

South Carolina Historical Magazine

Volume 79 Number 2

April 1978

**PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE
SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FIREPROOF BUILDING
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA 29401**

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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U. S. C. 3685). 1. Title of Publication: *South Carolina Historical Magazine*. 2. Date of filing: 30 September 1977. 3. Frequency of issue: quarterly. 4. Location of Known Office: Fireproof Building (100 Meeting Street), Charleston, S. C. 29401. 5. Location of Headquarters of Publisher: same. 6. Publisher: South Carolina Historical Society, Fireproof Building, Charleston; Editor, Miss Elise Pinckney, 19 Lamboll St., Charleston; Managing Editor, Mr. Gene Waddell, 100 Meeting St., Charleston. 9. The purpose, function and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months. 10. Total number of copies printed: average, 3,000, last, 3,000; Paid circulation: none; Mail subscriptions: average, 2,500, last, 2,800; Total paid circulation: average, 2,500, last, 2,800; Free distribution: none; Total Distribution: average, 2,500; last, 2,800; Copies not distributed: average, 500, last, 200; Returns from news agents, none; totals, average, 3,000; last, 3,000. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete, Gene Waddell.

DUFF GREEN, JOHN C. CALHOUN, AND THE ELECTION OF 1828

GRETCHEN GARST EWING °

As editor of the Washington *United States' Telegraph*, Duff Green played an important role in promoting Andrew Jackson for the presidency and John C. Calhoun for the vice presidency in the election of 1828. Although the *Telegraph* was established as the primary campaign organ for Jackson, many claimed that its editor supported the General only to advance Calhoun's political ambitions. Green denied the charge, but his actions gave it credibility. The *Telegraph* consistently defended Calhoun against attacks by the Adams' administration press and zealously guarded his claim to second place on the Jackson ticket. Green also engaged in a personal letter writing campaign to insure Calhoun's nomination as vice president. Moreover, he readily admitted that he was an "ardent admirer and warm personal friend" of the South Carolinian.¹

Considering the dissimilar backgrounds and personalities of the two men, their friendship seemed paradoxical. Green's free-wheeling life in the territory and state of Missouri had imbued him with the rough frontier spirit. An erratic business career attested to his willingness to gamble for a fast dollar. Before taking over the *Telegraph* at age thirty-five, he had dabbled in Missouri politics and had been a soldier, merchant, lawyer, land speculator, stagecoach line operator, and newspaper editor. He personified the entrepreneur. In contrast, Calhoun had grown to manhood in the more genteel southern tradition and attended Yale. Although his parents had been of moderate means, marriage to Floride Bonneau gave him an entree into Charleston's most elite circle. The acquisition of land and slaves identified him with the planter aristocracy. Green was loud, blustering, impetuous, and prone to bursts of temper which sometimes culminated in fisticuffs. Calhoun was reserved, cool, cautious, and tightly controlled. Despite these differences of temperament, both men possessed a keen intelligence, driving ambition, and a passion for politics.²

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¹ Duff Green to William Snowden, November 16, 1827, Duff Green Letter Book, 1827-1830, 32, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. (A microfilm copy of this letter book is in the M. D. Anderson Library, University of Houston.)

² For information concerning Green's early business dealings see Fletcher M. Green, "Duff Green: Industrial Promotor," *Journal of Southern History*, II (February, 1936), 29-42; Fletcher M. Green, "Duff Green, Militant Journalist of the Old

John Wesley left an impact on South Carolina just as George Whitefield did. They were not the first travelers to do so nor the last. Yet their presence was probably felt more deeply because they came to spread the gospel and save souls rather than make money, study the natural history, or establish settlements. Nevertheless, they shared with the other travelers the joys and the agonies of traveling through this new colony in its formative years. What they all saw was a new land—growing, expanding, and changing. How they perceived what they saw depended upon their personal prejudices and preconceived ideas. Their conceptions were not always accurate, but their accounts, when taken together, provide fresh, on-the-spot descriptions of colonial life and culture in South Carolina.

