

The Body Politic Throws a Party: Political Allegory in Poe's "King Pest"

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Poe had an utter dislike for allegory. He denounced as utterly fallacious the idea that this trope can ever "be made to enforce a truth." He made, however, one concession to such harsh condemnation: "[I]f allegory ever establishes a fact," he added, it is "by dint of over-turning a fiction" (*Essays and Reviews* 582). Occasionally, Poe did apply allegory with gusto when exposing ideas, attitudes, and public personalities that his contemporaries held dear. One of his early prose pieces, "King Pest: A Tale Containing an Allegory" is a political satire directed against President Andrew Jackson, whose second presidential term had begun in the spring of 1833.¹ Set in medieval London "during the chivalrous reign of the third Edward" (240), the tale recounts the exploits of Legs and Hugh Tarpaulin, two sailors committed to "peregrinations... in and about the different tap-houses" of the city. However, before completing their pious mission, they run out of pennies and, evading payment for their pints, leave the Jolly Tar in great haste. Cornered by the tavern owner, they take refuge in an enclosed area of the pest-stricken city, grope their way among the ruins and corpses, break into the wine cellar of an undertaker, and stumble upon a drinking-revel presided over by King Pest

¹ The tale was meant to be included in *Tales of the Folio Club*, a collection of parodies and satires. In the late fall of 1833 Poe offered the manuscript to the publishers of a Baltimore magazine, the *Saturday Visiter* and, subsequently, to the Philadelphia publishers Carey and Lea (Thomas and Jackson 134, 135), but the book never materialized and the tales appeared separately later in the decade in the various magazines that Poe was associated with. "King Pest" was published in the September 1835 issue of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the Richmond magazine for which Poe worked briefly as writer, critic, and editor between July 1835 and December 1836 (Quinn 218, 259).

himself. After their warm welcome turns into a hostile dispute, the two tars ruin the party and make their escape, hauling two loathsome ladies along as they run for their lives.

Intended to be a literary parody, “King Pest” mocks the medievalism of Sir Walter Scott as well as the pomposity of Washington Irving who was frequently referred to as the “American Scott” (Hammond, “A Reconstruction” 31, “Further Notes” 18). Ruth Hudson suggests that the revel scene was directly inspired by Benjamin Disraeli’s fashionable novel *Vivian Grey* (1826–27), especially the chapter “Palace of the Wines” at the beginning of the second volume (403–4). Disraeli’s book of social comedy and farce was directed against—and succeeded in stirring up—the fashionable society of London. Similarly, “King Pest,” is a jibe at the retinue of Andrew Jackson, the mob of pretentious politicians who rose to power during the presidency that redefined American politics. The tumultuous personality and dictatorial demeanor of King Pest is a satiric portrayal of the President himself, frequently referred to by the press as “King Mob” and “King Andrew the First.” As Poe gave “King Pest” the subtitle “A Tale Containing an Allegory” we are at liberty to look for topical correspondences between the quirky events and motley characters and the goings-on in Washington D. C. during the presidency of Andrew Jackson whose two momentous terms between 1825–1833 redefined American politics, transforming the political culture from a virtuous Enlightenment republic into a white men’s democracy.

Through the motley cast of characters in “King Pest,” Poe explores the redefinition of both the body politic and the political person in American democracy. The medieval doctrine of the body politic held that the natural, mortal body of the monarch stood for the ideal body of the state, the body politic. Thus, the representation of the sovereign was in fact the image offered to people to contemplate the harmony, wholeness, and authority of the body politic. Anointing the physical body at coronation meant that special status was given to it: anointment represented assuming leadership by divine right. “The quasi-divine Body politic was symbolized by the ritual anointing of the monarch during the coronation ceremony, which separated the king from all other lay persons” (Mirozoff 59). In a republic, the body politic is “the people who collectively constitute a political unit under a government” (*Webster’s New World Dictionary*). Andrew Jackson was the first President of the United States who did not belong, as did all the presidents preceding him, to the patrician class of either Virginia or New England. However, his

critics applied the register of the monarchy when referring to his presidency. They referred to him as “King Mob” and “King Andrew the First” (Davis 7). “King Pest” explores the relationship between the physical body of the country’s political leaders and the body politic as the symbol of the state. The reign of King Pest over his ruinous domain resonates with the claims made by Jackson’s critics about the incompetence of his cabinet and the dictatorial character of his presidency. There are, thus, strong topical correspondences between the quirky events and motley characters of Poe’s fiction and the goings-on in the nation’s capital during the alleged “reign” of Andrew Jackson.

