THE ROLE OF THE JOURNALISTS DURING THE PRESIDENCY
OF ANDREW JACKSON

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THE ROLE OF THE JOURNALISTS DURING THE PRESIDENCY OF ANDREW JACKSON

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 ushered in a new era in American history, an era which at its inception saw the support of the West and the new labor vote sway the balance in favor of a man who challenged men, not issues. One historian has pictured Jackson as the exponent of western political democracy, which stood for equality of economic opportunity and opposed monopoly and special privilege.¹ Thomas Jefferson earlier had revolted against the mechanics of government, but Andrew Jackson revolted against government by those whom he believed to be unfaithful and aristocratic. It was the masses who with some help had elevated Jackson to the presidential chair; they now possessed potentially great power, and sovereignty rested in them. Therefore it was to the masses that Jackson held himself responsible.

Jackson honestly believed that any upstanding man was competent to hold political office. It was perhaps this idea that motivated him in the appointment of his first cabinet,

since as a whole the group was weak and had little influence. The cabinet members were in reality no more than executive clerks and were never consulted by Jackson in a formal council meeting. They received their appointments not on the basis of their merits or ability, but because they represented various factions of Jackson's party and the different sections of the country.

For the highest ranking position, Secretary of State, the President selected Martin Van Buren, dubbed the "Little Magician" or "Red Fox of Kinderhook" for his ability to handle men and affairs. To satisfy the Calhoun faction of the party, he chose Samuel Ingham of Pennsylvania. He then chose a personal friend, John Eaton, for Secretary of War. For Secretary of the Navy, he chose John Branch, former governor of North Carolina and a close friend of Eaton. Branch, with his cultivated manners, added much needed social distinction to the new administration.\(^2\) John Berrien of Georgia became the Attorney General. John McLean of Ohio, another friend of Calhoun, remained Postmaster General. McLean, however, resigned to take a seat on the Supreme Court, and was replaced by a Jackson man, William Barry, of Kentucky. A recent Jackson scholar has theorized that Jackson chose a cabinet that

was essentially weak because he intended to dominate it.\(^3\)

However, because of his character and his lack of preparation for the presidential office, Jackson found it necessary to lean on someone for aid and advice. For this aid the President relied on a number of intimate friends, who for the most part held no important public positions. These men became known as the kitchen cabinet. The selection of the informal cabinet differed greatly from the selection of the formal cabinet. The majority of the kitchen cabinet were chosen because their ideas coincided with and complemented those of Jackson. It was also no accident that the majority of the kitchen cabinet were experienced journalists.\(^4\)

These journalists became the outstanding exponents and defenders of popular democracy. They were instrumental in creating a national image of Jackson and also in securing support for his administrative policy. They gained the President's complete confidence and the public regarded them as his most trusted advisors. They were also instrumental in giving journalism a new role in politics, which they acquired

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 109.

\(^4\)The "kitchen cabinet" was originally composed of Andrew Donelson, Amos Kendall, Duff Green, who was later replaced by Francis Blair, Isaac Hill, William Lewis, and later Roger Taney. Kendall, Green, Blair, and Hill were all experienced journalists.
through the establishment of the most powerful partisan newspaper of its day, the Washington Globe. Their actions led one contemporary observer to declare that "newspapermen were the most important single class of party workers at that time."\(^5\) They were involved in every major political decision of the Jackson era, including the nullification issue, the much publicized veto of the charter of the Bank of the United States (frequently referred to by contemporaries as the B. U. S.), and the controversial issue created by the removal of bank deposits by Jackson.

There is no doubt that the cabinet journalists played important roles in the Jackson administration. However, their role was not that of policy maker, and at no time did they dominate the General. They acted as interpreters of Jackson’s own ideas. They served as the middlemen between the President and the public, first by communicating his ideas in language that could be readily grasped and understood by the masses, and also by their unyielding defense of administrative policies. The emergence of the journalists in Jackson’s unofficial cabinet represented a marriage of common ideas, and throughout the Jacksonian era their ideas remained

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united, with the journalists maintaining constant support for the General's policies.
CHAPTER II

THE PARTISAN PRESS COMES OF AGE

Administration newspapers did not originate during Jackson's presidency, but during his first term they rose to full power. The influence of journalism in politics had been increasing since the Washington administration, and newspapermen were considered by some observers as the most important single class of party workers at that time. Martin Van Buren, while Senator from New York, recognized the importance of journalism and on one occasion declared that "Without a paper... we [the party] may hang our harps on the willows. With it, the party can survive a thousand convulsions..."¹

There are a number of theories which attempt to explain the role of journalism after 1828. The most widely accepted theory is that it was the rise of the mass-supported political party that gave new importance to daily newspapers and required the printing of an administration organ.²

Washington's administration in 1789 witnessed the establishment of the first party newspaper, the Gazette of the United States, edited by John Fenno. The man most responsible for its establishment, however, was Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton made sure that Fenno received some additional public printing and he also arranged a $2,000 loan for the editor. Hamilton helped not only to found the paper and finance it, but he also was constant contributor to its columns.

The very fact that a Federalist paper existed led quickly to the establishment of a rival sheet, the National Gazette, first printed in 1792 and edited by Philip Freneau. James Madison was largely instrumental in bringing Freneau to the fore. He urged Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson to give Freneau a political appointment. The best Jefferson could find was a part-time clerkship for foreign languages in his office at $250 a year. This job also made domestic and foreign newspapers and official documents available to Freneau, thus providing useful material for the National Gazette. Following this move by the Republicans, Fenno became the printer to the Senate and did all of the printing for the Treasury

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3Ibid., pp. 284-285.


5Lewis Leary, That Rascal Freneau (New Jersey, 1941), p. 186.
Department. While the rival newspapers were being established, Washington remained aloof from partisan politics. He wrote nothing for the press and had no direct connection with it. His chief concern over the newspaper sniping between Hamilton and Jefferson was that it would prevent progress and hamper the conduct of the new government. He was convinced that the press was using its power to increase the friction in his government. In a letter to Hamilton he stated the following:

I would fain hope that liberal allowances will be made for the political opinions of each other; and, instead of those wounding suspicious, and irritating charges, with which some of our Gazettes are so strongly impregnated, and cannot fail, if preserved in, of pushing matters to extremity and thereby to tare the machine assunder, that there might be mutual forebearances and temporizing yieldings on all sides.

For the most part Washington's relationship with the press was distant, unhappy, and often negative. Consequently,

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6 Pollard, Presidents and Press, p. 10.


these first journalistic endeavors should be considered party newspapers as opposed to later administration organs.\(^9\)

John Adams as President was much in favor of an administration organ. In a letter addressed to his cabinet, Adams stated his feelings toward such an establishment:

The President must issue proclamations, articles of war, articles of the navy, and must make appointments in the army, navy, revenue, and other branches of public service; and these ought all to be announced by authority in some acknowledged gazette. The laws ought to be published in the same. It is certain that a President's printer must be restrained from publishing libel, and all paragraphs offensive to the individuals, public bodies, or foreign nations; but need not be forbid advertisements. The gazette need not appear more than once or twice a week.

Adams also asked his cabinet to consider three questions. He asked whether a printer could be appointed with or without the advice and consent of the Senate. He also inquired whether a printer could be obtained, without salary or fees, for the profit which might be made by such a gazette? He then asked where he might find such a printer.\(^10\) Although nothing tangible emerged from this proposal, it demonstrated

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\(^9\)A party newspaper is one that simply complies with or supports the party's policies, while an administration organ falls into a different class, in that it is one or more newspapers sponsored by the President and his advisors, ordinarily published in Washington, edited by persons enjoying the President's confidence and at times named by him, and with financial support from tips and profits controlled by the government. Pollard, Presidents and Press, p. 6.

\(^10\)Memorandum to the Cabinet, July 9, 1797, cited in Charles Francis Adams, editor, Works of John Adams (Boston, 1850), II, 99-100.
that Adams was aware of the importance and the need for an informed public opinion. He made no attempt to establish a strong administration newspaper and in this matter advanced but little over his predecessor. Adams, unlike Washington, did not oppose the press—he simply did little to encourage it.

Thomas Jefferson was actually the first President to actively promote the freedom of the press and encourage the establishment of an active administration mouthpiece. While serving as Secretary of State, he supported and encouraged the founding of the National Gazette. His attitude toward the press is clearly expressed in a letter written to his friend, Edward Carrington.

The way to prevent these irregular interpositions of the people, is to give them full information of their affairs through the channel of the public papers, and to contrive that those papers should penetrate the whole mass of the people. The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers, and be capable of reading them.¹¹

Jefferson believed that to be informed was more important than to be governed.\textsuperscript{12} He ardently believed that men could get along with a minimum of government if they were enlightened and informed.

Jefferson began efforts to acquire an administration organ in order to better inform the people. Many observers thought that William Duane, editor of the \textit{Philadelphia Aurora} and a brilliant writer, would be the man chosen to establish the new paper. One writer has theorized, however, that Jefferson personally disliked and distrusted the \textit{Aurora}'s journalism "with its shrill belligerence and ready billingsgate."\textsuperscript{13} So instead of choosing Duane, Jefferson chose his personal friend, Samuel Harrison Smith.

Jefferson first encountered Smith while both men were members of the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, of which Jefferson was president and Smith was secretary. While secretary, Smith won a prize given by the organization for writing the outstanding essay on national education. Jefferson was impressed with the essay and it led to a lifetime friendship between the two men.\textsuperscript{14} Smith proved to be an excellent

\textsuperscript{12}Pollard, \textit{Presidents and Press}, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{13}Frank L. Mott, \textit{Jefferson and the Press} (Baton Rouge, 1943), p. 47.
\textsuperscript{14}Margaret Bayard Smith, \textit{The First Forty Years of Washington Society} (New York, 1906), p. 9.
choice for editor and his organ, the National Intelligencer, established in 1800, became the leading newspaper in the country. Smith's income was supplemented by receiving a monopoly of the Congressional news and a large share of the public printing.

Despite the fact that he established the first administrative organ by choosing its editor and supplementing his income, Jefferson never really utilized the power of the press for personal gains. He stands out, however, as the foremost exponent for a free press in a democratic government. Shortly before his death he stated that, "the press... is the best instrument for enlightening the mind of man, and improving him as a rational, moral, and social being."  

Smith continued to publish the National Intelligencer until 1810, when it was sold to Joseph Gales, Jr., and Gales' brother-in-law, W. W. Seaton. Gales and Seaton continued to enjoy the revenue from Congressional records and also the distinction of publishing the administration organ. Their activities continued unrestrained until Jackson's election in 1828, at which time they were replaced by the United States Telegraph, edited by Duff Green.

15Lipscomb, Writings of Jefferson, XV, 489.

16Frank Luther Mott, A History of Newspapers in the United States through 25 Years, 1690 to 1940 (New York) p. 178.
The National Intelligencer continued to be the administration organ during James Madison's administration. Madison was a staunch supporter of a free press and an informed public. It was he who had persuaded Jefferson to hire Philip Freneau as editor of the National Gazette. Also, on occasion Madison had written famous essays such as the Federalist papers and also articles for the National Gazette. On the whole he continued the policy toward the press established by Jefferson. Madison is noted for realizing the value of a bipartisan press. Throughout his administration he maintained the need for a free press and an informed people, but he never really asserted himself or used the press as an instrument to further his own cause or ideas.

James Monroe, who carried on the Virginia dynasty in the White House, differed from his two predecessors in his press relations. Whereas Jefferson and Madison had been much involved with the press and had often voiced their opinion about the need for an enlightened populus, Monroe said little. He maintained the National Intelligencer as the administration organ but the relationship was impersonal and undistinguished. One author has theorized that Monroe actually appreciated the press and realized its importance in molding

\[17\text{Leary, Freneau, p. 186.}\]
public opinion, but he simply had no talent as a molder or manipulator, and as a result little was done to advance the relations between the White House and the press. 18

Monroe's successor, John Quincy Adams, realized the importance of a party press in reflecting and shaping public opinion. He made far more use of the press than had Monroe, but his influence with the press was hindered by the fact that he would not support an administration paper with government patronage. 19 As a result of his aloofness, the full impact of an administration press did not occur until the election of Andrew Jackson.

Jackson's election in 1828 marked a revolution in the use of partisan press. No previous executive came close to matching Jackson's manipulation of the press. He was "a strong willed and independent President who made and unmade administration editors and newspapers to suit his needs and convictions." 20 One of Jackson's first executive actions was to depose the National Intelligencer as the administrative organ and to replace it with the United States Telegraph.

18 Pollard, Presidents and Press, p. 125.
20 Pollard, Presidents and Press, p. v.
edited by Duff Green. It was supposedly Van Buren's idea to do away with the National Intelligencer by depriving it of the public printing, and in turn giving the printing to Duff Green. Jackson and his supporters wanted a newspaper that would give ardent support to their principles and policies. Throughout his administration the President excelled in aggressive partisan use of the press.

