



# REPUBLICAN DOCUMENTS.

## ORIGIN OF MODERN NULLIFICATION.

### Letter from F. P. BLAIR, to the New York Republicans.

SILVER SPRING, April 26, 1856.

Gentlemen: It is grateful to me to receive an invitation to unite in your effort to restore the patriotism of the time when republicans of every party, were arrayed in opposition to the sinister designs of the nullifiers of the South.

They are more formidable now than ever. They have an administration installed at Washington to aid their plots, which, receiving its power from the democracy, has betrayed its organization—its name, and the accumulated confidence gathered around it, by the labors of the illustrious restorers of the principles derived from Jefferson, together with the authority it conferred on those entrusted with the government, to assist the worst enemy of its cause.

To use a homely phrase, "*the democracy has been sold out*" to Mr. Calhoun's nullifying party; a party which owes its origin to artful appeals made by him to the slaveholding interest, operating on the fears of some, the avarice and ambition of others.

A brief account of the rise of this party will be useful, as explaining the source of its power and of the present troubles of the country.

Mr. Calhoun, after failing in his effort to attain the Presidency, by the sacrifice he made of southern interests to manufacturing cupidity, in the first protective tariff, which he contributed to enact, changed his tactics, and devoted his life to achieve the object of his ambition by consolidating the slave power through appeals to its interests. He reversed his tariff policy, and pronounced the protective system, robbery of the South. Agriculture was indeed everywhere oppressed by an excessive tariff, but Mr. Calhoun and his partizans insisted that the whole burden fell on the South, although the North paid double the duties paid by the South.

His own and Mr. McDuffie's powerful appeals persuaded South Carolina that the Union was a mischief to her, and that as the central sea-board state, she would prosper more as the head of the southern confederacy, than as a little slave oligarchy in the midst of great republican commonwealths, then looking to the gradual progress of free principles, for aggrandizement.

The more prosperous states of the South, although hostile to the tariff, would not adopt Mr. Calhoun's nullification for redress. His attempt to identify Gen. Jackson's administration with South Carolina principles proved abortive. The plan to effect it was ingeniously contrived. A dinner, in honor of Jefferson's birthday, was the occasion devised to inaugurate the administration and the doctrine of nullification together. The sentiments prepared for promulgation with this view were laid by the side of the new President's plate, to receive his sanction, but they met his reprobation in the famous toast: "The federal Union must be preserved"—which he inscribed on the paper. Mr. Calhoun's next step was to bring South Carolina alone into the arena, to defy the general government and broach civil war, relying on the sympathy of the slave states to unite all in making common cause with her when coerced by the general government. This hazardous plan of combining the slaveholding power in a war upon the Union, fell under the proclamation and the force bill.

Mr. Calhoun did not abandon, under this defeat, his favorite design of embodying the South *as a section*, to command the North or separate from it. The cry that slavery was in danger was his next rallying cry. The names of Tappan, Garrison, and other speculative enthusiasts, who argued the cause of the African race, in the hope of reaching the feelings and consciences of those who had the power of giving them freedom, were made the watchwords of his party. Mr. Calhoun endeavored to impress the feeling that these movements portended the invasion of the rights of southern slaveowners by the power of the northern states. There was not the slightest pretext for the apprehension. The great majority in all the free states condemned interference with the domestic institutions of the South. Even discussion of the subject, with a view to moral effect, was in the northern cities frowned down. But Mr. Calhoun was not content with this demonstration of public feeling in the free states. His next move was to convoke a sectional convention of all the states holding slaves, for the purpose of demanding of the northern legislatures, the suppression of the abolition societies, head-



ed by Tappan and others; and he declared, that the South must dissolve the Union, unless the North obeyed his call to suppress the freedom of speech and of the press, if employed by its citizens in discussing the mischiefs of slavery. This extraordinary movement to enforce the persecution of free opinion in one section by demanding penal enactments, menacing a revolt in the other, on failure to comply, had the desired effect. It gave importance to the Abolitionists, which it is impossible they would otherwise have acquired. Multitudes were ready to defend the freedom of speech, who were strongly opposed to the abuse of it.

The legislatures of the North would not persecute at Mr. Calhoun's bidding. He then appealed to Congress to suppress the circulation of what he called the "incendiary" tracts of the abolitionists, and introduced a bill supported by a long report, to enforce a sort of censorship over every publication lodged in the mail. All were to be suppressed that could be construed as affecting slavery. Mr. Calhoun denounced a separation of the Union as the necessary consequence of the failure of this measure. It failed as an enactment, but did not fail to increase the agitation which it was designed to provoke.

Then followed the era of petitions from the North, which were multiplied as repulses to the insults heaped upon their authors, by Mr. Calhoun and his southern coadjutors. They, in turn, avenged themselves upon the petitions by denunciatory speeches, by refusing to print, by laying them upon the table without reading, by subjecting them to every species of parliamentary contempt. All this exasperation, which Mr. Calhoun had taken such an active share in propagating throughout the class with which he identified himself, did not compass his object.

The great body of the people, North and South, saw that he aimed to reach the Presidency by combining the whole vote of the South in his favor, and putting it in the attitude of abandoning the Union, unless the North would call the great nullifier to the Chief Magistracy to prevent it. The intrigue of selfish ambition was so apparent in all his management, that Mr. Calhoun could not unite the South in his support. It valued the Union much more than it did Mr. Calhoun, and would not put it in jeopardy to make the experiment he proposed. It saw, too, that there was not the slightest inclination on the part of any northern state to trespass on the rights of their brethren of the South—that the panic about incendiary documents was a mere feint—that all the abolition pamphlets were but waste paper. If they had any effect, it was to make the master more severe, and the slave more servile.