1. “King Mob”

In 1833, the year when Poe most probably completed “King Pest,” Jackson’s second presidential term was just beginning. For a Southern gentleman like Poe, who counted himself among the intellectual elite, the Indian fighter and hero of the battle of New Orleans was a sinister tyrant undeserving of his high position. To this, the President’s rowdy mien and authoritarian attitude, as well as his popularity among the uneducated masses, was an irksome addition. Jackson’s victory in the elections of 1828 had been largely due to the mobilization of the voters and the large electoral turnout orchestrated by the Democratic Party (Keyssar 40).² On the day of his first inauguration, opponents were appalled by the rough intensity of popular sympathy surrounding Jackson. After the inauguration ceremony held on 4 March 1829, Judge Joseph Story despondently remarked in a letter that in the city of Washington “[t]he reign of King ‘Mob’ seemed triumphant” (qtd. in Schlesinger 6). The “mob” would eventually come to signify more than the rough populace celebrating the arrival of the President-elect in the nation’s capital. It covered, on the one hand, the redefined notion of the political person, the voter who did not even own property. As an increasing number of states adopted the universal white male suffrage (Keyssar 37), it was they who propelled Jackson into the presidency. On the other hand, a crowd of newly appointed officeholders flooded the capital, replacing many former

² Jackson had won 56 percent of the popular vote, defeating his opponent, the incumbent John Quincy Adams, by a margin of 178 to 83 in the Electoral College. In the elections of 1832, his triumph over Henry Clay was no less impressive: 219 to 49 in the Electoral College (Meacham 49, 220).

federal officials. According to contemporary estimates, the number of replacements was around 10 percent of the government (Cole 41). Additionally, the President relied heavily on an informal circle of advisors, the so-called Kitchen Cabinet. In "King Pest," Poe captures the scene of Jacksonian politics, and creates an enduring satire of both the common man and the new political elite. The cast of characters includes two illiterate and drunken sailors, the sinister monarch's three intimate friends, as well as two women figures with bruised reputations. All of them are grotesque or ghastly figures in varying states of stupidity, stupor, or palsy, illustrating the sorry state of national politics and the prospect of death and destruction in the new age of "mobocracy."

The two main characters of "King Pest," the illiterate but agile seamen Legs and Hugh Tarpaulin, evoke "the common people" as the critics and opponents of Jackson saw them. They are grotesque figures with limbs, eyes, and other bodily features out of proportion, their facial expression "beyond all attempts at imitation or description," pushy, insolent, and "intoxicated beyond moral sense" (241, 243). They are, however, much less repugnant than King Pest's drinking companions who have taken possession of an undertaker's wine-cellar. King Pest, the "gaunt and tall" personage with a complexion "yellow as saffron" and a forehead "unusually and hideously lofty" (244) is recognizable as Andrew Jackson himself. His companions are military and political personages in varying conditions of infirmity. The "little puffy, wheezing, and gouty old man" with one bandaged leg (246) is probably Jackson's former aide-de-camp and Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton, and the gentleman "in long white hose and cotton drawers," his jaws tied up in muslin is (246) Francis Preston Blair, editor of the *Washington Globe*. The paralyzed man, singularly habited "in a new and handsome mahogany coffin," may represent William H. Crawford, the statesman and former Secretary of War and of the Treasury, or Amos Kendall, also editor of the *Globe*, and US Postmaster General in Andrew Jackson's Cabinet.³ As a satirist, Poe was brilliant in selecting for ridicule the most conspicuous characters in Jackson's close circle, most of whom had no political record. An outsider in national politics, Andrew Jackson lacked the friendly relations that would have made him comfortable in the political circles of the capital,

³ The characters of "King Pest" are identified by William Whipple ("Poe's Political Satire" 81-95), as well as by Stuart and Susan Levine (*The Short Fiction of Edgar Allan Poe*, 294, 319-20).

and the old Washington establishment looked upon his informal clique advisors with contempt.