By 1828 political journalism had undergone a complete revolution. Having first begun with the party papers of the Washington era, it evolved into administration organs during Jefferson's administration and dominated the scene until the election of Jackson, when the aggressive partisan press prevailed.

CHAPTER III

THE "KITCHEN CABINET" JOURNALISTS

While Jackson's official cabinet had little effect on his administration, there is no doubt that the kitchen cabinet gained a profound and justifiable influence with the President. The majority of the kitchen cabinet, Duff Green, Isaac Hill, Francis Preston Blair, and Amos Kendall, were experienced journalists whose ideas correlated with those of their leader. Throughout his eight years in the White House, Jackson used the talents and friendship of these men to achieve personal goals and enlist support for his administrative policies. Kendall was the most influential member of the group; Green, the least influential.

Amos Kendall was born on August 16, 1789, in Dunstable, Massachusetts. His early education was in the free public schools of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The boundary line between these two states ran through his father's farm. The elder Kendall thus had to pay a school tax in both states, and had the privilege of sending his children to school in both. In his early life Amos Kendall was a very studious
and obedient boy and excelled in all areas of schoolwork. So intent was his soberness and thoughtfulness in boyhood that he acquired the nickname of "Deacon."  

In 1805, Kendall entered the academy at New Ipswich, New Hampshire, where he attended school for two winters. After leaving the New Ipswich Academy, he taught school for a year in Deading, Massachusetts. While teaching, Kendall attended Groton Academy, where he studied for a year.

In September, 1808, Kendall entered Dartmouth College and eventually became the top student in his class.  

Despite his scholastic achievements at Dartmouth, Kendall failed to receive a degree. He did not take a diploma, partly because he was indifferent to the "bauble" and partly because he disliked the President of the College, John Wheelock. After leaving Dartmouth, Kendall decided to pursue the study of law and in 1814 received his license.

He practiced law for a short while, but was so unhappy with the pursuit that he abandoned it in search for a new vocation. In 1815 he was appointed postmaster at Georgetown, Massachusetts. It was after he received his appointment that


2 Ibid., pp. 12-16.

3 Ibid., p. 68.; Although Kendall does not mention the President of Dartmouth by name, it was John Wheelock.
he decided to enter the field of journalism. He theorized that because he was postmaster he would have access to the news quicker than other men and that this would create a demand for his paper. Thus, largely because of pecuniary reasons, Kendall became editor of the Georgetown Patriot in April, 1816.\(^4\)

While as editor of the Patriot, he began writing editorials concerning the currency question. During the War of 1812, all of the banks in the South and West had suspended specie payments, and to aid the government they had issued a large amount of their notes. After the war ended, these banks appeared to be in no haste to resume payments. The editorials of Kendall which attracted the most attention were those in which he discussed the problems of currency and urged the banks to resume specie payments.\(^5\)

These editorials were widely read and Kendall became quite popular. He won the approval of not only the general public, but also of the officers of the state bank of Kentucky, whose ideas coincided with Kendall's. As a result, Kendall received the position of co-editor of the state paper

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\(^4\)Ibid., pp. 155-162.

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 179.
of Kentucky, the Argus of Western America (hereafter referred to as the Argus). Kendall accepted the offer and on November 1, 1816, became co-owner and co-editor of the Argus.

Under Kendall's editorship, the Argus became a powerful political instrument in Kentucky. He began printing legislative speeches, concentrating his paper primarily on political issues. He attempted to discuss international affairs with some degree of intelligence and launched a campaign favoring public schools. He also began his fight against the B.U.S., which did not cease until Jackson vetoed its charter in 1832. Kendall's opposition to the national bank began in 1818. He opposed the institution because he believed that it had failed to achieve its objectives. It had failed to regulate the currency by compelling the state banks to resume and continue specie payments. By failing to equalize exchanges, the bank was unsuccessful in furnishing a uniform currency throughout the United States. The institution not only failed in Kentucky as elsewhere to regulate the currency by compelling the state banks to resume and continue specie payments, but

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6 The Argus had been established in January, 1808 as a weekly newspaper under the control of William Gerard. The paper was printed at the state capital of Frankfort, where it received much of the public printing and was considered the state's official organ. The Argus continued to be published until 1838.

it compelled the state banks to suspend specie payments after they had resumed them.  

These failures of the national bank led to a series of bitter editorials by Kendall. He denounced the bank and labeled it as unconstitutional and a usurper of states' rights. As a result of his denunciations, Kendall was labeled a "political incendiary" attempting "to produce civil commotion, guilty of a base and open endeavor to excite actual warfare between the State of Kentucky and the Government of the United States." Despite these attacks, Kendall continued to denounce the bank until it fell under the blows of President Jackson.

Early in his career, Kendall joined the supporters of Kentucky's favorite son, Henry Clay. On May 5, 1814, Clay's wife, Lucretia Hart Clay, approached Kendall and offered him board, the use of Clay's library and three hundred dollars a year to teach the five Clay children. Kendall accepted this employment with the expectation that he would profit from

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8 Kendall, Autobiography, p. 201. The state banks, as a result of intense wildcat banking, were forced to suspend specie payment in 1818.

9 Frankfort, Ky., Argus of Western America, November 18, 1818; March 12, May 7, 1819.

Clay's friendship and advice. He maintained friendly relations with Clay until the presidential campaign of 1828, when he switched his allegiance to Andrew Jackson.

Kendall had hoped that the Adams administration, with Clay as Secretary of State, would bring relief to the western states. By 1827 it was obvious that Adams had failed, and thus Kendall switched support. He defended his move by stating that he believed the Jacksonian program to be the triumph of true republican principles. He regarded Jackson "as the embodiment of truth and honor." The first evidence of his shift came in March, 1827, when he stated:

I thought him [Jackson] the second choice of Kentucky, and that he ought to have her vote in Congress. . .I did not like some of his words, and in supporting him now, I but support my principles--Words are fleeting, but principles will last forever."

Kendall supported the famous "corrupt bargain" charge. Jackson had accused Clay of selling out to Adams in the election of 1824. There were four candidates in the election, William Crawford of Georgia, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Henry Clay of Kentucky and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee.

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11 Ibid., p. 115.

12 Ibid., p. 331.

13 Argus, March 17, 1827.
No candidate received a majority of electoral votes. In accordance with the Constitution the election then went to the House of Representatives for a decision. The elimination of Clay occurred because only the three candidates who receive the greatest number of votes are considered in the House.\(^{14}\) Jackson expected Clay to throw his support behind him. Instead, Clay supported Adams, who after winning the election appointed Clay as Secretary of State. Kendall supported Jackson's charge and accused Clay of transferring the vote of Kentucky in violation of the expressed will of the state. He went on to say that Clay acted against Jackson because he was assured the office of Secretary of State.\(^{15}\)

Kendall also defended Jackson against the charges concerning his marriage to Rachael. The opposition party charged that "in the summer of 1790, General Jackson prevailed upon the wife of Louis Robards of Mercer County, Kentucky, to desert her husband, and live with himself, in the character of a wife."\(^{16}\) Kendall pronounced the charge as villainously

\(^{14}\) Jackson received 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41 and Clay 37.

\(^{15}\) Argus, April 25, 1827. Clay had instructions from the Kentucky Legislature to cast his state's vote for Jackson, but instead he gave the vote to Adams. Adams won the election with thirteen states to seven for Jackson. See James, Andrew Jackson, pp. 114-118.

\(^{16}\) Argus, April 18, 1827.
false. He then presented the situation as it had really transpired. Kendall contended that Lewis Robards while a resident of Kentucky, under the influence of an ungovernably jealous disposition, compelled Mrs. Jackson, then Mrs. Robards, to depart from the roof of his mother, and seek a home with her widowed parent in Tennessee. This happened before General Jackson ever came to this state, and before he ever saw Rachael Robards. Afterwards, a reconciliation between Robards and his wife was affected, and he resided with her on the farm of her mother. It was at this time, that Jackson at the solicitation of a friend, went to the home of Mrs. Donelson, Rachael's mother, to board. There he first became acquainted with Rachael. In a short time Robards vented his jealousies on Jackson, who remained silent.

Jackson immediately changed his place of residence. Lewis Robards, after maltreating his wife, deserted her and returned to the state of Kentucky, with instructions to his lawyer to sell his land in Tennessee, proving he had no intentions of returning. The family of Rachael then persuaded her not to join Lewis. Some time later, Robards applied to the Virginia Legislature for a divorce. Word then came to Rachael that Virginia had actually granted the divorce, and it was a common and universal belief that the parties were really divorced. A friend of Jackson, a lawyer never mentioned
by name, informed Jackson that Rachael was free. After the receipt of this information, General Jackson and Rachael were married in August, 1791. Actually, Robards had no divorce. More than two years later Jackson discovered that not until September 27, 1793 had Robards received a divorce. There is no doubt that Jackson and Rachael both believed they had been married legally; however, in the eyes of the law their relationship was illegal. Thus in order to satisfy public opinion, Jackson and Rachael recited their wedding vows a second time on January 17, 1794.  

As the election drew near, Kendall continued to criticize Adams. In one editorial he declared that "nothing had been witnessed as the fruit of the strange union of Adams and Clay but abuses of power, neglect of public business, waste of public money, sacrifices of public interests, favoritism, proscription, faction and violence." He further declared

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\textsuperscript{17} Ibid. See also Remini, Andrew Jackson, pp. 29-33. Rachael had also been described as "Aunt Rachael" and ridiculed for smoking a corn-cob pipe. Henry Wise, however, described Rachael as a woman of "spotless character, and an unassuming consistent Christian." He also stated that Rachael smoked, not for the pleasure of smoking, but because a pipe was prescribed by her physician for her phthisis, a form of tuberculosis. Henry A. Wise, Seven Decades of the Union (Philadelphia, 1872), pp. 112-113.

\textsuperscript{18} Argus, September 19, 1827.
that Jackson was the only man who could save the country. 19 Later in his autobiography Kendall noted that his support of Jackson caused Clay and his supporters to cast aspersions upon his motives and character. 20 In revenge for these attacks, Kendall sought the privilege of taking the electoral votes of Kentucky to Washington in 1828. 21 In return for his support in the campaign of 1828, Kendall was offered the position of Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, which he accepted in March, 1829. 22

Kendall was warmly received in Washington and very quickly became a close friend and advisor to the President. The reasons for Jackson's warm response to Kendall are not entirely clear. Kendall had strongly supported Jackson in the 1828 presidential election and perhaps this explains their close association. However, one noted historian has theorized that Kendall's chronic bad health created a special bond of sympathy with the President, who suffered in a like manner. 23

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19 Ibid.
20 Kendall, Autobiography, p. 303.
21 Ibid., pp. 304-305., see also Bowers, Party Battles, p. 148.
22 Kendall, Autobiography, p. 303.
23 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston, 1945), p. 70.
Kendall suffered from ill health and was plagued by a chronic cough. One contemporary described Kendall as a "poor wretch... as he rode down Pennsylvania Avenue he looked like Death on a pale horse." Regardless of the reason, Kendall became a very close friend and advisor to the President, and he became quite skillful at interpreting and verbalizing his ideas.

Henry A. Wise, Representative from Virginia from 1833 to 1844, described a typical scene between Jackson and Kendall. He stated that Jackson would lie on his bed and dictate his ideas as well as he could express them, and Amos Kendall would write and rewrite again and again, and fail to "fetch a compass" of the meaning. At last, by alteration and correction, getting nearer and nearer to the point, Kendall would see it, and be astonished at its "masterly power." It was common knowledge that Kendall was well respected and admired by Jackson. Harriet Martineau, well-known British writer and critic, declared Kendall to be "the moving spring of the Administration; the thinker, the planner, the doer..." Other historians have described Kendall as "a

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\(^{24}\) Wise, Seven Decades, p. 68. Kendall, in spite of his ill health, lived to be 80 years old.

\(^{25}\) Ibid., p. 117.

\(^{26}\) Harriet Martineau, Retrospect of Western Travel (New York, 1838), p. 155.
Wise summed up Kendall's position by declaring that "Kendall was the President's thinking machine, and his writing machine --ay, and his lying machine! . . . he was chief overseer, chief reporter, amanuensis, scribe, accountant general, man of all work--nothing was well done without the aid of his diabolical genius." Certainly if there was a first position in the hierarchy of influential men around Jackson, it belonged to Amos Kendall. He was more persuasive with the President than the other advisors. His talents were more widely used by Jackson than any of the other unofficial cabinet men.