Having in vain tried to make the subserviency of the slaveholder throughout the South pander to his selfish designs, as it did in South Carolina, mischance at last gave Mr. Calhoun the opportunity to touch a chord, to which the feelings of slaveowners everywhere responded. It awakened the ambition of the whole oligarchy of the South. The conquest of new dominions for slavery touched that fibre in the heart, which, unhappily for the peace of mankind, is too much alive in every bosom. Mr. Calhoun, as the head of Mr. Tyler's administration (a place which was opened to him by the hand of death) urged the annexation of Texas, as offering a field to the South for the propagation of slavery, and opening its way to indefinite extension towards the West. He seized the occasion to address a letter to Lord Aberdeen, declaring this to be the purpose of the annexation, and another to Mr. King, our minister to France, in which he expatiated upon the advantages of slavery. Thus offering, in the eyes of all Europe, an insult to the honest principles on which our Revolutionary Fathers

and the authors of the Constitution, founded our government.

These patriots would not allow the word *slave* to be found in our Constitution. They provided for the extinction of the slave-trade as a piracy. They prohibited it from every territory belonging to the Union. Mr. Calhoun coveted new territories only to afford room for its expansion, and made it his shameless boast to the world, that the power we had acquired as freemen, under the lead of patriots, who had shed their blood to establish the principle that "all men were born free and equal," was now to be employed to spread slavery over a continent. Here, for the first time, Mr. Calhoun succeeded in drawing to his purposes the whole slaveholding interest, as well without as within South Carolina.

The ambition of conquest, especially, in those taught to domineer in their nurses' arms, cannot resist the tempting invitation to take cheap glory and rich spoils from a weak people. Besides we had a claim to Texas. It was already a slave state, and it was not then suspected that Mr. Calhoun looked beyond its boundaries to take new provinces, and extend slavery into Mexico. His avowed principle, therefore, was supposed to be limited by the practical result to which they were immediately applicable, and men who had no thought of conquering Mexico to convert it again into a land of slaves, cordially co-operated in bringing Texas into the Union. The scheme was then meditated, the consequences of which are now before us, and which Mr. Brooke, of South Carolina, has declared, in the House of Representatives, looks to the absorption of Mexico, Nicaragua and Cuba.

The annexation of Texas produced the war with Mexico, which fully developed the ambition of the slaveholding interest for extended dominion. It was not satisfied with the acquisition of the rich state of Texas. It was not satisfied with the pledge given by Congress that four additional slave states, should be created out of territory conquered from Mexico, between the limits of Texas as they stood before the war and the Rio Grande, and other unsettled regions extending along the line of 36 deg. 30 min. to New Mexico. Mr. Calhoun and his partisans threatened to sever the Union if California was admitted as a free state on demand of its citizens, unless all New Mexico were opened to slavery.

It is proper to look back to the successful means employed by Mr. Calhoun and his friends, which enabled them to press such arrogant demands. Mr. Calhoun had made the slave-holders a perfect southern phalanx by making it manifest that thorough concert of action among them was essential to achieve their contemplated conquest; and it was also impressed, as another pre-requisite, that they must have control of the federal administration, and to accomplish this a combination of personal interests must be contrived, to dissolve the adhesion of party principles. With these ends Mr. Calhoun, the actual head of Mr. Tyler's administration, called a convention of delegates, appointed by the office-holders in all the States, to meet at Baltimore contemporaneously with the Democratic Convention chosen to nominate a successor to Mr. Tyler. The Texas question was employed to produce a schism in the Democratic Convention, a majority of which had been instructed to announce Mr. Van Buren as its candidate for the Presidency. The two-third's rule was adopted to defeat his nomination.

It is now avowed by one of the South Carolina delegation, that Mr. Polk owed his nomination to Mr. Calhoun's friends. Colonel Picken's and Mr. Elmore, from South Carolina, attended as delegates, and laid their credentials on the table, but did not become



members, preferring to stand aloof, and not be bound by the decision of the body. While exerting their influence to control the result, they intimated that unless the man they would support should become the candidate, the nullifiers who controlled the Texas movement would defeat his election. Pledges were made on all sides, and Mr. Polk was nominated. But to make sure that the pledges of Mr. Polk's friends would be faithfully redeemed, Mr. Tyler's nomination, which was made in the convention of officer-holders, then at hand and in session, was proclaimed and held in suspense, to be resorted to in case of faltering on the part of Mr. Polk. The skill with which Mr. Calhoun, sitting in his cabinet, managed this double nomination between a President *in esse*, and a President *in futuro*, for the same place, gives admirable proof of his dexterity in political intrigue. The point he had in view was, to make the power which he could enable Mr. Tyler to wield over the vote of the South, extort from Mr. Polk whatever concessions the nullifiers might demand, as the price of Mr. Tyler's withdrawal, to secure Mr. Polk's election.

The editor of the *Globe* knew nothing of the secret negotiations pending between Messrs. Polk, Calhoun and Tyler, during the three months that Mr. Tyler kept the field, nor, indeed, until after the inauguration of Mr. Polk. He did not understand why Mr. Calhoun, just at that time got up public meetings through the South, proclaiming a secession from the Union, unless the tariff of 1842 was abandoned. It was the toxin to draw out the train bands of nullification, to enable Mr. Tyler to threaten Mr. Polk with opposition in that quarter. The editor of the *Globe* denounced this movement, and the abuses of Mr. Tyler's administration, because Mr. Calhoun's friends, who were connected with them, professed to be friends of Mr. Polk. Had not the *Globe* taken a course to show that there was no collusion between Mr. Polk and the authors of what so offended the public, the election would have been lost. Mr. Calhoun thus compelled the *Globe* to take the course which gave a pretext for Mr. Tyler to complain of its conductor, and to appeal to Mr. Polk to make a pledge, that it should not be the organ of his administration in case Mr. Tyler withdrew to secure his election, but that he would appoint one favorable to Mr. Calhoun and himself, in consideration of the sacrifice of their present prospects to his success.

