act to reduce the duties on tea, coffee and cocoa, concurred in by the House. Page 677-678, May 19.

McDuffie from the committee of Ways and Means reported a bill to reduce the duty on salt; the bill passed the house, 103 yeas, 87 nays.

Page 684-685, May 21.

McDuffie reported a bill to reduce the duty on molasses and to allow a drawback on spirits distilled from foreign materials; passed the House, 120 to 56.

Senate Journal, 21 Congress, 1 Session, No. 191. Page, 295, May 11.

An act to reduce the duties on coffee, tea and cocoa "together with amendments reported them by the committee on Finance" was passed.

Page 345, 346, May 29.

An act to reduce the duty on salt, Yeas 24, nays 15.

An act to reduce the duty on molasses and to allow a drawback on spirits distilled from foreign materials, passed yeas 30. nays, 8.

20, and 29 by which, duties on coffee, tea, cocoa, molasses and salt were reduced and a drawback on spirits distilled from foreign materials was allowed.¹ These acts were "calculated" to weaken somewhat the ties binding the members of the American system party together, but this hope vanished after McDuffie's motion to repeal the tariffs of 1824, and 1828, was voted down in the House by such an overwhelming majority.²

Attitude of the Leaders of the Administration Toward Protection.

The Fayette Corresponding Committee gave the following excellent summary of the attitude of the leaders of the administration concerning the tariff:

"The president is for a judicious tariff and such a one will have his temperate and steady support; and a judicious tariff means nothing. The vice-president is opposed to the tariff. There is not a member of the cabinet its sincere friend, and several of them its open and undisguised opponent. The Speaker of the House of Representatives is its enemy; and the Chairman of the most important committee's of both houses of Congress upon whose pro-

1. United States Statues at Large, IV, 403-404; 419.

2. Niles, XXXVIII 379, July 17, 1830.
House Journal 21, Congress, 1 Session, No. 194,627, May 11, yeas 70, nays 117.

ceedings its fate materially depends are decidedly¹ hostile to it."

State Legislative Demands For and Against Continuance
of the Protective System.

There was a widespread demand for the continuance of protection. Before the assembling of the first Congress under Jackson the council and general assembly of New Jersey had passed a resolution requesting their senators and representatives in Congress, to oppose, by their votes and influence, such modification of the existing tariff, as should impair the protection afforded to our² mechanics and manufactures.

The people of Pennsylvania were, as a whole, among the most ardent champions of the "American System." The Pennsylvania legislature, with but one dissenting vote, adopted a resolution declaring that the tariff of 1828, accorded with the federal constitution. Notwithstanding party affiliations, all candidates for Congress from Pennsylvania promised their support for maintaining the protective system. Not a single member of Congress from that state (or from Ohio) believed that the tariff laws were

¹ Niles, XXXVIII, 412, July 31, 1830; 320, June 26, 1830. May 30, a letter had been addressed to the "Camden Journal" Washington, in which the system of internal improvements were said to have been completely "thrown overboard;" and it was prophesied that the protective system would follow in its "wake." For neither of the two systems could exist independent of the other. "The friends of each system (must) were forced to aid the other in carrying on their schemes of political plunder."

² Niles, XXXVII, 212, November 28, 1829.

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unconstitutional.

The sugar-planters of Louisiana were likewise enthusiastic supporters of the tariff. Resolutions, favorable to the system, passed the state senate unanimously during the spring of 1830; the House of Representatives, with but seven dissenting votes.² Early in 1830, the General Assembly of Kentucky adopted a resolution, declaring the tariff laws, constitutional and beneficial to the best interests of the people.³

On the other hand the general assemblies of Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi had adopted resolutions, insisting on the repeal of the tariff laws and the abandonment of their principle.⁴ The committee of the House of Delegates of Maryland, while disagreeing with Mississippi, in declaring the tariff of 1828, unconstitutional and oppressive, entirely approved of the "constitutional opposition" to the system by those who felt themselves "aggrieved."⁵

1. Niles, ~~XXXI~~ 294, January 2, 1830;
XXXVIII, 235, May 22, 1830.

2. Ibid, 157, April 24, 1830; 203, May 8, 1830.

3. Ibid, XXXVII, 379, January 30, 1830; 428, February 20, 1830. The assembly added that it could not "omit to avail itself of an occasion so appropriate to call to its aid the off-repeated sentiments of their most distinguished fellow-citizens, Henry Clay, whose zealous and able exertions in support of both measures (tariff and internal improvements) (have) had been only equalled by his ardent patriotism and unbending integrity."

4. Niles, XXXVII, 294, January 2, 1830.

5. Ibid, 428, February 20, 1830.

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Jackson's Protective Policy as Indicated by His Second Annual Message.

In his second annual message, December 1830, Jackson argued in favor of the constitutionality of the tariff. The power to impose duties on imports, originally belonging to the states was delegated by them to the general government without limitation or restriction. The encouragement of domestic branches of industry was, according to Jackson, incidental to that power. Jackson further maintained that the chief object of duties was revenue but that they might be adjusted to encourage manufactures. In this adjustment, the government should be guided by the general good and not by local interests. "Object of national importance alone ought to be protected." Productions of our soil, mines and workshops, essential to national defense, should "occupy the first rank."¹

"The Georgia Courier" asserted that Jackson was "for the protective tariff" and that he could "not split hairs with the ultra patriots in fixing the precise point where that (end) ended and the revenue system (begins) began." The tariff would, according to the same source, "be made the pretext in the South for

¹ Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 523-524.

deserting the president."¹

From the above, we should gain the impression that Jackson had become a supporter of the protective system. Adams had, however, recorded in his Memoirs, June 22, 1830, "that Jackson had taken practical ground against internal improvements and domestic industry, which (will) would strengthen him in all of the Southern States."² In May 1831, Branch wrote, that the contest between Jackson and Clay, would "never divide the southern politicians to any extent;" for the "American system" had but few advocates among the southern planters and its author still fewer

¹ Niles, XL, 428, August 13, 1831.

Ibid, 205, May 21, 1831.

The following extract from the "Banner of the Constitution" has especial significance.

"There has been no time, since the presidency of Mr. Jefferson we think at which in the southern states, the doctrine of "principles first-men next" has more extensively prevailed and should the Jackson party in Congress representing the middle and western states, yield nothing of their devotion to the American System in accommodation to the state rights party of the South, which almost to a man supports the present administration we should not be surprised to see a withdrawal from the electoral field, in 1832, of a great portion of that party, upon the ground that professed political friends were as hostile to their interests as political foes."

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VII, 232, June 22, 1830.

adherents."¹

Pennsylvania's Attitude toward Protection 1831.

February 24, 1831, in harmony with earlier resolutions, the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania had adopted a resolution sanctioning the constitutionality and the beneficial effect of the protective tariff. The resolution had occasioned some debate and some of the members would have preferred to have avoided a public committal on the question. "The people of Pennsylvania and the people's president" did not, according to Niles, "see the subject according to the same light." An "ineffectual attempt" was made to introduce the qualifying adjective, "judicious into the resolution, but the resolution was passed as first suggested, by a vote of 87, to 2. A resolution against any diminution of the present duty on iron was ~~passed~~, yeas 83, nays 5.²

¹. Niles, XL, 253, June 11, 1831.

Ibid, 393, July 30, 1831.

July 21, the "New York Evening Post" reported as follows: "In Ohio, no better evidence can be required of the happy change which public opinion is undergoing on the subject of the tariff than the fact that a half dozen papers or more, now advocate the doctrine of free trade in favor of which a twelve month, not a syllable was lisped. Virginia, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi are all decidedly with us on the tariff, question. Our cause is gaining ground in Maryland and Ohio, hitherto high tariff states. New York is anti-tariff, Massachusetts is slowly turning from the error of its ways, and we hear cheering accounts from some of the other American System States."

². Niles, XXXIX, 452, February 19, 1831.

Ibid, XL, 56, March 19, 1831.

See Above Page 102.

The "Democratic citizens" of Philadelphia passed a resolution, April 18, indicating their approval of the "present tariff" and the belief that "its operation" was "beneficial" and "that any extensive change therein would be injurious to the interest of the state of Pennsylvania."¹

Free Trade Convention.

A project was originated, in 1831, by the "New York Evening Post" to assemble from all parts of the union "a convention of intelligent and disinterested men, professing the doctrines of free trade with a view of inquiring into the results of the restrictive system and laying them before the public."² June 4, in response to this suggestion a number of men from several states, advocates of free trade assembled in Philadelphia, and passed a resolution "that a convention for the purpose of securing the efficient co-operation of the friends of free trade throughout the United States in procuring the repeal of the restrictive system be held" in Philadelphia, September 30 and that citizens, favorable to this principle, notwithstanding distinction of parties, be invited from every state."³

At a meeting held in Georgia, for the purpose of sending delegates to the convention, anticipating the suspicion liable to be attached to the object of the gathering, a resolution was passed

1. Niles, XL, 174, May 7, 1831.
They also passed a resolution, approving the veto on the Maysville Road Bill.
2. Ibid, 234, June 4, 1831.
3. Ibid, 305, July 2, 1831.

professing "devotion to the union."¹

There was great irregularity in the method by which the delegates were chosen, little popular support being shown; in general the primary meetings were small, often hardly exceeding in number, the delegates appointed. Rather significant is the fact that, while there were fifty-one delegates from Virginia and forty from South Carolina, there were only twenty-three from New York, eighteen from Massachusetts and fifteen from Pennsylvania.

The delegates included, among other men of talent, members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives and a member of Jackson's first cabinet.²

A resolution was unanimously passed by the convention, that a memorial to congress should be prepared "setting forth the evils of the existing tariff of duties and asking such a modification of the same as shall be consistent with the purposes of revenue and equal in its operation on the different parts of the United States and on the various interests of the same." It was however, agreed that the reduction should be protective in its operation, so as not to "operate with undue severity on the manufacturing interests."³

1. Niles, XL, 451, August 27, 1831.

2. Ibid, XLI, 105, October 8, 1831; 107, October 8, 1831.
(Berrien)

3. Ibid, 157, October 22, 1831.

Tariff Convention.

Apparently, to counteract the influence of the Free Trade Convention, a convention of "agriculturists, mechanics and manufactures" was held in New York, October 26, in favor of the encouragement and the protection of American Industry.¹ Since the national debt, which had required a system of duties supplying at least ten million dollars a year, was soon to be extinguished, the most enthusiastic supporters of the American System realized that the people would expect some reduction of duties. In concluding their address to the public, the convention submitted to general consideration, "the expediency of applying that reduction to such commodities as were (are) incapable of being brought within the scope of the protective system;" preserving the tariff, "without diminution in its application to every branch of domestic industry that might (may) be benefited by its influence."²

Jackson's Third Annual Message.

In his third annual message, December 1831, making more definite his idea of a "judicious tariff," Jackson stated that in anticipation of the extinguishment of the public debt, an opportunity was "presented for carrying into effect, more fully the policy in relation to import duties,"¹ which he had recommended

¹•Niles, XLI, 66, September 24, 1831; 73, October 7, 1831; 108, November 5, 1831.

²•Ibid, 129, October 15, 1831, 216, November 10, 1831.

in his former messages. He advised a reduction of the tariff, suited to the wants of the government and "an adjustment of the duties on imports with a view to equal justice in relation to all our national interests." He advocated, however, that the reduction should be prospective and for that reason, considered that it would be proper, for the Congress then assembling to dispose of the subject, even before the necessity for the revenue, arising from the present duties, should cease.¹

Clay's Position on Protection, October 1831.

On October 4, 1831, Clay had written to Francis Brooke, that he agreed with Calhoun, in considering the next session of Congress a suitable time for a reduction of the tariff in anticipation of the payment of the national debt. The modification might well be prospective, taking effect on the occasion of that event. This reduction should be effected by an abolition or a lowering of the duties on articles, coming into competition with the products of our soil or manufactures. "The principle of protection should be preserved unimpaired".....but at the same time, no more revenue should be collected than (is) was necessary to an economical administration"...that is, "protection might be incidentally afforded in the collection of revenue."²

¹.Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 556.

².Colton, Clay IV, 314, October 4, 1831.

Views of Leaders in Congress and the Administration
on the Tariff.

At the beginning of the session of Congress there was a general understanding that a reduction of duties upon many articles was a necessity. But the problem was nevertheless to prove, difficult and agitating. There was no agreement among the parties either as to the amount of the reduction of the revenue or the object on which it should take effect. In the Committee of Manufactures of the House, it was generally agreed that the reduction should be large upon the articles, not in competition with our own.¹ Adams, who had been elected to the lower house of Congress, had, against his will and inclination,² been appointed chairman of the Committee of Manufactures. He favored a remission of six or seven million dollars on duties and a reservation of five million dollars a year for purposes of internal improvements.³ Clay, elected to the Senate of the

¹. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 438, December 14, 1831.

Niles, XL, 205, May 21, 1831.
Early in 1831, the "Banner of the Constitution" made the statement that the party adverse to Clay was not in every state in opposition to the American System, but that in some states, they were "as clamorous in favor of the tariff and internal improvements as their opponents." The article contained the prophecy that there would not be a majority in Congress, the coming session, "hostile to the system," although there might "possibly be a majority opposed to some of the measures."

². J. A. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 433, December 12, 1831; 436 December 13, 1831.

³. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 439, December 20, 1831.

Twenty-Second Congress, in conversation with Adams said that there were other points to be considered besides the reduction or lowering of duties. One point to be considered was changing the mode of valuation; another, shortening the credit of importation and introducing a system of cash payment as for public lands; a third was "the expediency of increasing the duties upon some of the protected articles as to make them nearly prohibitory." Adams feared, however, that the last method of reducing the revenue, at the same time extending the protective system would have the danger of increasing the discontent of the Southern States. Clay maintained, in conversation with Adams that the discontent in that region was imaginary and had, almost in all Southern States, subsided to a great extent.¹

December twenty-eighth, there was held an informal gathering, including several prominent members of the House and the Senate, to discuss the proposed reduction of the tariff. At this meeting, the different views of those favoring the protective system to a greater or less degree, were definitely explained.² A draft of a bill, which Clay had already attempted in the Senate and General Dearborn in the House was taken up for consideration. This bill made provision for the immediate and total repeal of all duties upon tea, coffee, spices, indigo, and many other articles, almost the whole duty upon wine and for

1. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 443, December 26, 1831.

2. *Ibid*, 444, December 28, 1831.

effecting the diminution for revenue for the year 1832, upward
of seven millions.¹

Clay maintained that, as it was the policy of their opponents to break down the American system by accumulation of revenue, it should be theirs to counteract, by reducing, immediately the revenue to the amount of seven or eight millions dollars that coming year. Apparently, he wished hardly to wait for January first to take off the duties, while he would have adhered to the protective system to the extent of increasing the duties on some of the protected articles.² Adams objected especially to an immediate remission of the tariff, through the fear that it might have a disastrous effect upon the commercial world; he stated that the Committee of Manufactures in the House ~~was~~ already committed upon the principle that the reduction of the duties should be prospective, not commencing until after the payment of the public debt. The proposed bill would, according to Adams, if passed in the Senate, upon commitment to the Committee of ways and means in the House be amended by an additional reduction of seven or eight millions more.³

1. Debates of Congress, VIII, (Part I), 15-16, December 20, 1831.

Ibid, (Part II), 1442-1443, December 19, 1831.

2. J. Q. Adams Memoirs, VIII, 445, December 28, 1831.

3. Ibid, 445-446, December 28, 1831.

MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy 153.

It is a significant fact that McDuffie of South Carolina was chairman of that committee and that later in the House he proposed a system of ad valorem duties, with a reduction of a uniform duty of twelve and half percent to take effect after June 3, 1834.

Debates of Congress, VIII, Part III, 3120-3170, May 28, 1832.

Adams said the "immediate remission of duties, with a declared disposition to increase the duties upon the protected articles, would be a defiance not only to the South....but defiance also of the president and of the whole administration party." Clay replied that "he did not care who he defied. To preserve maintain and strengthen the American System, he would defy the South, the President, and the Devil."¹

While Adams felt that the President's pet scheme of paying off the whole of the public debt before March 4, 1832, should be indulged in, as it would please the people and there was, certainly some justice in it, Clay saw no necessity for the payment of the debt at that time. His motive appeared obvious to Adams; for the extinction of the debt would then become Jackson's "great and irresistible" electioneering cry. Therefore, by the instant repeal of these duties, Clay wanted to withdraw seven or eight million dollars from the treasury, thus rendering² it impossible to extinguish the debt by March 4, 1832.

Adams felt that the reduction of the Tariff should be one of compromise, something being given up on each side; while he

¹. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 446, December 28, 1831.
Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 269.
Debates in Congress, VIII, Part I, 71-72, January 11, 1832.
In his opening speech in the senate, Clay "had adverted to the Southern discontent at the working of the protective tariff, in a way that showed he felt it to be serious, and entitled to enter into the consideration of statesman; but considered this system an overruling necessity of such want and value to the other parts of the union, that the danger to its existence laid in the abandonment, and not in the continuance of the "American System."

