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Moses Dawson, Jacksonian Spokesman of the West

A Thesis

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PREFACE

In the Jacksonian period of American History, the part played by the State of Ohio has been the subject of a vast amount of study. The names of John McLean, William Henry Harrison, Charles Hammond, and many others stand out prominently. Among these is Moses Dawson, who has, until recently, been left in relative obscurity because of the overshadowing attention given to his editorial and political rival, Charles Hammond.

In spite of the large quantity of material dealing with Dawson, most writers have dubbed him a sympathizer with the Jacksonian cause. But he was more than sympathetic to Jacksonian Democracy—he was its western spokesman.

Since this man's work, and especially his newspaper, have never been closely investigated, they have been chosen as the subject of this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

OHIO IN THE JACKSONIAN ERA

The middle period of post adolescence and pre-manhood is a time of estimation, confusion, and rapid growth for the developing man. It is during these years that the youth becomes slowly aware of the incomprehensible, maze-like structure of the society in which he is to live. The vastness of the world dwarfs and appalls him and he seeks desperately to find his proper place among his fellows. Events rush by with such rapidity that he soon realizes his insecure and disordered state. New experiences, both physical and mental, are tremendously different from what he has known before. If this description suits man, it was no less true of America from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to its middle. Channing has aptly called this, an age of transition.

The United States in this era was a nation that could not comprehend itself. She found her unity divided into three very self-conscious sections: the Northeast, the South, and the West. Two of these sections, the Northeast and the South, contended to obtain the favor of the third--the West. To these two former sections, the West held the all important weight that could tip the scale of superiority to their respective advantage.[1]

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[1] Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 329.

One of the significant portions of this trans-Appalachian West, was the young state of Ohio. Even before her entrance into the Union she was slowly making headway against the frontier. Practically a barren area in 1790, her population increased with such swiftness that by 1840 her inhabitants were equal in number to Pennsylvania's and surpassed the population of Massachusetts.[2]

The fertile soil of the state provided an excellent home for corn and wheat production. This former crop made Ohio's largest city, Cincinnati, the focal point of the cattleherder's drive. The latter crop placed upon Ohio the title of leading producer by 1840 with a harvest of some 17,000,000 bushels.[3] With this tremendous growth of corn and wheat, surpluses resulted and Ohio faced the problem of marketing. To whom could she sell? If this answer could not be provided, the other disasterous alternative was to consume her own production. The dilemma furnished the state with two suitors, the Northeast and the South. If this surplus went to the former, it would mean the crossing of the Appalachian peaks. Should the latter gain her favor, the cumbersome and expensive Mississippi River route would have to be employed. Neither was profitable. The answer was to be found in the coming revolution in the field of transportation.

Since the launching of the first steamboat at Pittsburgh, in 1811, travel on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers increased by leaps and bounds.

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[2]Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), p. 137.

[3]Billington, op. cit., p. 330.

By 1819, thirty-one such vessels sailed these vital waterways in both directions. Competition brought more boats onto the aquatic arteries and by 1825 the number of Fulton-invented vessels had more than doubled. As improvements in the river and the boats themselves continued, so did the number of steamships. Ten years before the half way mark of the century, there were 187 steamships on the waterways. However, as competition had brought an increase in steamships, it also brought a decrease in prices.[4] But the trend had been started and soon every navigable tributary was being plied by a river boat. Nonetheless, the West was not slow to realize that the steamboat and the augmentation of river travel served only to amplify its dependence on the East. For the more that section exported to the South, the more manufactured goods it was required to purchase from the East.[5]

Practically in one thought the answer was furnished and effected. The state of New York jumped ahead of all others by beginning the construction of the Erie Canal. In spite of the difficulties of disease and unskilled labor, work proceeded rapidly and the scheme was realized in October, 1825, a short eight years since the plan was first decided upon. By lowering freight rates and travel time, the East had successfully tapped the rich source of America's new wealth. New York quickly became the nation's undisputed commercial leader. Not to be outdone by their rival, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore swung headlong into canal construction.[6]

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[4]Billington, op. cit., p. 332.

[5]Ibid., p. 333.

[6]Ibid., pp. 334-335.

The transition was astounding. In 1829 the Great Lakes handled a tonnage of less than 6,000; by 1850 it amounted to 184,000 tons. The value of this trade, via the Erie Canal, was estimated at $65,000,000 in 1841 and at $300,000,000 by 1851.[7] A major knot in the relation of the Northeast to the West was tied.

In addition to being the target of canals, the Ohio country was also chosen as a mark at which railroad track was aimed. Here was another method of tapping the prosperous West. This time business wizards from Maryland claimed primacy and on Independence Day, 1828, the work commenced. In three years the double arms of locomotive transportation extended to Frederic, Maryland. By 1842, Cumberland was also reached. The years that followed witnessed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as another link between the eastern seaboard and the trans-Appalachian frontier.[8]

Ohio seemed to be the desired plum. Railroad fever had also been contracted by the South. South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky were more than eager to co-operate in establishing the Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad. The possibility of a South and West commercial alliance loomed large, but mutual jealousies quickly cooled the railroad building fervor. Thus, divided against itself, the South lost its opportunity to accomplish the much desired coalition.[9]

The merits of these fast arriving internal improvements were too

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[7]Frederick Jackson Turner, The United States, 1830-1850, (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), p. 311.

[8]Billington, op. cit., p. 337.

[9]Ibid., pp. 339-340.

great to be denied and Ohio herself took up local development. Two canals were decided upon; one connecting Portsmouth to Cleveland, the other tying Cincinnati and Toledo. The former was called the Ohio Canal and the latter the Miami and Erie Canal. The maintenance of these waterways, which supplied the needed marketing outlet, proved much too costly. Acting as if the debts from canals were not enough, Ohio plunged into railroad construction. The result was the same--debt. Internal improvements had cost Ohio $15,573,000 by 1840 and left her finances in a none too enviable position.[10]

As time passed on the industrialist in the East and the agriculturalist in the West found themselves catering to the same ideas. Wishing to protect his livelihood from outside competition, the industrialist supported a high tariff. Realizing that internal improvements were the avenues by which he could expand his markets, he also backed federal development of these improvements. On both these issues he was at one with the West. And again on these same issues, the South found herself opposed. Still, there remained the problem of public lands. This question caused a break in the relations of the Northeast and West. Perhaps a South and West merger could be effected if the Land of Cotton threw her support in favor of a liberal land policy. Such an inducement might invert the West's thinking on the tariff. The three-cornered battle continued in the national legislature until the tariff question of 1832.[11]

While the question of the Tariff of 1832 boiled on the floor of Congress, the slow shifting of the West into the arms of the Northeast

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[10] Ibid., pp. 342-343.

[11] Ibid., pp. 349-358.

continued. During the debates on the issue the South showed her true anti-protectionist color. She argued that the Tariff of 1828 had realized a sufficient revenue to accomplish the payment of the national debt within a few years. The new tariff was a modified version of the Tariff of 1828 designed to heal some of the wounds of the South. Although the final vote indicated no clear cut sectional alliances, the basic mold had been cast. The West voted unanimously for the bill. The South also showed its favor, but by a slim margin of only fifteen votes. Northeastern support was more than two to one. With the nullification stand of the South confirming her position, the ravine separating that section from the West grew ever wider.[12]

These and other problems that shall be seen later were the elements that comprised a transitional, maturing, even revolutionary American society. The national scene continued to be dominated by the rise of the New West and the problems that followed in its trail. It was a complex, growing nation and into it stepped Moses Dawson.

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[12] Ibid., pp. 358-359.

CHAPTER II

MOSES DAWSON

The Eighteenth Century was indeed a turbulent time for the continent of Europe. The Wars of the Spanish and Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War had devoured the better half of that hundred years. Yet all was not war; beside being a century of political strife, it was also a century of new ideas and new genius. The former were those of Kant, Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau, Herder, and many others. The latter came from the stuff of men like Bach, Mozart, Handel, Goethe, Goya, and others to whom history has given a place of honor. It may well have been a century of war, but it was also an era of progress and an age of Enlightenment.

Not far from this Intellectual Revolution, but separated from it by water and the island of England, lies Ireland. It was here, in the port of Belfast or Carrickfergus, on Belfast Lough, in county Antrim, that Moses Dawson was born on June 9, 1768. Moses Dawson's great grandfather, William Dawson, had immigrated from Lancashire, England, to county Antrim, at the close of the seventeenth century.[1] Dawson's father, also named Moses, was a linen draper and under his guidance young Dawson spent his

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[1]The principal sources for the biography of Moses Dawson were taken from Charles Reemelin, "Reminiscences of Moses Dawson," Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869-Mar. 14, 1870; see also, Harry Pence, "A Biography in Brief of Moses Dawson," prepared and presented to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, April 19, 1929.

early years as an apprentice. After some time the business passed into the partnership of Moses and his brother. Perhaps their enterprise would have seen many profitable years, but the hand of fate and the tongue of fire dissolved both the establishment and the partnership.[2]

Belfast provides the focal point for the early part of Dawson's life. It was here that he first engaged in business, here he was educated, and here he observed, experienced, and rebelled against the domination of the British. The hatred he carried in his heart for this foreign regime extended to all facets of English rule. In addition to the English king and the Established Church, Dawson's strongest feeling was against the social, commercial, and financial grips of the British on his homeland.[3]

By the age of twenty-two, Dawson, the patriot, had witnessed two events that started him on his search for freedom; the American and French Revolutions. As a youth he had seen the Volunteers of Ireland march in demonstration of national sentiment; now as a young man he joined that organization. After a brief time he enlisted in the new United Irishmen, and organization wherein he found others, like himself, dedicated to the common cause of Irish emancipation.[4] His membership in the United Irishmen left him with many fond memories in his later life and on more than one occasion his thoughts harked back to the tempestuous years in Ireland. Even though he regretted that the society became secret,[5] he later took great pride in boasting of his revolutionary activities.

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[2]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

[3]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

[4]Harry R. Stevens, The Early Jackson Party in Ohio, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1957), p. 3.

[5]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

He evidently was more than just a member in the organization. He seems to have been one of the first seven persons to enroll in the nationalist group. On one occasion he was heard to say,

> I was secretary to the first joint committee from the societies of united Irishmen:...I was one of the two persons who organized the first society of united Irishmen that was formed under the general system out of the town where that system originated...I was a member of that sub-committee which drew up the general organization of those societies, under which 150,000 men associated themselves...the test or oath by which they were bound was written by me....[6]

Moses Dawson did not limit his activities to his own county of Antrim, but extended them to the whole of Ireland. He traveled wherever the possibility of gaining new support showed itself. It seemed as though nothing could diminish the fervor of this dynamic rebel--nothing except the British authorities. Apparently Dawson's work caused some consternation in official circles and in 1793 he was arrested for sedition. This was Dawson's first encounter with the law and with true beginners luck he emerged acquitted. The reason for this victory was the rebel's defense attorney whose plea moved the jury to their favorable decision. The acquittal appears to have had little sobering effect on the Irish nationalist; his belligerent personality refused to allow him to discontinue his anti-English preaching and writing, and the authorities refused to allow him to incite further discontent on the troubled island. History was fast repeating itself and in 1795, Moses Dawson again found himself looking at the inside of a British jail.[7]

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[6] As cited in, Stevens, op. cit., p. 4.

[7] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

The facts pertinent to this arrest are not often recorded by those who know of the event. It seems that Dawson was charged with swearing British soldiers into the United Irishmen. Dawson's cell-mate perished on the gallows, but the papers incriminating Dawson were stolen by a friend and again the patriot cheated death.[8] Even this close call did not diminish the Irishman's bellicosity. He returned to his previous occupation, that of a revolutionary. In two years time he was again in the custody of the British. This arrest was occasioned by his correspondence with the French government that subsequently led to an invasion of Ireland.[9] He was incarcerated in the castle of Carrickfergus on a charge of high treason. Through some mistake or other he escaped hanging for a second time.[10] During the rebellion that followed in 1798 he was once more put in jail. This time his prison was a press room on a British tender, fourteen feet square in the company of some thirty others until the outbreak was suppressed.[11] Yet even after this last experience with the law, Dawson is recorded as saying, "I still retained the wicked itch..."[12]

As time passed on the feelings of Moses Dawson cooled but did not freeze. He still remained the ardent advocate of Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and total Irish independence. For the next few

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[8]Virginius Hall, "Moses Dawson, Chronic Belligerent", Bulletin, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. July, 1957, Vol. XV, No. 3, p. 176; cf. Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Feb. 7, 1870.

[9]Stevens, op. cit., p. 4.

[10]Ibid., p. 4.

[11]Ibid., p. 4.

[12]As cited in, Stevens, loc. cit., p. 4.

years the maturing rebel became a voice of bitter criticism against the new leaders who presented the cause of Irish liberty to the parliament of England. Of them he said, "They have bellowed and barked against the Government till it became the interest of the Government to silence them by places and pensions; and then their patriotism went to the winds..."[13] The Irish reform leader, Daniel O'Connell drew special fire for his work on behalf of Catholic emancipation. Dawson was not against Catholic religious freedom but felt that if this liberty were granted it would be for only a portion of the island's people. To this nationalist, freedom was not to be had by a part of Ireland—it must be for the whole.[14]

Dawson was a man of causes. Life without an aim, without a goal to be worked for, was useless and vapid. Therefore, if the times in Ireland were not propitious for continued, active revolutionary agitation, then Dawson must find other work perhaps less colorful, but not less important. The pace of politics was cooling but the spirit of the man knew no decrease in temperature. From about 1810, to approximately the close of the Napoleonic Wars, Moses Dawson was an educator. He had found his new cause—the coming generation.