This was the mode in which Mr. Calhoun reached his great desideratum. At last he had succeeded in making a thorough combination among the slave-owners of the South, animated in his cause by the hope of new conquests, and he had obtained in advance a guaranty of authority over the official organ of the Executive, as a hostage, to control the succeeding administration.

To show the importance which Mr. Calhoun attached to the command of the official organ of the democracy at Washington will require some detail and proof. This may be tedious; but as all the existing troubles of the country are to be traced to the disorganization and overthrow of that party, and the substitution of the powers of the nullifiers in its stead, although prolix, personal and somewhat savoring of egotism, the development may be excused as necessary.

Mr. Rives says, in a correspondence of his with Mr. Ritchie, in January, 1851: "A gentleman of high standing (Col. Pickens) warned me, and through me Mr. Blair, that he intended to use all honorable means to get rid of him as editor of the *Globe*, on account of his opposition to southern men and southern measures." This conversation, between Col. Pickens and Mr. Rives, took place in Washington, on his way home

from the Baltimore Convention, where he had contributed to the nomination of Mr. Polk. To accomplish this purpose Col. Pickens paid a visit to Mr. Polk, in Tennessee—but to prepare the way for it a letter was written, by Mr. Walker, afterwards Mr. Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, the purpose of which is disclosed in the following passage of a letter from Mr. Polk to Gen. Jackson, dated,

"COLUMBIA, July 23d, 1844.

"My dear Sir: I received on yesterday the enclosed letter from Mr. Senator Walker, of Mississippi. I have communicated its contents, confidentially, to my friend, Genl. Pillow, who will hand you this letter, and who will confer with you in regard to the steps proper to be taken, if anything should be done in reference to its suggestions. Genl. Pillow is my friend, and an honorable and reliable man, with whom you may safely communicate freely.

"The object which Mr. Walker desires to attain is an important one, and yet occupying the position which I do, it is one of so much delicacy that I do not see how I could write on the subject to any one. I submit it to your better judgment what you may deem it proper to do. The main object in the way of Mr. T.'s withdrawal seems to be the course of the *Globe* towards himself and his friends. There is certainly no necessity for the *Globe* to continue its attacks upon him or his administration. A separate Tyler ticket might put in jeopardy the vote of several closely contested states, and perhaps affect the final result. Surely Mr. Blair, of the *Globe*, can be induced to cease his war upon the administration during the pendency of the contest at least."

It will be seen, that nothing more of the dealing between Mr. Polk and Mr. Tyler's Cabinet was here revealed than the wish that the editor of the *Globe* should "be induced to cease his war upon the administration during the pendency of the contest at least;" the circumstances, then concealed, have since come to light, showing that a bargain was then struck, that the *Globe's* war should cease forever, and that an organ, friendly to Mr. Calhoun, should be substituted for the *Globe*. These disclosures were first indicated subsequently to Mr. Polk's election, by approaches to General Jackson, to reconcile him to the abandonment of the democratic organ which he had established at Washington, as a bulwark against the machinations of Mr. Calhoun, to destroy the integrity of the Union, to effect which, the *Press*, of Duff Green, had been first devoted by him. Not a breath as to the motives of Colonel Pickens's visit to Mr. Polk (which followed immediately after the letter of Mr. Walker to Mr. Polk, containing the proposals of Mr. Tyler's withdrawal,) was suffered to reach the ears of General Jackson; but after the election in December, rumors of a design to make a change in the organ reached him through General Armstrong, who was sent to break it to him. General Armstrong, though affecting to sympathize with General Jackson's feelings and wishes, was, in fact, entirely devoted to Mr. Polk, and shared in all his collusion with Calhoun and Tyler, and was rewarded for it first by the rich consulate at Liverpool, and reaped his last harvest as editor of the *Union*, in the service of the nullifiers. General Jackson divulges what General Armstrong represented as rumor, but what was really the concerted plans settled upon by the coalition of Calhoun, Tyler and Polk, in a letter dated Hermitage, 14th December, 1844, in which he says:

\* \* \* \* \* "Our mutual friend, Gen. Robert Armstrong, spent a part of yesterday with me, from whom I confidentially learned some movements of some of our democratic friends, not of



"wisdom but of folly, that would at once separate the democratic party and destroy Polk, and would of course drive you from the support of Polk's administration and separate the democratic party. I forthwith wrote Col. Polk upon the subject, and am sure he will view it as I do, a wicked and concerted movement for Mr. Calhoun's and Mr. Tyler's political benefit. It is this, to amalgamate the *Madisonian* and what was the *Spectator*, and make that paper the organ of the government to the exclusion of the *Globe*. I am sure Polk, when he hears it, will feel as indignant at the plot as I do. I will vouch for one thing, and that is that Mr. Calhoun will not be one of Polk's cabinet, nor any aspirant to the Presidency. This is believed to spring from Mr. Rhett's brain, inculcated into the brain of some of our pretended democratic politicians who want to be great men, but will never reach that height.