². J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 446, December 28, 1831; 448, December 28, 1831.

would not countenance a sacrifice of the manufacturing interests, he would make concessions to appease the discontent of the South. He was ready to co-operate with the Treasury Department in any such plan that might be advanced.¹

Van Buren believed that the speedy extinguishment of the national debt presented an opportunity for a more equitable adjustment of the tariff; that the protective system was constitutional, but that it should not be made burdensome to any one section.² Jackson, we recall, had recommended the abolition of duties on numerous articles of "necessity and comfort," not produced at home.³

The similarity between the attitude of Adams and that of the administration on the tariff issue is, indeed striking, Adams certainly accorded closer to Jackson than he did to Clay on this question; for although Clay was willing to compromise as to particular points, he gave "unequivocal support" to the principle of protection.⁴ His position on the tariff did not remain stationary even through this session of Congress.

(1) He modified his opinion of making the reduction of the tariff prospective.

¹J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 439, December 20, 1831; 466, January 25, 1832.

²Niles, XLIII, 125, October 20, 1832, Letter of Van Buren printed in the "Albany Argus", dated October 4, 1832.

³Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 266.

⁴Niles, XLI, 337, January 7, 1832.

(2) His attitude toward Southern discontent varied.

(3) His ardor for protection greatly increased.

Throughout the session, the protective system continued to be the theme of many "exasperating" discussions in Congress.¹ January tenth Clay presented the following resolution in the Senate:

"That the existing duties upon articles imported from foreign countries and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties upon wines and silks and that those ought to be reduced; and that the Committee on Finance² be instructed to report a bill accordingly."

Tariff in the First Session, Twenty-Second Congress.

Although the administration and the opposition may have entertained different views concerning the tariff, a compromise was attained, and as is the case with the majority of compromises did not prove entirely satisfactory to either party. Clay's

1. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 275.

2. Senate Journal, 22 Congress, 1 Session, No. 211, 69, January 10, 1832.

Niles, XLI, 414, February 25, 1832.

Similar to the resolution, offered by Clay to the senate is the following resolution which had been passed earlier in the year by a "Jackson Convention," held at Columbus Ohio: "Resolved, that we approve of reducing the revenue of the general government but by such an adjustment as will operate to the protection of our domestic industry.

resolution was finally adopted and in June 1832, a bill substantially in accord with it passed both houses, the House of Representatives by a large majority.¹ According to Clay, the act with some alterations would have been a good measure of protection.² Benton records however that the session was ended "without any suitable amelioration of the system, though with a reduction of duty on some articles of comfort and convenience as recommended by President Jackson."³

Attitude of State Legislatures Toward Protection.

The governor of Alabama, in his message to the legislature of that state, November 18, 1831, made the statement that while as a state, "they ought to be decidedly opposed to the policy of the American system," there was much diversity of opinion on the subject of the extent to which they might legitimately oppose the tariff.⁴

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1. Schurz, Clay, I, 360.
Colton, Clay, V, 340, June 29, 1832.
Debates in Congress, VIII, Part III, 3830-3831, (H. of R.) yeas 132, nays 65.
Ibid, 3891-3895.
Amendments proposed by senate agreed to July 10,
Senate Journal 22, Congress, 1 Session, No. 211, 429, July 7, yeas 31, nays 15.
Ibid, 431, July 9, 1832.
"An act to alter or amend the several acts imposing duties on imports."
United States, Statutes At Large, IV, 583-594.
 2. Colton, Clay, IV, 340, June 29, 1832.
 3. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 275.
 4. Niles, XLI, 315, December 24, 1831.

Previous to the session of Congress, in December 1831, the House of Representatives of Tennessee adopted the following resolution, which embodied the same principles that were contained in Jackson's third annual message;

"Resolved: That our senators in Congress be instructed and our representatives be requested, to use their best exertions to procure such a revision and reduction of the existing tariff duties of the United States, as will, on the payment and discharge of the national debt, reduce the same to the standard of the necessary revenue, and the encouragement of such domestic manufactures¹ alone, as are indispensable to our national independence."

During the spring of 1832, the House of Representatives of Maine adopted a resolution, by a large majority, in favor of the reduction of the tariff, so as not to be in excess of the expenditures² of the government; the legislature of Connecticut adopted a resolution, in favor of the maintainance of a tariff that would "insure the safety and future prosperity of existing³ interests."

¹ Niles, XLI, 353, December 3, 1831.

² Ibid, XLII, 93, April 7, 1832.

³ Ibid 215, June 9, 1832.

Indian Affairs.

Georgia and the Cherokees.

By a series of treaties beginning in 1785, the United States had "recognized the Cherokees as a nation, capable of making peace and war, of owning the land within its boundaries, and of governing and punishing its own citizens by its own laws."¹

In open violation of these solemn engagements, Georgia had extended her jurisdiction over the territory and persons of the Cherokees, situated within its limits, by a statute of December 25, 1828, the law to take effect June 1, 1830.²

Jackson's Early Attitude.

Before the first meeting of Congress Jackson countenanced the pretensions of Georgia, declaring that the right of the Indian to maintain an independent government within the limits of a state could not be conceded.³

Jackson's First Annual Message (1829).

In his first annual message Jackson refused to sustain the tribes of Indians in their attempts to set up independent governments within the states of Alabama and Georgia and foreseeing a contest between the Indians and the States, recommended

¹ 5, Peters 17, Cherokees nation vs. state of Georgia.

² MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy 170-171.

³ Niles, XXVI, 258, June 13, 1829.
Ibid, 311, December 24, 1831.

the passage of an act to enable him to provide for their re-
 moval to the west of the Mississippi.¹

The Indian Bill.

After one of the most earnest contests of the session, an act was passed, May 28, 1830, appropriating the sum of \$500,000 to defray the expenses of treating with the Indians for an exchange or sale of territory.²

The Indian bill was the favorite measure of the administration, the anxiety to pass it taking precedent over all other measures.³ Lewis of Alabama proclaimed those in the House "Traitors" who did not uphold the measure.⁴ There were in the North, especially in Pennsylvania, members of Congress, too "chickenhearted" to stand by this measure of the administration party.⁵ Many would not have voted for the bill with a knowledge that internal improvements would have been "prostrated." It was only after the Indian Bill passed, that they were informed, through the veto of the Maysville bill, that the removal of the Indians would require the surplus revenue and no fund would be left for internal improvements.⁶

¹ Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 456-458.

² United States, Statutes, at Large, IV, 411.

³ Niles, XXXVIII, 451 August 21, 1830.

⁴ Ibid, 269, June 5, 1830.

⁵ Ibid, 402, July 31, 1830.

⁶ Ibid, 451, August 21, 1830.

Indian Affairs in Georgia.

With the means which had been placed at the disposal of the president the removal of the Indians was "eventually effected." In Georgia the question assumed a serious form. The Indians did not take to the suggestion of emigration. June¹ 1830, all Cherokees, refusing to emigrate, became subject to the laws of the state and were required to acknowledge the right of the state to exercise jurisdiction over them.² December 1830, the legislature of the state ordered the Indian country surveyed, passing numerous acts with regard to the relation of the Indians to the state.³

United States Supreme Court as Arbitrator.

Besides resisting through their friends in Congress, the Indians took their case before the Supreme Court of the United States.⁴

¹ Benton, Thirty Years Views, I, 164.

² MacDonald, Jacksonian, Democracy, 174, 176.

³ Ibid, 174.
Benton, Thirty Years Views, I, 164.

⁴ Benton, Thirty Years Views, I, 164.
⁵ Peters 17.

In January 1831, in the case of the Cherokee Nation vs. State of Georgia, Chief Justice Marshall declared that the Cherokees were not a "foreign state" as described in the complaint and the majority of the Judges agreed with Marshall in his opinion that they (the Cherokees) were a "distinct political society....capable of managing its own affairs and governing itself."

Benton, Thirty Years Views, I, 166.
MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy 175.

In December 1830, the legislature of Georgia, had enacted a law forbidding white persons (except agents of the national government) to reside within the former Cherokee reservation, without a license from the state government. Under the act Worcester, a missionary, was arrested and sentenced to four years imprisonment. The case having been appealed to the United States Supreme Court a decision was rendered, in March 1832, in which the Georgia statute was declared unconstitutional. In the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall said:

"The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter, but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves or in conformity with treaties, and with the acts of Congress. The whole intercourse between the United States and this nation is, by our constitution and laws, vested in the government of the United States."¹

An Indian, named Tassel, was tried for murder under the laws of Georgia, convicted, condemned and sentenced to be hanged. A writ of error to bring the case before itself having been obtained by the Supreme Court, the state of Georgia was requested to appear through its governor. The governor refused to appear, the legislature authorizing him to have the sentence of the state carried into effect. Tassel was accordingly hanged, the state of Georgia thereby nullifying a federal judicial mandate.

¹ Worcester vs. Georgia, 6 Peters 515-597.

Worcester was accordingly ordered to be discharged. Georgia defied the mandate of the court, however, and refused to release the prisoner, who remained in confinement until pardoned by the governor in January 1833. Jackson declined to support the court, although he offered no explanation for his act.¹

It was suggested by a paper, published in Georgia, that the decision of the supreme court had been made against Georgia in order to influence the presidential election, as a majority of the justices, including Chief Justice Marshall, was opposed to the Jackson administration.² Jackson's dislike of Marshall might serve to explain his position; his views about Indians have been said, also, to have influenced his conduct. The contrast between his attitude in this matter and his stand with reference to nullification, illustrates the eccentric character of his political reasoning. His championship of Georgia in her open defiance to the federal courts, could not fail to have encouraged the doctrine of nullification.³

Public Lands.

The Debate on the Foot Resolution.

December 29, 1829, Foot had offered his resolution in the Senate, to inquire into the indiscriminate sale of public land, apparently with the intention of equalizing the sales in different

1. MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy 177.

2. Niles, XLII, 287, July 28, 1832, (Georgia "Constitutionalist")

3. MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy 178.

districts and insuring the disposal of lands already on the market. A most animated debate was provoked by this resolution continuing throughout the session. In the debate, "most of the chief subjects, which it was thought would occupy the attention" of Congress were discussed, internal improvements, tariff, appointing power of the president, treaty-making power, Indian question, nullification, In fact the leading feature of the debate became the topic of nullification, not the land system.¹

The resolution was taken as an intimation by the west, that the Eastern States were opposed to the policy of selling the public lands to settlers at easy rates and to the building up of the agricultural communities in the west. Benton of Missouri charged New England with jealousy toward the west and ~~that~~ with a desire to retard its growth.² Hayne joined in the attack of the west on the east, stating that as the east had injured the west by an attempt to check emigration, just so had she injured the south by the policy of protective tariff.³ Benton and Hayne by a joint and concerted attack upon the Eastern portions of the union proposed to break down the union of the eastern and western sections and to restore the old joint operations of the

¹ Niles, XXXVII, 409, February 13, 1830.
XXXVIII, 49, March 13, 1830.
Debates of Congress, VI, Part I, 3.

² MacDonald; Jacksonian Democracy, 93.

³ Story, Life and Letters of Joseph Story, II, 34, January 29, 1830.
Webster, Writings and Speeches, (National Ed.) XVII, 489, March 3, 1830.
Niles, XXXVII, 377, January 30, 1830.

West and the South against New England.¹ "If the attack was powerful the defense was able," for Webster was widely applauded as the champion of New England, in refuting the charges made by Hayne and Benton on that section.²

Jackson's Policy as Indicated by his Annual Messages.

Jackson's early messages did not indicate any definite policy with respect to the public lands.³ The views of the administration were probably represented in the report of Secretary of Treasury McLane, in December 1831, when he recommended that the public lands should be disposed of at fair rates to the states, in which they were situated, the proceeds to be distributed among the states, "according to such equitable ratio as may be consistent with the objects of the original cession."⁴

Public Land Question in the First Session Twenty-Second Congress.

March 23, 1832, Clayton submitted the following resolution to the United States Senate:

¹J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 190, February 19, 1830.

²Story, Life and Letters of Joseph Story II, 34, January 29, 1830.
Van Tyne, Webster 147, February 1, 1830; February 5, 1830; 148, February 12, 1830; March 8, 1830.
Webster, Writings and Speeches, (National Ed.) XVII, 489, March 3, 1830.

³Richardson, Messages, and Papers II.

⁴Executive Documents, 22 Congress, 1 Session, 216, Doc. No. 3, Page 12, December 7, 1831.

"Resolved, that the Committee on Manufactures be instructed to inquire into the expediency of distributing the public lands or the proceeds of the sales thereof, among the several States on equitable principles."

He justified the reference to the Committee of Manufactures on the ground that the other subjects connected with the public lands having been referred to that Committee, the Senate could not consistently refuse to allow the whole subject to be committed to it.¹ The reference of the resolution to the Committee of Manufactures had an "ugly appearance;" it was apparently an electioneering movement aimed to embarrass Clay, chairman of the committee.²

April ~~16~~^{sixteenth}, Clay submitted a report of the resolution to the Senate. He argued against the policy of the resolution, recommending that the revenue of the public lands, after granting fifteen percent to the states in which the land were located should be divided for five years among the states, "according to their federal representative population, to be applied to education, internal improvement, or colonization, or the redemption of any existing debt contracted for internal improvements, as each state, judging for itself, shall deem most conformable with its own interests and policy."³ The bill accompany-

¹ Senate Journal, 22, Congress, 1 Session, No. 211, 203.

² Niles, XII, 122, April 21, 1832.

³ Senate Journal 22 Congress, 1 Session 211, Page 238. Debates of Congress, VIII, Part III, Appendix, Page 112-118.

ing the report of the Committee of Manufactures was committed
to the Committee on Public Lands.¹

May ~~10~~^{eighteenth}, King of Alabama, Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands made a counter report. A considerable reduction on the price of new lands was recommended; also an allowance to the new states of twenty rather than fifteen percent.² After being considerably debated in the Senate, Clay's bill passed that body, but its course was arrested in the House, by a motion to postpone it to a day beyond the session.³

State Sovereignty.

Brief Survey of the Doctrine of Nullification in South Carolina.

South Carolina had taken an active stand against the Tariff of 1828, culminating, December 1828, in the "Exposition," Calhoun's first formal statement of the doctrine of nullification. In the "great debate, Hayne had advocated the right of a state to render null and void an unconstitutional law of Congress. In 1830, the doctrine of nullification had become a leading issue in the state campaign, the unionist candidates for the legislature being on the whole triumphant.⁴ Early in 1831, a unionist

1. Senate Journal 22 Congress, 1 Session 211-Page 274, May 9.

2. Ibid, No. 211, 274.
Debates of Congress, VIII Part III Appendix, 118-129.

3. Ibid, Part I, 1732, June 28.
Ibid, Part III, 3853, July 3.

4. Niles, XXXIX, 138, October 23, 1830.
171, November 6, 1830.

candidate for Congress defeated the nullification candidate.¹ Later in the year, however, the municipal election in Charleston went against the union party.² After the tariff bill of 1832 was passed, the South Carolina members in Congress, in an address to the people of their state contended that protection had, in their conviction, to be regarded as "the settled policy of the country," with "all hope of relief from Congress irrevocably gone. It was therefore for the people to decide "whether the rights and liberties" which had been received "as a precious inheritance from an illustrious ancestry (shall) should be tamely surrendered without a struggle or transmitted to (your) their posterity."³ Two parties had been organized, with especially significant names, "State Rights and Free Trade" and a "Union and State's Rights" indicating that the majority of the state was evidently in sympathy with the state rights idea. The former was doubtless the nullification party, a large majority of the legislature elected in the fall of 1832, being of that party.⁴ Assembling in October, the legislature, on the

¹ Niles, XL, 146, April 30, 1831.

² Ibid, XLI, 36, September, 17, 1831.
Jameson, Calhoun, 302-303, September 10, 1831.
It was also reported to Calhoun that a "Through going state rights man" had been elected governor of Mississippi; while symptoms looked well in North Carolina.

³ Niles, XLII, 412-414, August 4, 1832.

⁴ Niles, XLI, 149, October 22, 1831.
XLIII, 118, October 20, 1832; 135, October 27, 1832;
149, November 3, 1832.

recommendation of the governor of the state, passed an act, calling together a state convention to consider the questions of the tariff and the doctrine of nullification.¹

Jackson and State Sovereignty.

"In regard to the right of the separate states" he hoped, so Jackson said in his first inaugural, "to be animated by a proper respect for the sovereign members of our union, taking care not to confound the powers they have reserved to themselves with those they have granted to the confederacy."² The view expressed here, was so vague as to enable Jackson to assume at a later period, whatever position he desired with reference to the doctrine of nullification without appearing inconsistent. In January 1830, a member of Congress from South Carolina wrote to his correspondent in Columbia, "General Jackson's message contains some principles that no man or party can make me swallow. I will not and you shall see it."³ At the "Jefferson's birthday dinner" he was out of harmony with the nullification faction. At a meeting of the friends of Jackson and State Rights held at Georgetown, South Carolina, late in 1830, "an ardent attachment" was professed for Jackson upon whom, "judging from his just and legitimate construction of the constitution, every

1. MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy, 155.

2. Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 437.