Second only to Amos Kendall in influence with Jackson was Francis Preston Blair. Blair was born April 12, 1791, at Abingdon, Virginia. After high school, Blair enrolled at Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, where he distinguished himself as a student of rhetoric and as a linguist. He graduated from Transylvania with honors in 1811. Blair, like Kendall, prepared to enter into the legal profession. Eventually he earned his law degree and was admitted to the

28 Bowers, Party Battles, p. 151.
29 Wise, Seven Decades, p. 118.
state bar; however, unlike Kendall, he never practiced law. Instead of pursuing law, Blair turned his interest toward discussion of dominant public questions. He possessed a keen, analytical mind that could understand the most complicated political issues of the time. It was probably Blair's interest in public questions, combined with his physical deficiency and his talent for writing that led him into the field of journalism.

Blair, as Kendall, suffered from poor health. He was slight, had stooping shoulders, and had very strong indications of consumption. While still a boy, Blair fell in love with Eliza Violet Gist, the daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Gist of Kentucky. Gist opposed his daughter's marriage to Blair on the ground that the young man's health was too delicate to allow him to live a long, useful life, and he predicted that she would be a widow within six months. In 1832 John C. Rives, who became Blair's financial partner in the *Globe*, pictured Blair as being:

- about five feet ten inches high, and would be full six feet if his brain were on the top of his head.
- He looks like a skeleton, lacks

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31 Ibid., p. 21.

32 The Washington Globe was the administration newspaper that dominated the political scene 1830-1836.
but little of being one, and weighed when dressed in thick winter clothing, one hundred and seven pounds, eighty-five of which was bone, and the other twenty-two pounds made up of gristle, nerve, and brain. . . .

In the early 1820's, Blair became a bitter antagonist of the B.U.S., and he carried his hatred of the institution with him to Washington. As early as 1811, Blair had opposed the recharting of the original national bank. He and his father, James Blair, who was Attorney-General of Kentucky, prepared the argument to sustain the state law passed to expel the B.U.S. from Kentucky through taxation. In 1820 Blair opposed the institution because he felt that it was the cause of the hard times in the West, that it was corrupt in its practices, and a monopoly that threatened the principles of democracy. His view concerning the bank and his association with the supporters of Henry Clay brought him and Amos Kendall together, and they developed a close friendship in the early 1820's.

Blair supported Clay in the election of 1824. After Clay's elimination from the race, Blair supported John Quincy

33 Globe, June 23, 1836.
34 Smith, Blair Family, I, 23.
36 William E. Smith, "Francis P. Blair, Pen-Executive of Andrew Jackson," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVII (March, 1931), 554.
Adams with the hope that Clay would be given a cabinet position and that he might have some control over Adams. After Adams' first message to Congress, however, it became apparent to Blair that Clay was not going to control the president, so Blair withdrew his support. Some years later Blair was accused of ending his support after he realized the Democrats would be victorious. Blair, however, denied the charge and declared that he had denounced the Adams administration the moment it developed its policies. He stated further that he had the honor of "opening and fighting to the end, that battle in Kentucky which was so gloriously won for the Democracy and General Jackson."  

Aside from being involved in party politics, Blair also played a conspicuous part as one of the participants in the famous Kentucky fight between the New and Old Courts which nearly reduced the state to anarchy. Kentucky had been especially hard hit by the Panic of 1819 and had been disappointed with the branches of the national bank at Lexington and Louisville, which had behaved more like usurers than banks. The reformers of the state had hoped to strike at

37 Smith, Blair Family, I, 36-38.
38 Globe, July, 24, 1843.
the banks through taxation, but the Supreme Court decision in
the McCulloch v. Maryland case had deprived them of this
power.  

The reformers then turned to other legislation as a
means of attacking the B.U.S. In December, 1820, they passed
an act "prohibiting the sale of property by court order for
less than three-quarters of its value, as assessed by a jury
of the debtor's neighbors, unless the plaintiff would accept
payment in notes of the Bank of Kentucky or the Bank of the
Commonwealth." The currency of the Bank of the Common-
wealth was reputed to not be worth more than fifty cents on
the dollar. Therefore it is not surprising that the creditors
opposed the law. The language of the law also resulted in
the Kentucky Court of Appeals declaring the law to be uncon-
stitutional.

The Relief Party in Kentucky, following the Court's
ruling, succeeded in getting a bill passed that established
a new Court of Appeals in December, 1824. The creation of
the new Court of Appeals caused the formation of two parties--

\begin{quote}
40 The Supreme Court, under the leadership of John Marchall,
ruled that a state could not tax a Federal institution.


42 Arndt M. Stickles, The Critical Court Struggle in
\end{quote}
one being the Old Court Party, composed of the large landowners, the professional men, and those supporting the two branches of the Bank of the United States. There was also a New Court Party which represented the debtor interests. In essence this New Court Party of which Blair was an active member was a revolutionary organization which mustered its strength from the indebtedness and poverty of the people.

By 1826 the "New Court" had ceased to exist; however, it was during the period of the court fight and while Blair was acting as the clerk of the Court that two events occurred which completely changed the course of his career. First, he withdrew his support from Henry Clay and officially allied himself with the Democratic Party. Next he became a regular contributor to Kendall's newspaper, the Argus, and considered himself at this time to be a professional journalist.

With the combined talents of Kendall and Blair, the Argus became one of the most powerful and popular of the Jacksonian organs. Blair explained his motives for joining the ranks of the Jackson party in a letter addressed to Clay and dated October 3, 1827: "I never deserted your [Clay's] banner until the questions on which you and I so frequently

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43 Ibid., p. 69.
44 Bowers, Party Battles, p. 163.
differed in private discussion—(States' rights, the Bank, and the power of the Judiciary)—became the criterions to distinguish the parties. . ." In 1827 Blair became co-editor of the Argus, a position he held until 1829, at which time he became its editor.

While serving as editor of the Argus, Blair strongly defended Jackson and his policies, describing him as being fair, liberal, generous, and magnanimous, whose only concern was the public will. 46 Blair also wrote bitter editorials directed at the B.U.S. and the nullification controversy. Blair had openly opposed the bank since its inception in 1816. He blamed the depression of 1819 on the monopolistic control of the money supply by the bank. He also thought that the B.U.S. was a dangerous threat to the principles of democracy. 47

He continued his campaign against the bank, and in an editorial in 1830 he accused the wealthy aristocrats of working for the destruction of the local banks and asserted that the B.U.S. was draining all of the local banks of their specie. He also declared that the B.U.S. had become one of the most greedy speculators in the real estate market, despite the

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45 Smith, Blair Family, I, 46.
46 Argus, May 27, 1829.
47 Smith, "Francis P. Blair, Pen-Executive," 553-554.
fact that its charter expressly prohibited dealings in lands and tenements. He further stated that it was "time that the people were looking at the movements of this Behemoth, among the monied institutions or it will soon be able to devour all that dare oppose its monopolizing schemes, and bring oppression and misery upon the country."^48

Blair also maintained a constant battle with the advocates of nullification. Following the passage of the tariff of 1828, there was a strong nullification movement concentrated in South Carolina. Blair, in an editorial directed at the nullificationists, attacked their position. He agreed that the tariff did place a heavy burden on the South and that it might need regulation. He declared, however, that Congress did in fact have the right to levy such a tariff, and that it was fortunate for the United States that a man who strongly supported and defended the preservation of the Union presided over its destiny. Thus, by 1830 Blair had established himself as an ardent supporter and defender of President Jackson and his national policies, and had also gained prominence as the editor of the Argus.

Isaac Hill, another journalist in the kitchen cabinet had less influence with Jackson than did Kendall or Blair,

^48 Argus, March 3, 1830.

^49 Ibid. August 18, 1830.
but still made his presence felt and was an intimate friend of the President. Hill was born April 6, 1788, in Menotomy, New Hampshire, the eldest of nine children. At the age of fourteen he became an apprentice to a printer, Joseph Cushing, at Amherst, New Hampshire. Hill, unlike Kendall and Blair, had contemplated the opening of his own office and the establishment of his own newspaper at the earliest possible moment. Journalism from the outset was his chosen vocation.

In 1808 Hill's apprenticeship ended and he journeyed to Concord. Shortly after arriving in Concord, he published the American Patriot, a small weekly newspaper that had been published by William Hoit, Jr. Hoit had been a poor manager and the paper was a dismal failure; however, under Hill's direction it became a success and eventually became the primary mouthpiece for the Democratic Party in the state. Hill named his paper the New Hampshire Patriot (hereafter referred to as the Patriot). The Patriot became one of the leading newspapers in New Hampshire, and Hill gained tremendous popularity as its editor. Hill's popularity resulted in his being elected as a senator to the state legislature in 1820, where he served continuously until 1828.

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51 Copies of the files of the Patriot were unavailable.

52 Bradley, Hill, p. 53.
Hill's popularity continued to increase until the presidential election of 1824, in which there were four candidates. The state of New Hampshire supported John Quincy Adams, but Hill did not. He supported Jackson, and continued to support him after Adams had won the election. As a result of his unyielding fight against Adams he saw the public printing that he had long enjoyed taken away and given to the rival New Hampshire Journal.\textsuperscript{53}

Despite opposition, Hill continued to support Jackson and also won re-election to the state legislature. He was unable to secure the vote of New Hampshire for Jackson in the election of 1828. He failed, however, by only four thousand votes, which was quite an accomplishment, considering that New Hampshire was a New England state and regarded as pro-Adams. The popular vote was 24,000 for Adams to 20,000 for Jackson.\textsuperscript{54}

For his efforts, Hill was taken into the innermost circle at Washington. Jackson was very impressed with him and reportedly remarked that "Isaac Hill, considering the odds against him, had done wonders in New Hampshire."\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., p. 69.

\textsuperscript{54}William G. Sumner, Andrew Jackson (Boston, 1882), p. 186. See also William MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy (New York, 1906), p. 52.

As a reward for Hill's service, Jackson appointed him as Second Comptroller of the Treasury. Hill accepted Jackson's offer on March 21, 1828. Hill's biographer has theorized that Jackson selected Hill "to aid him in a subordinate station in reforming the administration of the government and to bring it back to the principles and practices of the glorious days of Thomas Jefferson." 56

When the Senate met in 1830, however, they rejected Hill's appointment. It has been theorized that Hill was rejected because he was "an editor and a printer." 57 This theory is illogical because the Senate had accepted Amos Kendall's appointment and he was considered to be one of the outstanding editors and printers of that day. Another historian has declared that Hill's rejection was caused by the publication of information attacking the reputation of Adams' wife. 58 Jackson looked upon Hill's rejection as a blow aimed at himself, and in 1831 he gave strong support to Hill for his nomination as United States Senator from New Hampshire. With

56 Bradley, Hill, p. 98.
57 Ibid., p. 105.
58 Sumner, Andrew Jackson, p. 191. Hill declared that Adams while Minister to Russia had procured a beautiful Boston girl, a nursemaid in his household, Martha Godfrey, for the lust of Czar Alexander. Samuel Flagg Bemis, John Quincy Adams and the Union (New York, 1956), II, 147.
the help of the administration Hill was elected Senator from his home state, replacing Carl Woodbury.

Hill's position in the kitchen cabinet was virtually assured because of his intense opposition to the B.U.S. He is credited with being one of the men responsible for infusing in Jackson's mind intense hostility to the bank. Certainly Hill was one of Jackson's most trusted advisors and played a conspicuous role as a member of the kitchen cabinet.

The only other journalist in the kitchen cabinet was Duff Green, who had started the original Jacksonian organ, the United States Telegraph. Green, however, from the outset was more of a Calhoun supporter than Jacksonian and remained in the kitchen cabinet only until 1830.

The talents of Kendall, Blair and Hill combined to make the kitchen cabinet the most influential group in the Jackson administration. Their influence was greatest in the discussions concerning the B.U.S. and the removal of bank deposits. Certainly if Jackson listened to any group or asked anyone for advice, it was the kitchen cabinet to whom he turned.

59 Ibid., p. 279.
CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN OF THE GLOBE

During the presidential campaign of 1828, the United States Telegraph (hereafter referred to as the Telegraph) had served as the official newspaper of the Democratic Party. For editor Jackson's supporters had chosen Duff Green, a long-time associate of the General. Their friendship had originated prior to the presidential election of 1824. Green had served on the Indian frontier as brigadier-general of the first Missouri brigade. He also had served in both houses of the Missouri state legislature. Jackson, realizing Green's military and political ability, invited him to join the Jackson supporters in the election of 1824. Green accepted the General's offer and in 1823 he purchased the St. Louis Enquirer, replacing George Dallas as editor. He used the paper to support the Jackson-Calhoun coalition against Henry Clay in the election of 1824. Amos Kendall, who at the time supported Clay, accused Jackson and Green of conspiring

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against his candidate. He further accused Jackson of making political concessions to Green's brother-in-law, Ninian Edwards, in return for Green's support in the election.  