"As your friend on the political watch-tower I give you this confidential information, and by silence and care you will soon find the secret movers of this weak and wicked measure, that would at once divide and distract the *Republican party* and dissolve it—unless the measures we have adopted here may put it down, you will soon see the movement in Washington, and I hope, if attempted, the whole democracy will rally around the *Globe* and prostrate the viper forever. This intrigue puts me in mind of Mr. Calhoun's treachery to me and well worthy of a disciple of his.

"But there is another project on foot as void of good sense and benefit to the democratic cause as the other, but not as wicked, proceeding from weak and inexperienced minds. It is this: to bring about a partnership between you and Mr. Ritchie, you to continue proprietor and Ritchie the editor. This, to me, is a most extraordinary conception coming from any well-informed mind or experienced politician. It is true Mr. Ritchie is an experienced editor, but sometimes goes off at half-cock before he sees the whole ground, and does the party great injury before he sees his error, and then has great difficulty to get back into the right track again. Witness his course on my removal of the deposits, and how much injury he did us before he got into the right track again. Another *faux pas* he made when he went off with Rives and the conservatives, and advocated for the safe keeping of the public revenue special deposits in the state banks, as if where the directory were corrupt there could be any more security in special deposits in corrupt banks than in general deposits, and it was some time before this great absurdity could be beat out of his mind.

"These are visionary measures of what I call weak politicians, who suggest them, but who wish to become great by foolish changes. Polk, I believe, will stick by you faithfully; should he not, he is lost; but I have no fears but that he will, and being informed confidentially of this movement, may have it in his power to put it *all down*. One thing I know, General Armstrong and myself, with all our influence, will stick by you to the last. I am not at liberty to name names, but you will be able by silent watchfulness to discover those concerned, because the amalgamation of the *Madisonian* with Mr. Rhett's paper will be at once attempted to be put in operation to carry out Mr. Tyler's administration, and attempt to become the administration paper under Polk, and the copartnership between you and Mr. Ritchie broached to you by some of your friends and his. I therefore give you this information that you may not be taken by surprise. There will be great intrigue going on at Washington this winter, and if I mistake not Mr. Polk, he will throw the whole to the bats and to the wind. He has energy enough to give himself elbow room, under all

"and any circumstances, and you may rest assured he will have none in his cabinet that are aspiring to the Presidency. I write in confidence, and will soon again write you. You may rest assured in my friendship—all the politicians on earth can never shake it. I wish to see you the organ of the democratic party as long as you own a paper, and as long as the party is true to itself you will be its organ, and true to its principles.

"I am very weak, and must close.

"Your friend, truly,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

On the 28th of February, he recurs to the subject with great surprise, at learning that a particular friend of Col. Polk's is enlisted in Mr. Calhoun's organ. He says, in this letter of the 28th February, 1845:

"HERMITAGE, February 28, 1845.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 "My dear Blair: For the first time on the 22d instant, I was informed that Col. Laughlin had gone to the city of Washington to become interested in the '*Madisonian*.' If this is true, it will astonish me greatly. Some time ago I did learn that there was a project on foot to unite the '*Madisonian*' and the '*Constitution*,' and make it the organ of the Executive. Another plan is to get Mr. Ritchie interested as editor of the *Globe*—all of which I gave you an intimation of, and which I thought had been put down. But that any leading democrat here had any thought of becoming interested in the '*Madisonian*,' to make it the organ of the Administration, was such a thing as I could not believe; as common sense at once pointed out, as a consequence, that it would divide the democracy and destroy Polk's administration. Why, it would blow him up. The moment I heard it, I adopted such measures as I trust have put an end to it, as I know nothing could be so injurious to Colonel Polk and his administration. The pretext for this movement will be the *Globe's* support of Col. Benton. *Let me know if there is any truth in this rumor*. I guarded Colonel Polk against any abandonment of the *Globe*. It can do you but little harm. A few subscribers may withdraw, but it will add one hundred per cent. to your subscription list in one month after it is known. If true, it would place Colonel Polk in the shoes of Mr. Tyler. \* \* \* \* \*

"Your friend, sincerely,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

Four days afterwards, in a letter, he alludes to the efforts he had made to prevent Mr. Polk from entering into this coalition with Tyler and Calhoun:

"HERMITAGE, March 3, 1845.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 "In my letter I said to you, I had taken a firm and immediate stand to put it down. I wrote to Colonel Polk a frank and friendly letter, bringing to his view the attitude that making the '*Madisonian*' the administration paper would place him in. It would be in the shoes of Tyler, and split the democracy, and blow him and his administration sky-high. There is less common sense in this, than I could conceive. But I trust Colonel Polk, on the receipt of my letter, will crush this Tyler and Calhoun movement in the bud." \* \* \* \*

"I am truly your friend,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

From a succession of letters which I received from him in the months of March and April, it is evident he was constantly exerting his influence to avert the mischief, to what he called the "Republican Party," threatened in the surrender of the *Globe* by Mr. Polk, and the adoption of the Calhoun organ to represent his administration. The following letter, of the 9th



of April, exhibits the whole *dramatis personæ* engaged in the intrigue. It is given in full. The names which appear in this letter, and the attendant circumstances, throw light on the whole transaction :

“HERMITAGE, April 9, 1845.