As might be expected, the ever seeking nature of Dawson would not allow him to take up a life in the educational field unless there were something new and worthy in it. He was no conformist and neither were the founders of the educational system that he took up. Soon Moses Dawson's

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[13] As cited in, Ibid., p. 5.

[14] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

zeal was devoted to the further establishment of Lancasterian schools. This method of public education had been introduced by Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker teacher, and Andrew Bell, an English clergyman.[15] His work was cut out for him and he turned his energy to,"...raising funds, administration, and even teaching."[16] Still in the back of his mind was the cause his heart yearned for, the cause toward which he directed his activities while associated with the system of Joseph Lancaster. In 1812, on Christmas Day, he wrote, "Thus, as we begin to get more the light of the sun, we increase education in this city [Belfast], and education is the light of the mind, which, I hope, will shine more and more until the Perfect Day."[17]

The end of the wars in Europe brought peace to the continent but the heart of Moses Dawson could not afford such a luxury. For him it was the signal for renewed agitation in the cause of Irish freedom. One year after the defeat of Napoleon, Moses Dawson took himself to Scotland.[18] Here he resumed his old occupation of advocating, organizing, and writing in the name of liberty. While in Scotland, his main work was parliamentary reform. To effect this he joined and spoke at reform committee meetings. At some of these conventions he even took the role of the presiding officer.[19] Events moved on with great celerity and his favorite work, writing,

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[15] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

[16] Stevens, loc. cit., p. 5.

[17] As cited in, Ibid., p. 5.

[18] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

[19] Stevens, loc. cit., p. 5.

resumed with full speed.

Beside the activities mentioned above, Dawson traveled to Edinburgh, Paisley, and Glasgow; all the while pamphleteering.[20] In Glasgow, he wrote for a local newspaper called The Magic Lantern; the title of his column was "The Show Box". The purpose of this publication was to link persons of prominence with some scandal or other.[21] Not looking with favor on such a detrimental sheet, the law again reached for the unrelenting patriot. Finding his presence in Glasgow not appreciated, he returned to his home[22] only to find that the Attorney General of Ireland had sworn out a warrant for his arrest. But not all officials were waiting to lay their hands on Dawson. In Belfast the local chief magistrate warned him of the impending danger. The forty-nine year old Dawson had seen enough of the inside of British jails; therefore, taking the advice, he left family, property, papers (except those he needed), and homeland and made his departure for the new world. It was, now, the spring of 1817.[23]

Before picking up Moses Dawson's life in the United States, let us look back upon his life while in Ireland. It was previously mentioned that the years spent in Belfast were the focal point for his early life. No less can be said for his experiences up to the time of his rather pressured departure. His work in the old country had been given to promoting the cause of liberty and fighting oppression. He had gained a rather

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[20] Ibid., p. 5.

[21] Hall, op. cit., p. 176.

[22] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

[23] Stevens, op. cit., p. 5.

infamous name as a political writer, but his facility in this can not be questioned. He had found a purpose in the Lancasterian educational system. Furthermore, during this segment of his life, he had had correspondence with such persons of note as, John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Taylor, and the economist David Ricardo.[24] He had learned two things from his work in Ireland and Scotland; to accomplish a task, organization was necessary, and to devote his energy only to a cause which was realizable. All these things formed the ingredients that resulted in a man, the product of his time. By his coming to America, he was once more to demonstrate the close social relationship of the United States to Europe in the nineteenth century, the century of the new country's supposed isolation.

In May, 1817, the disgruntled and disappointed revolutionary, Moses Dawson, found his way to the city that had given birth to American freedom—Philadelphia. The city that had had the Declaration of Independence written within its walls issued a less memorable statement of welcome to the exile. One of the local papers printed this notice soon after Dawson's arrival, "Mr. Moses Dawson, the pupil of Lancaster schools in Ireland, had arrived at Philadelphia for the benevolent purpose of diffusing the benefits of his favorite system, throughout the United States."[25] In its typical flamboyant literary style, the United States extended a hand of welcome to the Irish immigrant. Dawson remained in the city barely a year and during that time he was visited by a familiar element of nature —fire. This time the cost was more dear than before; all of his papers

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[24] Newspaper Clippings on Cincinnati, Cincinnati Public Library, p. 118.

[25] As cited in, Stevens, op. cit., p. 6.

and books were lost.[26]

Meanwhile, across the Alleghenies, in the frontier state of Ohio, the directors of the Lancasterian school in Cincinnati, were informed that the institution must close for the want of a person to administer the school. And so it was that the chief supporters of the school, Jacob Burnet, president of the branch of the second Bank of the United States, and Samuel Davies, manager of the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company and cashier of the Farmer's and Mechanic's Bank of Cincinnati, invited Moses Dawson to come to the Queen City. Dawson's first term was to last for three months.[27] He arrived in the city some time in 1817.[28]

The itinerant teacher took up his work with the same energy that had characterized his other enterprises. Almost immediately after the termination of his first term, Dawson took to the road lecturing and devoting himself to the establishment of Lancasterian schools in Lexington and Shelbyville, Kentucky and elsewhere. By the close of 1818 he was back in Cincinnati ready to resume teaching in the Palladian edifice on Fourth Street.[29]

By now Moses Dawson had become a name of note in the river town,[30] he had conducted his school with a considerable amount of ability. Perhaps this was due to his high esteem of the system, which in his mind had one

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[26] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

[27] Stevens, op. cit., pp. 6-7

[28] Ibid., p. 16; cf. Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

[29] Stevens, op. cit., p. 16.

[30] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Nov. 29, 1869.

especially important asset; that of being free from religious proselytism.[31] Things had gone well for Dawson up to this time, so well that in April of 1819 he was seriously considering a new and independent Lancasterian school. Obtaining support for the project proved to be an exasperating task,[32] but it was done. Shortly after he,

> ...obtained a lost, and had a two-story brick building, sixty-four feet long and twenty-eight feet wide, constructed on it by the end of July. He opened his school early in August. By October, he advertised the lower story for rent, recommending it as a factory or warehouse.[33]

School was to commence on November 2,[34] but hardly had it been in operation for a month, when the economic distress of the early 1800's drove the city's speculative life into utter chaos. Even Moses Dawson, school teacher, felt the pinch. He also witnessed the results of the bank crash; panic, ill-feeling, and unrest. In October, the same month in which he was joined by one of his sons, he offered his recently constructed school building for rent. The hard times did not stop Dawson's teaching, but rather increased his efforts.[35] Times grew steadily worse and by 1821 Moses Dawson was looking for employment. Yet in the very year of hardship, Moses Dawson embarked on a new career—a career in which he was to gain his most enduring fame.

The Cincinnati Advertiser, at this time, could hardly have been

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[31] Pence manuscript, op. cit.

[32] Stevens, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

[33] Ibid., p. 20.

[34] Ibid., p. 16.

[35] Stevens, op. cit., p. 28.

called a newspaper with a bright future. Ever since the economic reversals of the preceding years, the publication had practically had one foot in the final resting place. One of its editors had left the paper, and the other appears to have been too young, as well as too unaggressive to keep the publication on its feet.[36] This latter editor found himself in sore need for a writer. It was not long before James M. Mason, editor, and Moses Dawson, ex-political pamphleteer, presently out of work, met. An agreement was struck. The editor had found his writer and the pamphleteer had found a new, but familiar, means of subsistence.[37] In his new capacity it was not long before Dawson was making his ideas known and he soon found himself in the same camp as others, supporting General Harrison for the Congress of the United States. Having chosen his lot, Dawson became the subject of bitter attack, and out of this grew an enduring hostility between himself and James Gazlay, Harrison's opponent.[38] But, as shall be seen later, this was not to be Dawson's only enemy nor his sole attacker.

In less than two years, the pen of this foreign-born, political writer, had raised him to the position of editor. In the first week of January, 1823, Moses Dawson formally announced his new appointment.[39] By the end of the same month, James Mason handed over the newspaper to its

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[36] Ibid., p. 46.

[37] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 6, 1869.

[38] Stevens, op. cit., p. 49.

[39] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 6, 1823. See also, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 6, 1869.

editor, with these words, "And from the increase of patronage rendered to the establishment, it is presumed his [Dawson's] labours have been well received by the people."[40]

Moses Dawson was now full proprietor. For many years the ideas of this writer had been impeded by some circumstance or other. In Ireland, it had been the authorities; in the United States, the fact that he had not been in full command. A previously suppressed writer in a free country, on an open frontier where democracy was rampart, was soon to draw attention. From this day forward Moses Dawson was to shape public opinion, engage in mortal journalistic battles, and in doing so give unsparingly of his persevering strength and most of his health. He was fifty-five years of age and just now arriving at the peak of his powers.

Dawson's physical appearance reflected the simplicity of life in the New West. He stood a rather average five six or seven, of square build, with ordinary tastes in dress. He was not one to visit the dentist, hatter, shoemaker, or tailor with any amount of regularity. Outside of his busy newspaper office he presented the picture of a quiet and pensive person.[41] His features were large, distinguished by a nose of prominent size. There was a fresh, clean look in his full eyes. Along his jaws he carried a pair of thick bushy sideburns. But in spite of this healthy appearance he bore the burden of many years; a fact attested to by his slooping shoulders and receding hairline.[42]

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[40] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 27, 1823.

[41] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 27, 1870.

[42] From a miniature by his son, appearing in the Newspaper Clippings on Cincinnati, p. 105.

The years 1823 and 1824 were active ones for the fiery editor of the Advertiser. He had conducted his first Presidential campaign. It was, at first, a campaign in which the issues were hazy. Hence, no more could be expected of Dawson's editorials. However, with a short passage of time, he became a strong supporter of Andrew Jackson and showed mild favor to Henry Clay. In spite of the vigor with which he conducted the campaign, the victory lay with the opposition.

These same two years had also provided Dawson with an opportunity to do some writing independent of his newspaper. In 1823 he began the biography of William Henry Harrison, who had been under political attack. The expressed purpose of this 464 page book was to give an exact account of the General's career and refute the charges against his character.[43] Although the book is heavily documented, it is drab and dull in style and hardly comparable to the color of his editorials.

In spite of the loss of the election of 1824 by the Jacksonians, Moses Dawson's work had made him an important spokesman for the Hero of Orleans. From this year to 1828, he waged his most colorful and energetic campaign. This was not done without opposition, however.

Charles Hammond was born on September 19, 1779, in Baltimore County, Maryland. He was the son of George and Elizabeth Wells Hammond. At the age of six the family moved to Brooke County, Virginia, where young Hammond received his education from his father. The strong political

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[43] Moses Dawson, A Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Major-General William Henry Harrison, and a Vindication of His Character and Conduct as a Statesman, a Citizen, and a Soldier, (Cincinnati: Printed by Moses Dawson, at the Advertiser Office, 1824), preface. Cincinnati Public Library.

environment provided by the latter, who had been a Loyalist during the Revolutionary War, resulted in the son becoming a staunch Federalist.[44]

As a young man of twenty, Hammond took up the study of law under the supervision of Philip Doddridge,[45] and by 1801 he was admitted to the bar. In the same year he moved to Belmont County, Ohio, having been given the position of prosecuting attorney for that county by Governor St. Clair. Three years later he again moved, this time to Wheeling, Virginia, where he remained for five years. While living in Wheeling, he wrote for the Wheeling Repository. Again changing his residence, he returned to Belmont County and continued his political writing.[46]

The War of 1812 drew heavy opposition from the Federalist journalist. However, in the year following the war he was elected to serve on the Ohio Legislature, where he remained until 1815. He was again elected in 1817 and served until 1818, and two years later he served once more. By 1823 he had come to Cincinnati.[47] Shortly after his arrival he took up writing for the Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, owned by Benjamin F. Powers.[48] It was this man, with his precise and logical writing, reinforced by a lawyer's background that was to oppose Moses Dawson's ready wit and persevering campaigning.

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[44]Francis P. Weisenburger, A Life of Charles Hammond, (Reprint from the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly for Oct., 1934), pp. 4-5.

[45]Ibid., p. 6.

[46]Appleton's, Cyclopedia of American Biography, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888), III, pp. 66-67.

[47]Weisenburger, op. cit., pp. 8-23.

[48]Stevens, op. cit., p. 69.

Moses Dawson had come a long way since his entrance into American society. By the age of sixty he had conducted two rather vigorous Presidential campaigns and was considered to be a founding father of the Jackson Party in Ohio. One author, writing on the formation of that party in the state has listed Dawson first in importance. "The principal strength still seemed to lie in the vigor with which the newspapers... carried on the work of informing the public of General Jackson's energy, integrity, and courage, and the prospects of success in all parts of the nation."[49]

One sidelight of interest was the change the Advertiser's motto underwent about one year after Dawson became its owner. It had been, "To Raise the Esteem, We Must Benefit Others: To Procure Love We Must Please Them."[50] The embryonic Jacksonian changed it to one with more popular appeal, "The Public Will Our Guide, The Public Good Our End."[51] By the termination of his newspaper career, these words were realized.

From 1830 to the close of his life, Dawson devoted himself to the cause of Jackson and his successor, Martin Van Buren. The question that dominated the pages of the Advertiser during these years was the bank. And while Jacksonians fell from the ranks over this and other issues, Dawson remained firm in his support of President Jackson.[52] Also from 1830 forward, Dawson's correspondence with leading Jacksonians in Washington, including Jackson himself, became a regular occurrence. Those of

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[49] Stevens, op. cit., p. 125.