In 1826, Green resigned as editor of the *Enquirer* and journeyed to Washington to establish his newspaper, the *Telegraph*. The new organ strongly supported Jackson in the election of 1828. In one of his editorials, Green described Jackson as a man who "yields not to his own interest and his own desires--but, knowing the will of the people, regards it."^4

Green also spent considerable time criticizing the Clay-Adams coalition that emerged from the contested presidential election of 1824. Jackson had accused Clay of being a traitor as soon as he discovered that Adams had given him the position of Secretary of State. Green simply reiterated the General's charge. Green declared that the Jackson men who approached Clay had only asked his support for a fellow westerner. They had neither applied force nor had they offered enticements. Green declared, however, that Adams' men had made the following appeal to Clay:

"Sir, Mr. Adams has always had the greatest respect for you and the highest admiration

^3 *Argus*, September 15, 1824. Edwards received the position of Ambassador to Mexico shortly after Green purchased the *Enquirer*.

^4 *Telegraph*, February 11, 1826.
for your talents. There is no station to which you are not equal. You were undoubtedly the second choice of New England, and we pray you to consider whether the public good and your own future interests do not distinctly point you to the course which you ought to pursue.5

Green, while discrediting the Adams administration, was also busily engaged in praising Andrew Jackson. A common slogan found in the issues of the Telegraph prior to the election was "Jackson, Calhoun, and Liberty."6 In return for its support, the Telegraph continued as the official administration organ after Jackson's election.

As Jackson's first term got underway, it became apparent to many of his supporters that the editor of the Telegraph was more of a Calhoun man than a Jackson man. Kendall later commented in his autobiography:

It was their [the Jackson supporters'] desire that General Jackson be elected for another term, that he might establish the policy in relation to the Bank of the United States, and other subjects which he had initiated, and they apprehended that in this important measure they would not have the support of the United States Telegraph.7

This distrust of Green emerged out of the animosities between Calhoun and Jackson. Green originally was a Calhoun man, and he switched his support to Jackson in 1824 only

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5Ibid., October 24, 1828.
6Ibid., October 16, 1828.
7Kendall, Autobiography, p. 371.
after Calhoun was out of the running. The realization that Green was devoted to Calhoun became known as the Jackson-Calhoun split developed during Jackson's first term.

The first empirical evidence of the rift between the President and the Vice-President occurred on February 13, 1830, at a party given in honor of Thomas Jefferson's birthday. The celebration of Jefferson's birthday marked the commencement of the nullification movement. Van Buren declared that Calhoun had a sincere desire to eliminate the burden of the tariff from South Carolina, but he also had other plans which might threaten the Union. He related:

...my mind was strongly impressed with a belief that some irregular and unauthorized proceedings were contemplated which might menace the stability of the Union.

Jackson, after learning of Calhoun's plot, decided against attending the celebration. Van Buren and others, however, convinced him that it would be in the nation's best interest to attend. One writer has declared that Van Buren

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8 Wiltse, Calhoun: Nationalist, I, 279. Calhoun withdrew from the 1824 presidential race after Pennsylvania, a state he had counted on for support, nominated Jackson as their first choice. Calhoun then began efforts to become Vice-President.


10 Ibid., p. 412.
convincing Jackson that it was his duty to inform the nullifiers where he stood. Following the dinner, Jackson, as was the custom, presented a toast. Looking the nullifiers in the face (particularly John C. Calhoun), Jackson proposed this toast: "Our Federal Union: It must be preserved." Calhoun replied with the 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 equally the benefit and burden of the state."

Jefferson's birthday celebration marked the beginning of a split between Jackson and Calhoun which eventually resulted in Calhoun resigning the office of Vice-President. One writer declared that "Jackson's toast was a bomb-shell to the nullifiers, and a declaration of war against Calhoun." The National Intelligencer interpreted the toast in the following language:

...it was as much to say, in reply to the authors of some of the preceding sentiments, [nullifiers] -- you may complain of the tariff, and perhaps with a reason, but so long as it is the law it shall be maintained as my name is Andrew Jackson.

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11 Remini, Andrew Jackson, p. 120.
12 Van Buren, Autobiography, p. 120.
13 Ibid.
14 Benton, Thirty Years View, p. 203.
15 National Intelligencer, February 18, 1830.
It was obvious to everyone that Jackson and Calhoun maintained completely opposite views concerning nullification. It was also becoming obvious to many of Jackson's supporters and to Jackson himself that Duff Green was a Calhoun man. Green, in reporting the Jefferson celebration, had filled six columns in the *Telegraph* discussing the compact theory of government, reminding readers that the Constitution was a product of the desires of the individual states. He gave only two lines to Jackson's part in the celebration.

In a letter to Major William B. Lewis, Jackson disclosed doubts of Green's loyalty:

The truth is, he [Duff Green] has professed to me to be heart and soul, against the Bank, but his idol [Calhoun] controls him as much as the showman does his puppets, and we must get another organ to announce the policy and defend the administration,--in his hands, it is more injured than by all opposition.

Jackson finally consented to the establishment of a new administration organ which would devote all of its energies to his administration and its policies. He did not, however, completely cut his ties with the *Telegraph*, and for a short period of time the two papers functioned as administration

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16 *Telegraph*, February 17, 1830.
17 Andrew Jackson to Major William B. Lewis, October 9, John Spencer Bassett, editor, *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1929), IV, 156.
organs. The official break with the Telegraph and Duff Green occurred in February, 1831, when Green printed John C. Calhoun's correspondence concerning the Seminole War of 1818.

The Seminole Indians in Florida, which at the time belonged to Spain, for several years had posed a problem to the United States, for they were continually raiding our border towns and then seeking refuge in Florida. In 1817, the situation became more acute and President Monroe decided something had to be done. The administration chose Andrew Jackson to take charge of the situation. On December 26, 1817, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun ordered Jackson to Fort Scott, Georgia, to make war. Calhoun told Jackson "to adopt the necessary measures to terminate a conflict."18

At the time of the Seminole War, there was a strong desire in the United States to annex Florida. The Monroe administration, however, wanted to purchase Florida from Spain, not conquer it, as Jackson wanted to do. Jackson invaded Florida in April, 1818, without specific orders.19 He

18 Ibid., II, 341-342.

19 President Monroe was very vague in his correspondence with Jackson. However, in one instance he informed Jackson that it might become necessary for him to apply "other services" to prevent the Indians from continued violation of our rights and national character. According to one author, these other services meant to Jackson pursuing the Seminoles into Florida and destroying them. Remini, Andrew Jackson, p. 80.
had written directly to President Monroe asking for orders to invade Florida. Jackson informed the President that he might avoid unnecessary publicity by sending the instructions through another channel. The General then suggested that his old friend, John Rhea, Representative from Tennessee, act as the middleman. At a later date, Jackson swore that he had received invasion orders through Rhea and then burned the letter.20

During his expedition Jackson seized two Spanish forts, St. Marks and Pensacola, and executed two British subjects, Robert Ambrister, a former lieutenant of the Royal Marines, and Alexander Arbuthnot, an Indian trader. Jackson stated in a letter to Calhoun dated May 5, 1818, "These individuals [Ambrister and Arbuthnot] were tried under my orders by a special Court of select officers, legally convicted as excitors of this savage and Negro war, legally condemned, and most justly punished for their iniquities."21

Following Jackson's actions in Florida, there were attempts in Monroe's cabinet, led by William Crawford and John C. Calhoun, to censure the General and disavow his actions in the state. Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams,

20 Wiltse, Calhoun; Nationalist, I, 156.

21 Bassett, Jackson Correspondence, II, 367, Alexander Arbuthnot was hanged and Robert C. Ambrister shot on April 29, 1818.
stated that "the President [Monroe] and all the members of the cabinet except myself, are of the opinion that Jackson acted not only without, but against, his instructions." He further asserted that "Calhoun, the Secretary of War, generally of sound, judicious, and comprehensive mind, seems in this case to be personally offended with the idea that Jackson has set at nought the instructions of the Department." President Monroe stated later that he did not believe that Jackson committed a breach of the Constitution and that he saw no reason for censuring him.23

There were, however, attempts to censure Jackson. Jackson knew that certain members of Monroe's cabinet had attempted to have his actions censured, but he was not sure who was responsible until February, 1831, when Duff Green published the entire Seminole correspondence in the Telegraph.24 This

24 Jackson at sometime prior to the election of 1828 had been shown bits of evidence which demonstrated that Calhoun had voted for his censure. However, Jackson, even though he supposedly knew of Calhoun's actions, did not want to jeopardize his chances in the election and thus he simply ignored the information. Had Calhoun not pursued the matter, the chances are that Jackson would never have made it an issue. When Calhoun made the entire matter public, however, Jackson became indignant and broke all ties with the Vice-President. Remini, Andrew Jackson, p. 121. See also the Telegraph, February 17, 1831. Wiltse contends Jackson realized Calhoun's
correspondence consisted of the letters exchanged between Calhoun and Jackson concerning the Florida invasion of 1818. The printing of the material touched off an intense battle between the Telegraph and the Globe.

Following the publishing of the Seminole records, the Globe castigated Calhoun for making it a public issue. It stated:

Jackson asked Calhoun simply to state whether he actually pursued the course ascribed to him by Crawford in Monroe's cabinet. . . .25 It was only necessary for Calhoun to say, "I did move and speak against you in Monroe's cabinet," or "I did not." This was all the President asked. He asked from Calhoun no justification nor excuse; all he wanted was an isolated fact. However, Calhoun's answer occupied nearly six columns in the Telegraph, . . . Is there not something suspicious in the very length of Calhoun's reply?26

The Telegraph responded to the charges by the Globe by vindicating Calhoun and his actions. The paper posed the question of "whether Calhoun could be condemned by any sound mind for defending himself against imputations which affected position concerning the Florida invasion as early as 1827. Wiltse, Calhoun; Nullifier, II, 76-82.

25William Crawford's letter to Jackson actually initiated the Seminole dispute. In his letter Crawford informed Jackson that "Calhoun's proposition in the cabinet was that General Jackson should be punished in some form or reprimanded in some form." Telegraph, February 17, 1831.

26Globe, February 19, 1831.
his honor as a man, and his purity as a public servant." In a later issue, the Telegraph described Calhoun as the "victim of political intrigue." An editorial in the Globe declared the Telegraph's publication uncalled for, declaring it to be "a firebrand wantonly thrown into the republican party" and that Calhoun would be held "responsible for all the mischiefs which might follow." 

The Telegraph denied that there was any political intrigue involved in Calhoun's actions. Green declared that "the publication of the correspondence has triumphantly vindicated Calhoun from the slanderous rumors that were previously in circulation. . .As an act of duty to the people, we [Telegraph] gladly availed ourselves of the earliest opportunity of showing the facts as they really existed." The Globe retaliated by demanding what or whom had been vindicated triumphantly? It inquired:

Does the Telegraph say that Mr. Calhoun has convicted the President of falsehood, injustice and baseness? All this must be if the vindication by 'triumphant.' Such a 'friend' of General Jackson

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27 Telegraph, February 26, 1831.
28 Ibid., March 8, 1831.
29 Globe, February 19, 1831.
30 Telegraph, February 25, 1831.
as the editor of the Telegraph, may admit this, but we must be excused for believing that the President has told the truth.\footnote{Globe, February 23, 1831.}

This editorial was the first time that the Globe had actually implied that Green was a Calhoun man and not a true Jackson supporter. It attacked Green for being a Calhoun man and virtually sealed the doom of the Telegraph. Blair announced that the Globe had been created originally to work with the Telegraph, not against it. He further declared that he had hoped to use the paper as a vehicle for the discussion of measures and principles of national interest. However, the attacks upon Jackson by the Telegraph had compelled the Globe to ignore issues and attack men. Blair further declared:

\begin{quote}
Intrigues were set on foot directly after the organization of the administration to bring out Calhoun for the Presidency for the next four years, whether General Jackson should be a candidate or not... We will be more specific still. The editor of the Telegraph [Duff Green] was one of the principle agents in this business. Before the close of 1829, he made attempts to induce distant editors to come out at once for Calhoun.\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{quote}

Following this attack on the Telegraph and its editor, the Globe became the primary administration organ, acquiring all the privileges that the Telegraph had previously enjoyed. Thus the printing of the Seminole correspondence sealed both the doom of the Jackson-Calhoun coalition and the effectiveness of the Telegraph, and marked the emergence of the
Washington Globe, which became one of the most effective and powerful political organs in the history of American politics.

Most of Jackson's followers realized by 1830 that the Telegraph would have to be replaced as the official party newspaper. The major question was who would be chosen as editor of the Globe. William T. Barry, Postmaster-General in Jackson's cabinet, nominated Francis P. Blair, editor of the Argus, as editor. Blair's nomination came about as a result of several factors. He was a close personal friend of Amos Kendall, who by this time was well established in the Democratic Party. Moreover, Blair had given full support to Jackson's campaign for the presidency in 1828. While editor of the Argus, Blair had defended many of Jackson's ideas, particularly those concerning the nullification controversy and the issue of the B.U.S. Blair appealed to the followers of Jackson primarily because he had defended Jackson as the savior of the Union and had given support to his policies.