3. Niles, XXXVII, 393, February 6, 1830.
Ibid, XXXIX, 330, January 8, 1831.

reliance" was placed "on his future exertions to establish the principle of state sovereignty and his firm opposition to every attempt which might be made to destroy its original purity."

Evidently some hope was entertained that Jackson looked with favor on state rights.¹

With regard, to the proceedings of Georgia against the Cherokees, Jackson had submitted to the extreme State-Sovereignty pretensions of that state, disregarding the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. He signed the tariff bill

1. Niles, XXXIX, 330, January 9, 1831.
Calhoun, Correspondence, 280, January 15, 1831.
Calhoun wrote: "The position which General Jackson has taken of halting between the parties, as if it were possible to reconcile two hostile systems, must keep us distracted and weakened during his time. To expect to be able to support him, taking the position he has, and to unite the South in zealous opposition to the system, which he more than half supports, is among the greatest absurdities."

Debates of Congress, VIII, Part II, 1428.
Niles, XLI, 311, December 24, 1831.
January 24, 1831, the Committee on the Judiciary in the House reported favorably on a resolution, repealing the section of the judiciary act which provided for appeals from the state courts to the general courts; but the proposition was rejected by the House. In December 1831, at the organization of the House, the member who proposed the repeal was placed at the head of the Judiciary Committee. (Davis of South Carolina.)

Calhoun, Correspondence, 280, January 15, 1831.
According to Calhoun, there were many zealously in favor of the repeal who were violently opposed to what they called nullification "as if the repeal did not comprehend and go beyond nullification."

of 1832, thereby signifying his approval of protection. With reference to internal improvements, his position has already been shown to have been inconsistent, although he had generally upheld the contentions of the strict constructionists.

A fortnight after the presidential election had decided the fate of the tariff, South Carolina was to issue her ordinance of nullification against it.¹ In the presidential election, she had held aloof, throwing away her votes upon citizens, not candidates and doing nothing to aid in Jackson's election; testifying, in this way, that she so far fully appreciated the attitude Jackson had and was later to assume toward her constitutional theories.²

Clay and State Sovereignty.

In 1817, Clay had made the following statement as to what he considered the relationship of the state and federal government; "I am a friend, a true friend to state rights, but not in all cases as they are asserted. We should equally avoid that subtle process of argument which dissipates into air the powers of government, and that spirit of encroachment which would snatch from the states, powers not delegated to the general government."³ Clay's views as expressed at this period were

¹. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 297.

². Niles, XLIII, 431, February 23, 1833.

³. Schurz, Clay I, 144.

of marked similiarity to the views, as voiced by Jackson in his inaugural.

During the campaign for the presidency in 1832, Clay did not change in his attitude. In 1831, he wrote to Brooke, his close friend that he was "against all powers not delegated or not necessary and proper to execute what is delegated."¹ In a speech delivered in Cincinnati in 1830, he had contended that "while the states collectively may interpose their authority to check the evils of federal authority,".....the power of a single state to annul an act of the whole has been reserved for the discovery of some politicians in South Carolina."²

¹Colton, Clay, IV, 301, May 1, 1831.

²Niles, XXXIX, 28, September 4, 1830. (Delivered, August 3.)

Chapter VI.

The Development of the Party Issues, Part III.

The United States Bank.

Jackson's Attitude Toward the Bank to December 1829.

The origin and nature of Jackson's opposition to the Bank of the United States and whether he contemplated an attack upon the institution when he first arrived in Washington as president has been a matter of conjecture among historians. While he had been offended by the refusal of the New York Branch to cash his drafts on the Secretary of State, he was said to have recommended in 1816, the appointment of certain officers at the Nashville branch and to have recommended in 1821, the establishment of a branch at Pensacola,¹ On the other hand in 1827, he opposed the repeal of the Tennessee Law taxing branches established in that state. Writing of an interview with Jackson in December 1827, Hamilton reported that Jackson "expressed strong opinions against the Bank of the United States."³

In his history of the "The Second Bank of the United States," Catterall asserts that Jackson had "undoubtedly wished" to attack the bank in his first inaugural and was only "dissuaded by politicians wiser, than himself." In 1829, Major Lewis wrote

1. Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 182-183. There was according to Catterall, "no doubt that Jackson had done both of these things, but they have little significance, since nothing is easier than to secure signatures to a petition, which was all that either act amounted to."

2. Ibid.

3. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 69.

Nicholas Biddle, president of the bank that Jackson had been led to believe that "during the pendency of the presidential election" the Lexington branch had acted in an unfriendly manner toward his candidacy.¹ Similar complaints were made against the branches at Charleston, Portsmouth and New Orleans.² While this lends a personal element to Jackson's opposition, that opposition had also a constitutional and social basis. For in a letter to Biddle, in November 1829, Jackson had expressed the opinion that the bank was unconstitutional and "as a powerful priveleged monopoly, dangerous to society."³

Jackson's Reference to the Bank Charter in his Annual Message of 1829.

Two or three "dark paragraphs, which had created the impression that the administration would not be friendly to the

1. Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 183-185.

2. Ibid, 171-172.

Secretary Ingham of the treasury was persuaded by Senator Woodbury of New Hampshire in June 1829, to make a complaint to Biddle of the activity of Jeremiah Mason president of the Portsmouth branch in using his position for political purposes. Other complaints were made by Isaac Hill and the Jackson members of the New Hampshire legislature. Complaints having been made against the Kentucky and New Orleans branches, the board of directors were convinced that there was an organized attempt to convert the bank into a Democratic party machine. Webster, Writings and Speeches (National Ed.) XVI, 220, June 23, 1832.

That the slanders against Mason were continued for several years is evident from a letter that Webster wrote to him. In this letter, Webster advised Mason not to answer the attack of the "Globe" against the latter. Woodbury Hill and Hubbard are held especially responsible for the attack of the Globe against Mason.

3. Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 184.

United States Bank, had appeared in certain newspapers, prior to the assembling of Congress in December 1829, but it had not been expected that the Bank would become one of the topics of Jackson's first annual message.¹ The charter of the bank did not expire until 1836, three years after the term for which Jackson had been elected. In his first annual message to Congress, Jackson criticised the bank for its failure to supply a sound and uniform currency and for its questionable origin under the constitution.²

Hamilton described the embarrassment of Van Buren, Lewis and other friends of Jackson in November concerning some parts of the proposed message and mentioned that his assistance had been asked. He described the section concerning the bank as being written in "loose newspaper style" and he claimed the responsibility of rewriting the section, as it appears in the official copies. He recorded the following conversation as occurring on the completion of his work on that section. Jackson asked him, "Do you think that is all I ought to say?" Hamilton answered, "I think you ought to say nothing at present about the bank, but if you think that is enough, so let it be."³ Jackson replied, "Oh, my friend, I am pledged 3 a re iust the bank

Benton asserted that although the reference to the bank had been "perverted" by party spirit as a wanton attack upon that

1. Niles, XXVII, 257, December 19, 1829.

2. Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 462.

3. J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 149-151.
Van Buren was believed at this time to acknowledge the constitutionality of the bank.

institution, nothing could have been fairer or more just; that Jackson was required to make legislative recommendations which he believed proper.¹

In this first message, Jackson also submitted "to the wisdom of the legislature whether a national one, founded upon the credit of the Government and its revenues, might not be devised which would avoid all constitutional difficulties and at the same time secure all the advantages to the Government and country that were expected to result from the present bank."²

The Bank Issues in the Twenty-first Congress, (First Session).

The question submitted by the president concerning the government's fiscal agent was seized upon by members in both houses of Congress and by all the newspapers in favor of the existing bank as a design to establish a government bank. The Finance Committee of the Senate, instructed to report upon the plan of uniform currency and the Committee of Ways and Means of the House, to whom had been referred that part of the president's message, relative to the bank and the currency, both repudiated Jackson's suggestions that the bank of the United States was unconstitu-

1. Benton, Thirty Years View I, 124.

2. Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 462.

tional and inexpedient.

Clay's Attitude toward the Bank.

In 1810, Clay had opposed the re-chartering of the bank of the United States, in such a way as later seriously embarrass him. He questioned the constitutionality of the bank by suggesting the question whether such an important power would have been left by the framers of the constitution to doubtful inference. He had been instructed in 1811 by the legislature of Kentucky to oppose the re-charter of the bank but in 1816, his constituency became, as far as Clay was enabled to judge, favorable toward it. The old bank had abused its powers for political purposes, but the new bank, so Clay contended would be prevented from falling into that difficulty. Although the bank was unconstitutional in 1811, it had become legal in 1816, owing to

¹. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 158.
House Reports 21, Congress 1 Session, No. 358; 14, 26, 27,
April 1830.

Catterall, the Second Bank of the United States, 199-200.
Using very bad judgment, Biddle had the reports of the committee scattered broad cast throughout the country reprinting thousands of copies at the expense of the bank, sending extracts to newspapers for a wider circulation.

He also secured from Gallatin a treatise which took the president's message as a text. All this could not help but prove irritating to Jackson.

Niles, XXXVII, 275, December 26, 1829.

The legislature of South Carolina passed a resolution in 1839, opposing the re-chartering of the United States Bank and instructing their senators, requesting their representatives to oppose a renewal of that charter.

changed conditions.¹ Clay defended and continued to defend through the campaign of 1832, his altered opinion as to the constitutionality of the bank, by the statement that not only his attitude toward the bank but the attitude of nearly every one else opposed to the institution, had been changed because of the experiences of the second war with England.² Clay criticised the section of the president's message, dealing with the bank first because the action was premature; second because a rival institution had been proposed, far worse than the United States Bank could possibly be considered by its enemies.³

Clay's Advice Concerning Application by the Bank for a Renewal of the Charter (1830.)

In May 23, 1830, Clay addressed a letter to Brooke in which he said that it was too soon to even consider the question of the renewal of the charter, ⁱⁿ five years before its expiration, important developments might occur having an important bearing on

1. Schurz, Clay, I, 62, 63, 85, 133.

2. Colton, Clay IV, 316, October 4, 1831.

3. Ibid, 270, May 23, 1830.

Niles, XXXIX, 25-32, September 4, 1830.

Extract of a speech Clay delivered at Cincinnati, August 3, 1830.

"I am, therefore, not now prepared to say whether the charter ought, or ought not to be renewed on the expiration of its present term. The bank may become insolvent and may hereafter forfeit all pretensions to a renewal. The question is premature. I may not be alive to form any opinion upon it. It belongs to posterity and if they would have the goodness to decide for us some of the perplexing and practical questions of the present day, we might be disposed to decide that remote question for them. As it is, it ought to be indefinitely postponed."

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on the problem.

On November 3, 1830, Clay wrote to Nicholas Biddle, President of the Bank, that it would be inexpedient to apply at that time for a renewal of the charter, although there were at that time, according to all information to be gained, majorities in both houses of Congress, favorable to such a renewal of the charter, and it was generally understood that the president would not veto the bill. But on the other hand there was considerable hazard to be encountered, for many, dreading the responsibility, would prefer not voting to voting favorably on the measure and the attempt would be successfully executed to put the question off during that session. Clay emphasized the bad effect upon the success of the measure of the failure to complete action upon it, whether by rejection or postponement in either house or rejection by the president. For that reason, only certainty of success would have induced an application for the renewal of the charter at the session.²

Jackson's Attack in His Second Annual Message.

In his second annual message, Jackson again called the attention of Congress to the subject of the United States Bank.

¹. Colton, Clay, IV, 271, May 23, 1830.

². Ibid, 287, November 3, 1830.

According to Jackson nothing "had occurred to lesson" the dangers to be apprehended from the institution as organized. It was suggested to organize a bank "as a branch of the Treasury Department, based on the public and individual deposits, without power to make loans or purchase property, which (shall) should remit the funds of the Government, and the expense of which (may) might be paid, if thought advisable, by allowing its officers to sell bills of exchange to private individuals at a moderate premium. Not being a corporate body, having no stockholders, debtors, or property, and but few officers, it would not be obnoxious to the constitutional objections which are urged against the present bank; and having no means to operate on the hopes, fears or interests of large masses of the community, it would be sure of the influence which (makes) made that bank formidable. The States would be strengthened by having in their hands the means of furnishing the local paper currency through their own banks, while the Bank of the United States, though issuing no paper, would check the issues of the State banks by taking their notes in deposits and for exchange only so long as they continued to be redeemed with specie."¹

Hamilton disapproved of the suggestion concerning the bank as impracticable.² All Jackson's friends and every member of his cabinet one excepted, advised him against an avowal of his opposition to the re-charter of the United States Bank. Jackson's

¹ Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 528, 529.

² J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 190, November 21, 1830.

opposition to the bank was claimed to be due to the advise of
¹
 Van Buren.

The Twenty-First Congress, Second Session and the
United States Bank.

In the House of Representatives a majority of the members of which were Jackson's political friends, the question to consider the president's recommendations concerning the banking system was voted down by a large majority. The Representatives seemed at a loss to discern any good reason for such early and
²
 repeated presentation of the question.

In this session, Benton created an opportunity of delivering a speech against the United States bank, by submitting a negative resolution against the renewal of its charter. His speech was not answered, for the friends of the bank had adopted the system of treating the anti-bank speeches with the "contempt of silence."
³ As soon as it had been delivered, a vote on the resolution was called by Webster. Although the resolution was defeated, a surprisingly strong vote was polled against the bank. "Though not a party vote," according to Benton, the vote indicated that the great mass of the administration members were against the

¹ Niles, XL, 62, March 26, 183; 123, April 16, 1831.

² Ibid, XXXIX, 274, December 18, 1830.
 House Journal 21, Congress, 2 Session No. 205, 37; December 9, yeas 67, nays 118.

³ Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 187-205.
 Debates of Congress VII 46-78, February 23, 1831.

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bank, the mass of the opponents for it.

Popular Discussions Concerning the United States Bank.

This period witnessed the rise of a general discussion concerning the constitutionality and expediency of the United States Bank. The Mississippi Legislature adopted a resolution withdrawing their former resolution against the bank and asking for the establishment of a branch.² The legislature of Pennsylvania recommended the re-chartering of the bank,³ while the New York legislature, with an appreciation of the financial rivalry between their state and Pennsylvania passed a resolution that the charter ought not to be renewed.⁴ The governor of Alabama submitted to the consideration of the legislature of that state, the propriety⁵ of opposing the re-chartering of the bank of the United States.

No where is the confusion concerning the issue better illustrated than in the case of Tennessee. The legislature of that state had passed a law heavily taxing any branch of the bank established in that state. Later, it repealed that law in order to obtain a branch. About the time of the assembling of

¹•Benton Thirty Years View, I, 204.
Debates of Congress, VII, 78, February 3, 1831, yeas 20,
nays 23.

²•Niles, XXXIX, 333, January 8, 1831.

³•Ibid, XL, 69, March 26, 1831.

⁴•Ibid, 114, April 16, 1831.

⁵•Ibid, XLI, 315, December 24, 1831.

143.

Congress in 1831, a resolution, which had passed the House of Representatives of Tennessee, instructing the senators and requesting the representatives in Congress to vote against the re-chartering of the bank failed in the senate by an equal division of votes in that body.¹ According to Niles, the president's proposition concerning the creation of a government bank strengthened the favor with which the people viewed the old institution. Many who had gone the "whole" with the administration on other points bolted here.²

Annual Message (1831) and McLane's Report upon the Fiscal System.

In his third annual message, Jackson added nothing new to his comments concerning the re-chartering of the United States Bank, but mentioned that he left the question "for the present to the investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives."³ He wrote to Hamilton that it would have been useless to have repeated his objections to the bank; that although a superficial reading of the report of the Secretary of the Treas-

¹ Niles, XXXIX, 333, January 8, 1831.
XLI, 162, October 29, 1831; 326, December 31, 1831.

² Ibid, XL, 312, July 2, 1831.
XLI, 356, January 7, 1832.

"The Sentinel, in all appearance, broadly supporting the reelection of president Jackson has the following paragraph about the bank of it the United States.

"The question both constitutional and expedient is a question of necessity and the necessity is overpowering. The United States cannot exist without a bank of the United States. They will not be without one for one year. Should there be a year of such void, it would betwelve months of great suffering and distress....."

³ Richardson, Messages and Papers, II, 558.

ury, McLane, on the bank might have led to the conclusion that Jackson's views on the question were at variance with those which he had formerly expressed, a more careful reading would have made it obvious that McLane's views were not in opposition to those entertained by Jackson and that therefore the rumor that Jackson had changed his stand on the subject was false. McLane, considered the bank more favorably than his chief, for he advised renewing the charter of the institution, after it should have been freed from the objections, indicated by the president; but according to Jackson, there was not the slightest "disagreement"¹ between them concerning the principles of our financial system.

The Bank Bill in Congress.