Although joint business dealings and the marriage of Green's daughter, Margaret, to Calhoun's son Andrew, would later increase the intimacy between the two men, it was their common political views more than anything else that engendered and sustained their close relationship for nearly three decades. By 1827 both men had become champions of states' rights, opponents of the protective tariff, and defenders of the institution of slavery. In addition to professing the same political tenets, they shared a common goal—the advancement of John C. Calhoun in national politics.

Green's brother-in-law, Illinois Senator Ninian Edwards, had shared this goal since 1822 and provided the initial contact between Green and Calhoun in the summer of 1823. At their first meeting, Calhoun, a presidential candidate for the election of 1824, freely discussed his campaign strategy with Green. He liked Green personally and as a practical politician recognized the importance of gaining an influential supporter in Missouri. Pleased with his new political ally, Calhoun wrote to Edwards that Green was "intelligent and decisive, and must, in time, become important in the West."³

During the next several months Green worked for Calhoun by encouraging publication of pro-Calhoun articles in Missouri papers. His purchase of the St. Louis *Enquirer* late in 1823 enabled him to champion more effectively Calhoun's candidacy. Calhoun, who recognized the importance of political papers in his presidential campaign, must have welcomed the addition of another newspaper to his ranks.⁴

But the Pennsylvania Convention's nomination of Jackson in early March killed Calhoun's immediate presidential ambitions. Soon afterwards rumors circulated that Jackson and Calhoun had reached an "understanding" that the Carolinian would support Jackson for the presidency and in return would receive the Old Hero's backing for the vice presidency. Calhoun was then to succeed Jackson at the end of four years.

School," *American Historical Review*, LII (January, 1947), 247-264; also, Gretchen Ewing, "Duff Green, Independent Editor of a Party Press," *Journalism Quarterly*, Winter, 1977.

³ John C. Calhoun to Ninian Edwards, June 12, 1822, May 21, July 20, September 23, 1823, in Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois, from 1778 to 1833; and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards* (Springfield, 1870), 490, 494-495, 495-496.

⁴ Duff Green to Ninian Edwards, December 10, 1823, in E. B. Washburne (ed.), *The Edwards Papers; Being a Portion of the Collection of the Letters, Papers, and Manuscripts of Ninian Edwards* (Chicago, 1884), 215; John C. Calhoun to Ninian Edwards, June 12, 1822, in Edwards, *History of Illinois*, 490; John C. Calhoun to General Joseph Gardner Swift, September 8, 1823, in Thomas Robson Hay (ed.), "John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824; Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters," *American Historical Review*, XL (October, 1934), 90-91.

The *Enquirer* responded to this development by advocating a Jackson-Calhoun slate.⁵

Calhoun easily won the vice presidency, but John Quincy Adams bested Jackson in the election which was thrown into the House of Representatives. Adams' victory meant the deferment of Calhoun's presidential aspirations for eight rather than four years. As Jackson's immense popularity made him the most likely candidate to oppose Adams in the next presidential contest, Calhoun decided to run again for the vice presidency on the Jackson ticket of 1828. Such a course of action would enable him to remain active in national politics and to keep his name before the people. Precedent had established the post of secretary of state and the vice presidency as stepping stones to the presidency. Since charges against Henry Clay of a "corrupt bargain" with Adams had sullied the former office as a means of advancement, the vice presidency appeared to be the most likely office from which to achieve the succession.

As the realization of his ultimate goal, the presidency in 1832, depended upon Jackson's success in 1828, Calhoun determined to insure Old Hickory's election by organizing an active opposition to Adams' administration. Early in the congressional session of 1825-1826, he met with other members of the Opposition to formulate strategy for promoting the party's candidates and attacking the administration. He believed that a political paper in Washington was an absolute necessity and urged the creation of a party organ. Thus the *United States' Telegraph* was established in February, 1826, under the editorship of John S. Meehan.⁶

After Jacksonians and the General himself discussed the possibility of Green's editorial assistance, the Missourian moved to Washington, D. C. to help Meehan with the *Telegraph*. Soon afterward the journal took on a more vigorous pro-Calhoun character. The timid Meehan feared for the paper's financial success, and late in May, 1826 he accepted Green's offer to buy it. Calhoun could rest assured that the official capital organ of the Jackson party would serve his political ambitions as well as those of the General.⁷

⁵ John Robertson to R. S. Garnett, March 7, 1824, in Hay (ed.), "Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters," 290; Duff Green to Ninian Edwards, December 10, 1823, in Washburne (ed.), *Edwards Papers*, 215.