[50] passim Cincinnati Advertiser, 1823.

[51] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 3, 1824.

[52] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 3, 1870.

major importance are: Mrs. Jackson, W. B. Lewis, Levi Woodbury, Martin Van Buren, Thomas Hart Benton, Duff Green, and James K. Polk.[53]

From 1828 to 1836 inclusive, Moses Dawson was on the winning side of every Presidential election. His influence increased with the years. But in the midst of political joy came personal sorrow. On October 27, 1834, Mrs. Jane Blair Dawson died. She had born him seven children, of which, at this time, six were living.[54] Moses Dawson never remarried.

It was now 1840 and the seemingly stopless Dawson was tired and worn. His eyesight was failing and his hearing was in the same condition. To add to this misfortune, he was again visited by fire but the never yielding editor raised his establishment from the ashes and appropriately renamed it the Advertiser and Phoenix.[55] The election of 1840 saw the victory of William Henry Harrison. Dawson's position in this election was particularly embarrassing because of the biography he had written in 1824. Finally in March of 1841, he sold his interest in the paper and in the following month retired from the editorial staff. The reason for his withdrawal from the paper had been a difference of opinion between himself and his partner Thomas Morris over the slavery controversy.[56] Shortly after this, the paper passed into the hands of John Brough, later Governor

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[53]These letters may be found in part, in the Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 27, 1869-Mar. 14, 1870; Xavier University Library, Moses Dawson Papers, MSS; and the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Letters of Andrew Jackson, (Microfilm), University of Cincinnati Library.

[54]Pence manuscript, op. cit.

[55]Newspaper Clipping on Cincinnati, p. 117.

[56]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

of Ohio. Reemelin's opinion of this man was none too high, and he labeled him an office seeker, "...a bad thing in editors."[57]

Moses Dawson remained active in the politics of his party from 1841 to the end of his life in 1844. During this time events moved steadily against him. His old friend, Robert T. Lytle,[58] for whom Dawson had written a letter of recommendation to Jackson,[59] deserted him. Dawson also witnessed a political reversal when a certain J. C. Avery, who had been elected sheriff on a Democratic vote, gave the printing of that office to the Cincinnati Gazette, the opposition paper. Avery's reason for this action was the kinship of the Gazette's owner to himself. But the aging Democrat did retain some friends who attempted to procure for him a position as judge. The attempt was in vain. Dawson was rejected because of his failing sight and hearing. His comment on this rejection was as follows:

> It is not the ear nor the eye you want for an Associate Judgeship but the ____, and I have as broad a one as the man you elected. The ear and the eye of the man you have chosen is only better than mine in getting office.[60]

Some time in 1843 or 1844, Dawson made application for the Postmastership of Cincinnati to Polk and was assured of the position. But Moses Dawson never lived to assume his post. The energetic campaigner died on December 4, 1844, politically reversed and an unrewarded member

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[57] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

[58] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

[59] Dawson to Jackson, July 5, 1830. Xavier University Library, MSS. (hereafter XUL).

[60] As cited in Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

of the party he had helped establish.[61] However, the chief of that party did not forget his friend and supporter. Writing from the Hermitage on January 2, 1845, Andrew Jackson sent his condolences, wishing, "Peace to his memory and consolation to his family."[62]

The amount of writing done by this man during his lifetime is astounding. Although the majority of his work has been lost or destroyed, what remains gives testimony to the prolific nature of Dawson's pen. Were his writings bound, they would consist of five volumnes of 600 pages apiece. His writing against Charles Hammond alone comes to 1,000 pages; general editorials reach the same amount. The Bank question also took an equal number of pages.[63] This, however, does not include his personal correspondence, which is to be published shortly.

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[61] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

[62] As cited in, Pence manuscript, op. cit.

[63] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 27, 1870.

CHAPTER III

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1824 AND 1828

The story of the campaign of 1824 in Ohio and the formation of the Jackson Party during those years in the state, has already been the subject of another work more scholarly than this. Yet, the role of Moses Dawson and his newspaper in these campaigns and the one following, have never been the subject of a specific study.

Hardly had Moses Dawson taken over the proprietorship of the Cincinnati Advertiser, than he found that he must squarely face the issues that were material for the election of 1824. This, more than any other campaign conducted by Dawson, is the most misunderstood. Few writers have acknowledged his importance in helping to establish the Jackson Party in the New West. A survey of his editorial campaigning will perhaps give a better insight into the impact of this spokesman of the Jackson cause.

James Monroe had chosen not to break with tradition by running for a third term in the White House. Almost immediately names came forth for possible consideration as the nation's chief of state. There was not one or two candidates under consideration, but six: Governor DeWitt Clinton from New York; William H. Crawford from Georgia, Monroe's Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun from South Carolina; John Quincy Adams from Massachusetts, Monroe's Secretary of State; Henry Clay from Kentucky, the influential Speaker of the House; and Andrew Jackson from Tennessee, the

Hero of New Orleans and the conqueror of Florida.

With the state elections of 1822 over, Ohio turned her attention to the complicated task of choosing the candidate to whom she would lend her support. She was a western state and would naturally support the man who showed signs of best representing her interests. For all intents and purposes this candidate was Henry Clay, advocate of the American System.

Before looking into the work done by Moses Dawson during this campaign, a comment should be made at this point. A newspaperman's life in the 1820's was an arduous occupation. The news printed in his paper was not all written by him or members of his staff, if he were fortunate enough to have a staff. More often than not, he took his daily trip to the postmaster's office, picked up the newspapers waiting for him, and returned to his office or home and scanned the prints for national news. Then, coming upon an article of use, he cut it out and reprinted in the following issue of the local newspaper. In this manner it was possible to obtain the semblance of nationwide coverage and at the same time appear to be an objective reporter of the news from all quarters of the country. An opposition article could be inserted for purposes of later attack. On the affirmative side, the paper might show the growing strength of its candidate from other quarters of the country. Moses Dawson employed all this strategy and from the results, to proper advantage.

The Advertiser proceeded with caution into the campaign of 1824. Dawson's early editorials are somewhat hazy and non-committal, but the scene changed with great celerity. The tendency was to show some support for Henry Clay, or at least not openly oppose him, and at the same time seek out a candidate to whom the rest of the weight of the paper could be

given. It was not long before this was evident in the columns of the Advertiser.

The two men who most typified the feelings of the West were Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay. And it was between these two that the editor of the Advertiser had to chose. The best method was to line each of the men up against the interests of the West and see how they fared. Jackson, being from the west and a national hero, was understood to stand for these interests and therefore made few public statements on the subjects of tariff, public lands, and internal improvements. Clay was the author of the American System, hence his position was clear. It would take the Advertiser a little time to make up its mind.

One fact was sure, Dawson would support neither Adams nor Clinton. On the very day that he became proprietor, he printed an editorial attacking Adams for his derogatory opinions on Thomas Paine. The editorial's invective read,

> ...-the man who could think it acceptable doctrine to a republican community to say that all the writings of Thomas Paine subsequent to the American Revolution were 'worse than worthless'-such a man, we say, deserves not the confidence of that community.[1]

Answering charges by the opposition in the next edition, Dawson flatly stated that, "We do not believe that he [Adams] is a true republican, in our sense of the term:"[2] The opinions of the Advertiser steadily increased in their hostility to the representative of the northeast.

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[1] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 27, 1823.

[2] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 1, 1823.

The question might be asked, but why did Dawson not support Clinton, he stood for internal improvements? Only in 1842 did Dawson reveal his feelings about Clinton. Among a group of friends, he remarked,

> Men like Clinton attract men who would improve the country at all costs, but they offend the honestly economical men, who dislike public debts, hate the corruption public works constructed by governments engender, and therefore, shrink instinctively from supporting Clinton, whom personally I liked.[3]

This, of course, is inconsistent with what Dawson thought in 1823. There are almost twenty years between that election and the utterance of the statement. However, it is Dawson's only statement in connection with Clinton and the election of 1823. Dawson's biographer explains away the inconsistency by saying that his change in thinking came when the legality of the position was better understood.[4]

The early part of 1823 found the columns of the Advertiser charitable to all the candidates, except Adams. Of Crawford and Calhoun, Dawson let it be known that, "We believe them to be republicans..." and that, "...we have no objections to either of them being president."[5] These statements serve only to show the temperature of the Advertiser's articles in the early stages of the campaign. But the temperature began to rise slowly and by 1828 the pen of Dawson wrote at a fever pitch.

During January and the first half of February of 1823, the editor and owner of the Advertiser appeared to be playing a straight hand. The only person to whom he seriously objected was Adams, not only because he

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[3]As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[4]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[5]Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 1, 1823.

was not a republican, but because Dawson opposed "...the chain of official succession,..." hence his column stated, "...we have an insuperable objection to Mr. Adams as secretary of state: and third, we object to him on the ground that he is a member of the present administration."[6]

Although two months earlier Dawson had considered presidential nominations premature,[7] by the middle of February the tone of the immigrant-Irishman seemed to be pitched to the candidate from Tennessee. In a letter from a friend in Alabama, which Dawson printed in his paper, the evils of official succession were repeated and the virtues of Jackson extolled. The Cincinnati editor put before his reading public this extract of the letter concerning the Tennesseean's "...political creed,..."[8] Cincinnatians were told that it was, "...of the truest republican stamp;..."[9] The letter was accompanied by no editorial comment; Dawson asked his readers to form their own opinions.[10] From the end of February 1823, to the termination of that year, the Advertiser, though not officially committed, printed articles of a really favorable note only about Jackson.

By the end of February Dawson was printing accounts of growing eastern support for Jackson. From the Westmoreland Republican in Pennsylvania, an article appeared in the pages of the Advertiser mentioning

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[6]Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 1, 1823.

[7]Stevens, op. cit., p. 59.

[8]As cited in, Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 12, 1823.

[9]Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 12, 1823.

[10]Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 12, 1823. A complete citation of the letter may be seen in Stevens, op. cit., p. 61. In spite of the fact that the tone of this issue of the paper was not overly enthusiastic, Reemelin says it was on this day that Dawson announced his intentions of supporting Jackson. Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

that the candidate from Tennessee would be the restorer of the nation's political health.[11] By mid-spring the apparently Jackson supporting paper was printing direct statements of its favored candidate. Nonetheless, the editorial campaign lagged throughout the spring and early summer months. But overall Jackson support was not lagging. By the summer of 1823 Jackson had gained the support of some dozen newspapers, all publicizing their respective Jackson meetings.[12]

Finally the fencing and ambiguity were over. Still not definite, however, but more pointed than it had been in the past, Dawson's paper, seemingly tired of the political playing, urged that "...some man be sought for whose talents and whose integrity fit him for the office; and if General Jackson be that man, let him be called forward and supported."[13] This seems to imply that Dawson was more interested in the qualifications for public office than in the sectional issue. This idea had been expressed by him much earlier in the year when he printed his ideals for the office of President. Then he had asked for a man of good character and a sufficient knowledge of the office. He asked for a person as near to Washington and Jefferson as was possible. If the man filled these requirements, Dawson felt he should be elected regardless of section.[14]

The fall campaign was kicked off with an article titled, "Cogent Reasons why Andrew Jackson should be the next President." It was a reprint

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[11] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 22, 1823.

[12] Stevens, op. cit., pp. 63-65.

[13] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 20, 1823.

[14] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 1, 1823.

from the Baltimore Morning Chronicle. The gist of the twenty reasons praised Jackson for his outstanding military service and because he stood for protection of domestic manufacturing.[15] At last, in the same month, Dawson spoke openly and directly on behalf of General Jackson. Not because of his military feats was Dawson giving his print to the support of Jackson, but because Jackson was able to command and that he was, "...an honest man, regardless of money...."[16] Then after praising his principles, he stated, "We have no hesitation in pronouncing Andrew Jackson to the sufferages of the people-...."[17] From this date to October 4, nothing appeared on Jackson. On that day the Advertiser called attention to Jackson's merits as an American and with more boldness than before pointed out that there was, "...no kind of doubt that his Jackson's election would be certain, provided the people themselves were the electors."[18]

During the month of October Dawson printed a wealth of campaign material on Jackson. Still he remained in touch with the will of the people, telling them that should their support shift to another non-cabinet member, he, Dawson, would shift with them.[19] Nonetheless, Jackson filled the columns of the Advertiser with more frequency. And it appears that during that latter part of 1823 Dawson had taken it upon himself to step up the campaign.

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[15] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 13, 1823.

[16] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 20, 1823.

[17] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 20, 1823.

[18] Cincinnati Advertiser, Oct. 4, 1823.

[19] Cincinnati Advertiser, Oct. 8, 1823; cf. Stevens, op. cit., p. 86.

As winter approached, the Advertiser continued to print articles about the success of the Jackson cause. Hardly anything had appeared on Adams. It seems, however, that one of the eastern editors had called Adam's religious beliefs in for political scrutiny. Moses Dawson was quick to reproach the attacker for making religion a political weapon. Then, so as not to lose the flavor of the contest, he told his readers that because he defended Adam's religious beliefs did not mean that he was taking up the cause of the man. Continuing, he twisted the article into his own political attack on Adams. The objection dealt with the theme of succession. "In truth, in one respect it is worse than hereditary succession."[20] For in this kind of succession there is, "...no intriguing, no bribery required; but in the case of official succession, the greatest public danger is involved."[21]

Henry Clay's cause was not lying dormant during 1823. By the close of that year he too had gathered a considerable amount of support. The prints that backed him were scattered throughout the state. In the eastern end of Ohio, the Ohio Republican, in Zanesville, kept his name before the public. Central and south-central Ohio were also represented in the Clay cause by the Columbus Gazette and the Scioto Gazette in Chillicothe. The Wilmington Spectator was also in the Clay ranks as was the Cleveland Herald. In fact, it is the opinion of the researcher on this topic that, "At this point the Clay leaders seem to have created a more fully developed organization in the State than any of their rivals."[22]

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[20] Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1823.