In addition, Blair had a special appeal to President Jackson because he had defended Peggy Eaton, wife of Jackson's Secretary of War, John Eaton. Jackson had become acquainted with Margaret Eaton, then Margaret O'Neil, when she was a little girl. Her father, William O'Neil, owned a Washington tavern, the Franklin House, in which both Jackson and Eaton
had frequently lived. In fact, Eaton, who served as Senator from Tennessee from 1818 to 1828, spent all of his winters at the tavern. On July 18, 1816, Peggy married John Timberlake, a purser (paymaster) in the United States Navy.

Since Timberlake was a sailor, it was necessary for him to be away at sea for long periods of time. While he was at sea, Peggy would stay at her father's tavern, where Eaton also resided. The situation at the tavern created rumors in Washington. "That Mrs. Timberlake's virtue lacked that constancy which should have been its chief adornment, and that Major Eaton had opportunity to familiarize himself with this fact," was some of the gossip circulated.33

Matters became worse in April, 1828, when Timberlake died at sea. Immediately rumors spread throughout Washington that Timberlake had committed suicide because of his wife's infidelity.34 The suicide theory, however, is unlikely, 


34There are a great number of theories as to how Timberlake died. The most common theory is that Timberlake cut his throat when he discovered his wife's affair with Eaton. See Minnigerode, Some American Ladies, p. 255; Poore, Perley's Reminiscences, p. 120; Remini, Andrew Jackson, p. 111; Edward M. Shepard, Martin Van Buren (New York, 1888), p. 181; Ogg, Reign of Andrew Jackson, p. 132. There are other accounts of his death. One author declares that he shot himself when he discovered his wife's infidelity, Bowers, Party Battles, p. 118. Still another writer proposed that Timberlake took his life because he was unable to conquer the habit of excessive drinking, Sumner, Andrew Jackson, p. 193.
because Timberlake and Eaton were good friends. It is extremely doubtful that Timberlake would have placed enough stock in a rumor being circulated at sea to take his life. The more logical explanation is that Timberlake died of some illness, probably tuberculosis, a theory put forth by Marquis James, Jackson's noted biographer. In her autobiography Peggy Eaton discusses Timberlake's illness, which she believed to be asthma, and she assumed that this was the cause of his death. Peggy discredited the suicide theory by declaring that Timberlake had once cut this throat, but that the incident occurred at least a year before his death. She further stated that Timberlake's fellow officers assured her that it was "the mad act of a man in delirium" and not an attempt at suicide. On another occasion bleeding had eased Timberlake's agony and this probably encouraged him to inflict the wound to his throat.


36 Marquis James, Andrew Jackson (New York, 1937), p. 202. He further asserted that Timberlake's death was hastened by heavy consumption of alcohol.


38 Ibid., p. 38.

39 Ibid., p. 37.
Throughout all of the rumors, Jackson maintained that Peggy was a virutous woman. He stated at one time that anyone who questioned Peggy's virtue was either deeply prejudiced or prone to jealously. Shortly after Timberlake's death, John Eaton, Secretary of War, married Peggy at Jackson's request. The Eaton marriage, on January 1, 1829, created a furor in Washington and female society refused to receive Peggy. One contemporary observer declared that a "stand, a noble stand has been made by the ladies of Washington, and not even the President's wishes, in favor of his dearest personal friend, can influence them to violate the respect due to virtue, by visiting one Peggy Eaton, who has left her strait and narrow path."

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41 General Jackson went to Washington saddened by his wife's death. He believed to his death that the rumors and gossip concerning Rachael's character had hastened her death. This feeling made him the unyielding foe of all slanderers of women. He became especially indignant when his old friend Peggy came under the attack of gossips. He swore by the "Eternal the scandal-mongers who had embittered the last years of his beloved wife, Rachael, should not triumph over his little friend Peg." See Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences*, pp. 122-123; also, Eaton, *Autobiography*, pp. 69-70.

Among the more prominent ladies who refused to accept Peggy were Floride Calhoun, wife of the Vice-President, and Emily Donelson, wife of Rachael Jackson's nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson, and the recognized feminine head of the White House.\(^43\) The stronger the opposition got, the more determined Jackson became. He was determined that Peggy would not suffer the same fate as his wife, and he continued to honor and vindicate her until his death.

In 1830 newspapers throughout the nation became involved in the Eaton affair, and the editor of the *Kentucky Reporter* stated that Peggy Eaton should stay within her own social class and not lower the standards of morality.\(^44\) Blair then entered into the conflict and in a biting editorial in the *Argus* criticized the *Reporter*, declaring that it was the only newspaper in the West which had instigated "such vile insidious warfare upon that helpless sex, which cannot even contend against the ruffian attacks of public defamers." He insisted that Peggy was a much injured woman and innocent of the cruel gossip that was being spread.\(^45\)

\(^{43}\) Before her death, Rachael requested of Jackson that he take Emily to Washington with him to manage the official entertaining. Jackson carried out the request. See James, *Andrew Jackson*, p. 188.

\(^{44}\) Smith, *Blair Family*, I, 54.

\(^{45}\) *Argus*, October 20, 1830.
Blair's defense won the high admiration of President Jackson, and in 1830 he was offered the position of editor of the Globe. In short, the idea for a new party organ had originated within a group of Jackson's supporters who could see that Duff Green was too much a promoter of Calhoun. The idea for a new paper did not originate with Jackson as some writers contend. The split between Calhoun and Jackson brought on by the Eaton affair and the Jefferson birthday celebration gave tremendous impetus to the paper, which finally became a reality on December 7, 1830.

Blair was somewhat reluctant to accept the job of editor of the new party organ. He had incurred several debts with the B.U.S. and was wary of the financial responsibility of this new enterprise. However, Kendall assured Blair that he would assume half of the responsibility for the establishment of such a paper. With Kendall's reassurance, Blair accepted the offer. Later he settled his indebtedness by paying his notes off at a discount of ten cents on the dollar. In an editorial in 1832, Blair explained that he had never borrowed a "farthing" from the Bank of the United States on his own.

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46 Senator Thomas H. Benton gives President Jackson the credit for the establishment of the Globe. Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 128-130.

47 Smith, Blair Family, I, 61.
account. However, in 1819 during financial panic, he had been responsible for two notes to the bank as a co-signator, one for $3800, the other for $7500.

Upon reaching Washington, Blair became an immediate success. James Parton, one of Jackson's earlier biographers, wrote in 1860:

If the country had been searched for the express purpose of selecting the man best fitted for the editorship of the proposed organ, no one could have been found whose history, opinions, antipathies, and cast of character so adapted him for the past as Francis P. Blair of Kentucky.

Blair immediately established a strong rapport with the President. Parton revealed that the President immediately confided to Blair the situation of nation affairs without any reserve whatever. Jackson made a strong impression upon Blair and he believed the General to be the greatest man that had ever lived. Thus a great friendship was established which was to earn Blair a reputation as "the greatest partisan journalist and defender of Jacksonian democracy." Anytime Jackson was approached with information on an unfamiliar subject,

48Globe, June 6, 1832. Also Reginald C. McGrane, The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle (Boston, 1919), p. 127.
49James Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson (New York, 1860), II, 336.
50Ibid., III, 337.
he would simply say, "Give it to Blair." Sumner has theorized that both men thought along the same channels. If Blair spoke without first consulting Jackson, the harmony of their ideas was such that Jackson's mind was correctly interpreted. Also, if Jackson wanted anything to be said, Blair was in such accord that "it cost him nothing in the way of concession to say it."

Arrangements for starting the new organ were made by Kendall before Blair arrived in Washington. Kendall, however, had no financial interest in the paper. Blair was penniless when he came to the capital city, therefore, it was necessary that the paper be self-sustaining from the start. Originally the paper was printed on a semi-weekly basis at a subscription price of five dollars a year, paid in advance. The expense of the paper was offset by some government printing. Also, all federal office-holders receiving a salary of one thousand dollars a year or more were expected to subscribe to it. All that Blair needed to do

52Van Buren, Autobiography, p. 323. President Jackson pronounced Blair's name as Bla-ar.

53William G. Sumner, Andrew Jackson (Boston, 1882), p. 207.


55Smith, Blair Family, I, 63.

56Globe, December 7, 1830.
was to give the paper a name. He called the paper the *Globe*, stating that it was "like the globe which we inhabit, was created out of nothing." On the masthead of the *Globe* was the Jeffersonian slogan, "the World is Governed too Much," which was the epitome of Blair's agrarian philosophy of government.

Originally the *Globe* shared the honor of being an administration organ with Green's *Telegraph*; however, after Green's publication of the Seminole correspondence it became necessary to print the *Globe* on a daily basis. At that time Blair did not have the money to print a daily *Globe*, so he called on Jackson's friends to subscribe to the paper. Six hundred of Jackson's supporters responded and paid the ten dollar annual subscription fee, which financed the daily publication of the *Globe*. The financial stability of the paper was still shaky. It was only after Blair formed a business partnership with John C. Rives in 1832, and they in turn received appointments as printers to Congress in 1833, that the pecuniary success of the organ was assured. Kendall later summarized the financing of the *Globe*:

...first and last, the *Globe* was established without a dollar of capital furnished by its

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57 *Globe*, December 7, 1830.


proprietor, and as Blair used to say, like the great globe we inhabit, was created out of nothing.  

The purpose of the Globe was specifically defined by Blair in one of his first issues. He declared, "It is the purpose of this paper to discuss and maintain the principles which brought General Jackson into office and which he brought with him into office." Essentially what the paper did was to promote Jackson's ideas and policies. Jackson would discuss an issue with Blair and Blair would present it to the people. Almost immediately the Globe became the most popular newspaper in Washington. By 1832 its list of subscribers numbered approximately fifteen thousand, a greater number than the National Intelligencer, the Telegraph and National Union combined.  

The Globe had come into existence as a direct result of the conflict between Jackson and Calhoun. The idea for its inception came from a group of ardent Jackson supporters who realized that Duff Green and the Telegraph were pro-Calhoun. Blair was chosen as editor of the organ because of the close correlation of his ideas and those of the President and

60 Ibid.
61 Globe, December 11, 1830.
62 Ibid., June 11, 1832. The free population of the District of Columbia in 1830 was 33,715. There were also 6,119 slaves. The total population was 39,834. Abstract of the Returns of the Fifth Census (Washington, 1832), p. 45.
because of his stirring defense of Peggy Eaton. Following its establishment, the Globe became the most powerful partisan newspaper of its time and the leading mouthpiece for the Democratic Party.
CHAPTER V

JACKSON WEATHERS THE STORM

Following the establishment of the Globe, Blair discovered that in order to uphold and defend the Jackson administration and its principles that he would have to wage a double editorial war, a war directed against both the nullification movement in South Carolina and the B.U.S.

These two issues received the greater proportion of editorial space in the Globe throughout Jackson's terms. As these major issues developed, the importance of the journalists among Jackson's supporters also became more evident.

The first major issue with which the Globe dealt was the nullification crisis in South Carolina. This movement actually began before Jackson entered office in 1829 and was a result of the passage of the tariff of 1828.¹ Following the

¹The tariff of 1828, often called the "Tariff of Abominations," was proposed originally by a group of Jackson supporters who wanted to discredit the administration of John Quincy Adams. It was an extremely high tariff, and like all tariffs the burden of the expense fell on the South. That the tariff would not pass is the traditional school of thought; however, it did pass and created a storm of indignation in South Carolina. U. S. Statutes At Large, 1824-1836, IV, 270-275. One historian contends that Van Buren and the other Democrats expected the tariff to pass. They hoped to
tariff of 1828, a pamphlet entitled "the South Carolina Ex-
position and Protest" came into existence. This pamphlet de-
clared the right of an individual state to nullify any federal
legislation thought to be oppressive or unconstitutional. Al-
though at the time the author of the pamphlet was unknown,
most people believed Calhoun to be the author, a fact he
later admitted.

Despite the initial reaction to the tariff, for several
years South Carolina made no effort to pursue its nullifica-
tion doctrine. Most South Carolinians thought that Calhoun
would use his influence to get the tariff reduced. 2 As Jack-
son's first administration progressed, however, it became
obvious that Calhoun was losing his influence with the Gen-
eral.