“My dear Mr. Blair: I have been quite sick for several days—my feet and legs much swollen, and it has reached my hands and abdomen, and it may be that my life ends in dropsy. All means hitherto used to stay the swelling have now failed to check it—be it so. I am fully prepared to say the Lord’s will be done. My mind, since ever I heard of the attitude the President had assumed with you as editor of the *Globe*, which was the most unexpected thing I ever met with, my mind has been troubled, and it was not only unexpected by me, but has shown less good common sense by the President than any act of his life, and calculated to divide instead of uniting the democracy, which appears to be his reason for urging this useless and foolish measure at the very threshold of his administration, and when everything appeared to auger well for, to him, a prosperous administration. The President, here, before he set out for Washington, must have been listening to the secret counsels of some political cliques, such as Calhoun or Tyler cliques, (for there are such here;) or after he reached Washington some of the secret friends of some of the aspirants must have gotten hold of his ear and spoiled his common sense, or he never would have made such a movement, so uncalled-for, and well-calculated to sever the democracy by calling down upon himself suspicions, by the act of secretly favoring some of the political cliques who are looking to the succession for some favorite. I have in my confidential letters, and particularly that of the 4th instant, brought fully to his view, in my plain common-sense way, his situation, and ask him at last how he can justify his course to you—to the real democracy that sustained my administration and Mr. Van Buren’s.

“I brought to his view, that when I entered upon the duties of the administration of the government, Duff Green was the democratic editor whose object was to heat the executive chair by me for Mr. Calhoun. He was the executive organ until I found he was doing my administration injury and dividing the democratic ranks; that the *Globe*, with you its editor, took Duff Green’s place. That you and Colonel Polk went hand in hand in sustaining all my measures, with ability and zeal—both advocated the election of Mr. Van Buren, and went hand in hand in sustaining his administration—united in his support for a second term—that ever since the Colonel’s name was announced as the nominee of the Baltimore Convention you have given him an undeviating support, and I have fully explained to him how your paper had been drawn astray from your own matured views on the Texas question. I then conclude by asking him what excuse can he give to the old substantial Jackson and Van Buren democrats for not letting you and your paper go on as his organ until you are in some fault, and then, as I did Duff Green, turn you away. I ask, have you (the Colonel) any new principles other than those you have always advocated, and set forth in your inaugural, to bring before the people, that you think Mr. Blair will oppose, that at the very threshold of your administration you have repudiated Blair and his *Globe* from being your organ. I know this cannot be the case, therefore am entirely lost to conjecture any good cause for your unaccountable course to Mr. Blair, and wind up, telling him there

“is but one safe course to pursue—review his course, send for you, and direct you and the *Globe* to proceed as the organ of his administration, give you all his confidence, and all would be well and end well. *This is the substance*; and I had a hope on the receipt of this letter, and some others written, by mutual friends, would have restored all things to harmony and confidence again. I rested on this hope until the 7th, when I received yours of the 30th, and two confidential letters from the President directed to be laid before me, from which it would seem that the purchase of the *Globe*, and to get clear of you, as editor, is the great absorbing question before the President. *Well, who is to be the purchaser?* Mr. Ritchie and Major A. J. Donelson, its editors. *Query as to the latter.* The above question I have asked the President. Is that renegade politician, Cameron, who boasts of his \$50,000 to set up a new paper, to be one of them?—who is a bankrupt in politics, and who got elected senator by selling himself to the whigs, and could not raise \$1,000 to be one of the proprietors to unite the democracy. His very election has divided them in Pennsylvania, and a letter to me says he has done our mutual friend Buchanan much injury, he being charged with using secretly his influence to effect it; or would Cameron’s ownership in part unite Horn, Kane, Leiper, Dallas, and a host of other old time democrats in your expulsion? *What delusion!* Or is Major Walker, of Tennessee, to be the purchaser? Here it is stated he is vastly encumbered with debt; by many a perfect bankrupt. Who is to purchase, and where is the money to come from? Is Dr. Wm. Gwin, the satellite of Calhoun, the great friend of R. S. Walker, Secretary of Treasury, a perfect bankrupt in property? My own opinion is that the contract made, the money cannot be raised, and the *Globe* cannot be bought. What then? The President will find himself in a dilemma, have to apologise, and the *Globe* be the organ, and Ritchie will return, not so well satisfied with the sagacity of the Administration as when he left Richmond. These are my speculations. I may be in error. I would like to know what portion of the Cabinet are supporting and advising the President to this course, where nothing but injury can result to him in the end, and division in his cabinet, arising from jealousy. What political clique is to be benefited? My dear friend, let me know all about the cabinet, and their movement on this subject. How loathsome it is to me to see an old friend laid aside, principles of justice and friendship forgotten, and all for the sake of policy—and the great Democratic party divided or endangered for policy—and that a mere imaginary policy, that must tend to divide the great Democratic party, whilst the Whigs are secretly rejoicing at the prospects of disunion in our ranks. I declare to you, it is a course that common sense forbade the adoption, when the administration was entering on its career with so much harmony and prospect of success. I cannot reflect upon it with any calmness; every point of it, upon scrutiny, turns to harm and disunion, and not one beneficial result can be expected from it. I will be anxious to know the result. If harmony is restored, and the *Globe* the organ, I will rejoice; if sold, to whom, and for what? This may be the last letter I may be able to write you; but live or die, I am your friend, (and never deserted one from policy,) and leave my papers and reputation in your keeping. As far as justice is due to my fame, I know you will shield it. I ask no more. I rest upon truth, and require nothing but what truth will mete to me. All my household join me in kind wishes for your health and prosperity, and that of all your family; and that you may triumph over all enemies. May God’s choicest bless-



"ings be bestowed upon you and yours through life,  
"is the prayer of your sincere friend.

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"F. P. BLAIR, Esq."

The first slight glimpse of the completion of the arrangement here fully developed between the triumverates had been given immediately after Col. Pickens had made his visit to Col. Polk. A convention of Mr. Polk's friends assembled soon afterwards at Nashville, and adopted the course of the *Globe* in regard to the nullification meetings in South Carolina.