⁶ Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events from the Commencement of Mr. Monroe's Administration, in 1817, to the Close of Mr. Fillmore's Administration in 1853*, (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1875), I, 109. For a complete account of campaign strategy see Robert V. Remini, *The Election of Andrew Jackson* (Philadelphia and New York, 1963).

⁷ Duff Green, *Facts and Suggestions, Biographical, Historical, Financial, and Political, Addressed to the People of the United States* (New York, 1866), 25-27; Washington *United States' Telegraph*, October 18, 1831.

Defending Calhoun required much of Green's energy, for administration partisans and newspapers had begun a two-prong assault against the Vice President. They spread the rumor that Calhoun would be a candidate for the presidency in 1828. The *Telegraph* emphatically denied this and counterattacked, saying that the charge was obviously designed to divide the Jacksonian ranks. Administration journals also criticized Calhoun's actions as presiding officer of the Senate. They were appalled by the fact that Calhoun sat impassively while John Randolph of Virginia railed against the administration for hours at a time while drinking copious amounts of porter. They charged Calhoun with a lack of objectivity and wondered why he did not call the intemperate Virginian to order. The *Telegraph* hailed Calhoun as the paladin of free speech and reproached the administration for attempting to silence debate.⁸

Throughout April, May, and June of 1826, the *Telegraph* contained numerous articles in praise and defense of Calhoun—a fact which administration papers significantly noted and tried to hammer as a divisive wedge into the ranks of the Opposition. The *Washington National Journal* wryly commented that the *Telegraph* began as a pro-Jackson paper, yet "almost exclusively devotes its columns to the Vice-President." The *Richmond Whig* published an open letter to Green from a correspondent who asserted that the editor of the *Telegraph* was Calhoun's dupe.⁹

But if Green's espousal of Calhoun's cause elicited censure from administration presses, it also had its rewards. The Vice President jealously guarded the editor's control of the primary opposition organ. Senator Martin Van Buren of New York repeatedly suggested to Calhoun that a Washington press which would represent all the anti-administration forces should be established. The little New Yorker hoped that Thomas Ritchie, editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, might move to Washington to edit the proposed journal. Of course Van Buren was not trying to promote Ritchie so much as he was himself. And Calhoun knew this. As leader of the Crawford faction which despised Calhoun anyway, Van Buren also aspired to be Jackson's successor. Calhoun rejected the New Yorker's proposals and expressed the desire to continue the *Telegraph* under Green's direction.¹⁰

⁸ *U. S. Telegraph*, April 26, 27, 28, May 4, 5, 1826; Ben: Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis*, (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1886), I, 68-70.

⁹ *Washington Daily National Journal*, June 20, 1826; *U. S. Telegraph*, November 13, 1826, quoting the *Richmond Constitutional Whig*.

¹⁰ John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918*, Vol. II (Washington, 1920), 514.

When Van Buren indicated that other Jacksonians wanted a press which would create party unity, Calhoun coldly replied that such a paper already existed and that "two on the same side must distract and excite jealousy." Van Buren finally gave up his efforts to bring Ritchie to Washington in February, 1827, when the editor declined such an offer saying that he loved Virginia too much to leave. Once Van Buren decided to support the editor of the *Telegraph*, he did so wholeheartedly, urging New Yorkers to subscribe to the paper and backing Green for the lucrative post of Senate printer.¹¹

During the autumn of 1826, the columns of the *Telegraph* contained few references to the Vice President. Perhaps Green had exercised this restraint to allay Van Buren's fears that the paper devoted itself exclusively to Calhoun's interests. But it is more likely that the Vice President simply did not need defending at that time, for, as he wrote his son, he "had ceased to be the object of bitter party attacks."¹²

This situation drastically changed late in December, when Calhoun came under heavy attack for his role in Elijah Mix's contract with the War Department. The contract had involved supplying stone for the building of fortifications in 1818. Investigations by the House of Representatives in 1820 and 1822 had censured the chief clerk of the War Department for receiving personal profits but had found Secretary of War Calhoun blameless. The *Alexandria Gazette* revived the specter of the Mix contract once more when it published in December, 1826, a letter from Mix asserting that Calhoun had been financially interested in the contract.¹³