[21] Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1823.

[22] Stevens, op. cit., p. 78.

In the Queen City Clay's support came from his one-time legal opponent, Charles Hammond. The editor of the Gazette had tangled with Clay over the bank question in 1819. Now Hammond supported Clay in the city which was the center of anti-bank feeling. However, Hammond's backing of Clay came slowly. Even as late as 1824 he thought Clay's chances in Ohio to be slim.[23]

Returning to Moses Dawson and his editorial campaign, we find that in the last month of 1823 he openly asked Henry Clay to withdraw from the race. Evidently rumor had it at the time that Clay was going to withdraw; Dawson found the rumor untrue but felt it a good suggestion, "...for we have strong impressions that his declining would go far towards insuring the election of that man, whom we do not hesitate to declare, has the most powerful claims upon the United States."[24] Dawson was not opposed to Clay but felt Jackson a better man. Clay was too young and inexperienced for the editor.[25]

With the coming of the new motto to the Advertiser, there also came exhortations for the friends of Clinton to join the Jackson ranks, reminding them that they had already mentioned him as their second choice.[26] The campaign was narrowing down to a race between Jackson and Adams.

For the remainder of the campaign, Dawson's editorials were strongly in favor of Jackson as President. Clay was treated as a second choice.

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[23] Weisenburger, op. cit., p. 32.

[24] Cincinnati Advertiser, Dec. 10, 1823. This same issue urged Clay to "...give way, for one term at least...!"

[25] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[26] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 10, 1824.

We have already seen an editorial wherein Clay was asked to withdraw. A similiar one appeared again on August 4, 1824, urging the Kentuckian to step aside and to, "...give way to that man whom the nation seems determined to honor."[27] To this he added, "...let the friends of Jackson and Clay, we say, coalesce, and return the hero of Orleans for the ensuing term,..."[28] The whole tone of the paper during August petitioned Clay to withdraw in favor of Jackson; that it was Jackson the people wanted and in order to give the people their will, Clay should remove himself from the race.

The point is this: Dawson had spent the whole of 1823 and 1824 allowing practically no material other than that favorable to Jackson to appear in his paper. He had developed into a Jacksonian, a rather strong one. Yet it is at this very point in his career that he suffers misunderstanding. One Ohio historian has summed up Dawson's position in 1824 as this: "One Jackson editor, Moses Dawson,...urged a union of the Jackson and Clay forces as a means of securing a western president."[29] The issue of the Advertiser referred to was that of September 11, 1824. In this issue Dawson stated,

> We are really concerned to observe the pertinacity of the friends of Mr. Clay. We are sorry to find 'it is impossible for him to withdraw;' nor are we all aware of any imputation, being cast upon Mr. Clay for withdrawing, but one, and that we would consider highly honorable to him—the only imputat (sic) on that would be his endeavor to consolidate the western interest upon a western candidate.[30]

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[27] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 4, 1824.

[28] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 4, 1824. (Italics mine).

[29] Weisenburger, op. cit., p. 33. (Italics mine).

[30] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 11, 1824.

The article in question goes on to say that if Henry Clay enjoyed the favor of the people and not Jackson, then Dawson would ask Jackson to remove himself from the race. But positions are reversed and Jackson holds the national favor. From what has been seen of Dawson's editorials through late 1823 and all of 1824, there is sufficient evidence that he was anything but an advocate of a Jackson-Clay alliance.

Anti-Adams articles increased with great regularity as election time drew near. Few things were new in these charges. However, a new delivery was given to the anti-Adams pitch. The candidate was accused of certain political crimes and heresies. Among them were charges of affinity to the English, voting against a bill for the laying out of post roads, writing against Tom Paine and the French Revolution, and being in sympathy with Burke.[31]

As with all elections, as the hour of decision draws closer, the number of rumors increase. Talk of a bargain between Adams and Clay reached the ears of the Jacksonian editor some time in September and reached his readers not long after that. Such a deal was too far fetched for Dawson and he commented, "Now we do not think that there would be a possibility of such an event."[32] Even as late as December of the same year another bargain rumor was born. This one also had Clay as a common denominator. Still Dawson refused to place credence in the story.

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[31] Cincinnati Advertiser, Oct. 2, 1824.

[32] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 11, 1824.

> We have heard it said...that Mr. Clay would go into the House of Representatives with the greatest number of electoral votes, and we have understood by others, that the means by which this point will be gained is an understanding between Clay and Crawford, that in the event of the latter not having votes enough to send him to the house, he will transfer his votes to the former.[33]

The issues actually touched upon and talked about during the campaign of 1824 were for the most part internal improvements and the tariff. These early years of the Jackson Party found Moses Dawson, through no fault of his own, on practically a different side of the fence from his hero.

Ever watchful and ready to pounce upon anything that looked like useful material, Moses Dawson picked up the two main topics of the day. Internal improvements and protection were two subjects close to the heart of the west; thus, Dawson ran his campaign along these lines. He had stood in favor of the Cumberland Road Bill and evidently felt that Jackson was of the same frame of mind.[34] Little could he have known of Jackson's congratulatory letter to President Monroe on his veto of the bill.[35] In this he was at odds with Old Hickory.

For the most part, however, the editorial columns of the Advertiser were given over to the discussion of protection. The most clever method of presenting this issue to his public was Dawson's use of an imaginary conversation between a farmer and a merchant. These conversations appeared for the greater part of 1823. In the argument, the farmer was always the

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[33] Cincinnati Advertiser, Dec. 4, 1824.

[34] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[35] John Spencer Basset, The Life of Andrew Jackson, (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1911), Vol. 1, p. 326.

victor with his superior persuasivness for protection.[36]

In the late summer of 1823 an article titled "Domestic Manufactures". The article made mention of a grass hat that was given to Mrs. Jackson by a certain Colonel Robert Patterson. The correspondence that took place over the incident was printed by Dawson. Special stress was given to the hat because of its domesticity. Patterson had given the hat to Mrs. Jackson as a token of appreciation for the General's military services. In doing this the donor said he "...hoped it will be received on account of its nationality, and worn as an encouragement to domestic manufacturers."[37] On the same day there was a letter to Mrs. Jackson which stated that he (Patterson) knew of no one better to whom he could give this "...specimen of American industry and talent...."[38] Jackson's answer to Patterson provided a good sample of the General's attitude to domestic industry. In the return letter Jackson wrote the following:

> Upon the success of manufactures, as the handmaid of agriculture and commerce, depends in a great measure, the independence of our country; and I assure you that no one can feel more sensibly than I do the necessity of encouraging them.[39]

The sender of the now famous Grass Hat did not go unthanked by its receiver. Rachel too expressed her, "...admiration of the industry and talent which are displayed in that specimen of American manufacture."[40] This confirmed

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[36] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 27, 1823-Mar. 15, 1823 and Apr. 30, 1823-May 17, 1823.

[37] Patterson to Jackson, Mar. 20, 1823. As cited in Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 16, 1823.

[38] Patterson to Mrs. Jackson, Mar. 20, 1823. Ibid.

[39] Jackson to Patterson, May 17, 1823. Ibid.

[40] Rachel Jackson to Patterson, May 18, 1823. Ibid.

Jackson's previous position as it appeared in the article titled, "Cogent Reasons...."[41]

The results of the national election reached the readers of the Advertiser on February 16, 1824. The wrath that Dawson felt could not be concealed and he devoted the entirety of his paper to the condemnation of Clay and his nefarious bargain. Cincinnatians reading the paper on that day were greeted with, "Mr. Clay only desires, it seems, to be Secretary of State under somebody, he cares not whom, he is content."[42] And as the readers read, the editor's feeling mounted as he continued to rant about the man who had, "...sold himself to Mr. Adams, because nobody else would buy him;..."[43] Finally in an attempt to rouse the ire of the populace, "The people are up. They have Spoken! Jackson is their choice. Let us see this unholy compact of discordant materials, attempt to wrest the Sceptre of Sovereignty from the grasp of the people."[44] With these words Dawson began the campaign of 1828.

The results in the election for Hamilton County were: Jackson, 2730; Adams, 1275; Clay, 775. Dawson had been effective. The state vote was, however, sadly different: Clay, 19,255; Jackson, 18,289; Adams, 12,280. Ohio had gone to Clay.[45] The number of people that voted came to less than

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[41] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 13, 1823.

[42] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 16, 1825.

[43] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 16, 1825.

[44] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 16, 1825.

[45] The History of the State of Ohio, (ed.) Carl Wittke. (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publication, 1942), Vol. 11, p. 335.

half. The state census of 1823 came to 124,624. Of this number only 50,024 voted, less than 40.14 per cent.[46] Jackson had carried twelve counties by majority and three by plurality. The greatest concentration of votes came from the southwestern corner of the state. Here Jackson carried six counties, all within close proximity to Hamilton County. The counties were: Butler, Clermont, Warren, Brown, and Adams. In these counties alone Jackson polled 7534 votes; 2770 more than Adams and Clay combined.[47] Moses Dawson, although not the victor and not nationally pleased, was at least locally potent.

The reason for the vote of the Jacksonians in Ohio is that during the summer months of 1824 their campaigning lagged. If one were to scan the Advertiser during those months he would witness the paucity of material in that paper. At the time the Jacksonians were lagging the opposition was given sufficient time to step up their campaign. This period of time gained for Adams and Clay the superior organization needed to win.[48] But if this was the fault in 1824, Moses Dawson would strain all his journalistic muscles to see that a like situation did not occur in 1824.

Even though the Jackson party did not emerge victorious in 1824, it did, by the end of the campaign, show itself in a better state of consolidation and organization. This campaign also provided the Jacksonites with more than ample ammunition with which to conduct the coming contest. In addition to this the party in Ohio had showed some very important signs

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[46] Stevens, op. cit., p. 137.

[47] Ibid., Appendix I, pp. 167-168.

[48] Ibid., pp. 130-131.

during the election of 1824. As the cause of Jackson picked up during the winter months of 1823, certain aims were established by the backers of Jackson which were basic to its organization. The employment of the public meeting nomination was one. Another, was the creation of a local Jackson party. These things led the way to the formation of a state-wide organization.[49] In August of 1824, the first public meeting of Jacksonians took place. The purpose of the meeting was to form a correspondence committee to communicate with other Jackson men. Moses Dawson was a member of that committee.[50] During this time it was Dawson who urged the Jacksonians in the west not to run Jackson as a western candidate, feeling that such a label would not have national appeal and might even assist Henry Clay.[51]

Perhaps the most significant feature of the campaign was the thing it created, a thing which Moses Dawson was well experienced in creating—a common cause. Jackson had become, through the work of the press, a figure with whom the people could identify themselves. The Jackson press had created a national hero who represented "...energy, patriotism, courage, decisivness, rather than more abstract virtues."[52] Further, it seems to have been a particular point with Ohio Jacksonians to stress the national character of their candidate. By reminding his readers of this, Dawson was working to establish a national party as opposed to the sectional parties of his opponents.[53] In fact, nowhere in the Advertiser is Jackson talked

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[49] Ibid., p. 93.

[50] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[51] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[52] Stevens, op. cit., p. 86.

[53] Ibid., pp. 153-154.

of a western candidate. He is always mentioned as a man of the people, or, as in one instance praised for his merits as an American.[54]

There were, however, other fruits that the election of 1824 bore. One was the widespread ill-feeling toward the caucus. Dawson had expressed his opinion late in 1823 on the subject. He spoke specifically of William Crawford and his "...unhallowed system of Caucus intrigue giving way before the purity of public opinion."[55] The subject of the caucus would be the feature of many of Dawson's editorials in the campaign of 1828.

Other results were the marked popular move toward national nomination, thus taking the power of nomination from the few in Washington and allowing more national participation. Another result was the sealing of Henry Clay's political fate by his acceptance of the State Department. The charge of corrupt bargaining, whether true or false, would be a good issue for the coming election.[56]

Few persons realized that the coming election was to be the most notorious ever to enter the pages of American History. Abuses and personal attacks were the highlights of the campaign. It may well be an oversimplification to sum up the campaign of 1828 in terms of a lady's reputation and a president's billiard table but these can suffice as issues as well as any others. The real political issues were obscured if not avoided. Perhaps it was due to this, more than any other cause, that the campaign developed into a mud-slinging spectacle, which resulted in the election of a personality--not a person.

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[54] See Cincinnati Advertiser, Oct. 4, 1823.

[55] Cincinnati Advertiser, Dec. 6, 1823.

[56] Samuel Rhea Gammon, "The Presidential Campaign of 1832", Johns Hopkins University Studies, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.,1922). Vol. XI, pp. 19-22.

In the west the editorial campaign centered around two titans of the press, Moses Dawson and his overrated opponent, Charles Hammond. Between these two, an epic journalistic battle was waged. Dawson's color and persistence were pitted against Hammond's logic and judicial training. Oceans of ink flowed from the prolific pens of both these men as they presented the personality of their favorite candidate to the people. The rivalry was long and bitter and covers a longer period of time than this study encompasses. Some historians have, half jokingly, looked upon this fight as a kind of Donnybrook Fair episode, but the truth of the matter is far less comic.