"It repelled (said Mr. Polk's Nashville organ, Mr. Nicholson's paper, I believe,) the charge of disunion against the real democracy with indignation and contempt," &c. The moment after the return of Col. Pickens to South Carolina, the nullification outcry was hushed. The confederates thus united, looked upon it as a common interest to quiet the North's apprehensions in regard to the disunion tendencies of Mr. Polk's new allies. Mr. Pickens's successful mission was immediately followed by Mr. Tyler's withdrawal from the canvass.

An arrangement having been thus ratified between the contracting parties for an official organ in the interest of the nullifying party, in the event of Mr. Polk's election, the treasury of the United States, on the 4th day of November, 1844, (signs then manifesting the strongest probability of Mr. Polk's election,) placed \$50,000 in Mr. Cameron's bank, at a village nine miles from Harrisburg, to make provision for the purchase of the press. The election over, Mr. Cameron, in pursuance of the arrangement, informed Mr. Donelson by letter that he had this money at his disposal, and he was invited by the President to avail himself of it to purchase the *Globe*, or establish another press at Washington. General Jackson saw this letter, and got his first glimpse of the part assigned Mr. Cameron.

As soon as the new President arrived in Washington, he proposed to the editor of the *Globe* to permit Major Donelson to take his place, at the same time soliciting him to support the press by writing for it secretly. This was refused, and no doubt in consequence of General Jackson's opposition to Major Donelson's lending himself and the influence he derived from the General's relationship, he also declined the proposal of entering into the projects of Mr. Calhoun, and hesitated to avail himself of the means put at his disposal by Mr. Cameron. Mr. Ritchie was the alternative of Major Donelson. The latter was doubtless preferred by Mr. Calhoun, because he had been associated with him in breaking up General Jackson's first cabinet. That the confidential relations still subsisted which so signally marked their intercourse in the beginning of General Jackson's administration, this preference gives full proof, and it is further evinced by the fact, that Mr. Calhoun confided to him the execution of his last and most important official act—the midnight mission of the 3d of March to re-annex Texas to the United States.

The number of distinguished men who were called in to assist at the birth of the organ which was to establish the southern dynasty by "placing Col. Polk in the shoes of Mr. Tyler," marks the interest which all the confederates took in the subject. Col. Pickens, Gen. Pillow, Mr. Walker, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Rhett, Mr. Cameron, Major Donelson, Mr. Ritchie, Gen. Armstrong, Mr. Nicholson, (Mr. Nicholson, I believe, then editor of the Nashville Polk paper,) all figure in General Jackson's letter, as having their share in the travail. Mr. Buchanan, it appears from a letter on file in the Treasury Department, was not allowed to escape his part of the responsibility for the most delicate part of the operation—the taking the \$50,000 to establish an organ. Mr. Tyler was wil-

ling to let Mr. Cameron have the \$50,000 out of the public treasury to make provision for the political bantling on which so much depended; but as Mr. Buchanan was to become a special beneficiary in the premiership, it was considered a wise precaution, that he should, in writing, recommend Mr. Cameron as a fit recipient of this grace from the Administration, and of trust from the treasury.

The confidence thus reposed in Mr. Cameron all around, and the hold it gave him on Mr. Buchanan, elevated him to the Senate of the United States. Possibly the \$50,000 helped, as he only advanced out of it the first instalment for the *Globe*, as appeared from his testimony before a committee. The money was not refunded until 1847. In the meantime Mr. Cameron was purveyor of fat jobs for the press in the Senate, and some in which he was himself supposed to be interested. The government was, in truth, repaid out of its own money. A gratuity of \$50,000 which was voted to Mr. Ritchie beyond his contracts, through the influence of Mr. Douglas, a sort of outfit for private life, on retiring from the press.

But he was not the only lucky man who derived dignity and emolument from this Treasury investment. Mr. Buchanan became Premier, Mr. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury; Messrs. Calhoun, Pickens and Elmore were severally offered the mission to England; Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Donelson, General Armstrong and Mr. Nicholson successive editors of the Organ, and the nullifying squadron of the South, through its instrumentality, have subjected to their control the organization of the democratic party from that day to this. In virtue of it they have had at their command the high stations of the government at home and abroad. And the present administration, from its induction to this hour, has been under the dictation of its leaders.

The question now to be decided before the country, is whether the nullifiers who have thus usurped the name and organization of the democratic party, but who have no principles in common with it, shall be allowed to carry out their designs in such disguise. Their leaders on every question, in every difficult crisis of the country, from the commencement of General Jackson's administration, have been against the democracy.

Who are the leaders in the South who now make such loud professions of democracy? Who are they that repeat the word in chorus and have made it a party sing-song? Men who never were democrats, but abhorred the name when it rallied the country around an administration that was true to the representative principle, to the popular will, to the cause of free government, and now use it only to cover broken faith to constituents and violated compacts between states.

The leading men in Virginia at this time, are Hunter and Mason, its senators, and Wise, its governor. What were they in the days of conflict for the democracy, during the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren—Hunter, a thorough Calhoun nullifier, Mason, a mock conservative of the Rives and Talmage stamp. Wise, siding with Calhoun at every step in his deadly warfare against Jackson and Van Buren. Mr. Clingman, now a most prominent chief in North Carolina, in a late letter, bottoms his adhesion, and claims to the honors of the democracy of this day, on its hostility to that which recognizes Van Buren, Benton and Blair, among its followers.

Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, who has inherited Mr. Calhoun's place in his state and in the Senate of the United States, in a letter of instructions, has given this list of dignitaries who wield the truncheon or the Palmetto democracy, from which he advises that the delegates to the Cincinnati Convention be drawn. He says: "Let the state send her very first men—



“such as Governor Richardson, Colonel Pickens, Governor Hammond, Mr. Brownwell, Mr. Rhett, Governor Means, General Wallace, Mr. Woodward, General Thompson, Richard Simpson, General Rogers. These gentlemen have reputations of something like *Curule* dignity.” Gentlemen of “*Curule* dignity,” in the days of Roman grandeur, were personages exalted by official station to the privilege of riding in a certain class of chariots, from the name of which that of their distinction was derived. Now the whole body appointed to go to Cincinnati to dictate a President for the democracy derive their “*curule* dignity” entirely from having ridden with Mr. Calhoun in his nullifying car.

Mr. Butler, while providing delegates to nominate a Presidential candidate at Cincinnati, is too honest to conceal a sneer at his fellowship with a name against which his political sentiments revolt. He hates all pretension to democracy on the part of his state, whose institutions are entirely at war with its principles, and he declares he would have preferred her “*keeping aloof*,” “*avoiding the amalgamation of mass meetings, in which democratic numbers must move stronger than constitutional weight*. I wish,” he adds, “*South Carolina could have retained her constitutional identity, maintaining doctrines that could survive a constitution—that should give security and equality*.” The equality in “*constitutional weight*” here meant is that which would put down the doctrine of a majority governing in republics. In this the nullifier speaks out.

Mr. Butler and General Atchison are the real authors of the Kansas act, but they never meant that the majority rule provided in the law should supplant the weight which the constitutional equality of the South would bring to bear it down, by adding force, and arms, and tactics to overcome the masses. These gentlemen, while maturing their measures, lived together in the city, in the closest intimacy, and now following the custom of the Roman consuls (Mr. Butler will pardon the allusion), one takes the field to carry out their plans, while the other remains in the Senate to give support to his absent colleague. These two are the heirs of Mr. Calhoun’s designs. His Octavius and Antony. They are the masters of the administration, and may stand for the representatives at large of the spurious Democracy.

Georgia, next to South Carolina, holds most sway in the new party; and Messrs. Toombs, Stevens and Dawson are confessedly the commanding men in that State. Where did they study for their democratic diploma? In the school of every opposition that ever assailed the party re-established by Jackson.

Florida presents Mr. Yulee, as its senator and minister, to support the new order of democracy originated in South Carolina, and by adoption the President’s democracy. He was a devout worshipper of Mr. Calhoun, and his faith is his religion.

The party in Louisiana acknowledges Mr. Soulé as its leader. A malcontent from France, who, as Minister of the United States, insulted the governments of France and Spain by way of acquiring Cuba, through a peaceful negotiation, depending for its success on the good will of both!—and then proposed in the Ostend conference to ravish it by force from the arms of Spain, on the ground of necessity!! This gentleman carries the delegation of Louisiana to choose a President for the democracy; a function to which he is recommended by the boldest speeches for secession made during the debate on the compromise of 1850.

Two military chieftains hold Mississippi under a sort of martial law. The Secretary of War is provided in advance to represent her in the Senate during the next administration, and for the present he commands in the cabinet. In the Senate, at the session

of 1850, he out-Heroded the Herod of South Carolina in pressing towards secession. He had taken all but the last step, that of walking out of the Senate and the Union with his hat in one hand and his state in the other. His second in the command of the Mississippi democracy, Genl. Quitman, also caught the pronouncement infection from Mexican Santa Ana and the heroes of his cast. Gen. Quitman, it is thought, would have been content to take himself out of the Union for the sake of Cuba, and leave our poor republic to shift for itself. He could not compass his wish, and he remains to conquer the North for the South, making filibustering in Kansas, non-intervention, and the putting down of the ballot box, the test of popular sovereignty.

In Tennessee, Senator Jones and other inveterate enemies of General Jackson have supplanted the old democracy.

These are the heads that manage the political concerns of the slaveholders’ party, and managing them fatally for their ultimate interests. They have put “*the democracy proper*” (to use Gen. Jackson’s expression, to distinguish those he relied on from the Calhoun pretenders to the name) under foot. They hold the administration under the thumb, and every other Presidential aspirant at the North, looking to the Cincinnati Convention, and the fifty thousand office holders who seek to retain their stations and expect their preservation from the election of some one of these aspirants, compose the rank and file of their northern mercenaries, whom Mr. Cushing may be said to represent, having first figured in Mr. Tyler’s corporal’s guard.

These are the elements of that spurious democracy which Gen. Jackson’s intuitive sagacity foresaw would be the offspring of the political embraces of Calhoun, Tyler and Polk. Among the last letters ever written by him, he predicted the ruin of the cause to which he had devoted his life, and that Mr. Polk would be among the first to lament the course that led to it. These brief extracts mark the distress with which this sad augury closed his career. In a letter of the 23th of April, he says:

“My dear friend: Under the circumstances with which you were surrounded there was but one honorable course for you to pursue, unless you abandoned your democratic principles and divided the party, the one you have adopted. Being as we shall be, all united to sustain the great democratic party, still the course adopted by the President with the *Globe* will do him an injury—it cannot, with all our best exertions, be avoided. The old *democracy proper* cannot see the propriety of the course adopted. (The italics are his own.) But it is done, and note what I say, that President Polk will be amongst the first of the old democrats proper that will regret it, and have cause to regret it.”

In another letter he again takes up the subject and reiterates the same train of thought, but breaks off his unfinished letter thus:

“I have used my voice to prevent that evil to him (Mr. Polk) and the democratic party. I am too unwell to write much to-day. I look to a split in the democratic ranks, which I will sorely regret, and which might have been so easily avoided. I am very sick and must close.”