Calhoun and Green quickly mounted a defense against this charge. Calhoun requested the House of Representatives to make an immediate and full investigation of the allegation. Throughout the investigation which stretched into February, 1827, the *Telegraph* pounded away in Calhoun's defense. It claimed that accusations regarding the Mix contract were part of a greater "conspiracy" to deprive the Vice President of his "pure and spotless reputation" and that fear of Calhoun's interference

¹¹ John C. Calhoun to Martin Van Buren, July 7, 1826, *ibid.*, 514-515; *Charles Henry Ambler, Thomas Ritchie, A Study in Virginia Politics* (Richmond, 1913), 107-108; Martin Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, February 2, 1827, in William L. Mackenzie, *The Life and Times of Martin Van Buren: The Correspondence of His Friends, Family, and Pupils . . .* (Boston, 1846), p. 200.

¹² John C. Calhoun to James Edward Calhoun, December 24, 1826, in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *The Correspondence of John C. Calhoun in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1899*, Vol. II (Washington, 1900), 239.

¹³ Charles Maurice Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun, Nationalist, 1782-1828* (Indianapolis, 1944), 203-205, 344-346; *U. S. Telegraph*, January 4, 1827.

with Secretary of State Henry Clay's succession to the presidency had motivated the "systematic attempts" to destroy his character. Green also attacked the newspapers that carried the derogatory stories about his friend. The *Telegraph's* defense of Calhoun included more than retaliatory thrusts. It also took a positive approach by citing his capable administration of the War Department and by printing letters from military officers praising his valuable services.¹⁴

After what Calhoun termed "an inquisition for forty days," the committee finally made its report in February, 1827. Green heralded the report, although confusing and equivocal, as a complete vindication of Calhoun. The administration had thus far labored in vain to discredit the Vice President and make him a liability to the Jackson party. Not only had their attacks failed, they had also backfired; for they had enhanced Calhoun's political acceptability by spotlighting his honor and integrity and by casting him in the role of a martyr.¹⁵

Despite successful resistance to administration assaults, the Carolinian still faced a serious challenge in his bid for second place on the Jackson ticket. Intraparty strife had already emerged in the form of the ambitious De Witt Clinton. The dignified and handsome governor of New York was a strong contender for the vice presidential nomination. A well known figure from a populous state, he had support in another pivotal state, Pennsylvania, and was considered popular in the West. Moreover, he and Jackson had long held each other in mutual esteem and occasionally corresponded with each other.¹⁶

During the spring of 1826 rumors circulated that Clinton and Calhoun would oppose each other not for the vice presidency but for the presidency. The *Telegraph* asserted that Calhoun would not oppose the Old Hero. Nine days later it reprinted an article from the *Richmond Enquirer* that said Jackson would not decline the honor. Although the *Telegraph* remained mute on Clinton's plans, it had managed to create the general impression of a Jackson-Calhoun slate.¹⁷

By September Green became convinced that Clinton would be Calhoun's rival rather than Jackson's. In October the editor visited Albany and discussed the matter with Van Buren. The wily "Little Van," who

¹⁴ John C. Calhoun to James Edward Calhoun, December 24, 1826, in Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of Calhoun*, 239; *U. S. Telegraph*, December 30, 1826, January 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 15, 19, 1827.

¹⁵ John C. Calhoun to James Edward Calhoun, February 14, 1827, in Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of Calhoun*, 239; *U. S. Telegraph*, February 7, 14, 1827.

¹⁶ Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York, 1801-1840* (New York, 1919), p. 314.