Though the Charter had four years to run and a new congress to be elected before its expiration, January 9, 1832, the memorial of the president and the directors of the bank was presented in both houses of Congress, for a renewal of the charter. The question arises immediately as to what impelled the presentation of the memorial at such an inopportune time,² so far in advance of any pressing necessity for the bank. It is generally maintained that the issue was presented at this time at the urgent suggestion of Clay, who wished to take advantage

¹J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 254, December 12, 1831.

²Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 226, 233.
Debates of Congress, VIII, Part II, 1502, House, Part I, 53-55, (Senate.)

of the peculiar position of the president. Which ever way he acted the opposition believed the issue would defeat him in the coming election; he would be rendered odious by making use of the veto power, disgraced if he did not, after all that has said against the bank.¹ It was believed however that, his election coming that year, he would sign the bill re-chartering the bank, rather than encounter the opposition arising from a rejection of the bill.² But he played a deep game according to Clay to avoid the responsibility of any decision on the question. It could not be ascertained whether "the bank by forbearing to apply for a renewal of the Charter,³ conformed or did not conform to Jackson's wishes."

The president of the bank, Nicholas Biddle and the directors were in doubt as to whether it were advisable to apply for a renewal of the charter from the Congress, assembling in 1831. General Cadwalader of Philadelphia, a friend and agent of Biddle was sent to Washington to ascertain Jackson's position on the question of the strength of the championship of the bank in

1. Niles, XLI, 325, December 31, 1831.

2. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 227.

3. Colton, Clay, IV, 322, December 25, 1831, 215
Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States.
It was not until November 1831, that Clay advised an immediate application for a renewal of the charter.
Ibid 218.
In December 1831, Webster wrote to Biddle urging the expediency of an application by the bank for a renewal of the charter "without delay."

in Congress and whether the two wings of the bank party could work in harmony. ¹ For there were in Congress besides those friends of the bank, inimical to the president, a class of friends, favorable to Jackson, including such men as Samuel Smith of Maryland, Dallas of Pennsylvania and McDuffie of South Carolina. ² Biddle had been unable to procure any assurance that Jackson would sign a bill for a renewal of the charter, although Jackson's friends were confident that he would yield in the end, while they were sure that he would not sign a bill at that time. Senator Samuel Smith advised delay and said that he had been "authorized" by McLane to say that it was the latter's deliberate opinion and advice that a renewal of the charter ought not to be pressed during the present session. To Smith it seemed that the annual message had indicated that the president "was wavering." According to the same source all the cabinet except Taney were favorably disposed toward a renewal of the charter.

Upon reaching Washington, Calwalader wished first to discover Jackson's attitude with respect to the bank. He was positively assured by McLane that the president would reject the bill for the renewal of the charter at that session. No one was able to speak authoritatively for the president and so Biddle seemed disposed to act, for December twenty-fourth he wrote to Calwalader:

¹ Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 227.
J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 442, December 24, 1831.

² Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 227-233.

"If Mr. McDuffie could insure a reference to the Committee of Ways and Means and a favorable report of that Committee, I would not hesitate to try it, If I could rely on a majority of one only in each House." According to Catterall it was McDuffie and not Clay "who took the principal part in bringing the bank into the field." For as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and as a Calhoun man, his support was important. McDuffie had advised a conference including Samuel Smith, McLane, Caldwell and himself, the first two named being adverse to an immediate application for^a re-charter. The conference changed the opinion of none of these men and on December twenty-ninth, Caldwell wrote to Biddle that McDuffie and he were convinced that the bank should act. They were assured that the president would "never sign" a bill to renew the charter but it was thought advisable to put the question before the people in order to gain a two-thirds majority in Congress.

On January sixth, Biddle notified McDuffie and Smith that an application would be made. He wrote also to Webster, but according to Catterall "sent no word to Clay." The reasons assigned by Biddle for asking for a renewal of the charter at that time were:

- (1) That the stockholders were unanimously in favor of applying at that time.
- (2) That otherwise the discussion of the question would be delayed until 1834, a date too near the expiration of the charter.
- (3) That the question was a business one not a political one and postponing its discussion on account of the election would in

effect be a discrimination against the National Republicans.

(4) That in bringing forward the question three times, the president had "distinctly intimated that it ought to be settled."¹

Samuel Smith as chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance should logically have been selected to have presented the memorial of the officials of the bank for a renewal of the charter. Because of his lack of enthusiasm in the matter, Dallas was chosen in his stead;² although according to his accompanying remarks, he had discouraged the application at that time. He was apparently opposed to subjecting the bank to the perils and improprieties of a presidential canvass, especially when the purpose of such a plunge was evidently the defeat of Jackson.³ McDuffie presented the memorial in the House.⁴ The fact that the memorial was presented in the Senate and in the House by members,

1. Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 218-223. Jackson was offended by the action of the bank. For he had been urged into softening, "the last message on the understanding that he should not have the question up until after election."

J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 243, March 14, 1832. When he was informed that the object of introducing the bill at that session was to force him either to assent to it or to lose the votes of Pennsylvania. Jackson is reported to have said: "I will prove to them that I never flinch; that they were mistaken when they expected to act upon me by such consideration."

Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 223. McLane was likewise offended, for the movement compromised his position in Jackson's cabinet.

2. Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 223.

3. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 227, 233.

4. Niles, XLI, 251, December 5, 1831.

The position of South Carolina might be explained by the fact that the people of South Carolina held more stock in the Bank of the United States than the people of any other state, Pennsylvania excepted.

not of the opposition but of the administration is of especial significance. Very probably, it was an attempt to strengthen the cause of the bank by proving that the issue was not altogether one of party discipline.

Since there was a majority in each House favorable to the institution, the opposition's mode of attack was to assail it at all points, display its evils and prepare the people to sustain the veto. In the senate a great many amendments and inquiries were offered and these had to be answered by the friends of the bank, if they did not desire to weaken their cause by rejecting them unanswered. In the House, Clayton of Georgia moved February 23, for the appointment of a select committee to examine into the affairs of the bank. The motion was made with the idea that if the investigation were denied, it would indicate guilt; if admitted, misconduct was surely to be found. The friends of the bank employed every means to oppose an investigation; but an investigation was finally agreed upon.¹ The committee appointed had an anti-bank majority since Speaker Stevenson was an uncompromising enemy of the bank; but it failed to substantiate the charges that had been made against the bank.² The report of the

¹ Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 237.

J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, 490, February 23, 1832.

Colton, Clay, IV, 329, March 17, 1832.

Debates of Congress, VIII, Part II, 1846, February 23; 1874-1915 February 27-28; 2163, March 14.

² Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 229-230.

majority was "completely refuted by the minority" report of McDuffie and torn to tatters by a minority of the minority, John Quincy Adams.¹ The majority report had, according to Niles, the effect of making converts for the cause of the bank.² Jackson was however convinced that the charges, had been fairly established.³

After a debate with some interruptions continuing from January to June, the bill re-chartering the bank passed the Senate,

¹ Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 230.
J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 425, Philadelphia, November 9, 1831.

The following paragraph indicates Adams's position in relation to the bank.

"I called upon Nicholas Biddle at the United States Bank.... I left with Mr. Biddle my certificate of stock to be sold and the proceeds to be remitted according to such directions as I may give. I told him, that as I might be called to take a part in public measures concerning the bank and was favorable to it, I wished to divest myself of all personal interest in it."

² Niles, XLII, 209, May 19, 1832.

"Some who had doubts as to the correctness of it (the bank) proceedings were satisfied by the showing of its enemies... that all was right! - and others, who were opponents of that institution, have laughed so much at the solemn arrangement of the charges and statements against it, as to become quite goodhumored and now feel entirely willing to renew its charter, with a few modifications of the present powers of the institution."

³ Catterall, The Second Bank of the United States, 230-231.
J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 244, Jackson to Hamilton, March 28, 1832.

"The affairs of the Bank I anticipated to be precisely such as you have intimated. When fully disclosed and the branches looked into it will be seen that its corrupting influence has been extended everywhere that could add to its strength and secure its re-charter."

June eleventh, by a vote of 28 to 20; July third it passed the House yeas 107, nays 85.¹

Hill, Dudley, Marcy, Dickerson, and Benton voted against the bank and for the tariff; Poindexter voted for the bank and against the tariff. With these exceptions, all who voted for the bank voted for the tariff. That is, twenty six voted in favor of both bills and all were "American System" men except Hill of New Hampshire and Smith of Maryland. The inference to be drawn from the general results in the House would be according to Niles similar; and also in regard to votes on internal improvements. The conclusion reached is, that as a body, the friends of protective tariff were supporters of internal improvements and of the bank of the United States.² This contest was designated by the Richmond Enquirer as a "game of the mere party politicians."³

Anticipation of the Veto and of its Effect.

It was hoped that if Jackson vetoed the bill, Pennsylvania and the west might vote against him. Clay entertained the hope that in this way, he might be elected.⁴ If the president approved the bill, it was well known that the effect in Virginia

1. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 250-251.
Senate Journal 22, Congress, 1 Session No. 211, 345.
House Journal 22 Congress 1 Session No. 215.

2. Niles, XLIII, 51, September 22, 1830.

3. Ibid, XLII, 298, June 23, 1832. (Richmond Enquirer June 15 1832)

4. Ibid, June 15, 1832.

would be disasterous for him.¹

It was generally believed that Jackson would veto the bill although, until a few days before the bill was returned by him to the House, some hope for the institution ~~was~~ still existed.² Webster thought that Jackson would justify a veto on the ground that another Congress was to be elected on the basis of a new census before any action on the subject need betaken.³

The Veto Message.

July 10, the president's veto message was received by the House. He objected to the exclusive privileges which the act granted to the corporators, the great value of those privileges and the inadequacy of the sum to be paid for them. He denied the constitutionality of the bank, arguing against the force of precedent in the case and against the applicability of decisions of the Supreme Court in its favor. He suggested that since the charter of the bank had four years yet to run, in face of an investigation being pursued concerning the conduct of the institution, the officials of the bank should have withdrawn their application for a renewal of the charter at that time.⁴ Webster gave Taney credit for the section dealing with the question of

¹•Niles, XLII:298 (Washington Correspondent Philadelphia June 16, Daily advertiser.) June 23, 1832.

²•Niles, XLII, 337, July 1, 1832; 353, July 14, 1832.

³•Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 520, June 28, 1832.

⁴•Richardson, Messages and Papers II, 576-691

the constitutionality of the bank.¹ Van Buren concurred cordially with the principles of the veto message.²

Comments on the Veto Message.

There appeared to be no doubt that the bank would be forced to wind up its concerns, if Jackson were re-elected.³ The "Philadelphia Inquirer," a Jackson-Van Buren official, newspaper commented on the veto, that it at once placed the question before the people, "which do you prefer, Jackson or the Bank?"⁴ Especially was the political influence of the veto in Pennsylvania emphasized.⁵

In Missouri the veto message was "nobly sustained," according to a friend of the administration, and as late as September first there were no prospects of any opposition to Jackson and Van Buren.⁶

The "New York Standard" looked upon the bank issue as a struggle between New York and Philadelphia, the latter being anxious to retain the bank in its state, while New York, antie-

1. Webster, Writings and Speeches (National Ed.), XVI, 223, July 21, 1832.

2. Niles, XLII, 199, May 12, 1832.
XLIII, 125, October 20, 1832.

3. Ibid, XLII, 407, August 4, 1832.
XLIII, 177, November 17, 1832.

4. Ibid, XLII, 353, July 14, 1832.

5. Ibid, 353, July 14, 1832; 409, August 4, 1832.

6. Ibid, XLIII, 46, September 15, 1832.

ipated the possession of the National Bank in case Jackson were re-elected.

The veto of the bank excited much feeling in Kentucky. A meeting of people in Mason County had assembled to hear speeches of opposing candidates for the legislature: two of the administration candidates, hearing of the veto, immediately withdrew from the contest, declaring that they would no longer support the administration.²

Resolution of State Legislatures Summarizing Issues.

The following resolution passed by the house of assembly of New Jersey, after a considerable discussion, by a vote of 31 to 14 is indicative of the general character of the issues of the campaign: "Be it resolved by the council and general assembly of the State of New Jersey, that our senators be requested and our representatives in Congress, to be instructed to use their best endeavors to maintain the present judiciary system of the United States inviolate, to give adequate protection to American Industry, to foster and uphold internal improvements; and to vote for and advocate the renewal of the charter of the bank of the United States with such modifications as may be deemed necessary."³

Political meetings were held, in Kentucky, in favor of Clay condemning the endeavors of the president to crush the United

¹ Niles, XLIII, 168, November 10, 1832.

² Ibid, 407, August 4, 1832.

³ Ibid, 160, November 17, 1832.

States Bank, to abolish the tariff and to check the spread of internal improvements, declaring that his countenance of the outrages, perpetrated in Georgia was unjust and likely to have the effect of spreading the doctrine of nullification.¹

¹.Niles, XLII, 407, August 4, 1832.

Chapter VII.

Opposition Candidates and Nominations.

Clay's Private Plans as They Effected his Candidacy. The Formation of His Plans Prior to Leaving Wash- ington.

Even before the inauguration of Jackson in 1828 Clay had entered upon his plans for the Campaign of 1832. The question¹ he should reenter public life in Washington after March fourth, was to be decided by the effect that such a public career would have upon his candidacy, for President. He spoke with indecision¹ as to whether he would come to Congress or not, assuming that there would be no difficulty of his being returned to the House of Representatives should he permit himself to become a candidate.² He reserved a final decision of the question for consideration until his return to Kentucky.³ The major part of his friends, whom he consulted, considered a seat in the next Congress,⁴ "inexpedient."

His Journey Home.

Clay's journey home to Kentucky in March 1829, was "marked by every token of warm attachment and cordial demonstrations."

¹ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 99, February 26, 1829.

² Colton, Clay, IV, 218, January 10, 1829.

³ Ibid, 218, January 10, 1829; 225, March 12, 1829.

⁴ Ibid, 225, March 12, 1829.

There were dinners, suppers and balls; taverns, stages and toll-gates were generally thrown open to him, free from all charges. It was indeed "a triumphal journey," the "gloom in which" he had left his friends in Washington "being dispelled."¹

Extensive Traveling to be Avoided.

Throughout the next few years every incident in Clay's life, whether a part of his public or his private life, was considered in the light of the effect that it would produce upon his candidacy for the presidency. Whether he should travel or remain in seclusion was a matter of considerable importance. The wish was apparently quite general that Clay should visit the North during the summer of 1830;² he was "urgently solicited to go to almost every quarter of the union. Clay concluded that it would be inexpedient to leave his home except on his private business, that is, he decided to go nowhere for "political purposes." Although he would have liked to have visited the North,³ he was convinced that the public effect would not have been good. His judgment coincided with that expressed by Webster who strongly advised him not to travel, especially not to make his appearance at the North, for he was being closely watched; that if

¹. Colton, Clay IV, 226, April 1, 1829; 228, April 22, 1829; 229, April 29, 1829.

². Ibid, 246, November 2, 1829.

³. Ibid, 271, May 23, 1830;
Ibid, 274, June 16, 1830.
Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 504, June 7, 1830.

he wished to travel he should visit his friends in Virginia.¹

His Trip to New Orleans.

Early in 1830, Clay went to New Orleans, ostentatiously,² to visit his daughter and to attend to some private business. Upon his arrival he was waited upon by an immense crowd of people, including members of the legislature and judges of the different courts.³ His stay in New Orleans was of several weeks duration, thus giving him an opportunity to cultivate "the acquaintance of the citizens"⁴ of that city. Clay's departure from New Orleans was the occasion for an ovation; at Natchez, persons from one hundred and fifty miles around awaited to meet him.⁵ Upon his return from Louisiana, he was invited to partake of public entertainments at numerous places.⁶ Stopping off at Donaldsonville Mississippi, "he unexpectedly entered the hall of the house of representatives and, as soon as recognized, the speaker and all the members of the different parties simultaneously rose to receive him."⁷ Later in the year Clay went again to New Orleans, according to the United States Telegraph for the double purpose of superintending the election of a senator in

¹ Colton, Clay, IV, 276, May 29, 1830.

² Niles, XXXVII, 399, February 6, 1830.

³ Ibid, 429, February 20, 1830.

⁴ Ibid, XXXVIII, 48, March 6, 1830.

⁵ Ibid, 106, April 3, 1830.

⁶ Ibid, 94, March 21, 1830.

⁷ Ibid, 156, April 24, 1830.

Congress from that state and of making a show of indifference to the election in Kentucky, to break the force of his own defeat or give greater eclat to his triumph, should his well disciplined force be enabled to place him in the United States "Senate."¹

His Private Life in 1831.

After his return from the second trip to New Orleans there is a lapse in the records of Clay's private life. He wrote in June 1831, that he would be obliged to remain that summer in Kentucky because of his private affairs.² From other sources, it may be inferred that his time was much occupied with local politics since he was being considered as a candidate for the United States Senate.³

In reply to an invitation to partake of a public dinner, late in the year 1831, Clay responded as follows:

"From the period my name was presented, by a convention in Kentucky, to the public consideration for a high office, I have not accepted, nor whilst it remains thus before the public, shall I accept any public entertainment tendered on my own account."⁴

Election of the United States Senate.