In a letter of the third of May, he writes about the disposition of his papers, and recurs to his distress about “Col. Polk’s course,” closing thus:

“My dear friend: I am exhausted and must close; I am a blubber of water from the toes to the crown



"of the head, and every line I write must pause for  
"breath. May the choicest blessings of Heaven be  
"bestowed on you and every branch of your family,  
"is the united prayer of the inmates of the Hermitage.

"Your friend,           ANDREW JACKSON."

These extracts are given to show that, even under the pressure of the malady which was rapidly hurrying him to the grave, Gen. Jackson's mind was occupied with what he considered the cause of his country, which he identified with the "republican party," "the old democracy proper," in opposition to the nullifying party, which he thought aimed to destroy the Union. The annexed extract is from a letter, the last which his pen was able to scrawl. They are all in his own handwriting. The strength of thought, compared with the feebleness of hand, showed his mind survived his body. It was intended to console me on retiring from public life; and, after speaking tenderly of our private relations, he expresses the pride he felt for the "high, honorable bearing that separates you from the *Globe* and pecuniary interest, rather than do an act injurious to the great democratic cause, in which you had so long and faithfully labored, and, *I add, successfully.* Thus you have set an example for all true patriots to follow." His affectionate partiality then recurs. He mentions that he heard Sully was taking a portrait of me, and adds:

"I certainly will have a copy of it, and it shall have a place in my own room; and after I am gone, in the most conspicuous part of my Hermitage. In about two years the *Globe*, with its editor and fiscal partner, will be called into life by the whole democracy of the Union. And if they will accept and respond to the call, the *Globe* will be again the organ of the Executive, and the defender of our true democratic principles and our glorious Union, as long as democratic principles are triumphant—*mark this.*"

The prediction at the close was verified, and within the time mentioned Ritchie was sent to offer its surrender [the *Globe*] to its old editor.

The Kansas act is now the test of democracy. This is the declaration of the President—of his official organ—of his officeholders, and of the slaveholders. The Jefferson and Jackson democracy is utterly scouted. And how is this test of democracy represented in Congress? In the House, from the North, "The Union" counts about seventeen; and of these there is scarcely one that did not reach his seat upon other issues than the Kansas question. In the Senate, from the North, there is not a senator who can stand by the test, without notoriously misrepresenting his state. From the South there are no longer whigs or democrats—all parties are swallowed up in nullification of party principles for the purpose of extending slavery over new regions, and without the justification of the want of room in the slave states. The fifteen slave states, with little more than one-third of the inhabitants of the free states, have an area of 851,508 square miles; the free states only 612,597 square miles—the slave states having also the advantage of a better soil and milder climate.

What a revolution in the course of the first half-century has slavery wrought, in the principles that gave birth to our republic! Freedom was the basis of that republic. It is now insisted that the constitution carries the principle of bondage wherever its flag makes an acquisition. The democratic party made Jeffer-

son the apostle of its faith. Compare the Kansas act with the Declaration of Independence, and the ordinance of 1787. In his first paper, Mr. Jefferson asserts the rights of humanity—in the other, excludes slavery from all the territories of the Union. The Kansas act would spread it over the continent; and to effect it, establishes a new system of politics and morals for the democratic party, for which it is prescribed as a test.

It is democratic now to break faith plighted between the states, in compacts made to preserve the Union and its peace.

It is democratic now to break faith with constituents and violate the representative principle on which our republics are all founded.

It is democratic now to disobey the instructions of constituent bodies, and exert the force of the government to defeat the efforts of the people to redress the wrong committed by one set of representatives, by turning them out and choosing another.

It is democratic now, after nullifying the clause authorizing Congress to make rules and regulations for the territories, and all the compromises regulating their mode of settlement and interpolating the new principle of non-intervention as the substitute, to connive at the use of armed force to defeat the new law—to drive the settlers from the polls where they were invited to decide the question of slavery—to introduce voters from a slave state to impose slavery on the territory against the will of the rightful voters, the actual settlers—and to elect a legislature representing the slaveholders of the invading state—to usurp the government of the territory—repeal the organic act of Congress—and destroy the rights guaranteed under it.

It is democratic now to defend the establishment of test oaths, requiring all settlers opposed to slavery to swear allegiance to a law they hold to be unconstitutional, to entitle them to suffrage, and enabling those not entitled to vote as settlers, to avoid taking the oath of residence, on which the right of suffrage depends, by paying a dollar as a substitute for all other qualifications.

It is democratic now to expel, as aliens, citizens invited by the Act of Congress to settle the territory and to intimidate emigrants opposed to slavery from entering, by examples of Lynch law which would disgrace barbarians.

It is democracy now to pass sedition laws, prohibiting discussion and the denial of slave ownership where slavery was not authorized, denouncing the penalty of death against that as a crime, which the organic law deputed as a duty to be performed by the people.

It is democracy now in a President to see this reign of terror established by force and arms, and an usurpation made to triumph over the laws of the United States, by a series of invasions publicly prepared, announced in advance, and occupying more than a year in accomplishing their object, and yet not to raise a finger to avert the wrong, but after its consummation to proclaim that he would use all the force of the Union, of the army, and the militia, if necessary, to maintain it.

Against this spurious democracy, which has thus perfected its system in the Kansas act, and made it their test, I, as a democrat of the Jefferson, Jackson and Van Buren school, enter my protest.

F. P. BLAIR.

To MESSRS. E. D. MORGAN, ANTHONY J.  
BLEECKER, WM. M. EVARTS, E. C.  
LEIGH, JOHN BIGELOW.