¹⁷ *U. S. Telegraph*, May 4, 13, 1826.

had been fighting Clinton for control of New York's Republican party for nearly a dozen years, said that he believed Clinton would consent to be a presidential candidate for either party. In a later conversation in Washington, he told Green that "it was certain" Clinton desired the presidency in 1828 and that he would run against Jackson even though he preferred the General to Adams.¹⁸

Despite Van Buren's assertions that Clinton would oppose Jackson, the New York state election of November, 1826, intensified the threat to Calhoun's vice presidential aspirations. Clinton ran as an anti-administration candidate and won reelection as governor. The campaign had identified him with Old Hickory's cause, and continuance in office assured that his name would be kept before the people. Furthermore, rumor had it that Jackson had secured the New Yorker's support "on a conditional pledge," in the event of his own success, to make way for him at the end of four years.¹⁹

Green intended to see that Jacksonians neither displaced nor abandoned his friend. Although he privately assured Edwards late in December that Clinton would join Van Buren in support of Jackson without the reward of second place on the ticket, the columns of the *Telegraph* revealed his apprehensions of Calhoun's rival. Green carefully refrained from criticizing the governor for fear of alienating him and his supporters. Yet he dismissed the possibility of Clinton's candidacy on the Jackson ticket. He denied the necessity of having Clinton on the ticket to defeat Adams on the grounds that Jackson already had enough votes lined up to win without New York's support. He concluded that "all speculation on the subject should be put to rest."²⁰

In August, 1827, Green received new word of the Clinton threat. He learned that Robert Bogardus, a member of the New York senate and close friend of the Governor, had written a friend that for the next four years they "must be content to see Clinton second in command" with Jackson, whose election Bogardus believed to be a certainty. Green wrote to Bogardus and informed him that Jacksonians would not abandon Calhoun for Clinton. The editor expressed the possibility of Clinton's becoming secretary of state if he cooperated with other New York Republicans in supporting the Old Hero. He cautioned that Jackson could make no

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, November 15, 1831; Duff Green to Ninian Edwards, September 6, 1826, in Washburne (ed.), *Edwards Papers*, p. 257.

¹⁹ *U. S. Telegraph*, December 1, 1826; Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848* (12 vols., Philadelphia, 1874-1877), VII, 170-171.

²⁰ Duff Green to Ninian Edwards, December 29, 1826, in Washburne (ed.), *Edwards Papers*, p. 266; *U. S. Telegraph*, January 29, 30, 1827.

promises prior to the election, but shrewdly added that Jackson "will not be the man to reward the lukewarm, or to forget his friends." The editor expressed a desire to correspond with Bogardus, but the latter's refusal to answer precluded any political negotiations between them.²¹

Bogardus' silence confirmed the editor's suspicions that the Governor would oppose Calhoun. News from Thomas Mann Randolph, former governor of Virginia, and Nathaniel Greene, editor of the Boston *Statesman* intensified his conviction that "a concerted movement" was in progress to "bring out" Clinton and spurred him on to greater activity. In September Green embarked upon a letter writing campaign to unite the disparate elements of the party squarely behind Calhoun in his bid for the vice presidency.²²

Green initiated the correspondence campaign without the advice or consent of Calhoun, by writing to Major William Berkely Lewis, a neighbor, friend, and advisor of General Jackson. The letter hammered out the same thesis the *Telegraph* had been reiterating for months—that Calhoun, not Clinton, deserved to be Jackson's running mate. Although Green had refrained from publicly attacking the Governor, he denounced him to Lewis as a self-seeking opportunist who would do anything to sate his political ambitions, including running against Jackson. He declared that the General was "bound to Calhoun by every tie that can bind his high and lofty mind," and concluded with a thinly veiled threat that "the friends of Jackson have much more to fear from any movement that may disaffect Mr. Calhoun and his friends than from Mr. Clinton."²³

Green believed that the key to his friend's success lay in the West and thus worked to stimulate an "energetic movement" on the part of Calhoun partisans in Ohio and Kentucky. He wrote to political allies in Cincinnati and asked John Eaton, one of Jackson's closest friends and advisors, to follow up by visiting that city "to enforce upon our friends there the necessity of nominating Calhoun in conjunction with General Jackson."²⁴

As Green deemed Kentucky's nomination of Calhoun most important, he directed the bulk of his correspondence campaign to that state. He believed that once Kentucky made known its intention to support the Carolinian, Ohio and Pennsylvania would follow suit. But problems in

²¹ *U. S. Telegraph*, November 15, 1831; Duff Green to General Robert Bogardus, September 9, 1827, October 9, 1827, Duff Green Letter Book, pp. 15-17, 18.

²² Duff Green to John C. Calhoun, September 5, 1827, Duff Green Letter Book, pp. 9-10.