Clay had predicted considerable trouble attending the election of a senator from Kentucky for the twenty-second Congress,

¹•Niles, XXXIX, 275, December 18, 1830.

²•Colton, Clay, IV, 302, June 4, 1831.

³•See Below.

⁴•Niles, XLI, 226, November 10, 1831. See Below Page 167.

meeting in December 1831, although he thought that a National Republican would be elected. He was urged to become a candidate for the office but at first his judgment was strongly opposed to his entering Congress at that time.¹ The desire for Clay to enter the Senate was manifested according to Webster in various parts of the country, as the session promised to be "of an interesting and momentous character."² Webster considered it expedient for Clay to come into the Senate and felt that their cause would be "materially benefited" by Clay's presence.³ However, he entertained great respect for the ability of Crittenden who was likewise being considered as a candidate and thought that he had "much talent and fitness" for the place.³

¹ Colton, Clay, IV, 291, November 24, 1830.

² Ibid, 310, September 3, 1831.

Coleman, Crittenden, 80, November 18, 1831. Crittenden wrote to his daughter, that he "could have gone to the Senate," that he had but to have expressed the wish and "Clay would not have been the candidate," that there was no rivalry between them. Clay had written the year before that "nothing but a contingency which he hoped might not arise, would overcome his objection to becoming a candidate for the United States Senate. By "contingency" we would naturally infer that he meant the inability to elect a friend to that body. But Crittenden was Clay's friend; and if Crittenden's statement can be believed he could have been elected to Congress in place of Clay.

³ Colton, Clay, IV, 315-316, October 15, 1831.

Clay's Candidacy for President.

Importance of the Time Element in the Campaign.

In January 1829, Clay wrote to Brooke that "whether (I) he ought to be brought out and when must be left to (my) his friends. This latter point, supposing the first affirmatively settled, (is) was one of great delicacy. Precipitancy and tardiness should be equally avoided. The public(wants) wanted tranquillity after the great agitation. To present formally candidates for the secession, before the President Elect(enters) entered on the duties of his office, would be premature and offensive to the quiet, that is of the larger portion of the community. It would have been otherwise if the candidates of the Jackson party had been announced."¹ Later in the month, he wrote that, although it was premature to commence his campaign, the next six months, even the next six weeks, might develop² important events and shed brilliant light "upon their path". Evidently, Clay desired the first move to be made by Jackson. Not only was the time element an important problem in Clay's candidacy but the best place to and the most diplomatic manner of presenting his name were questions of consideration. Clay was in constant communication with his friends on these points.

Prospect of an Early Nomination in Kentucky.

In the Kentucky legislature, 1829-1830, Clay had a two-

¹ Colton, Clay, IV, 218, January 10, 1829.

² Ibid, 220, January 30, 1829.

thirds majority, and felt confident that it would adopt some testimonial with regard to him. In writing to Senator Johnston of Louisiana, asking his advice upon the action to be taken, he suggested the adoption of one of the following courses, (1) That a direct nomination should be made. (2) That a resolution should be adopted expressing "undiminished confidence" in Clay and discrediting the "calumnies" of the administration.¹ In October 1829, he still discouraged direct nomination unless events at Washington occurred "early in the winter, to render necessary and justify that measure." For he disliked assuming the responsibility of a "premature agitation," over the election of 1832.²

In the year 1830, many friends of Clay in Washington wished to proclaim him their candidate for the next presidential election. Adams thought that such an announcement would have been fatal to Clay's prospects and that his nomination should come from the west and from his own state.³

Congressional Caucus Nomination of Clay Disapproved.

Webster disapproved likewise, of a "formal nomination", by Congress at that time. He deemed it inadvisable in that it

¹ Colton, Clay IV, 240, August 26, 1829.

² Ibid, 243-244, October 5, 1829.

³ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 180, January 24, 1830.

"would not (be) have been popular enough in its character and origin." According to Webster it would have been immediately proclaimed to have been the act of Clay's friends, acting at Clay's instance. On the other hand, jealousies which were "fast dying away" would have been excited and "discontents and schisms" among their opponenys from which much was hoped would have been checked.¹

Everett expressed dissatisfaction that the members of Congress, friendly to the election of Clay to the next presidency, did not make a formal nomination of him before the close of Congress in 1830. He thought that they were prevented by Webster who supposedly had designs upon the office himself.²

1. Colton, Clay IV, 276, May 29, 1830.

J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 231, June 19, 1830.
A few days before the close of the session of Congress in 1830, there was a meeting of the members friendly to the last Administration to consider whether it would be expedient to make a nomination of a candidate for the Presidency in opposition to General Jackson; and it was concluded rather to let the first nomination come from a State Legislature."

2. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 90, January 13, 1829.
Before Jackson's inauguration, Webster's adhesion to the new administration was proclaimed in Walsh's Gazette. Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 498, March 25, 1830. In March 1830, it was reported that Van Buren and Webster had come to some understanding, whether with the consent and approbation of Clay or without consulting him, the rumor did not state.
Webster, Writings and Speeches, (National Ed.), XVI, 209, August 19, 1831.
When Commodore Stockton wrote to Webster in August 19, 1831, however, that Clay could not succeed, that Jackson's popularity was on the wane, that Webster's chances would be good, if he returned to his free trade notions of 1824, "to the old Federal Doctrine in relation to the Judiciary and to a point on the subject of internal improvements

Johston of Louisiana, the close friend ^{and} confident of Clay was according to Everett very anxious that a nomination should have been made.¹ Clay concurred however very heartily in the decision of his friends in Washington, in omitting his nomination² at the close of the session.

Maryland, Suggested as Best Place to Nominate Clay.

Writing to Clay in May 1830, Webster said he thought that "a crisis had arrived" and that Clay could not long "be kept back from the contest."³ To Webster it seemed proper that the first "formal action" with reference to Clay's candidacy should come from Maryland. The utmost confidence was entertained by the opposition that they would carry the state in the election of October 1830, and according to Webster there were many advantages to be gained by opening Clay's campaign in that quarter. Probably it would have been even more favorable to have made the nomination in either New York or Pennsylvania than in Maryland, but in neither of these states did the opposition anticipate that

where the friends of the nation might (may) be used safely for that purpose without encouraging the system of "log-rolling", he did not seem to take kindly to the suggestions. For he replied that the difficulty was not in his position but in that of the country; that the country could not go back.

1. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 231, June 22, 1830.

2. Ibid, 233, June 23, 1830.
Webster, Private Correspondence I, 504, June 7, 1830.

3. Colton, Clay IV, 276, May 29, 1830.

they would have a majority in the near future.

Webster discountenanced any attempt of the Massachusetts legislature to nominate Clay in 1830, because so he wrote Clay it was generally known that they were "perfectly safe" in Massachusetts and to have nominated Clay there would merely have revived the cry of coalition.¹ Clay agreed that it would have been inexpedient to have nominated him in Massachusetts, although he wrote to Webster that it would have been highly gratifying to him personally.²

Public Meetings in Kentucky Suggested as Possible Nominating Conventions.

Finally Clay's friends suggested that the public meetings held in Kentucky, condemning the veto of the Maysville road bill, furnished "suitable occasion for making a nomination for the next Presidency, and recommending the next Legislature to second and support it. It was urged that this would be "a popular measure and not one of caucus agency," that the nomination connected itself naturally with the question of internal improvements, that Congress having adjourned no counteracting measure could be adopted by members of Congress at Washington, that other states looked to Kentucky for the first movement and that it could do no harm and probably might do some good

¹. Colton, Clay, IV, 275, May 29, 1830.

². Webster Private Correspondence, 504, June 7, 1830.

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in the fall election.

Formal Nomination by Citizens of Fayette County
(Kentucky.)

Finally in June 21, 1830, a meeting of the citizens of Fayette County, (Kentucky) was held at the Court House in Lexington, at which it was resolved, "That this meeting, in forbearing at this time to make a formal nomination of the pre-eminently qualified, talented and patriotic individual in its judgment most suitable for the next presidency, is actuated by the unwillingness to be subjected to the imputations of precipitation in a case in which partiality toward a neighbor and a friend might be supposed to have too much influence. But the preference of the people here assembled cannot be doubted; nor that they will manifest that preference on proper occasion hereafter."²

In the course of the next few weeks, Clay was nominated for president at several meetings of the people held in different counties in Kentucky.³

The Call for a National Republican Convention.

It had been suggested in November 1830, that a national convention "be held at Washington, to be composed of delegates

¹ Colton, Clay IV, 277, June 8, 1830.

² Niles, XXXVIII, 360, July 10, 1830, (Lexington Reporter, June 23).

³ Ibid, 366, July 17, 1830.

friendly to internal improvements and domestic manufactures to
nominate a candidate for the presidency of the United States."¹
February 17, 1831, the members of the legislature of Maryland
opposed to the policy of the present administration, convened
and adopted a resolution, inviting those who deprecated the re-
election of Jackson, "to meet in general convention, at Balti-
more, on the second Monday of December next by delegates equal
in number to the electors of president to which their states
are respectively entitled," for the purpose of nominating suit-
able candidates for president and vice-president.²

Various Nominations of Clay by State Legislatures and
Public Gatherings.

In the meantime a convention of delegates from all the
counties of the state of Kentucky was convened at Frankfort,
to take into consideration the next presidential election and
to nominate such persons to that office as would secure the
triumph of the American System and the union of the states
against the new and alarming doctrine of dissolution and nul-
lification. At this convention Clay was recommended as a suit-
able person to be supported at the next election of a president
of the United States.³ A meeting was held in the city of New
York to favor the election of Clay to the presidency;⁴ other

¹•Niles, XXXIX, 218, November 27, 1830.

²•Ibid, XL, 29, March 12, 1831.

³•Ibid, XXXIX, 90, October 2, 1830; 302 December 25, 1830.

⁴ Ibid, 276, December 18, 1830.

meetings of friends of Clay were proposed in Vermont, Maryland and in Albany, New York.¹ Early in 1831, Clay was recommended to the people of the United States by the legislature of Delaware as a suitable person for their next president.² February seventeenth, he was unanimously nominated for president by a legislative political convention, gathered at Boston.³

"At a republican convention" held at Portland Maine, February 22, 1831, at which each county of the state was numerous-ly represented, a candidate for governor was agreed upon and delegates were appointed to attend the great National Republican Convention. Resolutions were adopted approving the American System and the appropriations by the general government for internal improvements, while the ability and patriotism of Clay was eulogized.⁴

April 3, 1831, five thousand friends of Clay in Philadelphia responded to the call in his behalf. A number of resolutions were adopted decidedly disapproving of the policy and conduct of Jackson and expressing the highest confidence in the character of Clay.⁵ It was further resolved that the meeting

¹ Niles, XXXIX, 218, November 27, 1830.

² Ibid, 452, February 19, 1831.

³ Ibid, XL, 126 April 16, 1831.

⁴ Ibid, XL, 127, April 16, 1831; 174, May 7, 1831.

⁵ Ibid, 91, April 9, 1831.

approved of the proposed national convention to be held in Baltimore, December twelfth, and that the said convention be requested to nominate a suitable candidate for the office of vice-president to be placed before the people in conjunction with Henry Clay for the office of president. It was also resolved: "That the citizens of Pennsylvania be requested to meet in their respective Congressional districts to nominate delegates to represent them in the proposed national convention."¹

At a meeting of delegates from various parts of the state of Connecticut, friendly to the American System and the promotion of internal improvements and disapproving of the course pursued by the president in relation to the treaties existing with the Indian nations, Clay was recommended as "pre-eminently qualified for the presidency."²

At a meeting of the "Republican" members of the Connecticut legislature, resolutions were adopted in approval of the American System and in condemnation of the attempt³ to prostrate the authority of the supreme court, and of the dissolution of the late cabinet. Clay was unanimously recommended by the convention for the office of president.

Appointment of Delegates to the National Republican Convention.

The National Republican of New York held a convention in

1. Niles, XL, 113, 128, April 16, 1831.

2. Ibid, 127, April 16, 1831.

3. Ibid, 279, June 18, 1831.

June at Albany, where resolutions were likewise adopted, favoring a protective tariff and internal improvements by the national government and condemning the attack upon the Supreme Court and the dissolution of the cabinet. A resolution was also adopted "strongly approbatory of the character and the qualifications" for Clay.¹ It was further resolved: "That the convention appoint delegates from the several Congressional districts, together with two delegates to represent the States Senators for this state, to meet the National Republican Convention to be held at Baltimore, in December next." Provisions were also made for the appointment of the county and state corresponding committees and for their communication among themselves and with the corresponding committees of other states.²

At a convention of the republican members of the Legislature of the state of New Hampshire delegates were appointed to the National Republican Convention.³ At a meeting of the National Republicans at Columbus Ohio, arrangements were made for sending delegates to the convention at Baltimore.⁴ "National Republican" meetings were called in many Counties of Pennsylvania to appoint delegates to the general convention.⁵ From the above we see that the delegates to the National Republican Convention

1. Niles, XL, 278, June 18, 1831.
Van Tyne, Webster, 164, October 24, 1831.

2. Niles, XL, 279, June 18, 1831.

3. Ibid, 353, July 16, 1831.

4. Ibid, 401, August 6, 1831.

5. Ibid, 428 August 13, 1831.

were somewhat irregularly chosen, either by the National Republican members of the State Legislatures or by informal gatherings, of citizens friendly to that party.

The National Republican Convention.

December 12, 1831, the National Republican Convention met in Baltimore with representatives from seventeen states and the Districts of Columbia in attendance. The Convention, having been organized, with James Barbour of Virginia, president, on December thirteenth, unanimously^{and} with great enthusiasm nominated Clay as candidate for the office of president of the United States; the following day, John Sergeant of Pennsylvania was also unanimously selected a candidate of the National Republican¹ party to fill the office of Vice-President.

¹. Niles, XII, 301-312, December 24, 1831.

The National Republican Convention issued an address to the people of the United States, containing criticisms directed against the policies of Jackson's administration. The following are extracts and summaries of this address.

His Inaugural.

Jackson was criticised for leveling in his inaugural address "sweeping charge of incapacity and corruption," "against the administration of his predecessor." The charge was characterized as "ludicrous," while the implication of corruption was thought to be of a more serious nature. But had there been the least foundation for it in fact it appeared obvious that the president of the United States was not the person to make such a matter public.

Removals and Appointments.

"The motive which led to this policy (of wholesome removals) is illustrated by the fact, that it was applied principally in states where the majority of the people were opposed to the administration, while in the others there were comparatively few removals."

Foreign Affairs.

Foreign affairs cannot be considered an issue of the campaign of 1832, for the opposition was fairly well sat-

Isfied with the course, pursued by the president in this respect. It was claimed, however that the success in the conduct of foreign affairs, was due to "the fact that several arrangements with foreign affairs which had been matured and in some instances concluded under the preceding administration" had been made public in Jackson's administration.

(By the treaty of 1831 with France, the United States collected a long outstanding claim of \$5,000,000 against that country.) The method by which the arrangement was effected did not originate with Jackson's administration, but according to the opposition, had been adopted by the last administration in connection with another foreign power. The treaty with Great Britain, relative to the opening of the trade with the West Indies, in the ports of which had long been closed to the United States, was considered satisfactory by the opposition, but the administration was taken to task for the fact that the arrangement was "obtained by the concessions derogatory to the honor of the country and the dignity of the government." The administration was also criticised for neglecting relations with Russia, for recalling from St. Petersburg, a citizen who had long represented the United States at that court, and just at the time when the affairs of Europe were in a critical condition and our influence with the Czar of Russia might have been turned "in favor of the cause of free government."

Internal Improvement and the Tariff.

According to the address, Jackson's policy with reference to internal improvements and the tariff had been "inconsistent and vacillating." "By avowing his approbation of a judicious tariff and at the same time recommending to Congress precisely the same policy which had been adopted as the best plan of attack by the opponents of that measure; by admitting the constitutionality and expediency of internal improvements of a national character and at the same moment, negating the most important bills of this description which were presented to him by Congress, the president has shown that he is either a secret enemy of the system, or that he is willing to sacrifice the most important national objects in a vain attempt to conciliate the conflicting interest or rather adverse party policy and opinions of different sections of the country. How can the president be regarded at the North and West as the friend of the tariff and internal improvements, when his only recommendation at the South is the anticipation that he is the person through whose agency the whole system is to be prostrated?"

The Young Men's National Republican Convention.

The National Republican Convention had resolved, that it be recommended to the young men of the National Republican party

United States Bank.