Moses Dawson wasted no time in getting the campaign underway. Actually he commenced immediately after the election of Adams. The Advertiser would turn the major portion of its pages against the culprit of 1824. Dawson made sure that his readers would never forget the corrupt bargain of Henry Clay. The themes of administration and electioneering expenses, and Jackson's popular victory in 1824 were continually kept before the prospective voter's eyes. For purposes of survey the writer shall limit the actual campaign to the latter part of 1827 and the better part of 1828.

The major portion of Dawson's campaign was directed against Henry Clay. His every public move passed under the close scrutiny of Dawson's eyes. During that late summer of 1827 Clay paid a visit to the stricken Crawford. It appeared that the call had not been totally social and may have had political overtones. Dawson, shortly after Clay's visit, printed an article on the subject. At first appearance one would expect the article to deal with the political implications of Clay's call. Instead, Dawson uses the opportunity to attack Clay personally and call to mind his role

in 1824. Holding Clay up for examination, the Advertiser charged that,

> "...this man has the effrontery to declare that he has done no injustice to the State of Kentucky when he bartered her interests to a man that she had no more intention of supporting than one of the brothers of George IV."[57]

This charge usually accompanied with a remark about the cost of electioneering expenses, hounded the Kentucky candidate throughout his travels. Expense sheets were printed alongside of articles lampooning Clay himself. At the end of August, 1827, Dawson took particular delight in announcing to his readers that Henry Clay had finally returned to his post in Washington. Even the electioneering purposes of Clay were attacked and termed deceitful. They were charged with being "...the offspring and evidence of a mercenary servility."[58] As early as March of 1827, Hammond wrote to Clay, "I had thought in political affairs I could be surprised at nothing. But the events of the last four months have filled me with surprise and sorrow."[59] Certainly this is a rather pessimistic statement so early in the campaign.

The death of Prime Minister Canning gave Dawson another opportunity to level his editorials at Clay. After mentioning the loss of this man to the British nation, the eulogy passes into an analogy between Canning and Clay. The editor, part way through the article, remarks that the comparison is much too weak. Clay is then held up against Castlereagh but even here the editor pleads a weak comparison. Dawson says that Castlereagh

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[57] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 1, 1827

[58] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 16, 1827.

[59] As cited in, Wittke, op. cit., III, p. 226.

would not lie whereas Clay would. In the matter of personal character, Castlereagh stood superior to Clay, the editor said.[60]

Picking up inconsistencies was the favorite work of the Jackson editor. One example of this occurred in January, 1828. In a speech delivered by the Attorney General, Wirt, Dawson pointed to some disparaging remarks that were made concerning Clay and the Secretary of War, Barbour. Then with careful phrasing Dawson reminded his readers of Clay's statements concerning the harmony of the cabinet.[61] This type of campaign was carried on throughout the year against the Secretary of State.

John Quincy Adams did not occupy much space in the Advertiser's pages; however, when Dawson felt the time ripe, Adams was hit and hit hard. He was the subject of a great deal of Dawson's political poems, filled with themes of a faulty election and the billiard table.[62] It was a good season for satirical fine arts. On one occasion, Dawson devoted a political opera almost completely to Adams. The opera, "Disappointment", pulled no punches in criticizing the administration of the easterner.[63] The removal of troops stationed at Prarie du Chien and Chicago provided another opening for an attack on Adams. This time the charge was corruption. It seems that soon after the removal was effected an Indian uprising occurred. Using the incident as a spring board, Dawson expressed his views on the administration. It was one of those rare occasions when the editor spoke

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[60] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 22, 1827.

[61] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 23, 1828.

[62] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 4, 1827.

[63] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 22, 1827.

directly to the reader. He told the people that Adams had been warned by persons familiar with Indian affairs of the consequences that might result if the troops were removed, "...but such is the headstrong, selfish policy of the present administration; the reckless course the pursue in all things to the public weal."[64] The Jacksonian editor provided the public with a preformed conclusion. The reason for the removal, he said, was to give Adams an opportunity to bring a large disbursement of public money to Illinois and Michigan and thereby influence the coming election.[65]

Not all of Dawson's editorials were given to attacking personalities. On some occasions there was an attempt to speak on subjects which were or could have been issues. A campaign issue showed itself in the Woolens Bill of 1827. This topic drew strong statements from the Advertiser's commanding pen. Dawson charged that the bill had been conceived,

> ...in order to fix upon those who were opposed to it the opprobrium of the people as being enemies to domestic industry, when on the contrary, it was opposed on the grounds of its being calculated to encourage smuggling, to prohibit the importation of goods of prime necessity for the poorer classes, or to make the poor pay a greater proportion of the tax than the rich.[66]

The article, however, appeared too late in the campaign to give profit to anyone.

The caucus also drew some amount of fire from the columns of the Advertiser. Dawson directed his attack against the junto or caucus in Boston. The editor's comment was simple, but nonetheless appealing to

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[64] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 4, 1827.

[65] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 4, 1827.

[66] Cincinnati Advertiser, May 11, 1828.

his western readers. He accused the caucus of being run by intrigue. Such a system was the self-created society of John Q. Adams, John Lowell, and Harrison G. Otis, who were themselves well initiated into the mysteries of the school of the Jesuits. Accompanying the charge, was a statement to the effect that it was Jackson who had really won the election of 1824.[67] Increasing support for the Jackson cause in the East found publicity in the Advertiser's pages. In a reprint from the Boston Courier, Dawson pointed out the growing "opposition flavour" in that section of the nation.[68] News of Jackson support in Albany was also given space, indicating that four wards in that city had voted unanimously to support Jackson.[69] The resolution of a Jackson meeting held in New London, Connecticut, no doubt bolstered the spirit of western Jacksonians when they read what New Englanders of their persuasion had sworn,

> That we entertain the highest respect for, and confidence in the "undaunted bravery", uncorrupted fidelity, and democratic principles of General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and that we will use all honorable means to insure his election to the highest office in the republic.[70]

Proof of Adam's affiliations with the Masonic Order was provided by an eastern paper, the New York Enquirer.[71] Reports of Jackson meetings, dinners, and parties, occupied more and more space as the campaign wore to a close. Jackson's political pen in Ohio had a keen realization of the importance of the east in the coming election.

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[67] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 4, 1827.

[68] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 1, 1827.

[69] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 29, 1827.

[70] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 2, 1828.

[71] Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 12, 1828.

In vain Moses Dawson searched for tangible campaign material. Nothing of electioneering value showed itself on which the starved paper of Dawson could feed. Jackson threw practically nothing of use to his supporters. A ray of light did filter through the mud on the subject of the American System. But here Dawson had to resort to a negative approach. No one was quite sure how Jackson felt about internal improvements. When the chance came Dawson applied himself with his usual energy and experience.

The Advertiser was forward in its claim that Jackson was a friend to canals, waterways, and roads. The candidate's record in the Senate was offered as proof. When the misrepresentation charge was hurled at Jackson on the subject, Dawson was one of the first to defend his hero. The refutation came in editorial form. He explained that the reason the west and south were supporting Jackson was their mutual hatred of corruption and their mutual admiration of the General's honesty.[72] These were, indeed, poor arguments for an election year.

In April of election year, Dawson printed a quotation from a letter Jackson had written to the Governor of Indiana touching on the subject of the American System. In the letter Jackson said,

> To preserve our invaluable constitution and to be prepared to repel invasion of a foreign, by practice of economy, and the cultivation within ourselves of the means of national defense and independence, should be the leading object of any system which aspires to the name of American....[73]

It was not much to go on, but Dawson used it to the best of his ability.

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[72] Cincinnati Advertiser, Mar. 11, 1828.

[73] Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 16, 1828.

Jackson's position could not, or would not be made clearer. Until Jackson did so himself, the country was left to anticipate and conjecture. For the whole year of 1828 Dawson was confined to printing only one article of importance connecting Jackson with the American System.

Names have been made and broken; reputations have been established and destroyed. During the campaign of 1828 it was the task of Charles Hammond to destroy the name of Andrew Jackson and ruin the reputation of his wife Rachel.

Hammond's ethics for journalism were laid down by himself. "It is common for the author of a prospectus to give assurances that all 'low scurrility' and all personalities shall be excluded from his columns. I make no promise of the kind."[74] If nothing else during this campaign, Hammond lived up to his word.

Up until the attack on Mrs. Jackson, the Dawson-Hammond rivalry consisted in bantering back and forth over rather petty and incidental facts. Dawson's Irish wit was at least equal to Hammond's logic. During attack on Mrs. Jackson, Moses Dawson outstripped his adversary in skill, and in his sense of ordinary common decency. While engaged in this battle, it is the impression of the writer that Dawson defended Mrs. Jackson, not because it was politic, but because it was right.

The whole affair began when an Englishman named Day obtained information concerning Jackson's marriage to Rachel. This information reached the hands of Henry Clay, who in turn delivered it to his mouthpiece and

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[74] Weisenburger, op. cit., pp. 10-11. (Italics mine).

pen in Cincinnati, Charles Hammond. Clay had given assurances to Eaton that the material would not be used for an attack on Mrs. Jackson.[75]

With this material Hammond moved the campaign into a new phase. In January of 1828 Hammond's, Truth's Advocate and Anti-Jackson Exposition was before the country. The prime purpose of this publication was to look more closely into the disputed marriage of the Democratic candidate.[76] Moses Dawson wasted no time in setting up type to provide a defense for the General's wife. In the month following Hammond's pamphlet, Dawson's likewise was before the public. The duel between the Truth's Advocate and the Friend of Reform or Corruption's Adversary was begun. One Cincinnati historian has remarked that, "These papers edited with great ability but with little regard to the decent proprieties of journalism, reached the circulation of about five thousand each."[77]

Dawson was on the defensive due to Hammond's primacy in attack. The irate editor denied the charges as fast as Hammond could put them in print. The Advertiser made its appeal to the honest indignation of the country and its ideals. Turning directly to Hammond, Dawson told his public that even if he (Hammond) were speaking of a strumpet he should be seriously chastised. "Better it should be so than that he be protected in disturbing the peace and harmony of social intercourse, by raking up misconduct long since forgiven and forgotten by those whom above it concerns."[78]

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[75]Marquis James, The Life of Andrew Jackson, (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1940), pp. 462-472.

[76]R. Carlyle Buley, The Old Northwest, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1950), Vol. 11, p. 163.

[77]Charles Theodore Greve, Centennial History of Cincinnati, (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1904), Vol. 111, p. 793.

[78]Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 16, 1828.

Note that Dawson does not present Mrs. Jackson as lily-white, but rather that she should not be displayed for the benefit of the public.

Picking up a glaring inconsistency in this part of Hammond's campaigning, Dawson reminded him that he had stood before the Ohio Senate and defended women against public criticism.[79] Hammond replied through the columns of the Gazette saying that the current Republican code was to look into no woman's character, whether she be chaste or not.[80]

The war of words continued throughout the campaign, but as the private life of the Jackson's became more and more an issue, so too became the names that Dawson applied to Hammond. It was with this type of strategy that Hammond could not compete. Soon Cincinnatians were associating nomers like, "calumnator", which was the most common; "Mr. Puffando", and "Ghost of Clay", with the editor of the Gazette. Finding that the best retreat is to attack, Dawson printed a report which he was supposed to have received from his correspondent in Washington. The report, real or unreal, first dealt with the theme of the corrupt bargain. Then shifting emphasis, he relates the shame of Hammond because of his attacks on Mrs. Jackson. This part of the attack he does in gilded 19th century style almost resembling minstrel show dramatics. The gist of the article is that Hammond stands in poor light with the moderate Adamites in the East.[81]

The unsavory issue could have been avoided but the paucity of real

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[79] Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 16, 1828.

[80] Buley, op. cit., II, p. 163.

[81] Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 23, 1828.

political issues and the self-stated ethics of Hammond turned the campaign into what it is recorded as. If the responsibility for this scandalous episode can be attributed to anyone it should be Henry Clay. The popular politician knew Hammond well enough and was close enough to him to put a stop to the muck-raking. But Clay, who was "especially...hunting for popular breezes"[82] in 1828, "...gave silent consent to his (Hammond's) depredations."[83]

As the time for the vote drew near the anti-Jackson press resorted to last minute tactics in an attempt to defeat the nation's hero. Dawson continued to campaign to the last moment also and continued to meet the challenge thrown his way by the opposition. Fradulent tickets were issued and rumors of Jackson's death were fed to the public as a twelfth hour approached.[84] The Dawson print anticipated such a move and by October the contents of the Advertiser were announcing to its readers, with regularity, the state of the General's health. Dawson told his public that, "This has been rendered necessary, by the wretched but desperate means resorted to by some of the coalition prints...."[85]

The vote was cast and the campaign was at a close. Moses Dawson fittingly ended his long struggle. "The agony is over--the contest is at and end. On this event, we congratulate the readers of the Advertiser, and the country in general. We congratulate them on the happy event which

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[82] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 27, 1869.

[83] James, op. cit., p. 467.

[84] Buley, op. cit., 11, p. 165.

[85] Cincinnati Advertiser, Oct. 29, 1828.

secures them their liberties...."[86] The question of how Ohio might vote crossed Dawson's mind many times throughout the campaign. Assurance came to him from Washington from a Jacksonian on an upper level. Although the returns were not in, Dawson was told that enough had been seen, "...to satisfy us that She [Ohio crossed out] has not separated herself from the sister-hood (sic) of the West."[87] Dawson wrote back and, referring to information he had received from a certain General Hinds of Louisiana, it appeared that "...that state is secure for the Hero—And that Johnny Q. will not have a vote out of the Mountains."[88]

The expectations of Dawson were fulfilled, about 131,000 persons had voted in this election.[89] Of this number, 67,597 voted for Jackson and 63,396 for Adams.[90] The state had gone to the hero of Orleans. Jackson had retained all of the counties that supported him in 1824 save Warren County, where he bowed to Adams by the slim margin of some twenty-seven votes. In addition to these, many more counties added their strength to the rising cause.[91] Cincinnati's five wards showed Jackson the victor by 148 votes, although he lost the second and third wards.[92] In Congressional

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[86] Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 12, 1828.