The nullifiers became convinced that more drastic meas-
ures were needed, but they still faced trouble within their
own state. Prior to 1832 there was the nullification party
led by Calhoun and an opposition party, the Unionists, led by
Joel R. Poinsett. The Unionists contended that a state did
not have the authority to nullify federal legislation. They

2 Calhoun served as Vice-President of the United States
from 1829-1832, resigning in December, 1832, to lead the
nullificationist movement.
successfully prevented the nullifiers from getting the necessary two-thirds vote needed to pass a nullification ordinance.\(^3\) In 1832, however, the nullificationists captured a majority in the South Carolina legislature and proceeded to take action against the existing tariff laws.\(^4\) Finally on November 24, 1832, a delegate convention meeting at Columbia issued the nullification ordinance. The ordinance declared the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 to be null and void and "unauthorized by the constitution of the United States." The ordinance further stated that the Federal Government could not intervene in the state's internal affairs. It also required all state officials to take a loyalty oath to uphold the ordinance.\(^5\)

\(^3\) Chauncy S. Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (Chicago, 1916), pp. 165-207. Boucher thoroughly discusses the struggle between the two parties in South Carolina. Special attention is given to the political maneuvers of the nullificationist group and their eventual ascension to power. For a different interpretation see William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War; The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (New York, 1965), pp. 134-176. Freehling contends that the theory of nullification would have permitted nullifiers to usurp the liberties of unionists but also would have perpetuated the tyranny of white men over slaves.

\(^4\) In 1832 another tariff was passed which reduced the tariff of 1828, but still failed to satisfy Calhoun and the nullificationists.

Jackson, enraged at South Carolina's action, threatened to hang Calhoun for treason on a gallows "as high as Haman." He was aware of Calhoun's plan before the official ordinance came into existence. In a letter to Van Buren he described the action of the nullifiers and expressed doubts of their success. Later, in a letter to Poinsett, Jackson declared that nullification led directly to civil war and bloodshed, and he assured Poinsett that he would do his best to preserve the Union at all costs. He further encouraged Poinsett and other Union Party men to oppose the nullifiers.

In response to the Ordinance, Jackson issued his proclamation against the nullifiers on December 10, 1832. Edward Livingston, Jackson's Secretary of State, wrote the proclamation, which is considered one of the most important of all American state papers. Livingston hated disunion and earlier in his career had denounced those who favored this "great evil." 

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7 Andrew Jackson to Martin Van Buren, December 9, 1832, Van Buren Papers on Microfilm at North Texas State University, Reel 11, Series 2.

8 Andrew Jackson to Joel R. Poinsett, December 2, 1832, Bassett, Jackson's Correspondence, IV, 494.

In the declaration Jackson denied the right of a state to nullify a law and to threaten secession. He declared:

The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you. . . . Their object is disunion. But be not deceived by names. Disunion by armed force is treason.  

He also asserted that "The Constitution. . . forms a government, not a league. . . . To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union is to say that the United States is not a nation."  

Soon after the issuance of Jackson's proclamation, the Globe became involved in the issue. Kendall and Blair through their editorials condemned South Carolina's actions while at the same time praising the course taken by Jackson. One editorial contained a long discourse on just what states' rights encompassed. Blair contended that South Carolina had not been deprived of any right, but that she was "attempting to nullify a delegated right of the General Government."  

Another editorial described the situation of the nation as follows:

10James D. Richardson, editor, A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902 (Washington, 1904), II, 1161.

11Ibid., p. 1162. See also Benton, Thirty Years View, p. 301.

12Globe, January 2, 1833.
Our country is at an awful and momentous crisis. If we weather this storm, the ship of the Union may ride out the tempests and tornadoes of a thousand years. . . . Thank God, we have old Jackson at her helm. He will do his duty we know. . . .\textsuperscript{13}

Kendall and Blair also directed politics against leaders of the nullification movement, particularly Calhoun. In one article they declared that despite political divisions and differences there was one position on which all good men agreed. All, who are not "warped by passion, or misled by factions or traitorous leaders, concur warmly and unreservedly, in the conviction, that the Union must be preserved. . . and that he who touches it with hostile intentions shall be accounted infamous."\textsuperscript{14}

Despite Jackson's proclamation, South Carolina continued her threats of nullification. The state's persistence forced Jackson to take more drastic action. He asked Congress to give him the necessary legislation to insure the obedience of the tariff laws. This legislation was popularly known as the force bill, or the "bloody bill," the term applied to the act by South Carolina.\textsuperscript{15} It declared:

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., January 3, 1833.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} The official name of the "force bill" is "An Act Further to Provide for the Collection of Duties on Imports." U. S. Statutes, IV, 632.
Whenever the President shall be officially in-
formed: . . .that the execution of federal
laws is obstructed by the employment of mili-
tary force, or by any other unlawful means. . . .
it shall be lawful for the President to issue
a proclamation. . . .requiring all such mili-
tary and other force to disperse.

If opposition to the federal government continued after the
President issued his proclamation, then he had the authority
to "promptly employ such means to suppress the same." The
Globe defended Jackson's actions by declaring the doctrine
of nullification to be unsound in theory and dangerous in
practice. It further asserted that nullification was "essen-
tially revolutionary, leading in consequences to anarchy and
civil discord, and finally to the dissolution of the Union.
The Globe therefore calls for the immediate remedial use of
the bayonet."\(^{17}\)

Jackson explained the motives behind his "force bill" in
another letter to Joel R. Poinsett. He informed Poinsett
that he considered the action taken by the nullifiers as
treason and rebellion, and that he intended to destroy their
work. Jackson assured him that the Union would be preserved,
and declared that the Federal government would come to the

\(^{16}\)Ibid., pp. 632-635.

\(^{17}\)Globe, January 4, 1833.
aid of the Unionists if they chose to oppose the nullifiers.\textsuperscript{18} The Globe assured its readers that Jackson resorted to force only after the opposition had resisted the execution of Federal laws by force.\textsuperscript{19}

The nullification crisis finally ended on March 15, 1833, when South Carolina rescinded her ordinance of nullification. Her attitude changed as a result of both the threat of Jackson's force bill and the passage of a compromise tariff.\textsuperscript{20} In an effort to maintain its pride, however, the South Carolina convention nullified the "force bill" on the same day that it repealed the ordinance of nullification.

Throughout the nullification crisis Jackson had prevented the country from engaging in a civil war that could have easily ended in disunion. One biographer has declared that Jackson's victory over the nullifiers lifted him to a pinnacle of popularity never before attained by a President of the United States.\textsuperscript{21}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[18] Andrew Jackson to Joel R. Poinsett, January 24, 1833, Bassett, Jackson's Correspondence, V, 11.
\item[19] Globe, January 12, 1833.
\item[20] The compromise tariff provided for a reduction in the tariff of 1832 to 20 per cent to be spread over a period of ten-years. U. S. Statutes, IV, 270. For a more detailed account see Edward Stanwood, American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century (London, England, 1904), I, 243-290.
\item[21] James, Andrew Jackson, p. 323.
\end{footnotes}
The *Globe*, which remained throughout the entire struggle the primary instrument used to defeat the nullification movement and to praise and defend Jackson's conduct, was the only Washington newspaper that actively and openly supported his policies. The *Globe* created popularity for Jackson by enlightening its readers as to the dangers of nullification. Thus, with the aid of Kendall, Blair, and the *Globe*, Jackson was able to overcome the nullification crisis without a great loss of prestige and popularity.

The issue receiving the greatest amount of discussion and debate during the Jackson administration was the rechartering of the B.U.S. Some historians have theorized that it was Kendall, Blair and Hill who persuaded Jackson to veto the bank's charter in 1832. William Graham Sumner, in his biography of Jackson, stated that Jackson had no opinion on

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22 The Bank of the United States owed its origins to the disasters of the War of 1812. In 1811 the charter of the first Bank of the United States expired and Congress refused to renew it. The country almost immediately found itself in a financial crisis. After the war with England from 1812-1815 it was decided in Congress that the nation needed another national bank. On April 10, 1816, President Monroe signed the bill creating the Bank of the United States. The bank's charter was valid for twenty years. It was to maintain a working capital of $35,000,000 dollars, one-fifth of which the Federal Government would supply. The government also could name one-fifth of the bank's directors. *U. S. Statutes At Large*, 1813-1823, III, 266. For a more detailed account see Ralph C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 1-21.
the bank before coming to Washington. He further theorized that the veto of the charter and removal of the bank deposits could be attributed to Kendall and Blair who "were animated by prejudice and rancor sixteen years old." The three journalists did oppose the bank and had informed the General that certain branch banks, particularly those at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Charleston, South Carolina, Lexington, Kentucky, and New Orleans had used their influence to defeat Jackson in 1824. The president of the bank, Nicholas Biddle, had incurred the hostility of Isaac Hill because he refused to remove the non-partisan president and cashiers in the branch bank at Concord, New Hampshire. Hill wanted the bank employees replaced by zealous party workers of the Jackson administration.

Jackson had realized the position of the journalists before asking them to come to Washington; indeed, it may be assumed that his knowledge of their views was a factor in their selection as advisors. Jackson, however, had opposed banks long before the Globe had been established. He opposed the B.U.S. for several reasons. One incident involving the

23 Sumner, Andrew Jackson, p. 347.
24 Bradley, Isaac Hill, p. 188.
bank had occurred while Jackson was on his way to Florida in March, 1821, to assume his duties as governor of the territory. He stopped in New Orleans to cash a draft drawn up by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, but the branch bank refused to cash it, thus alienating Jackson. Another problem had occurred some years before (1796) when Jackson became involved in business transactions with David Allison, a Philadelphia speculator, and co-signed a number of Allison's notes. Then in the fall of 1797, Allison went bankrupt and Jackson had to make good all the notes he had signed. Jackson lost nearly everything he owned. After this incident he regarded paper money (issued by banks) and debts as "the instruments of the swindler and cheat." He also became convinced that hard specie was the only legitimate money. 26 He also opposed the B.U.S. on constitutional grounds, maintaining that it was a constant threat to society. 27 One observer declared that General Jackson opposed the institution long before he became President and that he entered office with the desire to kill the bank, or as Jackson often called it, "the monster," or the "hydra of corruption." 28 In 1827 during an interview

26 Remini, Andrew Jackson, pp. 36-37.


with James A. Hamilton, Jackson had expressed strong opinions against the B.U.S. and expressed a desire to do away with the institution.²⁹

In his inaugural address on March 4, 1829, Jackson clearly explained his position:

The charter of the Bank of the United States expires in 1836. . . In order to avoid the evils resulting from such important principles and such deep pecuniary interests, I feel that I cannot, in justice to the parties, too soon present it to the deliberate consideration of the Legislature and the people. Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens, and it must be admitted by all that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency.³⁰

Further evidence of Jackson's opposition is seen in a letter to Jackson from Amos Kendall. Kendall stated: "I entirely concur with you in the opinion that it [the bank] ought not under any circumstances be rechartered." Kendall declared further that the bank "impairs the morals of our people, corrupts our statesmen, and is dangerous to liberty." He also informed the President that if he would destroy the bank the "true men of the country would rally around the


administration. ... and he would find a power which the combined factions would find impossible to withstand."

Although the journalists were not responsible for Jackson's initial opposition to the B.U.S., they were responsible for encouraging Jackson to exacerbate his war against the institution. Following the President's action against the B.U.S., the journalists became instrumental in enlisting support for his program.

In spite of his hatred of the bank and his desire to destroy it, Jackson did not wish to make the B.U.S. a political issue. He was content to let the bank die a natural death in 1836. However, the president of the B.U.S., Nicholas Biddle, was determined to make the bank controversy the major issue in the election of 1832. Biddle explained his actions in a letter of July 4, 1832, to his friend, Samuel Smith, in which he gave two reasons for his premature action:

The Stockholders have devolved upon the Directors the discretion of choosing the time of making the application. . . . To omit a favorable opportunity would cause an irreparable error, and the Directors would be permanently reproached by the Stockholders.

The Charter will expire in March, 1836—Unless the present Congress acts. . . . we would not expect a decision

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31 Amos Kendall to Andrew Jackson, March 20, 1833, Bassett, Jackson Correspondence, IV, 41.
before March, 1834. ...whether the institution is to be continued or destroyed at that time is too short. ... If the Bank is to be continued the country ought to know it soon. If the Bank is to be destroyed the Bank and country ought both to know it soon.\textsuperscript{32}

Biddle also declared that the only objection to his proposal came from the Democrats. They informed him that the President would veto the bill if introduced before the election of 1832 and urged him not to make it an issue. Biddle, however, informed the Democrats that they could come forward and settle the bank question before the election, and they "could disarm their antagonists [the National Republicans] of their most powerful weapon [the bank]."\textsuperscript{33} The Democrats, who supported the bank, attempted then to persuade Biddle that Jackson would not veto the bank's charter if brought up after the election. Biddle, however, expressed considerable doubt and declared that "On the contrary I am satisfied that he would be ten times more disposed to veto it then than now."\textsuperscript{34}

Failing to convince the Jacksonian Democrats to support the re-chartering of the bank, Biddle attempted to enlist the

\textsuperscript{32}Nicholas Biddle to Samuel Smith, July 4, 1832, Reginald C. McGrane, editor, The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle Dealing with National Affairs 1807-1844 (New York, 1919, p. 162.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 163.