In December 1831, the bank question was fully presented as an issue in the campaign. The president was criticised for his premature reference to the renewal of its charter, denouncing the institution as a nuisance six years before his suggestions concerning it, could with any propriety have been acted upon. "For this denunciation" according to the opposition "no pretext of any adequate motive was (is) assigned". The bank was known "to be in an efficient and prosperous state." Another institution was recommended as a substitute which would have been "no better than a machine in the hands of the government for fabricating and issuing paper money without check or responsibility." If Jackson were re-elected, it was prophesied, that the bank would be abolished and the institution recommended by him or a similar system, substituted in its place. The president's cabinet and especially the Secretary of the Treasury were mentioned in the address, as disagreeing with the president on the question.

Dissolution of the Cabinet.

"It is one of the singularities of our present political situation, that while we are told on the one hand, by the president's partisans that his acknowledged incapacity may and will be remedied by the employment of an able cabinet we are now told, on the other hand, by this "able cabinet," that they cannot control the president's conduct and that their sounder notions must be modified so as to meet the views of the executive... Experience has amply shown, that an individual who is unfit for the office himself is equally unfit to select those who are to assume his responsibility and be virtually presidents under him."

The Judiciary Act.

With the discussion concerning the sovereignty of the states and the right of the separate states to annul the laws of Congress, and considering the importance of the judiciary to the continued existence and prosperity of the union, the president was criticised" for encouraging the destruction of the efficiency of the most important branch of the government."

Indian Affairs.

"Instead of protecting the Indians...and employing the armed force of the United States in their defense," Jackson had, according to the address, withdrawn that force in November 1830, "from the scene of action," "at the instance of the offending party," (the governor of Georgia), and "left the unoffending natives entirely at the mercy of their enemies."

to hold a convention in the city of Washington, on the first Monday of the following May.¹ May seventh delegates of the National Republican Convention of Young Men convened in Washington. Two days later resolutions were respectively adopted unanimously concurring in the nominations by the Baltimore Convention of Clay as a candidate for president and Sergeant² for Vice-President.

Anti-Masonic Party.

Relation of Clay to Anti-Masonry Prior to the Anti-Masonic National Convention.

Early in the campaign Edward Everett felt assured that the Anti-Masonic Party would support Clay, notwithstanding the fact that Clay was a Mason. Adams thought that the Anti-Masonic spirit would operate against Clay at least in New York.³ Two years previous to the election of 1832, however, Clay prophesied that the Anti-Masonic Party in New York would present in New York a candidate for governor without any electors for President and Vice-President and that the National Republicans

¹. Niles, XLI, 301-312, December, 24, 1831.

². Ibid, XLII, May 19, 1832, May 26, 1832. The National Republican Convention of Young Men also issued an Address to the People of the United States, agreeing essentially with that adopted by the National Republican Convention. Concerning foreign affairs, an additional criticism was accredited against the administration for accepting the advice of the king of Holland touching the northeastern boundary line of the United States.

³. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 232-233, June 22, 1830.

would offer the later without a candidate for governor. This was merely Clay's supposition, "inferred by him from the natural operations of Causes." With concert between the two parties, he felt that each might succeed in its object. For should the National Republicans in New York and Pennsylvania unite with the Anti-Masons, Jackson would probably lose one or both states, and in either case be defeated.

Henry Dana Ward, editor of the Anti-Masonic Review told a friend of Clay's however, after the election of 1839, in New York, that the Anti-Masons Executive Committee had resolved:

(1) "That the late election in New York had shown that they could not directly support" Clay.

(2) "That it be recommended to the convention at Baltimore, to nominate an Anti-Masonic Candidate" (for president.)

(3) "That the papers of the party in New York be advised to¹ abstain from attacking" Clay and to conciliate Clay's friends.

The attempt made early in Jackson's administration to unit the Anti-Masons with the supporters of Clay, especially in New York were uniformly unsuccessful.² Clay feared that the Anti-Masonic

¹ Colton, Clay, IV, 290, November 24, 1839.

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 261, January 2, 1831.
J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 220, May 22, 1831.

Niles, XL, 338, July 16, 1831.

The administration was cheered with the hope that the Anti-Masons would reduce Clay's chances of success.

movement might disappoint the hopes of his friends. He advocated however raising the National Republican standard in every state in the election¹ of whether the following were great or small. There would then be distinct tickets in New York and Pennsylvania but by adopting a conciliatory manner toward the Anti-Masons during the "canvass" he hoped that they might come to his support. While the policy of the Anti-Masons was evidently to force the National Republicans into their support, Clay advocated winning the Anti-Masons over to his side. For he reasoned that the National Republicans were the stronger party, in the union as a whole or in any single state. Therefore in accordance "with the law of gravitation," the Anti-Masons should have been drawn into the Clay party.² The Anti-Masons "generally sympathized with (Mr.) Clay upon questions of government policy."³

Clay, A Logical Candidate.

Early in the year 1831, Clay had received prominent mention as a candidate of the Anti-Masonic Party,⁴ for he was looked upon as a leader who would unite all elements in opposition to Jackson.

1. Colton, Clay IV, 306-309, July 23, 1831.

2. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 358, April 29, 1831.

3. Ibid. McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1902, I,), 532.

4. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 337, March 5, 1831.

Clay was however a Mason.¹ He was urged by Anti-Masonic leaders to make some declaration concerning Masonry and it was suggested that there might be some way of conciliating the Anti-Masons "without offending that institution."² Clay declined all interference on that subject, "abstaining, so he said, from making himself a party to that strife." According to his own words, Clay had never "acted in public or private life under any Masonic influence." He had long since ceased to be a member of any lodge; and he had "voted for Adams, no Mason against General Jackson, a Mason." He held however that Masonry or Anti-Masonry had legitimately nothing to do with politics.³ He considered it the best policy not to "meddle" with the subject, believing that at the same time "it would be politic to leave the Jackson party exclusively to abuse the Antis."⁴

Rush's Refusal to Accept the Anti-Masonic Nomination.

Hopeless of securing Clay as their candidate for president, the Anti-Masonic leaders attempted to find someone else who would be somewhat in sympathy with their doctrines, and at the same time of sufficient political **prestige**,⁵ Richard Rush

¹ McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party, 531.

² Colton, Clay, IV, 299, April 14, 1831.

³ Ibid, 304, June 23, 1831.

⁴ Ibid, 303, June 23 1831; 306, July 18, 1831; 307, July 23 1831.

⁵ McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report 1902 I,) 532.

was prominently mentioned in 1831, as a candidate of that party. Adams considered Rush a very desirable candidate and in advising his nomination, emphasized the importance of communication between the leaders of the cause in the various states, for the purpose of deciding upon a candidate before the "contemplated meeting" of the Anti-Mason at Baltimore. Otherwise there would be disagreement among the delegates concerning the selection to be made. "They would break up in discord, and not only have no common candidate, but would irretrievably ruin their cause."¹ Before the assembling of the Convention of the Anti-Masons, Rush had indicated his positive determination to decline the nomination for the presidency. Clay considered Rush devoted to his cause and did not believe that Rush would allow any use of his name prejudicial to him.²

Adam's Relation to the Party.

In 1831, Adams wrote in his Memoirs that for nearly five years he had abstained from taking part in the Masonic Controversy as much as possible, but that upon such questions there came a time when it became the duty of a good citizen to take a stand. Adams felt that the time had arrived in the conflict between Freemasonry and its opponents when duty required him to openly avow his opinions.³ He considered "the dissolution of the

¹J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 360, July 11, 1831.

²Colton, Clay, IV, 304, June 23, 1831.

Ibid, 305, Jun 25, 1831.

J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 403, August 27, 1831.

³J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 364, June 31, 1831.

Masonic institution in the United States," more important than¹ the question whether Clay or Jackson would be elected President.

Upon the positive determination of Rush to decline the nomination of the Anti-Masons, their attention was drawn to Adams and he was asked whether he would accept the nomination should it be made.² Adams replied that he desired neither the nomination nor even the office of President of the United States. He would give no pledge and make no promises to any men to obtain it. He told the Anti-Masonic leaders that he would not reject the nomination of the convention were it made. He was however the more concerned that a candidate should be unanimously agreed upon. He desired them not to adhere to him if there were any other person upon whom they could unite with more unanimity. He was assured that there was little danger of the members of the convention disagreeing with respect to the nomination of a candidate.³

1. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 368, June 10, 1831.

2. *Ibid*, 403, August 27, 1831.

Colton, *Clay*, IV, 229, May 2, 1829.

J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 454, January 8, 1832.

Throughout Jackson's first administration, Adams had no personal relationship with the president.

J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 341, March 10, 1831; 427, March 18, 1831.

On the other hand, hostility was manifested toward him, by the party advocating Clay as a candidate for the next presidency.

J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 369, July 1831.

There was according to Adams own words, "a combination of parties against" him, by July 1831, "including almost the whole population of the country" "his former supporters" the "Clay Masons and the so-called National Republicans" being the most inveterate.

3. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, 403, August 27, 1831; 412, September 1.

Consideration of Calhoun.

It had been rumored in January 1830, that Calhoun was "attempting to turn the Anti-Masonic tempest to his account."¹ However in January, 1831, he wrote: "As to myself I have no correspondence with anyone belonging to the Anti-Masons and do not know their views. I am not a Mason and go farther. I am so far Anti-Masonic, that I believe the institution not only useless in the present state of the world, but also pernicious; and have always thought so; though at the same time, I cannot doubt, but that there are and have always been many honest and virtuous members belonging to the society, who take a very different view of the institution. The Anti-Masons have doubtless the right to regulate their votes on any principle, as individuals, that they may think calculated for the publick good. So far they would be sustained by the publick voice but to go beyond, the current would set against them."²

Shortly before the Anti-Masonic Convention met, to nominate a candidate for the presidency, Henry Dana Ward, an active Anti-Mason, opened a correspondence with Calhoun to ascertain whether he would accept the nomination of the Anti-Masonic party for president. Although Calhoun declared himself adverse to the in-

1831, 413, September 16, 1831.

1. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 130, January 24, 1830.

2. Calhoun, Correspondence 293, January 25, 1831.

stitution of Masonry his "answers were otherwise unsatisfactory."¹
Clay had doubted that Calhoun would make an acceptable candidate for
the Anti-Masons on account of his political principle.²

McLean a Possible Candidate.

In March 1830, J. W. Taylor, in conversation with Adams had
said he thought McLean would be presented as the Anti-Masonic
Candidate at the next election.³ It was not until a few months
before the Anti-Masonic convention that his name received much
attention in this connection. Timothy Fuller, in conversation
with Adams, intimated his preference for McLean as the Anti-
Masonic nominee for president.⁴ Shortly before the assembling
of the Anti-Masonic Convention a letter was addressed to McLean
by the Anti-Masons for the purpose of ascertaining whether he
would consent, if nominated, to serve as their candidate for

¹J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 412, September 14, 1831.
Calhoun Correspondence, 296, August 5, 1831.
Calhoun wrote to Christopher Van Deventer that he had not
replied to the letter of the Anti-Masons, but he added: "If
I do, I will state my opinions precisely as they exist which
is Anti-Masonick, but adverse to administering the Govern-
ment on principles of proscription."

²Colton, Clay, IV, 304, June 23, 1831; 305, June 25, 1831.
McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report
1902, I) 532.
"Indeed the stain of nullification" made him an impossible
candidate.

³J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 210, March 28, 1830.

⁴Ibid, 368, June 10, 1831.

president." "Whether his letter was addressed to him by authority or as a mere suggestion of particular individuals was not known. It drew forth from McLean, according to the opponents of Anti-Masonry, the statement that he "would not denounce Masonry if he was certain that such a denunciation would elevate him to the presidency."¹

The wish of the many of the Anti-Masons, according to Clay was that, having made nomination, the persons so designated should decline. Judge McLean was sounded and to the surprise of the party expressed, so it was said, a willingness to accept the nomination.² He gave his consent however, "on condition that no other candidate should be put forward against Jackson."³ When it became known that Clay would accept the

¹ Niles, XI, 373, July 23, 1831. (From the "Albany Aegua" which in turn copied from the "Daily Advertiser.")
Calhoun, Correspondence, 296, August 5, 1831.
It was reported that McLean "declined putting himself on Anti-Masonick grounds."

² McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report 1902, I,) 533.
New England however strongly favored Adams and was jealous of McLean, because it was thought that he was "a protego" of Calhoun.

³ Colton, Clay, IV, 307, July 23, 1831.
Calhoun, Correspondence, 295, May 25, 1831; 296, August 5, 1831.
Calhoun thought if McLean were nominated either Jackson would be elected or the contest would be brought in to the House where the judge was weak; for the nomination of McLean a western man would end in a breach between the friends of Clay and those of the judge which would never be healed and would end in defeating the election of both.

⁴ McCarthy, the Anti-Masonic Party, 533.

J. A. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 412, September 14, 1831.

nomination from the National Republicans, McLean wrote a letter, in September 1831, declining the nomination ¹ of the Anti-Masons. He mentioned the fact that as there were already three candidates (Jackson, Clay and Calhoun) for the presidency before the people, the addition of a fourth name to the list of candidates and especially "one as humble" as his, would serve to distract the public mind and might prevent an election by the people, a result that he would consider a "national misfortune."²

With regard to the principles of his administration, if elected, he referred them to those by which the General Post Office had been administered under his charge.

¹ McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party 533.

² Niles, XLI, 259, December 3, 1831.
Colton, Clay, IV, 316, October 4, 1831.
J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 413, September 15, 1831.
Up to the eve of the convention however, McLean was still being considered as a possible candidate by the Anti-Masons. In a letter dated October fourth, several days after the assembling of the National Anti-Masonic Convention of which Clay had had as yet no official reports, he presumed that McLean had been nominated.

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National Anti-Masonic Convention.

When the National Anti-Masonic Convention assembled, September 26, 1831, in Baltimore, the party had been left without a candidate. Thurlow Weed accompanied by John A. Spencer, Albert H. Tracy of New York, and Dr. Abner Philips of Boston called upon William Wirt of Maryland and induced him to become a candidate although he was a Mason and had never renounced the order. He was accordingly nominated president by the convention and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania vice-president, each receiving

1. Niles, XXXIX, 58, September 18, 1830; 91, October 2, 1830. United States Anti-Masonic Convention. September 19, 1830, the United States Anti-Masonic convention met in Philadelphia, ninety-six delegates being present. A roll call of the delegates attending the convention conveys some idea of the extent of the Anti-Masonic movement at this time. There were twenty-six delegates attending from New York, fifteen from Massachusetts, eight from Connecticut, five from Vermont, two from Rhode Island, twenty-five from Pennsylvania, seven from New Jersey, one from Delaware, five from Ohio, one from Maryland and one from the territory of Michigan. The Convention passed a resolution: "That it be recommended to the people of the United States opposed to secret societies to meet in convention, on Monday the twenty-sixth of September ~~to meet in convention,~~ at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representatives in both houses of Congress to make nominations of suitable candidates for the office of president and vice-president to be supported at the next election."
2. McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report 1902, I,) 533.

one hundred and eight votes out of a possible one hundred and eleven.¹ The nomination of Wirt was a "foreign hope," the only expedient" as it was said, "to exclude the nomination of McLean"² who was desired by the delegates from New York. In his communication Wirt stated that he had been initiated into the Masonic order, that his discontinuance in attendance on the lodges did not proceed from any suspicion of the institution and that he would not pledge himself to become a party to a war of "indiscriminate"³ extermination against it. Nevertheless the convention accepted Wirt unanimously as their candidate for the presidency.⁴

Wirt Suggested as a Coalition Candidate.

After the Anti-Masonic Convention had nominated Wirt as a candidate for president, it was suggested that Clay, whose nomination for president by the National Republicans had long been assured⁵ should withdraw as candidate and that Wirt be nominated by the National Republicans. It was urged upon Adams that he, together with Webster and Everett, should advise Clay to withdraw. Adams refused to give Clay such advice; neither did he

¹•Niles, XLI, 74, October 1, 1831, 93-95, October 1, 1831.

²•J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 416, September 28, 1831.

³•Niles, XLI, 83, October 1, 1831.

⁴•Ibid, 85, October 1, 1831.

⁵•J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 358, April 20, 1831.

think that Webster or Everett would be willing to do so. Further Clay's party would not have suffered him to withdraw, even though Clay would have assented to it, a supposition which Adams very much doubted. ¹ Anti-Masonic leaders addressed Clay himself, urging him to retire from the contest in favor of Wirt. The sentiments of Wirt upon the great and important points of domestic policy were said to be in unison with those of Clay. It was therefore argued that, as Clay's election was impossible he would be performing a great service for his country if he permitted his force to be brought over to Wirt's side, and thus secure the latter's election. ²

A delegate to the National Republican wrote Webster in October 1831, that if Clay were nominated and if he accepted the nomination, Jackson would be re-elected. He prophesied that Clay at the utmost could gain but eighty-nine votes, namely those of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Louisiana. Wirt would probably obtain only the votes of Vermont, but he would withdraw a sufficient number from those opposed to Jackson to

¹-J. Q. Adams, VIII, 416, September 27, 1831.

²-Colton, Clay IV, 319, October 22, 1831.