²³ Duff Green to Major William B. Lewis, September 2, 1827, *ibid.*, pp. 4-8.

²⁴ Duff Green to John C. Calhoun, September 5, 1827, Duff Green to Major William B. Lewis, September 2, 1827, *ibid.*, pp. 9, 7.

intrastate politics made difficult an organized and energetic Calhoun movement. Many state political leaders refrained from actively promoting Calhoun because they feared reprisals from Secretary of State Henry Clay and his partisans. Also, Kentucky Jacksonians disagreed on local issues as well as on the question of the vice presidential candidate. A majority favored Calhoun, but others spoke of Clinton or William Crawford of Georgia for the office. Green sought to unify anti-administration leaders in Kentucky and to solidify Calhoun's position by saying Clay had inspired the Clinton movement in the West. He wrote to Richard M. Johnson, Worden Pope, and William T. Barry urging them to press for Calhoun's nomination. He depended primarily upon Johnson to effect an "energetic movement" and asked him to work with Barry in getting Amos Kendall's Frankfort *Argus* and other Kentucky papers "to take strong ground" for Calhoun.²⁵

Stirrings of pro-Clinton sentiment in Virginia also disturbed Green, for he thought Calhoun "had much to fear" from that state. Thomas Ritchie had visited New York and talked with Clinton. The *Virginia Advocate* in Charlottesville had come out for Clinton. Attempting to suppress the Clinton groundswell in Virginia, Green wrote John L. Barbour and suggested to him that county meetings be held to pass "strong resolutions in favor of Calhoun."²⁶

Green further attempted to squelch the Clinton movement by convincing the Governor himself of the futility of his aspirations for national office. Because he dared not write directly to Clinton and because Bogardus had refused to answer Green's letters, he tried to gain the Governor's attention through a more circuitous route. He wrote Samuel Swartwout of New York that if Clinton chose to run for president he could not possibly defeat Jackson and that opposition to Calhoun would be most inadvisable, because the *Telegraph* stood ready to unleash a strong attack upon the Governor. Green again held out the possibility that Clinton might become secretary of state. Although he made no commitment, he flatly stated that the only way Clinton could obtain such an appointment was to declare immediately and unequivocally for Jackson and Calhoun.²⁷

The *Telegraph* continued to treat Clinton with utmost circumspection. It consistently denied that the New Yorker was a candidate for the

²⁵ Duff Green to Richard M. Johnson, September 8, 1827, Duff Green to William T. Barry, September 8, 1827, Duff Green to John C. Calhoun, September 5, 1827, *ibid.*, p. 11, 13, 9.

²⁶ Duff Green to John C. Calhoun, September 5, 1827, Duff Green to John L. Barbour, October 8, 1827, *ibid.*, pp. 9, 22.

²⁷ Duff Green to Samuel Swartwout, October 9, 11, 1827, *ibid.*, pp. 18-20, 27.

presidency or vice presidency and dismissed rumors to the contrary as inspired by administration editors trying to split the Jackson ranks. Although in private correspondence Green vigorously denounced Clinton, he displayed no public enmity in his capacity as party editor. Nevertheless, in October, the New York *Statesman*, a pro-Clinton journal, "emptied the vials of its pent up wrath" upon the *Telegraph* editor for his "hostility" to Clinton. Green replied that concern for the welfare of Clinton as well as the party and not personal animosity had prompted him to say the party would not support Clinton for the vice presidency. Regarding rumors of Clinton as a presidential candidate, Green pointed out that the Governor had declared he supported Jackson "heart and soul."²⁸

For some time Green had insinuated that Clay was the chief instigator of the Clinton movement, but in December, 1827, he accused the Secretary of State of concocting an incredibly bizarre plot. In a lengthy article, the *Telegraph* editor alleged that Clay had initiated a third party movement in New England to bring forth a Clinton-Clay ticket. The article further maintained that Clay had sought to increase Clinton's popularity by trying to commit Jacksonians to the Governor for the vice presidency. After this had been accomplished, Clay planned to have the anti-Jackson convention in Virginia nominate a Clinton-Clay slate. As farfetched as the article was, it served several purposes. It gave Green another opportunity to portray Clay as an unprincipled politician and to try to split the administration ranks. It also attempted to undermine Clinton's position by exposing his presidential ambitions, and it was a warning to the Governor to quit straddling the fence.²⁹