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., p. 164.
National Republicans in his fight. Led by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, they were then more willing to receive Biddle into their camp. To insure his strength within the party, Biddle made Webster chief counsel for the bank. He also granted sizable loans to both Webster and Clay. The Republicans lost no time in making the bank the major issue in the election of 1832. In their nominating convention they championed the bank, and criticized Jackson for his hostility to it. They also urged the voters

not to destroy one of their most valuable establishments, to gratify the caprice of a chief magistrate, . . . He [Jackson] is fully and three times over pledged to the people to negative [sic] any bill that may be passed for re-chartering the bank, and there is little doubt that the additional influence which he would acquire by reelection, would be employed to carry out all his schemes.

The pro-bank forces led by Clay and Webster managed to get the rechartering bill passed. On June 11, 1832, the bill passed the Senate, and it passed the House on July 3. The bill was then sent to Jackson for his approval. Jackson undoubtedly wanted to completely destroy the B.U.S., but was too shrewd a politician not to realize the danger of vetoing the bill just before the election. He was aware that it

\[35\] *Globe*, July 23, 1833.

\[36\] Baltimore, *Niles Weekly Register*, XLI, 310.
would be unwise to confuse the mind of the electorate with deep political issues such as the bank question. Nevertheless, Jackson maintained the belief that he was acting in the public good by eliminating the "monster." He informed Amos Kendall that "Providence has had a hand in bringing forward the subject at this time, to preserve the republic from its thraldome and corrupting influence." The assurances of his journalist advisors that the public would support his action aided Jackson in his decision to kill the bank. This assurance, coupled with his own desire to destroy the B.U.S., convinced Jackson that he should veto the controversial bill.

On July 10, 1832, Jackson returned the bank bill with his objections. Authorship of the General's veto message has been a controversial issue. Most historians have theorized that Roger B. Taney composed the declaration; however, recent discoveries have shown that Amos Kendall probably wrote the message. Professor Lynn L. Marshall discovered Amos Kendall's final draft of the veto message in the Andrew Jackson Donelson Papers. All but four sentences of Jackson's final proclamation are found in Kendall's final draft. Marshall has theorized that Kendall's participation in this matter remained

37 *Globe*, April 6, 1832.
unknown for several reasons. In 1849 Roger B. Taney denied Kendall's authorship of the message, and most historians, says Marshall, have been satisfied with Taney's explanation and have simply ignored the possibility that a stoop-shouldered hypochondriac like Amos Kendall could be the author.38

The bill to modify and continue the act entitled 'an act to incorporate the subscribers of the Bank of the United States,' was presented to me on the 4th of July. Having considered it with that solemn regard to the principles of the Constitution which the day was calculated to inspire, and come to the conclusion that it ought not to become a law, I herewith return it to the Senate in which it originated with my objections.39

He further accused the bank of acquiring its immense profits at the expense of the poor. He also opposed the practice of allowing foreigners to own stock in the bank. He declared that "Controlling our currency and receiving our public moneys...would be more formidable and dangerous than the naval and military power of the enemy." The President also contended that the majority of the bank's capital benefited private individuals and not the public as a whole.40

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39 Globe, July 11, 1832.

40 Richardson, Messages and Papers, II, 581-585.
later defended his action in a speech by declaring that "the Monster was likely to destroy our republican institutions, and would have entirely subverted them if it had not been arrested in its course."\(^{41}\)

Jackson received much criticism as a result of his veto. Nicholas Biddle said "it has all the fury of a chained panther, biting the bars of his cage. It is really a manifesto of anarchy."\(^{42}\) The National Intelligencer, the Globe's chief competitor in Washington, declared that the bank bill was unconstitutional because "the President has not, instead of Congress, been allowed to mould its features and to make the law." The editorial further criticized Jackson's actions by claiming that he had attempted to usurp Congressional power.\(^{43}\) The consensus among the National Republicans was that Jackson, by vetoing the national bank charter, had destroyed his chance for re-election in 1832. However, they failed to take into account the ability of Jackson's journalistic advisors to enlist support for his program.

Following Jackson's bank veto, Blair and Kendall began a series of editorials pertaining to the issue. These

\(^{41}\) Ibid., II, 587.

\(^{42}\) McGrane, Biddle Correspondence, p. 172.

\(^{43}\) National Intelligencer, July 14, 1832.
editorials had a fourfold purpose. They attempted to exonerate President Jackson's actions while simultaneously condemning the practices of the Bank. They also exposed the intense power of Nicholas Biddle. Lastly, Blair and Kendall attempted to inform the public of the political intrigues that existed between Biddle and the leaders of the National Republican Party. The primary goal of the journalists, however, was to secure public approval of Jackson's action in order to insure his re-election.

The Globe hailed Jackson's veto message as a "second Declaration of Independence." It also declared that Jackson had vetoed the bill in opposition to the nobility of England, the aristocracy of America, and "the interest of those who loved Mammon, rather than their country." It proclaimed:

When political demagogues shall have dwindled into insignificance, and the selfish murmurings of a factionous few shall have died upon the ear, the name of Andrew Jackson will stand conspicuous among the benefactors of the world, brightening as time rolls onward.

The Globe ended this series of editorials with an appeal to the people to reward Jackson's independence, fearlessness

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44 Globe, July 12, 1832.
and patriotism during the bank struggle by bestowing their support upon him.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, July 27, 1832.}

On July 13, 1832, three days after Jackson delivered his veto message, the \textit{Globe} accused the bank of violating at least seven important restrictions of its charter. It charged the B.U.S. of (1) owing more than it was allowed to owe at any one period of time, in violation of its eighth article; (2) in holding and possessing more than it was allowed to hold and possess, in violation of its seventh article; (3) in purchasing and holding real estate, also in violation of its seventh article; (4) in violating the ninth article by charging a rate of interest greater than 6 per cent; (5) in dealing and trading in things forbidden by the ninth article; (6) in violating the third article by allowing emoluments to the bank's directors; (7) in violating part of the ninth article by purchasing a portion of public debt. The editorials further asserted that there were other violations, but those mentioned more than adequately explained President Jackson's motive for destroying the institution.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, January 12, 1832.}

In a later editorial Kendall and Blair further denounced the bank, claiming that it was sustained by acts of bribery and
corruption. They also accused the bank of corrupting the representatives of the people, particularly Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. They also pointed out that foreigners owned more of the bank's stock than the United States Government.48

Following their vindication of Jackson's policy and their expose of the bank's violations, Kendall and Blair concentrated on exposing the leaders of the institution. The president of the B.U.S., Nicholas Biddle, was the first to be castigated. The first in a series of editorials described Biddle as a "monarch" with full control over the pecuniary interests of the nation, and accused him of trying to use the "terrors of his power" to drive the people of the West from the support of Jackson. Blair concluded by declaring:

It is he [Biddle] who has fed Mr. Clay with seventeen thousand dollars, and now puts forth all the power of the Bank to make his feed lawyer President of the United States.

The President of the Bank openly comes forward and attempts to force on the people, by the blandishments of hope and the terrors of threatened chastisement, his feed attorney [Clay], one he has relieved by his bounty from pecuniary embarrassment, as the President of freemen.49

48 Ibid., August 11, 1832.
49 Ibid., July 28, 1832.
Continuing to label Biddle as tyrant, another editorial claimed that the bank was "the People's Bank because the people have nothing to do with it but to obey the decrees of its self-constituted and arbitrary ruler, Biddle." Blair summed up the dilemma that faced the people in 1832:

The question now is one of power between NICHOLAS BIDDLE and THE PEOPLE. It is to be determined in his feed lawyer President and through him procure a continuance of his monopoly and his power or whether the people will make their honest and fearless defender President and through him secure a restoration of equal rights, equal protection to all, a return to constitutional principles and a perpetuation of our happy Union.

Having denounced Biddle as a financial tyrant, Kendall and Blair began a series of editorials in which they exposed the financial agreements between the bank and the leaders of the National Republican Party. They accused Henry Clay of having a double interest in the bank, both pecuniary and political. Clay allegedly had received thirty thousand dollars from the bank in return for his legal services. His greatest interest in the bank, however, was of a political nature. Clay realized that pro-bank men had undertaken to make him President. Therefore, Kendall and Blair theorized that Clay had voted to recharter the bank only because it had resolved

50 Ibid., July 30, 1832.
51 Ibid., July 28, 1832.
to put forth all its money and power to make him President.\textsuperscript{52}

The \textit{Globe} also declared that Daniel Webster supported the bank only after he had received a considerable amount of money from the institution.

Mr. Webster, in 1816, voted and spoke against the present Bank. But Mr. Webster, in 1832, with many thousands received from it as counsel and attorney is loudest and longest in favor of its recharter.

\ldots Oh! Shame, where is thy blush.\textsuperscript{53}

Shortly before the election the journalists began another series of editorials praising Jackson for his fight against the institution, declaring that

To preserve our independence has the conquering hero and fearless patriot, sacrificed his personal ease and as his enemies think, put in jeopardy his re-election if not his future fame.\textsuperscript{54}

The success of the journalists may be measured by the results of the election of 1832. Many contemporary observers believed, as did Biddle and Clay, that the bank issue would be the deciding factor in the election and that Jackson would be defeated. When the final ballots were counted, however, Jackson had defeated Clay by 219 electoral votes to 49. That the issue had slightly hurt Jackson's support in the election

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid.}, July 23, 1832.
\item \textsuperscript{53} \textit{Ibid.}, July 13, 1832.
\item \textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid.}, August 16, 1832.
\end{itemize}
can be seen by comparing the popular vote of 1828 to that of 1832. In 1828 Jackson received 56 per cent of the popular vote, however, in 1832 he received only 55 per cent.\(^5\) He is the only president in American history whose re-election to a second term registered a decline in the percentage of popular votes.\(^5\) Jackson's triumph may be attributed in part to his immense personal appeal. The editorial war waged by Kendall and Blair against the bank should also be considered an important factor in Jackson's victory.

In spite of the General's triumph, the journalists were not satisfied. They persuaded Jackson that unless the bank was deprived of all future public monies and relieved of its existing deposits, it would become an acute problem again in 1836. They theorized that the bank would either submit and die peacefully or be conquered by Jackson. Regardless of what happened the issue would be disposed of before the next political campaign.\(^5\)

Kendall urged Jackson to act immediately before Congress could convene, informing him that "it [the removal of deposits]"
is the only means by which this embodiment of power which aims to govern Congress and the country can be destroyed." Kendall further assured Jackson that he and Blair, through the Globe, would bring the issue before the people and enlist their support for the President's action. Isaac Hill informed the President that it was his desire that "the monster which has so long held the purse strings of the nation should be prostrated, and no longer be permitted to tyrannize over other monied institutions." He further assured the President that the removal of the deposits was essential in the complete destruction of the institution.

Before reaching a decision, Jackson asked Van Buren for his advice. It had been theorized that Van Buren was opposed to the removal of the deposits. Kendall then approached Van Buren and presented all of his views regarding the removal of bank deposits. He maintained that the Jacksonian Party would be defeated in the next presidential election unless the bank was stripped of its powers immediately. Van Buren quickly changed his views. Several weeks after

58 Ibid., p. 376.
60 Andrew Jackson to Martin Van Buren, June 6, 1833, Van Buren Papers on microfilm at North Texas State University, Reel 12, Series 2.
their meeting, he made the following statement, "I had never thought seriously upon the deposit question until after my conversation with you [Kendall]; I am now satisfied that you were right and I was wrong." 62

Strengthened by the assurance of his journalists, Jackson determined to deprive the B.U.S. of its deposits and to destroy it once and for all. The President, however, encountered opposition to his plan within his cabinet. Secretary of the Treasury Louis McLane opposed the scheme. Jackson, confronted with McLane's opposition, shifted him to the State Department. In his place, Jackson appointed William J. Duane, whom Jackson believed to be an ardent anti-bank advocate. Duane, however, disappointed Jackson and refused to issue the order to remove the deposits. In face of this opposition, Jackson began having second thoughts. He then asked Kendall for his advice. He informed Kendall that "they [McLane and Duane] tell me the State banks, through fear of the United States Bank, which can crush them at will, cannot be induced to take the public deposits and do the business of the government." 63 Kendall informed Jackson that McLane and Duane were mistaken. He then asked Jackson for permission to take a tour through the states in order to ascertain the feelings of

63 Ibid., p. 378.
the state banks. Jackson agreed to Kendall's proposal. Kendall returned from the tour and informed Jackson that the "State banks were not only not afraid to receive the public deposits, but would render to the government the same services as the Bank of the United States had done."  