Niles, XLI, 221, November 19, 1831.

That there was some basis for the above statement is evident from the fact that Wirt resigned from his appointment as delegate to the National Republican Convention on accepting the Anti-Masonic nomination for the presidency of the United States.

secure the election of the latter by the electoral college. It was urged that Clay should refuse the nomination; Wirt would then be nominated by the National Republicans and "in that event there (is) was every probability" of his being elected. It was thought that a concentration of the votes of the Anti-Masons with those opposed to Jackson's re-election in New York and Pennsylvania would give the votes of those states to Wirt. In Virginia, there was great defection from Jackson. If he and Wirt were the only candidates, Wirt, a Virginian by birth and a republican of the Jefferson school, "divested of Jefferson's political errors," might command a majority.¹

Webster replied that he was convinced that the National Republicans Convention would be little inclined to support Wirt's nomination and even if it should unanimously vote to support Wirt, and Clay should freely concur, the people could not be generally induced to vote for him. For many people, disapproving of secret orders, felt that the question of the continuance of such societies should not become a political issue. Although Anti-Masonry as a sentiment was gaining ground, Webster thought that the movement as a basis of a political party was not. Were no National Republican candidate for president nominated, many adherents of the party in New York, disliking Anti-Masonry, would go over to the Jackson party. Wirt could not thus obtain the votes of that state; nor would he obtain the votes of any of the

¹Van Tyne, Webster 165-166, October 24, 1831.

states of the Northeast except Vermont. He had no chance at all in Maryland, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana or Louisiana or in Virginia. Webster believed, furthermore that Wirt's nomination had secured Jackson's election; for although the former could not take a vote from Jackson, he might take a few from Clay; that is, the Vermont votes. A greater evil resulting from Wirt's nomination was, in the eyes of Webster, that it "greatly discouraged those who were desirous of producing a change in the general government and greatly encouraged the friends of the present President."¹

Clay's Lack of Sympathy with the Anti-Masonic Party.

In response to a letter that Clay had received in September 1831, from Hanover, Indiana, soliciting from him a frank statement of his sentiments upon the subjects of Anti-Masonry, he had replied, October 8, 1831, as follows:

"I cannot believe that whether I am hostile or friendly to masonry or anti-masonry, is at all material in the formation of any judgment on the part of my fellow-citizens, concerning my fitness for any office under the Government of the United States."²

In his personal correspondence, he went a step further in making the statement, that were the alternative between Jackson and an Anti-Mason candidate, he would probably prefer the "old tyranny", to the new.³

¹•Van Tyne, Webster, 167-168, November 16, 1831.

²•Niles, XLI, 260, December 3, 1831.

³•Colton, Clay IV, 316, October 4, 1831.

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Clay's hostility to the Anti-Masonic cause was apparently appreciated by the Anti-Masons themselves. For Adams bears testimony to the fact that the Anti-Masons party had been so "kicked and buffeted" that it were impossible that it should support Clay.¹ Van Buren wrote to Hamilton from London, in December 1831, stating satisfaction in the step that he had taken that is, we would naturally infer, leaving the United States. For according to the above source the friends of Clay, Calhoun, Wirt, Adams, and Rush were "assailing each other, with increasing acrimony." If he had remained in America, Van Buren anticipated² that they would have "directed all their artillery" against him.

¹J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 400, August 25, 1831.

²J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 235, December 14, 1831.

Chapter VIII.

Administration Candidates and Nominations.Minor Presidential Candidates.McLean's Position an Enigma.

Before taking up a consideration of Jackson's candidacy, a general survey of the available candidates opposed to the National Republicans is of some interest. When McLean was appointed to the Supreme Court it was assumed that he had retired from active political life.¹ McLean, did not however, consider himself withdrawn from the "political theatre."² Early in³ 1830, he was mentioned as a possible running mate with Calhoun. As Calhoun was being referred to as the nullification candidate, McLean denied any intention of serving as vice-president with him.⁴ On the other hand, Clay thought that there was an even closer "bargain" between McLean and Calhoun, that is, "an understanding that he of the two was to be supported who could command the greatest probability of success."⁵ According to Calhoun however, McLean could not "run in the south." In the first place he was but little known and second, his being in favour of

¹ J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 101, March 6, 1829.
Niles, XL, 373, July 23, 1831.

² Kendall, Autobiography, 324.

³ Webster, Private Correspondence, I, 492, March 6, 1830.

⁴ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 210, March 28, 1830.

⁵ Colton, Clay, IV, 300, May 1, 1831.

the distribution of the Surplus Revenue, considered in the South to be the most odious and unconstitutional of all measures (render) rendered it impossible for him to obtain strength in this quarter."¹ McLean's connection with the Anti-Masonic party has² already been referred to.

Candidacy of Van Buren and Calhoun.

Early in the administration Calhoun and Van Buren had been³ mentioned in connection with the question of succession. It was soon apparent that Van Buren was Jackson's favorite candidate and he expressed to Hamilton the fear that Van Buren as Secretary of State might do something that Calhoun could use with advantage⁴ against him (Van Buren.)

Seeing that Jackson desired to be re-elected, Van Buren endeavored in the early part of the administration to make "a merit of persuading" him to stand for re-election on the ground of it being necessary to keep the party together. Thus Van Buren's⁵ ascendancy in the cabinet was definitely established. Calhoun was "reduced to alternative of joining in the shout of Hurrah for Jackson's re-election or being counted in the opposition."

¹ Calhoun, Correspondence, 293, May 25, 1831.

² See Above Page 142

³ J. Q. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 184, January 4, 1830; 187 March 18, 1829.

⁴ Ibid, 151, December 3, 1829.

⁵ Hiles, XXXVII, 110, April 3, 1830, (New York Courier).
J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 209, March 27, 1830.
Colton, Clay, IV, 269, April 18, 1830.

Not feeling as confident as he had formerly of his strength and looking forward in seven years to his succession he was at first half reconciled.¹

In 1830, it was rumored that, Calhoun was to be the "nullification candidate" for president;² on the other hand, it was declared that such rumors were as unfounded as those connected with the name of Van Buren: that Jackson would be the only candidate of the "republican" party for the next presidency.³

If Calhoun should announce that he were not a candidate it was anticipated that all the fragments of the administration party would be concentrated upon Jackson. Early in the administration therefore Clay considered that it would result favorably for his chances should Calhoun become a candidate in opposition to Jackson and thus divide the administration forces.⁴ In April 1831, it was rumored however that should Clay be nominated, Calhoun would be a candidate with Ingham as his running mate. It was also reported that Clay's western friends were favorably disposed to Calhoun if they should find Clay's prospects of election hopeless.⁵

¹ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 209, March 27, 1830.

² Ibid, 210, March 28, 1830.

³ Niles, XXXVIII, 110, April 3, 1830, (New York Courier, March 20).

⁴ Colton, Clay, 257, April 8, 1830; 268, May 9, 1830.
Curtis Buchanan I, 126, June 15, 1831.
An influential Ingham faction was reported in Pennsylvania.

⁵ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 356, April 20, 1831.

Throughout the year 1831, suggestions continued to be made that Calhoun intended to be a candidate for the presidency against Jackson.¹ Early in the year, Calhoun felt assured of the votes of all the southern states except Georgia,² by December 1831, the Calhoun Party was reported to have almost disappeared³ in Richmond, where the Jackson party was much strengthened. Calhoun appreciated however that his opinion upon the most important political subjects placed him in a small minority. Entertaining no idea of surrendering his opinion upon the doctrine of nullification and realizing that it stood in the way of his election, he resisted according to the "Telegraph"⁴ many applications to be brought forward as a candidate.

Jackson's Candidacy.

Possibility of Jackson Becoming a Candidate for Re-election.

In July 1839, Clay wrote to Johnston that he believed that "under certain contingences," Jackson would again be brought

¹J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 237, March 1831.
Niles, XL, 417, August 13, 1831.
XLI, 101, October 8, 1831.

²J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 233, March 3, 1831.
Niles, XLI, 272, December 10, 1831.

³Colton, Clay, IV, 222, December 25, 1831.

⁴Niles, XL, 179, May 14, 1831; 428, August 23, 1831;
XLIII, 301, June, 1832.
Van Tyne, Webster, 166, October 24, 1831.

forward. However, whether he should or not, if the party that had elected him were kept together, Clay prophesied a formidable struggle whoever should be taken up.¹

In his first annual message, December 1829, Jackson recommended the adoption of an amendment to the constitution so as to give to the people a direct vote in the choice of president and limit his term of office to one of four or six years.² Notwithstanding this Webster wrote in March 1830, that Jackson would certainly be a candidate again.³ Adams recorded in his diary March 28, 1830, that Jackson would be a candidate for re-election, if when the term of election came, he had a "fair prospect of success."⁴ Again, Webster wrote to Clay in April, that Jackson meant to be re-elected and had meant so all along.⁵

On the other hand, the United States Telegraph was denying that Jackson had expressed his intention concerning the subject, further maintaining that the time had not yet arrived when it was proper to do so.⁶ Niles, suggested that Jackson's private wishes were against re-election but that circumstances might induce him

1. Colton, Clay, IV, 238, July 18, 1829.

2. Richardson, II, 446.

3. Webster, Private Correspondence I, 492, March 8, 1830; Van Tyne Webster, 151, March 19, 1830.

4. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, 210, March 28, 1830.

5. Colton, Clay, IV, 259, April 18, 1830.

6. Niles, XXXVIII, 110, April 3, 1830, (From the United States Telegraph March 16, 1830)

"to waive his private wishes and public opinion," as expressed in his annual message. It was believed that "the time for announcing" Jackson's decision would "be hastened by the conduct of the opposition." If it were once discovered that the opposition were determined to bring forward Clay, Webster, or any other man and that they were "encouraged in this attempt by the forbearance of the Republican Party in announcing their determination to re-elect Jackson," the announcement of the latter's candidacy would immediately have been made.¹

May twelfth, Calhoun wrote that he considered "it as perfectly uncertain, whether Jackson (will) would offer again or not," Calhoun asserted that some who regarded "their own interest more than his just fame (are) were urging him to offer, but it (will) would be difficult to reconcile the course to his previous declarations, unless there should be the strongest considerations of the publick good to justify him."²

Nominations of Jackson by State Legislatures.

June 13, 1830, "a convention of the "democratic-republican" members of the senate and house of representatives of New Hampshire passed a resolution, approving of "the nomination made by the democratic members of the legislatures of the states of Pennsylvania and New York of general Jackson as the candidate for the

¹ Niles, XXXVIII, 138; 112, April 3, 1830.

² Calhoun, Correspondence, 272-273, May 12, 1830.

office of president for the next presidential term."¹

The late movements in Harrisburg and Albany were understood to have been prompted by Van Buren to arrest the progress which Calhoun was making with the Jackson party, rather than as conclusive evidence that Jackson would ultimately be a candidate.² It was recorded by Adams that although the nomination of Jackson had been made by a meeting of more than one-half of the Pennsylvania legislature, every one, with but one exception had been "open-mouthed" against him. "Holding and expressing such opinions,"³ the members of the legislature had voted a nomination of him again, because the "people had not been disabused of their prejudice in his favor" and if they had "hesitated about his re-election," they would "have been turned out by their constituents."⁴

In December 1830, the idea became according to Niles, very general that Jackson would decline a re-election.⁴ Notwithstanding his former declarations on this subject and this prevalent idea, resolutions nominating him for re-election continued to be adopted by the state legislature. The House of Representatives of Alabama had recommended him to the other states for re-election by

¹•Niles, XXXVIII, 393, July 25, 1830.

²•Colton, Clay, IV, 265, April 30, 1830; 266, May 4, 1830.

³•J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 361, March 30, 1831.

⁴•Niles, XXXIX, 302, December 25, 1830.

a vote of 64 to 7.¹

Announcements by Jackson of His Candidacy.

Upon his summer tour to Tennessee in 1830, Jackson had been earnestly urged by a clergyman to stand ~~as~~ a candidate for re-election upon which he said, "Well, if my fellow-citizens insist upon my serving them another term, I hope they will give me a Vice-President in whom I can have some confidence."²

Finally, January 1831, the following statement was published in the "Globe" at Washington:

"We are permitted to say, that if it should be the will of the nation to call on the president to serve a second term as the chief magistrate, he will not decline the summons."³ Similar statements appearing in other quarters, it was presumed that Jackson would again be a candidate for the presidency.⁴

Further Nominations of Jackson.

Resolutions were introduced in both branches of the legislature of North Carolina, approving the general course pursued by the administration, and recommending Jackson to the people of

¹ Niles, XXXIX, 341, January 6, 1831.

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 289, January 21, 1831.

³ Niles, XXXIX, 385, January 29, 1831.

⁴ Webster, Writings and Speeches, (National Ed.) XVI, 197-199
May 29, 1830.

of the United States as a candidate for re-election. The resolution was adopted by the lower house, but that part which recommended the president for re-election was not agreed upon by the Senate. This action of the Senate excited some surprise, as a majority of the senate were known to be "professedly" friends of Jackson.¹

The General Assembly of Alabama adopted resolutions, recommending Jackson to the other states of the union for re-election.²

The General Assembly of Illinois, by a vote of 14 to 3 in the Senate, 28 to 6 in the House:

"Resolved, That we approve of the recommendations made by the republican members of the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Alabama, of general Jackson to fill the office of chief Magistrate of the United States for the next presidential term....."³

February 3, 1831, the Pennsylvania legislature adopted a resolution approving of Jackson's consent to become a candidate for re-election and "of his consistency in adhering to his maxim,"⁴ 'neither to seek nor decline office.'

The legislature of New Jersey adopted a resolution, approving of "the recommendations made by the republican members of the

¹ Niles, XXXIX, 424, February 5, 1831.

² Ibid, 449, February 19, 1831.

³ Ibid, 448, February 19, 1831.

⁴ Ibid, 452, February 19, 1831.

legislature" of other states, of Jackson to fill the office of
president for the next term.¹

In reply to a letter addressed to the president by fifty-two members of the Ohio legislature, soliciting him to be again a candidate for the presidency, Jackson responded, February 9, 1831 that considering the declarations from various quarters, that his continuance in office another term was necessary for the complete accomplishment of those measures which had been commenced in his administration, he felt it his duty to "yield" his "personal wishes to the solicitude "of his friends."²

February twenty-first, the "Democratic-Republican" members of the legislature of New York, adopted a resolution, nominating Jackson as a candidate for re-election, signifying a willingness to unite with their "democratic brethren" throughout the union, in using every honorable means to sustain "that nomination."³ April eighteenth, the Democratic citizens of the county and city of Philadelphia adopted a resolution: "that Andrew Jackson, in consenting again to stand as a candidate, in opposition to his known personal wishes," fully confirmed the impression, that he was "as ready now, as upon all former occasions, to make any

¹•Niles, XL, 28, March 12, 1831.

²•Ibid, 127, April 16, 1831.

³•Ibid, 128, April 16, 1831.

and every sacrifice for the public good."¹

As late as August 1831, the very decided Administration papers of Pennsylvania maintained that notwithstanding all that Jackson had said and done, he would not be a candidate for re-election.²

In November 1831, the legislature of Georgia unanimously passed a resolution, pledging their support and that of the State of Georgia to Jackson for re-election to the presidency.³

1. Niles, XL, 174, May 7, 1831.

2. Ibid, 428, August 13, 1831.

3. Ibid, XLI, 272, December 10, 1831.

The legislature recommended him for re-election (1) because he had been a "firm friend to the continuance of the federal union." (2) because he had expressed a determination to have the national debt extinguished in the hope that the three great interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures might be placed upon a common footing of equal protection and equal freedom....and the south relieved of the present system of drawing tribute from the many for the benefit of the few." (3) because he had "done all in his power to insure to Georgia the territory" then possessed by the Cherokee Indians; (4) because by vetoing the Maysville Road Bill he had "arrested the system of internal improvements" which "by creating a perpetual drain from the federal treasury was instrumental in maintaining the tariff system.

Attitude of South Carolina Toward Jackson's Candidacy.

The South Carolina legislature displayed much opposition concerning the question of Jackson's re-election. On the evening of November twenty-ninth, the two factions of the legislature held separate meetings. At one of these meetings composed of fifty-eight members, Jackson was nominated as a candidate for re-election. At the other meeting of eighty six members, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that the state of Carolina, being engaged in a contest for great constitutional rights and interests of paramount importance, it is inexpedient at this time to involve her in the struggles of the presidential election or to pledge her to any particular candidate." There were twenty-three members absent from both meetings but if all had been present, it was estimated that the vote would have been about the same proportions.¹

Jackson's Ruining Mate.

Candidates for Vice-president in Pennsylvania, in Opposition to Van Buren.