[87] William B. Lewis to Moses Dawson, Nov. 21, 1828, XUL, MSS.

[88] Dawson to Lewis, Nov. 24, 1828, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, (Microfilmed from the Letters of Andrew Jackson at the Library of Congress). (hereafter HPSO).

[89] Wittke, op. cit., 11, p. 335.

[90] Ibid., p. 233.

[91] Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 5, 1828; cf. Cincinnati Gazette, Nov. 3-4. The figures are the latest returns from Columbus.

[92] Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 1, 1828.

districts Jackson men broke even with the Adams candidates, dividing the fourteen positions.[93]

This time Moses Dawson was both politically pleased and more than influential. By keeping the corrupt bargain before the public he no doubt turned many hearts against Adams. His defense of Mrs. Jackson probably persuaded others into joining the Jackson cause. The revolution of 1828 was complete and for the first time in his life, Dawson found himself a successful rebel.

The work done by the Jackson spokesman did not go unrepaid. For his defense of Mrs. Jackson, he received from her a buckskin suit of clothes. Thanking her for the gift he called attention to the fact that it was, "...the product of you (Rachel's) Household industry-"[94] He told Mrs. Jackson that the task of defending her was no effort and that the privilege of defense was its own reward.[95]

It is interesting to note that the campaign of 1828 was for the most part conducted against Henry Clay in particular and the administration in general. This is not to say that Adams did not come under attack; however, the number of editorials directed against him were considerably fewer than those of the previous campaign. That Dawson was a party hack for these two campaigns is a charge that can not be leveled against him. There was no national Jackson party as such until the end of 1824. But

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[93] Cincinnati Gazette, Oct. 27, 1828.

[94] Dawson to Mrs. Jackson, Nov. 24, 1828. HPSO.

[95] Ibid.

the journalistic campaign waged by Dawson previous to that election marks him as already being a Jacksonian.

From the election of 1828 onward, Dawson would devote himself to the better establishment of his party. The issues involved would once more call for the pen of the editor for their support. And while Jacksonians fell from the ranks during the next four years over the up and coming issues, Moses Dawson would remain firm in his adherence to the cause of Jacksonian Democracy.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1832

Andrew Jackson's victory in 1828 meant that Dawson's cause had been realized. A new type of campaigning was now necessary. The western Jackson print gave itself to the task of keeping the new political order established. In this Dawson showed himself to be as apt as when he was fighting to promote Jacksonianism.

From 1829 to about 1830 the Advertiser continued to put before its readers accounts of the corrupt bargain and the double dealing of Clay. This issue was pressed until it no longer held the public's interest. Dawson assured his readers that no members of the new cabinet would attain their office by the same means that Clay had received his.[1] He implored his patrons not to forget the enemies of Jackson and urged them to watch their actions.[2]

At the same time he was haranguing Clay, Dawson subtly brought attention to the opposition's previous campaign and the effect it had had on the family of the new President. Poems of a political nature paid tribute to the dead wife of the President and laid the responsibility of her passing at the feet of the anti-Jackson forces. In laying the blame on

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[1] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 7, 1829.

[2] Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 14, 1829.

his enemies Dawson printed,

> Behold them turn, with most dishonest arts,
> Against Domestic Peace their venom'd darts![3]

This kind of editorializing characterized the early stages of the campaign. It was due to Jackson's silence during the previous campaign that there were still no issues and wouldn't be any until the President created them.[4]

From what remains of Dawson's letters, or letters to him, it would seem that his weight in the Capitol increased shortly after 1830. Such correspondence was accompanied with caution and one occasion Dawson was asked to, "...consider all my letters to you confidential." [5]

Moses Dawson's work in the campaign of 1828 did not go unrewarded, at least in intention. Not too long after the inauguration, word came from Washington to Dawson telling him that, "With regard to the public patronage, permit me to say that you will, in the distribution of it, neither be forgotten nor overlooked."[6] Before the month of June had passed the hard-working editor was appointed receiver of the public monies in Cincinnati. In addition to this he received the government printing; but the position, Dawson claimed, was both unsought and unexpected.[7]

Almost immediately Charles Hammond and Jacob Burnet, whom Dawson had opposed in the previous winter, set to work to deprive the Advertiser's helmsman of the post. Burnet had discovered an error in Dawson's naturali-

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[3]Cincinnati Advertiser, Jan. 21, 1870.

[4]Gammon, op. cit., p. 135.

[5]W. B. Lewis to Dawson, May 19, 1829, XUL, MSS.

[6]W. B. Lewis to Dawson, May 19, 1829, XUL, MSS.

[7]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 3, 1870.

zation certificate. The paper showed neither a seal nor the fact that Dawson had sworn to become a citizen. Hammond forwarded this information to Washington as the Senate was about to approve appointments.[8]

Dawson heard of the incident and wrote to Lewis telling him that the document Hammond had was, "...burnt so as to make it almost unintelligible-"[9] The letter went on to say, "Whether the multilated paper was a fabrication of the person from whom I received it I cannot say-"[10] However, Dawson continued, if the office could not be given to him, he wished Lewis to intercede on behalf of his son, Washington.[11]

The chances of Dawson receiving the appointment dimmed as the hour of the Senate's decision approached. A fellow Democrat on the scene warned, that, "...the documents which had been forwarded to the Senate, on the charges of Hammond, were, in the opinion of that committee sufficient to sustain the charges - and that the committee would report against your appointment."[12] But with the ill-omened letter came signs of encouragement. Dawson's friend mentioned that he had talked with the President who gave assurances that the appointment seemed secure. The President was to have an interview with the chairman of the investigating committee and was to urge him not to give a final answer until the western editor had had an

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[8] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 3, 1870; cf. Weisenburger, op. cit. pp. 57-58.

[9] Dawson to W. B. Lewis, Dec. 20, 1829, HPSO.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Elijah Hayward to Dawson, Feb. 11, 1830, XUL, MSS.

opportunity to reply. Still and all, if affairs went against Dawson, he was told the President would nominate his son.[13]

In his mission of vindictivness, Hammond had been victorious; Dawson was rejected from the post in April, 1830;[14] his son was also not nominated, because it was felt, such an appointment would not be prudent and would possibly prove to be harmful.[15] In place of Dawson, a certain Morgan Neville received the position.[16] Dawson took the reversal in good humor and to rectify any previous errors, offered to become sworn again. The full story was never looked into and it is somewhat of a mystery how the Cincinnati authorities issued full papers on a defective certificate.[17]

The narrating of this incident is to point out that while others may have removed themselves from the Jackson ranks over a similiar kind of ill fortune, Moses Dawson was not of that caliber. He continued to give his whole-hearted support to the further establishment of the new cause--a cause which was to him worthwhile.

The growing intensity of the bank question can be seen by reflection in the pages of the Advertiser. The paper started off with no small amount of obscurity. It appeared that the institution would remain untouched for sometime. By the middle of May, 1830, Dawson was informed

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 3, 1870.

[15] W. B. Lewis to Dawson, June 9, 1830, XUL, MSS.

[16] Wittke, op. cit., II, p. 240.

[17] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 3, 1870.

that the United States Bank was, "...a subject which will, for the next 4 or 5 years, engage much of the time and attention of statesmen and politicians, and should therefore be well looked into."[18] The tone of this note seems to indicate that Presidential action was not expected, at least for awhile. Such an attitude can be appreciated since even the Bank's president was in a nebulous state of mind up to the middle of July.[19]

With things in such an indefinite state, Dawson found it necessary to consult with the chief of state himself on the matter. He asked Jackson to give him information concerning the Bank that might be useful in campaigning. Dawson had had no statement of the President's views up to this time--but few people had. In the letter Dawson expressed his own thoughts on the subject. He felt that the Bank should be independent of both Federal Government and State authorities. He did not deny the necessity of a bank, but if a bank were to be had it should be one without the evils of this present system.[20] He was opposed to a bank of discount and was of the opinion that dealing in money should be left to private individuals. On the subject of notes, Dawson urged that they should not be printed under twenty dollars.[21] And,

> If it should be found necessary to establish branches throughout the union for the purpose of collecting and disbursing - perhaps an arrangement might be made for the convenience of traders that drafts in treasury notes might be given for specie - the former at a premium not to exceed the mere expense of transit.[22]

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[18] W. B. Lewis to Dawson, May 15, 1830, XUL, MSS.

[19] Gammon, op. cit., p. 115.

[20] Dawson to Jackson, July 5, 1830, HPSO.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

Events were picking up and the President promptly returned the letter of the questioning western spokesman. It was only a brief note and the President barely sketched his ideas on the matter. Jackson desired that the bank be one only of deposit with powers in time of war to issue paper with an interest to be paid at the end of the war.[23] This, said Jackson, "...would do away with the necessity of loans in time of war,...sought after by the monied capitalists-"[24] The leader explained that he was not even opposed to a bank of discount, if the constitutional objections against the present one could be overcome. His main fear seemed to be the few "monied capitalists". Summing up his feelings he said,

> ...I have no doubt but a national bank of discount & deposit, could be carried on with as much facility, & security, as your present system of revenue is collected. But I have always thought republics ought never to become brokers, therefore never ought to have any other bank but one entirely national, & that of deposit only.[25]

The editor could now go to work. Within a week the bank question was presented to the public. The Advertiser began with a consideration of a debt contracted in war. Of this the paper said, "That a nation may contract debts to defend it against enemies, we will fully and willingly admit...."[26] And well might Dawson admit to this; the President himself had unofficially commissioned him to speak. Then, seeming to have written the editorial with Jackson's letter beside him, Dawson said, "...debts contracted during war should be paid off during peace."[27] And further on,

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[23]Jackson to Dawson, July 17, 1830. XUL, MSS.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Cincinnati Advertiser, July 24, 1830.

[27]Cincinnati Advertiser, July 24, 1830.

speaking of the monied few, "It is well understood that monied men always prefer government security for their loans; consequently it must be the interest of monied men that government should be in debt and that frequent loans should be asked for;..."[28]

The close follow up of Dawson's editorial to Jackson's letter should not be misconstrued as the editor's following the party line. He had allowed his voice to be heard on the subject of the Bank as far back as 1828 when he said, "We shall glory in seeing the day when banks are all annihilated...We do not accept the great mammouth (United States Bank)."[29] And not long after that, he again stated that men of honesty and intelligence were displeased with the institution. He went so far as to include "even Tories".[30] It is of paramount importance to understand that Dawson was a spokesman, not a politician. His job was that of a partisan; to support and not make party policy.

The President opened a new attack against Biddle and his organization with his second annual message to the Congress. This official statement announced that in the opinion of the President the country still suffered from the dangers that institution might inflict. While speaking of the objections to the present system, Jackson outlined briefly his own plan, with an appeal to the several states.[31]

Biddle countered with a wide spread literary campaign. The grandiose scheme was intended to gain the support of the state legislatures.

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[28] Cincinnati Advertiser, July 24, 1830.

[29] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[30] Wittke, op. cit., II, p. 260.

[31] James D. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, (Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1909), II, pp. 528-529.

The president of the Bank of the United States was now clearly challenging the President of the country wherein the Bank resided. Biddle simply did not understand his opponent. Jackson was the hero of the masses and from them he drew his strength. Biddle further erred in, "...the assumption that these masses formed their opinions on public questions through intelligent reading and reflection."[32] This was especially true in the West where the newspaper was practically the only thing the masses could read and reflect upon. And these sources printed the ideas which were, to say the least, one sided.

No one appreciated this more than the opinion-molding editor of the Advertiser. He continued to print articles paralleling events as they occurred in the nation's capital. As the President had appealed to the several states, Dawson made his appeal to the people of those states. His editorials were pointed toward this kind of enticement. In September he laid his position before the eyes of the West.

> For our part, we believe it Bank to be an institution fraught with danger to the liberties of the people; but our opinion is, that the people have the right to do wrong in their own cause, and if a majority of the people be in favour of the bank, we will succumb to the will of the sovereign will....But we will not flatter ourselves that the majority is the other way, and if the people have only timely notice, they will, with a tremendous voice, cry down the bank.[33]

On the very day that cabinet member McLane was conferring with Biddle in Philadelphia, assuring him that he would speak favorably on the Bank in the annual Treasury report,[34] Dawson ran an article in his

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[32] Gammon, op. cit., p. 117. (Italics mine).

[33] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 14, 1831. (Italics mine).

[34] Gammon, op. cit., p. 121.

Jackson Advertiser reporting the resolution proposed in the Tennessee Legislature, not to extend the Bank's charter because it was, "...not consistent with sound policy...."[35]

It appears that there is some difference of opinion as to whether Jackson was consistently hostile to the Bank of the United States. A previous study of this campaign points out that while Jackson was consistent in his hostility, he preferred to remain uncommitted. The reasons given by the researcher on the subject are that Jackson was looking to the election and also the paying off of the national debt.[36] It also seems that the supporters of the bank were considering only the possibility of making it a campaign issue in the coming election by mid-December, 1831, and Biddle himself was not sure of his next action.[37]

This fact of indefiniteness, i. e., Jackson's non committal attitude and Biddle's inability to make up his mind, was sent to Dawson by the hand of Major Lewis, who, from his opposition to, "...Jackson's Bank policy had weakened his former influence as to matters of policy."[38] Lewis, commenting on the Bank, reminded the editor that every Secretary of the Treasury, including the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and even Jackson, "...has been in favour of a National Bank, from a conviction of the impossibility of managing the financial affairs of the country without it."[39] Expressing himself on whether the Bank would be brought up

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[35] Cincinnati Advertiser, Oct. 19, 1831

[36] Gammon, op. cit., pp. 122-124.