After this virulent attack the *Telegraph* made scant reference to Clay or Clinton regarding the vice presidential contest, for opposition to Calhoun was rapidly crumbling. Green soon received information from Pennsylvania and Virginia Jacksonians that their states would support the Carolinian. In the December 14 issue of the *Telegraph*, he rejoiced that his sampling of public opinion favored "the people's ticket"—Jackson and Calhoun.³⁰

Two weeks later news that Georgia's House of Representatives had passed a resolution nominating William H. Crawford as vice president generated a further defense of Calhoun's position by the *Telegraph*. It asserted that the resolution was merely intended as a compliment to Crawford and decried any tendencies toward disunity at that point in the

²⁸ Duff Green to John C. Calhoun, September 5, 1827, *ibid.*, p. 9; *U. S. Telegraph*, October 9, 11, 22, 1827.

²⁹ *U. S. Telegraph*, December 6, 1827.

³⁰ Duff Green to Mr. Bonsal of Philadelphia, December 14, 1827, Duff Green Letter Book, pp. 47-48; *U. S. Telegraph*, December 14, 1827.

campaign. The Georgian's almost immediate refusal to run spared the editor any further efforts to suppress a Crawford movement.³¹

As the last vestiges of resistance dissolved in January, 1828, the *Telegraph* printed for the first time at the head of its editorial column,

REPUBLICAN TICKET

for President,

ANDREW JACKSON

for Vice President,

JOHN C. CALHOUN

This announcement presaged similar endorsements by numerous state nominating conventions and marked the increasing momentum of the Calhoun movement. By early February, Jackson conventions in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, New Jersey, South Carolina, and North Carolina had all concurred in the belief that Calhoun should be Jackson's running mate. Thus even before Governor Clinton's unexpected death that same month, the threat to Calhoun's renomination from that quarter had been effectively blocked.³²

After the demise of Calhoun's arch rival, the *Telegraph* found it necessary to act as his protector on only two more occasions. One month after Clinton's death, administration papers advanced the idea that Van Buren was Calhoun's new competitor. The *Telegraph* dismissed the rumors as "the clamors of a desperate and expiring faction" and reprinted articles from the New York *Enquirer* and Albany *Argus*, which said, in effect, that all New York Republicans backed Calhoun for the vice presidency.³³

During the summer and fall of 1828, vehement expressions of discontent in South Carolina against the Tariff of 1828 led to fresh censure of Calhoun. Administration papers charged that he had incited these excesses and that he was trying to dissolve the Union. Green countered these allegations by printing an extract from one of Calhoun's letters in which he had expressed his belief that the "excitement" would be "restrained within the bounds of moderation." Green's attempt to disassociate Calhoun's name from anti-tariff sentiment had been motivated by the fear of a defection of the pro-tariff West and Pennsylvania from the Jackson-Calhoun ranks.³⁴

³¹ *U. S. Telegraph*, December 31, 1827, January 3, 1828.

³² *Ibid.*, January 17, February 6, 18, 1828.

³³ *Ibid.*, March 19, April 21, 22, 1828.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, July 12, 1828; Duff Green to John C. Calhoun, September 23, 1828, Duff Green Letter Book, pp. 111-113.

Although the publication of the extract may have been intended to dissipate western anxieties, it irritated Calhoun, for the editor had not consulted him before printing the letter. Green justified his action on the grounds that election time was drawing critically near and support of the West would be crucial for the Jackson ticket. Nevertheless, the *Telegraph* mentioned Calhoun's name in connection with the tariff only once more before the election and only under the most imperative circumstances. In October, 1828, *Niles' Register* printed Calhoun's letter to Green and included an additional paragraph in which he took a most unconciliatory stand against the Tariff of 1828. The *Carolinian* had allegedly written that the Act of 1828 was unconstitutional and had urged Southerners to work for its repeal and the restoration of the rights of their states. Green denied the authenticity of such a paragraph and stated that Calhoun had never written or expressed these sentiments to him. Hezekiah Niles later printed a retraction, conceding the truth of Green's statement.³⁵

Throughout 1826 and 1827 Green had worked diligently to protect Calhoun's claim to the vice presidential nomination. He had defended his friend against administration attacks and successfully repelled the threat from Clinton. Green's labors had been effective; for by February, 1828, it had become obvious that the *Carolinian* would be Jackson's running mate. Only after the achievement of this aim, did the editor devote his columns almost exclusively to the cause of General Jackson, for the realization of Calhoun's ultimate aspirations for the presidency depended upon the election of Old Hickory in 1828.