"The exclusive republicans of New York and the exclusive republicans of Pennsylvania" were, according to Niles' issue of September 3, 1831," on the verge of a violent quarrel for the vice-presidency the first being for Mr. Van Buren and the

¹Niles, XLI, 272, December 10, 1831.

last for almost anyone else."¹

Several months before that Judge Hemphill of Philadelphia had been named in the "Democratic papers" for the office of vice-president.² Early in 1831, there had been a movement to bring out James Buchanan of Pennsylvania as a candidate for the vice-presidency;³ and at various meetings held throughout the states by the "Democratic-Republicans" he had received the nomination as their candidate. In September 1831, Buchanan wrote to Jackson that his name had been presented for consideration without his consent and that he intended to withdraw from the contest.⁴

A national convention to nominate a vice-president was strenuously opposed by a wing of the Jackson party.⁵ March 4, 1832, a state convention was to assemble in Pennsylvania to nominate a governor. Months before this convention was to meet, it became apparent that it would also select a candidate

¹•Niles, XLI, 2 September 3, 1831.

²•Ibid, XL, 61, March 26, 1831.

³•Curtis Buchanan I, 123, February 18, 1831; 125 March 23, 1831; 125 April 29, 1831; 126, June 13, 1831.

That the names democrat and federalists had long since lost all application to parties in the United States is illustrated by the fact that Buchanan had been a decided member of the federal party so long as that party existed in Pennsylvania.

⁴•Curtis, Buchanan I, 135, September 10, 1831.

⁵•Ibid, 135, September 10, 1832.

for vice-president. George Dallas and William Wilkins were prominently mentioned, as possible nominees, Dallas being the candidate of the state administration and of the friends of Ingham and Calhoun.

March 4, 1832, the Pennsylvania Jackson Convention met at Harrisburg with one hundred and twenty-three delegates in attendance. Jackson was unanimously nominated for re-election as President; while on the last ballot taken for a candidate for Vice-president the votes stood as follows:

Dallas,	63
Wilkins,	67
Van Buren,	4

After Wilkins had been nominated, the convention provided "for every contingency" by passing a resolution, that in case he should at any time cease to be candidate, the electors, nominated by the convention, were instructed to give the electoral vote for the vice-presidency to Dallas.

1. Niles, XLI, 434, February 11, 1832.

2. Curtis Buchanan I, 135, September 10, 1832.

3. Niles, XLII, 21, March 10, 1832; 72, March 24, 1832.

4. Ibid, 230, May 26, 1832.

207.

The proceedings at Harrisburg showed conclusively that a Pennsylvania candidate was to be run with Jackson, although not the slightest prospect of his success was entertained. Outside of Pennsylvania not a single vote seemed likely to be cast for him. The Southern and the South eastern States would not support him; neither would New York, New Jersey, Maine, New Hampshire or Ohio. It seemed apparent that the vote of Pennsylvania was to be purposely thrown away and that there might not be any choice by the people. The contest between Van Buren and Sergeant, the two highest candidates would thus be thrown upon the Senate and Van Buren would be opposed for the Vice-Presidency as he had been for the ambassadorship to England.¹

Opposition to Van Buren outside of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania was not alone in expressing its dissatisfaction of Van Buren as a candidate for Vice-President. Shortly before the Baltimore Convention, a resolution was adopted by the Jackson members of the New Jersey legislature, recommending Nicholas Dickerson as a suitable candidate to be supported by the delegation of New Jersey for Vice-President. As a second choice, the delegates were requested to support Van Buren.²

¹•Niles, XLII, 436, April 21, 1832.
Van Buren had not yet been formally nominated but he was universally known to be a candidate.

²•Ibid, 126, April 21, 1832.

A caucus of members of the legislature of Virginia was held for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Baltimore Convention to nominate a candidate for Vice-President. After a great deal of discussion, the meeting adjourned without having done anything.¹ Several months later Philip Barbour was named for Vice-President by a Jackson Convention, held at Charlottesville Virginia.²

Van Buren, A Candidate.

Early in Jackson's administration Van Buren had been mentioned as a possible candidate for Vice-President.³ With the rejection by the senate of Jackson's nomination of Van Buren to succeed McLane as minister to England, an attempt was made "to excite public sympathy in behalf of the little waggoner," and the purpose on the part of Jackson's friends to nominate him as Jackson's running mate, was intensified.⁴ Van Buren's early campaign was however very quietly pursued; and it was only indirectly, through the objections that were made to his candidacy, that it received any publicity.

¹ Niles, XLII, 21, March 10, 1832.

² Ibid, 303, June 23, 1832.

³ J. A. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 191, November 30, 1830; Curtis Buchanan, I, 128, April 19, 1831.

⁴ Colton, Clay, IV, 326, February 21, 1832. It is rather interesting to note that Clay wished that he should be nominated.

Jackson General Convention.

May 21, 1832, a Jackson General Convention assembled in Baltimore to act on the nomination of the Candidates for president and select a suitable candidate for the office of Vice-President. The following resolution was adopted by the Convention:

"Resolved, That each state be entitled, in the nomination to be made of a candidate for the Vice-presidency to a number of votes equal to the number to which they will be entitled in the electoral college, under the new apportionment, in voting for president and vice-president and that two-thirds of the whole number of the votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice." The second part of the resolution was original with this convention and was probably introduced in order to render the choice of vice-president as harmonious as possible, since the suggestion of Van Buren had aroused so much enmity among the Jackson ranks. Van Buren was nominated by the convention as a candidate for the vice-presidency with 201 votes, as against 26 cast for Richard Johnson of Kentucky and 49 for Philip Barbour of Virginia. A resolution was also adopted, concurring in the repeated nominations which had been received by Jackson as a candidate for re-election.

¹ Niles, XLII, 234, May 26, 1832.

Chapter IX.

Factors in the Election of 1832, at the Outset of the Campaign.

Political Prophecia in 1829.

Watching the current prevailing in the state legislatures before the inauguration of Jackson, Clay was inclined to think that he was more opposed by the Jackson majorities in the legislatures than he would probably be at any future time. They had been elected under an excitement and according to Clay, Representatives when so elected were ahead of the people themselves in reference to that particular excitement.¹ A separation and dispersion of Clay's friends was apprehended. Clay felt, however that they would continue to stand firm and united. At about this same time Webster prophesied that Clay's chances of being at the head of affairs were in his judgment better than ever before. If only the North-East could be kept firm and steady she could if she chose, make him president.³ Late in the year, 1829, a Mr. Mallory who had recently visited the New England States wrote Clay that there was scarcely a doubt that the States of that section would join heartily in his nomination; that Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Vermont might surely be relied upon, while if the "hars"⁴ were out of the question, "no

¹ Colton, Clay, IV, 218, January 10, 1829.

² Ibid, 221, January 30, 1829.

³ Van Tyne, Webster, 143, February 1829.

reasonable doubt" could be entertained of Maine and New Hampshire.¹

Position of the Twenty-First Congress in Relation
to the Election.

The Congress, assembling in December 1829, contained a majority favorable to Jackson, at least a majority that had favored his election.² As late as January 1830, in spite of their internal dissensions, the Jackson party still held together.³ Tyler wrote from Washington, in March of that year, that the only bond holding the administration party together was supporting the president, although he could not be considered as standing at the head of a party since in truth there was none. "A Kentuckian (is) was ready to denounce him if he (yields) yielded ought to his constitutional principles and so (are) were the Pennsylvania etc., etc., while the South (sustains) sustained him from fear of greater evils, under the auspices of another." Tyler considered that Clay had never been so "formidable" as he was at that time.⁴ There was apparently at that time, a resolution prevalent among the members of the administration party in the senate to keep Jackson in office a second term as a necessary means of union.⁵ This determination was due to one of two causes; (1) the difficulty of

¹ Colton, Clay, IV, 246, November 2, 1829.

² Van Tyne, Webster, 143, February 5, 1829.

³ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 179, January 21, 1830.

⁴ Tyler, Parties and Patronage, 56, March 14, 1830, (Through the courtesy of Edgar Robinson.

⁵ Van Tyne, Webster, 151, March 19, 1830.

agreeing upon his successor, (2) Jackson's personal popularity.

As long as this popularity endured Jackson's partisans in Congress dared not, according to Adams, encounter it by opposing anything that he did. Furthermore, there was little danger that this popular favor, based upon his military achievements would be lost.¹ Clay was doubtful as to how the incompetency of Jackson might be manifested to the public. Throughout the first session of Congress, the majority in both houses continued according to Clay to support all, even "his most exceptionable acts." Clay feared that as a consequence of this general approbation of both houses "the Jackson portion of the public (will) would be dulled into security, and believes that all (is) was right."² Webster considered that the best way of meeting Jackson's candidacy in Congress was to let the administration follow out their own principles for the first two sessions. They would become so unpopular that Jackson could not be re-elected. Webster did not mean that the tariff should be disturbed, other existing interests injured or that the opposition should vote to act contrary to its own principles; but if the administration were left to decide upon new measures of

¹J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 215, April 8, 1830; 232, June 22, 1830; 210, March 26, 1830.

²Colton, Clay IV, 256, April 6, 1830.

internal improvements, they would "soon find what the sense of the people" was.¹

By the close of the session there were according to Niles, many parties in Congress, namely; the original friends of Jackson, the Anti-Jackson party;² the old "radical" or "Crawford party," (friends of Van Buren); friends of Calhoun; the friends and opponents of the tariff and the supporters and enemies of the bank of the United States, "constructives" and "anti-constructives"³ and a dozen similar divisions. Great animosity was represented by Clay as existing between the partisans of Calhoun and Van Buren, and it was reported that not thirty members of Congress desired Jackson's re-election.⁴ Webster was in very "sanguine spirits" and considered the administration almost in a state of dissolution.⁵

¹ Colton, Clay, IV, 260, April 18, 1830.

² The alliance of Crawford with the Van Buren faction does not altogether agree with further data to be collected concerning Crawford.

Colton, Clay IV, 265, April 30, 1830; 271, May 23, 1830.

Crawford, supposed to be in Van Buren's confidence did not appear on March 31, 1830, to have suspected that Jackson would be a candidate. For in a letter to Clay, he stated that he presumed that Calhoun, Van Buren and Clay were to be run for the next presidency. Since Clay could not entertain much hope of success, he proposed that Clay should not be brought forward but should support him. Upon his (Crawford's) election, Clay should have a place in his cabinet and succeed him. He stated that this same proposition was made to Van Buren.

J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 333, March 3, 1831.

March 3, 1831, it was recorded in Adams Memoirs that Crawford would not be brought forward for Vice-President; that Van Buren was not for him.

³ Niles, XXXVIII, 203, May 18, 1830.

⁴ Colton, Clay IV, 260, April 19, 1830.

⁵ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 231, June 19, 1830.

Importance of the Position of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, as Deciding Factors in the Presidential Election.

The importance of the position that the three states of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York were to assume in the election of 1832, was fully appreciated. For should the three great states unite upon any particular candidate, it was realized that opposition to that candidate would in all probability be unavailing. If there were no such union, that is, if Jackson should lose either New York, Pennsylvania or Virginia, Clay felt assured of the former's defeat. The "degree of probability" of the loss to Jackson of the above states were supposed to be in the order in which they have been placed, that is, he was most certain of Virginia.¹ By May, 1830, Jackson's majority in Virginia had been much strengthened, while at the same time, the opposition was much encouraged by the situation in Pennsylvania and New York. Attempts had been made toward effecting a union of the various parties opposed to the regency in New York.²

¹ Colton, Clay IV, 261, April 19, 1830; 263, April 24, 1830; 265, April 30, 1830.

² Ibid, 267, April 24, 1830; 275, May 29, 1830.

Political Prospects in the West and the South.

Early in 1830, Clay was, according to Webster, gaining rapidly in the west; as against anybody but Jackson, it was prophesied that Clay would take nearly all the western states.¹ Webster was assured that Maryland, Ohio, and Kentucky were irretrievably lost to the administration; Indiana also and probably Illinois and Missouri; while victory for the opposition was also anticipated in Louisiana.² Adams very much doubted that the majorities in the legislatures of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana and Maryland would be changed by the fall election of 1830.³ From his trip to Louisiana and Mississippi in the spring of 1830, Clay gained the impression that the vote of Louisiana would certainly be given to him and that of Mississippi against anyone but Jackson, even against Jackson if he should continue to lose his popularity as he had been doing.⁴ In Kentucky where both parties were "preparing for a vigorous campaign," Clay's friends were "confident of carrying majorities in both houses of the legislature. However, Clay was, as he

¹ Van Tyne, Webster, 159, March 19, 1830;
Webster, Writing and Speeches (National Ed.) XVI, 197,
May 29, 1830.

² Van Tyne, Webster 159, June 4, 1830;
Colton Clay, IV, 263, April 24, 1830; 276, May 29, 1830.

³ J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 231, June 19, 1830.

⁴ Colton, Clay IV, 260, 261, April 19, 1830.
Niles, XXXVII, 195, November 21, 1829.

said, "so greatly mortified" with the issue of the election of the year before that he was unwilling either to indulge or inspire hope.¹ The results of the election in Kentucky did as a matter of fact prove a great disappointment to the opposition.² The opposition still retained a majority there, however, while Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana and Missouri all returned majorities favorable to the opposition. November 1830, Clay wrote that on the whole, the campaign had "not closed discouragingly."³

Jackson's Personal Popularity as a Deciding Factor in the Campaign.

Judge Story seems to have voiced the general opinion that Jackson would be re-elected. According to Story, Jackson had "scarcely any influence of a personal or political nature in Congress." "Indeed his opinions (are) were less valued than those of any man who ever attained a high office." "He (enjoys) enjoyed among a certain class of the people an unbounded popularity; and the politicians, though secretly bearing him no love, (dare) dared not for their own sakes openly oppose him. All his blind-

¹ Colton, Clay, IV, 265, April 24, 1830.

² J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, VIII, 236, August 24, 1830; Colton, Clay IV, 263, April 24, 1830.

Van Tyne, Webster, 161, August 7, 1831.
The failure of a Kentucky election was considered by Stephen White writing to Webster, as fatal to Clay's election.

³ J. Q. Hamilton, Reminiscences, 189, October 11, 1830. Colton, Clay IV, 286, November 1, 1830.

ness and mismanagement (have) had no effect to diminish his personal influence with the people."¹

Conclusion.

In conclusion then, the enthusiastic popular support of Jackson illustrated in his first election and in the scenes of his inauguration characterized the preliminaries of the campaign of 1832. The changes in the civil service although much criticized by his opponents gave him considerable popular support. His attitude toward Georgia's defiance on Indian questions appealed to many attaching little weight to the authority of the supreme court. In his attack upon the bank Jackson went before the country as the enemy of special privileges. Jackson's attitude on the tariff and internal improvements, was inconsistent; but it is in relation to these issues that the best idea of the nature of the contest of 1832 is obtained. For it was not a struggle so much of definite issues as it was one of ideals. Jackson was essentially a strict constructionist. He did not adhere to the same doctrine of strict construction advocated by the framers of our federal constitution since the development and growth of our nation had rendered such a principle an impossibility. His insistence as to the right of the individual state and his reference to the people as a final tribunal made him however a leader of a new democracy.

¹ Story, Life and Letters of Joseph Story, II, 92, March 1, 1832.

At the opening of the Jacksonian period, parties have been shown to have ceased to exist. On the basis of the fragments of the parties existent in 1829, two opposing parties were constructed, while a third party with its peculiar origin and history played an important part in confusing the issues between the two main parties.

As to the candidates for the presidency in 1832, Calhoun was prominent. After his break with Jackson over the Seminole affair he ceased to be a presidential possibility. Van Buren surrendered all pretensions to the office when he learned that Jackson could be persuaded to become a candidate for re-election. Of the other probable candidates, Adams could not hope to run again; McLean's position either as a candidate of the Anti-Masons or of the so-called "Democratic-Republican" party remained an enigma. Many candidates were suggested by the Anti-Masons with the decision of the convention finally resting upon William Wirt, "a dark horse." Of the opponents of Jackson, the one most feared by the Jackson partisans was Clay. From 1829 to 1831 he was in private life. The popular appeal which he aroused wherever he went made him a formidable candidate. On most of the political issues he held views contrary to the views entertained by Jackson. On the questions of the tariff and internal improvements the views of the two candidates were really different only in degree. Jackson was forced to subscribe mildly to Clay's American System. Jackson was always insistent however in obtaining a constitutional basis for his political principles while Clay never doubted his ability of adapting the

constitution to his political *dogmas*

To the electorate, the preliminaries of the election of 1832 was a contest involving the popular support of the two candidates, Jackson and Clay . To Clay and Jackson it was a struggle over constitutional principles.

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First session, twenty-second congress.

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²³ William W. Story, Life and Letters of Joseph Story, Volume II. (in two volumes), Boston, 1851.

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²⁴ George T. Curtis, Life of James Buchanan, Volume I, (in two volumes), 1883.

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²⁵ Mrs. Chapman Coleman, The Life of John Crittenden (with selections from his correspondence and speeches) Volume I. (in two volumes) Philadelphia, 1871.

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²⁶ John T. Morse, Jr., John Quincy Adams (American Statesmen, edited by J. T. Morse, Jr.) Boston and New York, 1898.

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