[37] Gammon, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

[38] Gammon, op. cit., p. 90.

[39] W. B. Lewis to Dawson, Dec. 29, 1831, XUL, MSS.

before election, Lewis was of the opinion that the question would not be pushed: for this reason, "...that many of the President's best friends in Congress are Bankmen..."[40] who would not like to touch the issue until after the election.[41]

This attitude, that the issue was rearing its head too early, was reflected in an editorial appearing slightly more than a month after Dawson had received the letter. The editor frankly stated that he thought the question "premature" and with his familiar appeal to the masses he said, "We cannot think it right, proper, or consistent, that the Congress elected in 1830 should legislate for the people in 1836."[42]

The beginning of the year marked a step up in the propaganda of Biddle. But no less was true of the ever public-speaking Jackson editor. Beside his appeals to the masses, Dawson also printed a more intelligent argument for his readers. The Advertiser's space gave a lengthy consideration of the charter that the Bank held. Dawson printed the abuses of that charter, especially those contained in Section 21, "That no other bank shall be established by any future law of the United States during the continuance of the corporation hereby created, for which the faith of the United States is pledged."[43] Dawson felt that if this and other liberties as well were to be granted to a rechartered bank, "...let us have the present rather than a new one;..."[44] This known danger was better

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 11, 1832.

[43] As cited in, Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 22, 1832.

[44] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 22, 1832.

than an unknown one.

Dawson also called Cincinnati's attention to what the East was saying on the subject. In a reprint from the Baltimore Republican, Cincinnatians found their own city indicted in the speculation of the Bank.

> But Cincinnati has been the greatest scene of speculation. The different purchases there amount to 403 in number, costing 2,314,078.46. The sales have amounted to 1,235,852.82, and the balance is put down at 1,243,361. This we should say is doing a pretty large business, in the way of buying and selling land.[45]

Even in his attack on the Bank, Dawson never forgot his old political whipping post, Henry Clay. The opportunity to pick up inconsistencies in his case were many; the most outstanding of which was that Clay had made several statements in years gone by against the institution whose cause he had recently taken up. From the Frankfort Argus in Kentucky, came an article lampooning Clay because he had said that the predecessor of the Bank of the United States was a monster that could destroy the people's liberties. Said the Argus, "We believe that the present institution is much more capable of performing that operation."[46]

Dawson continued to drum up support for the Jacksonians against the Bank. He warned the people that the arbitrary power of contraction which the Bank possessed put them at the mercy of that institution. Since this was the case, he urged them to become suspicious and change the situation.[47] Then appealing to the tariff feeling of his section he told them,

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[45] Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 14, 1832.

[46] Cincinnati Advertiser, May 19, 1832.

[47] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 9, 1832.

> ...that a sound currency is of much more importance to a manufacturing community than a high tariff, for the greater amount of money in circulation, the higher will be the prices of all articles, and consequently the better will be the market for foreigners to sell in, and the worst for them to buy in.[48]

Dawson played upon the West's hatred of the creditor class. He called attention to the Banks tendency toward despotic power.[49] Telling them of the apparent danger, he said only the Bank could, "...have devised a worse or better scheme to enlist individual interest in their favour, than that of making the whole community indebted to them...."[50] Turning to the stockholders of the Bank, Dawson said they were,

> ...by person or property, a privileged order, and of consequence will, ere long, claim all the immunities and privileges that their order may think themselves entitled to; and no doubt they will find plenty to assist them, when they can reward their followers so liberally....[51]

This same article discusses the effects of paper money on the buying of property. It relates to the reader the depreciation that takes place if specie is proportional to the amount of paper issued and that paper money's, "...direct tendency is to increase the riches of those who are rich, and depreciate the value of labour, by depreciating the measure of value, the current coin...."[52] This sounds a ring familiar in Leggett's loco-foco ideas.

While stating these problems to the people, Dawson provided the

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[48] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 9, 1832.

[49] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 16, 1832.

[50] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 16, 1832.

[51] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 16, 1832.

[52] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 16, 1832.

answers for them. He urged the people to action and in doing so told them they were not alone for, "...we do have one branch of the executive that... will act, no doubt for the public good...for he is a man of the people...."[53]

Biddle, with the support of Webster and other help that he mustered outside of Congress, finally had his bill for the Bank's recharter passed in the House, by a vote of 107 to 85, and in the Senate by a vote of 28 to 20.[54] The showdown had come; the next move was left to the President.

And move he did. On July 10, Andrew Jackson read his Veto Message to the Congress. It was a lengthy but precise document denying the Bank future life on the grounds that it was neither necessary nor proper.[55] On the following day Daniel Webster, legal counsel for the institution, attacked the message. On July 13, Jackson's veto was sustained.[56]

In Ohio, the Jacksonians greeted the veto with joyous celebration. Every Jacksonian print in the state acknowledged the President's decision with the highest praise.[57] Among them was the Advertiser, whose editor had written to the President, passing him this comment on the situation, "The State generally - I am led to believe, from many circumstances that your veto has confirmed your former supporters, and gained thousands of your opponents."[58] The Advertiser's comment was limited since the text of the

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[53]Cincinnati Advertiser, June 16, 1832.

[54]Gammon, op. cit., p. 133.

[55]Richardson, op. cit., II, pp. 582-590.

[56]James, op. cit., p. 602; cf. Gammon, op. cit., p. 134.

[57]Wittke, op. cit., II, p. 263.

[58]Dawson to Jackson, July 16, 1832, HPSO. As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

message appeared at its left. However, the paper remarked, "It is too volumitous (sic) for us to make any remarks further than to say that it is a document of importance only second to the Declaration of Independence."[59]

From the time of the message to the date of election, Dawson's paper was filled with accounts concerning the Bank and explanations of the veto. To show the people the popularity of the decision, the Advertiser reprinted accounts of other newspapers praising Jackson for his action.[60] One such reprint came from the home of the Bank--Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Pennsylvanian reported, "...the veto has been productive of the most beneficial effects, not only in the state, but in the city of Philadelphia, notwithstanding the influence...of the Mother Bank...."[61] Extracts of speeches Clay had made against the Bank in 1811 also found their way into the Advertiser's pages.[62]

The veto only provided Dawson with more campaign material. He took up the arguments of those who opposed it and refuted them. Outstanding of these is the editorial wherein he remarks that the debtors have blamed the veto for the insolvency of the Bank. The editor goes on to say that this situation is not a new one, but that the Bank was laboring under insolvency long before the veto was ever heard of.[63]

As election time neared, the spokesman for the Jackson cause con-

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[59] Cincinnati Advertiser, July 18, 1832.

[60] Cincinnati Advertiser, July 21, 25, and 28, 1832.

[61] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 1, 1832.

[62] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 8, 1832.

[63] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 12, 1832.

tinued to fire his editorial guns against the opposition. The Bank veto dominated the columns of the paper up to and after Jackson's re-election. Perhaps Dawson's best editorial on the subject appeared the day he rose slightly above campaigning. Reviewing the veto and its contents he wrote,

> The President might have passed this Bill, or he might have vetoed it, and they would have thought but little on the subject, provided he had not promulgated the principles on which he has founded his veto. It is here where they have felt the wound:...[64]

The great amount of space given to the Bank question is in no way an attempt to obscure or ignore the other issues that did enter into the campaign. All of these issues are important. Yet it would be foolish to deny that the Bank did not at least overshadow such issues as the Anti-Masonic movement, the Eaton affair, and nullification. Taking the campaign from the aspect of the Advertiser and Dawson's correspondence, the Bank and internal improvements seem to be the major issues.

As with the question of banking, Jackson had kept usually quiet on the subject of internal improvements. In the age of the rising New West no one suspected that one from his own section would have thoughts opposed to his on the matter of federally financed roads and canals. And "...even if he [Jackson] disapproved of the principle which sought to finance them from the federal treasury..." the West believed that he would not, "... dare to act openly and decidedly against projects of internal improvements. ..."[65]

Moses Dawson had nothing concrete to go on in the matter of internal improvements. Therefore, it was necessary for him to work with the

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[64] Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 11, 1832.

[65] Gammon, op. cit., p. 56.

materials he had at hand. He took up every charge that came his way mentioning the General as an enemy of internal improvements. One such charge came from Senator Jacob Burnet, who claimed that in the recent election it was Adams who had pledged himself to support the domestic policy, not Jackson. Dawson's first remark was that the names were in the wrong places. The President's editor said that Jackson had proved himself, "...by his votes in the Senate in 1824..." and by, "...his declaration to the Governor of Indiana...."[66] He went on to say that in no public statement could evidence be found that Jackson was against a domestic policy.[67] For practically an entire year the campaign on the subject of internal improvements was carried on in this manner.

Jackson's first annual message brought some insight into his position on the subject. While speaking to the Congress the President uttered the words of strict construction, "...adherence to written constitutions."[68] The rising New West was taken back and disappointed; perhaps no state more than Ohio. With Jackson's ideas determined, and the West's long standing support of federally constructed improvements, things were shaping up in such a way as to point to internal improvements as the launching campaign issue.

It was not long after his message to Congress that Jackson was presented with a test case on internal improvements. The Maysville to Lexington Kentucky Road Bill required that the federal government purchase stock

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[66] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 7, 1829. See also, Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 16, 1828.

[67] Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 7, 1829.

[68] Richardson, op. cit., p. 452.

in the road. Westerners felt the bill would easily pass. Even those who were aware of the President's narrow construction tendencies, had no idea he would give his veto to the proposal.[69] Jackson's surprise decision came on May 27, 1829. Both Ohio and Moses Dawson were more than a little astonished at the unexpected event. Dawson, probably like others, was of the opinion that the road was of enough national consequence not to warrant the President's veto.

Dawson had been a staunch defender of internal improvements since he let it be known that he favored the Cumberland Road Bill.[70] If he were to continue in the Jackson ranks, it would mean a radical change in thinking. Dawson changed. The legality of the President's program was explained to him in these words, "Will Ohio after making her own improvements be willing to be taxed to make improvements in the other States?"[71] Dawson's informer supplies him with solutions. Why not, he tells the editor, pay off the public debt and apply the surplus to the individual states according to their representation in the Congress?[72] If the problem were handled in this manner, "...from three to five hundred dollars crossed out thousand dollars...."[73] would be apportioned. Later in the same letter Dawson was told that although the veto caused some excitement, as the people read and understood the message they would agree with the executive.[74]

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[69] Wittke, op. cit., II, p. 242.

[70] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[71] W. B. Lewis to Dawson, June 9, 1830, XUL, MSS.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

An amazing change of heart occurred. Dawson's feelings had undergone a rapid transformation. By the beginning of July he wrote the President telling him of the public's approval of his conduct and that the Maysville Veto had not lost him friends, but rather gained them; generally throughout the west, particularly in Columbus, Ohio, and the northern section of that state.[75]

Now the editor could set to work with the zeal of a convert. He could print with some degree of certitude on the issue so long uncertain because of Jackson's taciturn campaigning. With this under his belt, he proceeded to speak on the subject of internal improvements.

In the same month as Dawson's correspondence with the President, the type of the Advertiser gave a considerable amount of room to the long not discussed matter. In an article that printed the dialogue of a Jacksonian and a coalitionist, the Jacksonian explained to his companion that he stood for internal improvements, but not at federal expense. When asked about the Cumberland Road Bill, the Jacksonian explained it away by saying that the contract had been made before the Constitution was framed.[76] The point of these explanatory editorials was to present to the people the idea that Jackson was a friend of internal improvements, "...but not so much a friend of that policy as to sacrifice all other interests to it."[77] He had conducted his summer campaign well and received word that, "...you have Clay completely on the hip."[78]

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[75] Dawson to Jackson, July 5, 1830, HPSO.

[76] Cincinnati Advertiser, July 14, 1830.

[77] Cincinnati Advertiser, July 24, 1830.

[78] W. B. Lewis to Dawson, Sept. 30, 1830. XUL, MSS.

The year of 1831 saw the diminishing of the Maysville Veto in political importance. New York and Pennsylvania were building their own roads and canals. In this region of the country, the veto had strengthened the President's hand. In Ohio and Kentucky the National Republicans seemed to be gaining favor but they had not captured both states entirely. In these two states Jackson was having trouble,[79] and it was in this area that the Advertiser labored.

On the idea of the sale of public lands to finance internal improvements, Dawson had some very strong statements,

> These lands are ours,...We Western people do not want to stand as paupers to the General Government, and go to Congress to beg of them a road, a bridge or a canal. All we look for is our own. Give us the lands that be within our limits, and we will make our own improvements.[80]

As the nullification issue divided the forces of Clay and Calhoun on the question of the tariff, Dawson urged the people to interfere and save the Union from this jeopardy. Calling for a revision of the tariff he asked that the duties be better equalized. He reassures his western public that he still remains an advocate of protection, "...but we say that the poor laborer ought not to be taxed six or eight times as high for that protection as the rich man, who labors none, and will not fight for his country."[81] Dawson urged that the tariff be abolished on necessities and equalized on luxuries. This had been proposed by the Secretary of the

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[79] Gammon, op. cit., p. 63.