With Kendall's reassurance, Jackson continued his efforts to remove the deposits. He asked Duane to resign, but Duane refused. The President then dismissed him on September 23, 1833. Roger B. Taney, who had previously served as Jackson's Attorney General, replaced Duane. Taney opposed the bank and lost no time giving official notice that government deposits would no longer be made in the B.U.S. Jackson had appointed Taney as Secretary of the Treasury while Congress was not in session, however, when Congress convened, the Senate rejected his appointment. In 1835 Taney failed to receive his nomination as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; however, in 1836, following John Marshall's death, Taney became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.  

Kendall and Blair aided the fight by prodding the partisan press. The Globe declared that the people's republican government would be endangered as long as the national bank

64 Ibid., p. 384.

65 James, Andrew Jackson, pp. 399-400, 415.
existed. Kendall and Blair also charged the B.U.S. with loaning large sums of money to editors without security. They further asserted that the institution had spent over 100,000 dollars to influence the election of 1832. Finally they charged that Biddle and the bank had wantonly and unnecessarily brought financial distress on the country. Following the veto of the bank's charter, Biddle had raised the rate of interest on loans issued by the B.U.S. He also curtailed the issuance of credit, and called in a large number of notes. Biddle hoped that by causing a minor panic he could convince the people of the importance of the institution.

Finally on April 4, 1834, the House of Representatives passed a series of resolutions supporting the President's action. The second resolution declared that "the public deposits ought not to be restored," and the third resolution stated that "the state banks ought to be continued as the

66 Globe, February 4, 1833.
67 Ibid., January 2, 1833.
places of deposit." 69 Jackson boasted that he had obtained a glorious triumph. 70

By the end of his second administration, Jackson had overcome two gigantic obstacles, the nullification issue and the national bank issue. Over both, he emerged victorious with a greater popularity than before. Through both crises, the President received the unyielding support of the Globe. Often times the Globe stood alone in its defense of Jackson. Yet after each crisis Jackson emerged more popular than before. Certainly the Globe, under the direction of Blair and Kendall deserves much of the credit for maintaining the Jackson image and for enlisting the electorate to sustain his programs.

69 James, Andrew Jackson, p. 379.

70 Andrew Jackson to J. D. Coffee, April 6, 1834, Bassett, Jackson's Correspondence, V, 260.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Although the cabinet journalists spent the majority of their time defending Jackson's domestic policies, there were times when they were called upon to defend his foreign policy, particularly the French spoliation claims. This controversy arose from claims of American citizens against France for the destruction of property during the Napoleonic Wars, 1803-1815. For nearly two decades the United States had made repeated but unavailing efforts to secure pecuniary redress.

By 1830 several European nations had presented claims similar to those of the United States and had received payment. Jackson decided it was time for America to be paid. He sent William C. Rives to France with instructions to collect what was owed. France ignored Rives for a period of time; however, late in 1830 France witnessed a political revolution. Charles X was driven from the throne and replaced by Louis Phillipe, who seemed anxious to make a settlement with America. Finally on July 4, 1831, the French signed a treaty agreeing to pay 25,000,000 francs in six annual installments.¹

¹Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People (New York, 1940), pp. 199-200. See also the Globe
Months passed and France made no efforts to pay her debt. Finally Jackson in 1833 instructed his Secretary of the Treasury to draw up a draft for the amount due and present it to the B.U.S. for payment. However, the draft came back unpaid, and the bank assessed the Federal government approximately $170,000 for having presented a worthless draft. One writer has theorized that this incident was a factor in Jackson's deciding to remove the deposits from the B.U.S. in the fall of 1833.

The French finance minister refused to honor the draft on the grounds that the French Chambers had not appropriated the necessary funds. Jackson became enraged. He sent his capable Secretary of State, Edward Livingston, to France replacing Rives. Livingston attempted to persuade the French to pay their debt, but they refused and in April, 1834, the Chamber of Deputies failed to pass a bill that would have settled the dispute. Jackson, angered by the French delay, January 3, 1835. The treaty also declared that the United States would lower its duties on imported wine, which they did on February 2, 1832. Richardson, Messages and Papers, III, 100.

Ibid., p. 200. See also James, Andrew Jackson, p. 287; Bassett, Andrew Jackson, p. 667.

Remini, Andrew Jackson, pp. 386-387.

James, Andrew Jackson, p. 388.
declared in his sixth annual message to Congress that the
time had come to "take redress into our own hands." He fur-
ther asserted that the United States would not waste another
quarter of a century in negotiating with France about the
payment. He also declared that

it is a well-settled principle of the international
code that where one nation owes another a liqui-
dated debt which it refuses or neglects to pay
the aggrieved party may seize on the property
belonging to the other, its citizens or subjects,
sufficient to pay the debt without giving just cause
of war.

Jackson concluded his discourse by stating that France ought
to look upon the action of the United States as evidence of
an "inflexible determination on the part of the United States
to insist on their rights."^5

The Globe defended Jackson's speech, declaring that if
France did not fulfill the stipulations of the treaty, the
United States must stand forever disgraced in the eyes of all
mankind, if they "fail to seek the redress which the laws of
nations sanction."^6 Jackson, with the assistance of his
cabinet journalists, was now able to rally the country behind
him. However, he had, in the opinion of the French, insulted
the honor of the French government.

^5 Richardson, Messages and Papers, III, 105-107.
^6 Globe, January 5, 1835.
France, following Jackson's strong proclamation, began strengthening her naval stations in the West Indies, which many construed as a preparation for war. At the same time, however, Louis Phillipe urged the Chamber of Deputies to adopt a bill for the payment of the indemnity. Finally in May, 1835, the bill to pay America's claims passed, although it contained an amendment which stated nothing would be paid until France received satisfactory explanations of the language of Jackson's speech to Congress.  

Jackson, enraged at the French demand, recalled Livingston from Paris, leaving Livingston's son-in-law, Thomas P. Barton in charge. The country once again rallied behind Jackson. The Globe declared that "France will get no apology, nothing bearing even a remote resemblance to one." In a later editorial the Globe praised Jackson for his firm stand and demanded that France offer the apology.

In September, 1835, Jackson instructed Barton to inform the French that he stood ready to accept the indemnity. If he received no reply within three days, he was to ask when payment might be expected. Then if after five days the French

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7 Bailey, A Diplomatic History, p. 201. See also James, Andrew Jackson, p. 401.
8 Globe, May 29, 1835.
9 Ibid., June 5, 1835.
did not make definite arrangements for paying the bill, Barton was to close the legation and come home.

Before Barton answered, Jackson presented his annual message of 1835 to Congress. In his speech, Jackson stated that his message of the year before was not intended "to menace or insult the Government of France." This statement was not an apology, for Jackson concluded by declaring that "the honor of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me for the statement of truth or the performance of duty." 11

Shortly after this speech, the United States learned that Barton had asked for his passports. Jackson immediately prepared for war. He requested large and speedy appropriations to increase the navy and coastal defenses. He declared that he would do everything in his power to "preserve the pecuniary interests of our citizens, the independence of our Government, and the honor of our country." 12

Just as war seemed inevitable, England offered her services as mediator. Both nations accepted the British offer. The French accepted Jackson's message of 1835 as proof that he had not intended to insult the country in 1834. By May

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11 Richardson, Messages and Papers, III, 158, 160.
12 Ibid., III, 192.
10, 1836, Jackson announced that the four back installments of the indemnity had been paid and that cordial relations were re-established with France. The Globe praised Jackson for his successful venture, pointing out that he had succeeded where his three predecessors had failed. The timing of the French settlement was perfect, and Jackson, with the aid of his journalistic advisors, rallied the people behind the Democratic Party in 1836, virtually eliminating any possible victory by the Whigs.

Following Van Buren's victory in 1836, the kitchen cabinet disbanded and the journalists went their separate ways. In 1836, Isaac Hill resigned as Senator from New Hampshire to accept the governorship of the state. He remained governor until 1840, at which time he resigned in order that he and his sons might establish a newspaper at Concord. His new paper, Hill's New Hampshire Patriot, was a failure mainly because it failed to recapture the qualities that had made his earlier venture so successful. He did, however, establish a successful agricultural journal, the Farmers' Monthly Visitor, which he continued to publish until his death on March 22, 1851.

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13 Globe, May 17, 1836.

Amos Kendall, who was elevated to the post of Postmaster General during Jackson's second administration, continued to hold that office under Van Buren. In 1840, however, Kendall resigned forever from public service because of ill health. Following his resignation, he began publishing a bi-weekly sheet, Kendall's Expositor, which concentrated its editorials on the major issues of the time such as slavery, the tariff, and secession. He continued to print his paper until 1845, when he entered into a business agreement with Samuel F. B. Morse. Kendall was given full power to manage and dispose of Morse's interest in the telegraph business. He continued his connections with Morse until his death at the age of 80 on November 12, 1869.

Blair continued to serve as editor of the Globe until April 12, 1845 when he sold out because of a disagreement with President James K. Polk. He remained, however, as a partner

15 Kendall, Autobiography, p. 434.
16 Ibid., p. 527. Kendall became wealthy through his connection with Morse, and the last years of his life were devoted chiefly to religion and philanthropy.
17 Smith, Blair Family, I, 181. Smith listed three reasons in explaining the fall of the Globe. The Globe had declined because Polk personally disliked Blair. Polk was mad about the course which Blair pursued in regard to Texas, Blair being in no hurry to annex Texas, while Polk was very much in favor of annexation. In addition Polk wanted to unite the cliques within the party and destroy the overwhelming influence of the Blair-Van Buren group.
with John C. Rives in the printing of the Congressional Globe until 1849. In 1848, Blair deserted the Democratic Party and joined the Free Soil group. He joined the Free Soil Party because it was led by his friend, Van Buren and also because of its anti-slavery platform. He later joined the Republican Party, and campaigned actively for Abraham Lincoln. Blair remained active in the Republican Party until he died at the age of 84 on July 9, 1875. He was the last of the major Jacksonian journalists to die.

These journalists remained vital figures throughout the "reign" of General Jackson. They were instrumental in securing support for Jackson's programs. There is, however, little evidence that they actually formulated any public policies of the Jackson administration. Andrew Jackson was a man of strong will; as one writer has stated, the President often consulted Blair and other kitchen cabinet members, but, if after consultation he was still of the same opinion as before, that settled matters, and the President had his way. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. in The Age of Jackson declared that "there can be no doubt that Jackson dominated the kitchen cabinet and used it for his own purposes." Another historian has

18 Ibid., I, 507. Blair's eldest son, Montgomery, became Postmaster General in Lincoln's cabinet.

19 Smith, Blair Family, I, 70.

20 Schlesinger, Jr., Age of Jackson, p. 73.
asserted that Jackson was so strong willed, shrewd and adept at determining the public temper that the story of his complete domination by his unofficial advisers was quite absurd. Jackson, in a letter to John Randolph, denied charges that he was overly-influenced by the kitchen cabinet.

I can only say that they spring from the same false view of my character. I should loath myself did any act of mine afford the slightest color for the insinuation that I followed blindly the judgment of any friend in the discharge of my proper duties as a public or private individual.

Kendall, shortly before his death, admitted that the President wrote most of his own messages and made his own decisions on most issues. However, Henry A. Wise once explained Jackson's need of the journalists in this manner: "General Jackson could think, but could not write; he knew what nerve to touch, but he was no surgeon skilled in the instrument of dissection." Thus in order to secure the support of the masses, Jackson needed advisers who would interpret and verbalize his policies, which the journalists could and did.

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21 Shepard, American Statesman, p. 193.
22 Andrew Jackson to John Randolph, November 11, 1831. Bassett, Jackson Correspondence, IV, 171.
24 Wise, Seven Decades, p. 117.
Amos Kendall and Francis Blair remain the two outstanding journalistic personalities of the Jacksonian era. Measured by the standards of their time, both men were well educated and well informed. They were both from Kentucky and began their political careers as staunch supporters of Henry Clay. They opposed the monied interests of the East, particularly the B.U.S., and they initially reviewed Clay as the savior of the West. Following the presidential election of 1824, they were convinced that Clay would not promote the interests of the West, so they switched their support to Andrew Jackson. Jackson at that time realized his inability to express his ideas and sought the friendship of those men who could communicate with the people and whose ideas most closely correlated with his own.

Thus it happened that Kendall, Blair and Hill, because of their journalistic talents, ventured to Washington where they became the outstanding exponents of Jackson's ideas. All gained the complete confidence of Jackson and were his most trusted advisors. They were, however, only advisors and did not dominate the General, nor did they determine his national policies. They were instrumental in creating a national image of Jackson and also in securing support for his administrative policy. They should be remembered not only for their contribution to the Jackson administration,
but also as outstanding exponents and defenders of popular democracy, enabling it to become the watchword of the Jacksonian era.
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