Clearly Green's vigorous efforts were crucial in securing a pro-Calhoun concensus among Jacksonians and in helping the *Carolinian* to gain western support. But even more important was his influence as editor of the primary Jackson campaign organ. In this capacity he bombarded Jacksonian leaders and the electorate with pro-Calhoun propaganda. Considering the fact that the *Telegraph* had the widest circulation of any paper during the campaign, more than 20,00 subscribers in 1828, and the fact that the provincial Jacksonian presses often reprinted the *Telegraph's* editorials and articles, the extent of Green's influence far exceeded that of other editors of his day. At a time when the press was emerging as a powerful force in politics, Green's advocacy of Calhoun was of paramount value.³⁶

³⁵ *U. S. Telegraph*, October 16, 1828; Duff Green to John C. Calhoun, September 23, 1828, Duff Green Letter Book, pp. 111-113; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. 25 (September 20, 1828), 61, (October 18, 1828), 113, (October 25, 1828), 129.

³⁶ *U. S. Telegraph*, April 10, 1828; *Niles' Register*, Vol. 37 (October 17, 1829), 127.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MT. BETHEL BAPTIST
AND EBENEZER METHODIST CHURCH CEMETERIES,
ANDERSON COUNTY

Contributed by KATHARINE BUSH EDWARDS *

MT. BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH AND CEMETERY

LOCATION: On the north side of S. C. highway 185 about 13 miles south-east of Anderson in Anderson County. The cemetery and church are about one mile beyond (east of) the intersection of S. C. highways 185 and 284. Established in 1856. Transcriptions made Nov. 26, 1974.

The following is a partial listing of graves in the large cemetery and includes those graves nearest the church building which is the oldest part of the cemetery.

Abel—John, Sen/ who was born in 1786/ and died August the 20/ 1867.

Aged 82 years, one month and 17 days.

Adams—James/ born 1805/ died Oct. 15, 1877

Adams—Andrew B./ born/ Dec. 16, 1841/ died June 5, 1865/ Aged 23 yrs. 5 m's & 19 d's.

Ashley—Adaline B. Robinson/ wife of/ J. T. Ashley/ born Oct. 26, 1844/ died/ Feb. 7, 1879/ Aged 34 yrs. 3 m's 11 d's.

Ashley—J. T./ born/ Jan. 20, 1837/ died/ Feb. 5, 1922

Ashley—Elizabeth Shirley/ wife of/ J. T. Ashley/ born Mar. 12, 1848/ died/ May 15, 1930

Ashley—M. Jane Branyan/ wife of J. T. Ashley/ born/ Sept. 7, 1849/ died/ Oct. 24, 1888/ Aged 39 years one month/ and 17 days

Ashley—Joshua/ born/ March 1810/ died Nov. 26, 1888

Ashley—Fannie Able/ wife of/ Josh Ashley/ born/ 1819/ Died/ Mar. 27, 1900

Ashley—Catherine Banister/ wife of/ J. T. Ashley/ born/ Apr. 27, 1841/ died/ Mar. 1, 1862/ Aged 20 yrs, 10 m's, 4 d's.

Ashley—Edward/ died / Jan. 11, 1880/ Aged 76 years

Ashley—Elizabeth Abel/ wife of/ Edward Ashley/ died Feb. 18, 1897/ Aged 85 years.

Ashley—Jeannine Fisher/ wife of/ John Ashley/ born/ Dec. 31, 1815/ died/ Jan. 24, 1885/ Aged 69 yr. 24 days.

Ashley—Margaret E./ wife of/ J. M. Ashley/ born/ April 26, 1852/ died Oct. 15, 1872 Aged 20 years, 6 mos. & 19 days.

* A resident of Greenville.