[80] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

[81] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 23, 1832.

Treasury and Dawson called attention to the fact that,

> This bill is opposed by Henry Clay, because it relieves the poor man, and does not sufficiently in his mind relieve the rich...and this he calls the 'American System-' This term would better be entitled the American oppression, American injustice,...let it be called the Clay System.[82]

On this tone the editorials on internal improvements finished out the year. The subject had caused some concern in Jackson circles. Compared with the Bank, which did not really become an issue until after the veto, the Maysville veto lost more followers for Jackson than did his attack on the Bank. This was caused in part by the West's attachment to the domestic policy and her dislike toward concentrated wealth, an attitude that had been present since 1819.

As the final vote was counted it was found that Jackson retained his strength in the southwest corner of the state. The outcome on the state level showed little change from 1828. Jackson had collected 81,246; Clay, 76,539; Wirt, 509. Williams County which had supported Adams in 1828 swung to Jackson. Madison and Montgomery counties, which had supported Jackson in 1828, were now in the Clay camp.[83]

Hamilton County had put Jackson over his nearest opponent, Clay, by some 1370 votes. In the city of Cincinnati, Jackson's opponents defeated him by 704 votes.[84]

Moses Dawson had once again seen his cause realized. He would be allowed to campaign and win one more presidential victory.

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[82] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 23, 1832.

[83] Wittke, op. cit., II, p. 270.

[84] Cincinnati Advertiser, Nov. 21, 1832.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MOSES DAWSON

By being the kind of spokesman he was, it was certain that Moses Dawson should express his thoughts on problems current in his own time, to the public. These expressions can be called his political philosophy. Later in his life this philosophy becomes more apparent due to the frequency of correspondence between himself and other leading Jacksonians. Since the scope of this study is limited to 1832, the major portion of this correspondence will not come under consideration. But this does not mean that we can not know how he stood on various issues.

Although Moses Dawson was the unrelenting political opponent of any party other than his own, he was the outspoken advocate of a strict two party system. He felt that this system was inherent in republicanism, and that if it should be abolished, there could be no Republic.[1] He said, "The case which produces apathy, is where the people form but one political party; the case where confusion and discord is produced, is that where the people are divided into more than two parties."[2] Then, using an analogy similar to Livy's observation on the plebian withdrawal from Rome,

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[1] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

[2] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

Dawson compared Republicanism to the human race with its two sexes and the human body with its unity of parts. The purpose of this comparison was to illustrate that the two parties would better produce ideas and reach decisions. However, Dawson made it clear that these mediums of agitation had to be controlled by men of talent.[3] In this he echoed the Jeffersonian principle of evolutionary political truth through free discussion.

As the nullification issue came into public focus, Dawson informed his readers of the Advertiser's position. This was done in two ways. First, by printing the opinions of others, preferably eastern newspapers, on the subject and secondly by means of his own editorials.

From the New York Courier, Dawson printed the feelings of his eastern allies. This paper was forceful in its denunciation of South Carolina. It said, "...the people of South Carolina...are about to nullify an act of Congress; or in other words, have determined to rebel against the Union and commit an overt act of treason...."[4]

The columns of the Advertiser echoed similar sentiments. Softening the blow, Dawson appealed to the South's pride. "We cannot believe that the patriotic chivalrous southerners will suffer themselves to be duped by a few intriguing aspirants to office...."[5] Dawson was in full agreement as to the limited sovereignty of the states; however, he also stood firmly for the ultimate sovereignty of the Union.[6] The states have sovereignty,

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[3]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

[4]Appearing in the, Cincinnati Advertiser, Aug. 18, 1832.

[5]Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 15, 1832.

[6]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

but says Dawson, "...have themselves denied themselves the full exercise of it by constituting three-fourths of the States as the agency through which the powers of the Federal Government may be increased, amended, altered and repealed, as well as authoritatively construed."[7] Speaking on the constitutional grounds of nullification Dawson remarked,

> By this article (the ratifying clause by three-fourths of the Legislatures of the States) the vote of eighteen States binds six, who dissent from that vote. It is plain, therefore, that no single state can either procure an amendment or withdraw from the Union constitutionally without the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole States, nor can any one or more States be driven from the Union, or deprived of its advantages, but by that concurrence; to nullify a law, or withdraw from the Union, then, is not a constitutional, but a revolutionary measure.[8]

Moses Dawson and his paper were also caught up in the time of rising sentiment against the South's vital economic institution--slavery. With abolition fast finding its center in Cincinnati, it was not long before the voice of Dawson was heard on the subject. The editor deplored the moralizing of the abolitionists on the grounds that the institution of slavery was the affair of the states in which it existed.[9] Gradual emancipation was the solution of the Jacksonian Democrat. "Let slavery be abolished when it may, it can not be done suddenly; it must be done gradually for the sake of both master and slave."[10] Dawson argued that the Constitution, "...has guaranteed to those States the possession of this kind of property, with every other."[11] Beside a Constitutional argument,

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[7] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 27, 1870.

[8] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 27, 1870.

[9] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

[10] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Feb. 7, 1870.

Dawson reminded his readers that, "The slaves of the South are not worse situated than those of the North. Both have to work for their livelihood, and neither can have a livelihood without working."[12]

But as early as mid-1833 the farsighted editor gave warning of the coming eruption. With full cognizance of the direction of events Dawson issued his prophetical intimation. The Advertiser's position cannot be mistaken.

> The North is to be arrayed against the South - the free States against the slave States. The alarm is to be spread among the latter that there will be an emancipation of the slaves. All the ground Mr. Calhoun has for this absurd and extravagant idea is, that a few fanatics in the free States have been attempting to propagate the doctrine, that Congress has the power to emancipate slaves, notwithstanding the provisions of the Constitution, both in spirit and letter, are directly at war with the preposition.
>
> A Southern Confederacy is now the dernier resorts of the nullifiers.[13]

Dawson's thinking on the matter of internal improvements points up an interesting change of thought, if not an inconsistency. He had come to the West and assimilated that section's ideas on the subject. He had favored both the Cumberland Road Bill and canal appropriation.[14] The ambiguity of Jackson's statements during the campaign of 1824 left the Irish-born editor with the impression that the General was also partial to federally built improvements. The Maysville Veto changed Dawson's impression. Shortly after this the purpose of the veto was explained, and Dawson was also told of the benefits that would come to his state through this new policy.[15] From this time forward, Dawson was the advocate of internal

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[12] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Feb. 7, 1870.

[13] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 27, 1870.

[14] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

[15] W. B. Lewis to Dawson, June 9, 1830, XUL, MSS.

improvements--at the expense of the state.

As he had before supported Clay's system, he now opposed it. Dawson explained that Clay's idea to use the sale of public lands to finance roads and other improvements would drain western money to the East. This Dawson wished to avoid.[16] Directing his idea toward that section, Dawson told Easterners,

> These lands are ours, not yours. We Western people do not want to stand as paupers to the General Government, and go to Congress to beg of them a road, a bridge or a canal. All we look for is our own. Give us the lands that be within our limits, and we will make our own improvements.[17]

Dawson let it be known to his readers that he was not thoroughly opposed to internal improvements; he simply told them:

> ...it is better that the national government should be restricted to national objects than that it should have the funds of the nation to lay out in improvements in which the states or districts in states would only be interested.[18]

He further told his western readers that if the Federal Government financed internal improvements it would only be at the expense of increasing the national debt.[19] At the time of his retirement from the paper, he was still consistent in his views of internal improvements and the debt. He told his audience that debts contracted should be viewed as working in two ways against the tax-payer. "First, in the heavy expense of annual interest; and, second, worse than that, in inducing heavy expenditures in consequence of the facility with which money can be raised, by loans, to

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[16] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

[17] As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

[18] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 19, 1832.

[19] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 19, 1832.

carry on useless and unnecessary works."[20]

The sentiments of Moses Dawson on the subject of the tariff can almost be expected from a western Jacksonian. Early in his career he spoke on behalf of a heavy duty to shut out foreign spirits from the country.[21] This to Dawson was one of the most important benefits that could come to Ohio. He praised Clay for identifying himself with this measure.[22] By 1832 his thinking was slightly modified. He was no longer the unqualified supporter of the American System. He recognized and related the dangers of the protective system to his patrons. He warned them that protection would be gradually diminished, otherwise it may tend to become a monopoly.[23] In the same year he was printing, "...that the duties should be better equalized."[24] By this Dawson meant that American manufacturers should be protected, but that a tariff on necessities should be abolished and that on luxuries be equalized.[25]

Dawson's attitude on the bank prior to his correspondence with Jackson can be best summed up with his own words. "We shall glory in seeing the day when banks are all annihilated."[26] For the most part Dawson was simply against the institution. When the bank question became more

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[20]As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

[21]Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 6, 1869.

[22]Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 28, 1824.

[23]Cincinnati Advertiser, Feb. 8, 1832.

[24]Cincinnati Advertiser, June 23, 1832.

[25]Cincinnati Advertiser, June 23, 1832.

[26]As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Dec. 11, 1869.

pertinent he seems to have showed more mature thinking on the subject. Only then did he begin to point out the specific dangers of Biddle's corporation, especially, its power to issue paper. This latter power he viewed as depreciating both the value of labor and specie.[27]

Banks to Dawson began as being evil, almost intrinsically so. However, he considered them as necessary for the handling of the nation's finance, as did many so called radicals on the subject. This idea he expressed several times. On one occasion he did this by reprinting from the Baltimore Republican. "We do not design...to intimate that we are opposed to re-chartering the Bank, under proper modification;..."[28] On another occasion he stated that since the banks are necessary, the query of consequence was, what kind of a bank should it be? If they were to be state banks, then men of honesty, integrity, and ability in the handling of banks, should operate them.[29]

Dawson's major objections to the bank, which he seemed to retain for the remainder of his life, were the privileges of both the bank and its stockholders; its depreciation of labor and specie value;[30] its infringement of the liberties of the people;[31] and the unconstitutionality of the bank's authorization.[32]

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[27] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 16, 1832.

[28] Cincinnati Advertiser, Apr. 15, 1832. Dawson had expressed a similar idea to Jackson in his letter of July 5, 1830. Dawson to Jackson, July 5, 1830, HPSO.

[29] Cincinnati Advertiser, Dec. 15, 1832.

[30] Cincinnati Advertiser, June 16, 1832.

[31] Cincinnati Advertiser, Sept. 14, 1831.

[32] Cincinnati Advertiser, July 25, 1832.

If this study could be taken further an absolute conclusion could be reached. Yet from the tendencies of Dawson, laid down in this and the preceeding chapters, it is not difficult to understand his final political thought--thought typically loco-foco and typically Jacksonian. Dawson ended an unreserved free trader, a hard money man, a foe of public debt and high pay to officers, and the opponent of internal improvements through taxation.[33]

As far as prominence goes, Ohio history seems to have chosen Moses Dawson to be her forgotten man. He has been misunderstood, underrated, and overshadowed. The name of Charles Hammond has been picked from the historical hat to be remembered and revered.

To see this, let us look at some of the statements of prominent Americans, that have in the opinion of this writer, contributed to Hammond's fame and detracted from Dawson's significance. Daniel Webster said of Hammond that he was, "...the greatest genius that ever wielded the editorial pen."[34] John Marshall showered further renown on the journalist when he stated that Charles Hammond, "...among all the editors of Ohio - indeed, of the Great West - he is the chief object of interest to thinking men, because he was fearless, farsighted, vigorous, and uncorrupted."[35] Not mentioning Hammond, but contributing to Dawson's obscurity, E. D. Mansfield epitomized him as, "...an Irishman by birth, and a very successful leader of the rough

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[33] Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

[34] As cited in, W. H. Venable, Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley, (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company., 1891), p. 394.

[35] As cited in, Weisenburger, op. cit., p. 2.

and uncultured classes in the city."[36] Here, at least, is damning with faint praise. A later newspaper labeled Charles Hammond as the ablest editor west of the Alleghenies.[37]

Let us see what contemporaries thought of Dawson. These are the only statements attesting to his fame. W. B. Lewis, in complimenting him on his work said, "You have done nobly and deserve well of your country."[38] Dawson was also held in high esteem by another journalist, Francis Blair. W. B. Lewis related to the western Jacksonian Blair's evaluation, "...that there was no editor, or man, in the Western country who, in his opinion, was a truer or more sincere friend to the President and his administration than yourself."[39] The same correspondence assured Dawson that, "...no friend of the President stands higher in the confidence of himself and friends here than you do."[40] Another high ranking Jacksonian bore witness to Dawson's ability and influence. Writing to him, Levi Woodbury said, "I hardly need assure you how deeply grateful I feel for the notice taken of myself, and how highly I appreciate your services in the Democratic Cause in the West. Ohio has become a real Queen in influence."[41] Finally from the Hero himself who praised him saying, "We all kindly salute you."[42]

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[36]As cited in, Henry A. Ford and Mrs. Kate B. Ford, History of Cincinnati, Ohio, (Cleveland: O.L.A. Williams and Co., 1881), p. 387.

[37]City of Cincinnati and its Resources, (Cincinnati: Times-Star Company, 1891), p. 120.

[38]As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 19, 1870.

[39]As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 27, 1870.

[40]As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Jan. 27, 1870.

[41]As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Feb. 14, 1870.

[42]As cited in, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Mar. 14, 1870.

Should not these statements rate equal to those said of Hammond? Should not Ohio history record with equal importance the place of Moses Dawson in her pages?

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