Political power in a republic is wielded by a representative government, which acts on behalf of the people, the body politic. In Jackson's view, his own power and authority was justified by the popular vote by which he earned the presidency. According to John Meacham's summary of Jackson's views, he "wanted a political culture in which a majority of the voters chose a president, and a president chose his administration" (82). Jackson personally chose his intimate advisors. In "King Pest," Poe dwells at length upon the natural bodies of Jacksonian America's informal ruling elite, the representatives of the collective body politic. He suggests a metonymical, part-whole relationship between the body parts of the ruling elite and the body politic. Each character has at least one conspicuous body part that, if assembled together, would constitute a grotesque image of a single body, that of "the people." Hugh Tarpaulin observes, for example, that each personage "seemed to possess a monopoly of some particular portion of physiognomy" (245). King Pest's forehead looks like "a bonnet or crown of flesh superadded upon the natural head." His royal consort is an ample lady with a mouth that reaches from ear to ear. The "diminutive lady" at the Queen's side has a nose "extremely long, thin, sinuous, flexible and pimpled, [hanging down] far below her upper lip." The others, repugnant individuals in different states of affliction and decomposition, have "cheeks reposed upon the shoulders of their owner," "[a] pair of prodigious ears," and "huge goggle eyes" (244–47). The plebeian characters, Legs and Hugh Tarpaulin, also add to the composite picture of the Jacksonian ruling elite. Legs, obviously, sports "a pair of stumpy bow-legs," and Hugh Tarpaulin, whom William Whipple identifies as Secretary of State Martin Van Buren (83), has "huge protruding white eyes" (240–41). The body parts belonging to freaks who are sick, dying, or just hideous, will never cohere into a harmonious whole, the ideal body politic of the republic. The motley throng in "King Pest," the allegorical representation of Andrew Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet, evokes a political elite that is literally rotting.

For all their decaying or putrefying condition, King Pest and his friends are having a good time celebrating in Will Wimble's wine-cellar. Poe was fond, especially at the beginning of his career, of using the structure and scene of the symposium in order to create "a mock-heroic classical assembly" (Fisher 1) where the uses and pleasures of alcohol were debated. In this particular story, the awful monarch declares that the

purpose of the revel is “to examine, analyze, and thoroughly determine the indefinable spirit [of] the wines, ales, and liqueurs of this goodly metropolis” (249). One of the satiric intents of the tale is to expose the irrationality and stupidity, coupled with snobbery and pretense, of Andrew Jackson and his associates. But Poe does not stop here: he also denounces the deluded voters who elected the President. King Pest cordially invites the representatives of the masses, the two drunken tars, to join the party. At his order, they should “imbibe,” each of them, “a gallon of Black Strap” (249). Poe’s story probably struck a note with Jackson’s opponents who watched with unease the transformation of an orderly republic into a slovenly democracy.

The immediate inspiration for King Pest’s revel must have been the inauguration banquet of 1829 when Jackson invited “the people” to celebrate with him in the White House. About 10,000 showed up (Mackey 59), and transformed the party into a violent brawl. “Orange punch by barrels full was made,” recorded an eye-witness, “but as the waiters opened the door to bring it out [to the White House lawn], a rush would be made, the glasses broken, the pails of liquor upset, and the most painful confusion prevailed” (qtd. in Parton 170–71). Poe depicts a banquet in which all the palpitating forces of hell are unleashed. In a short speech full of pathos—maybe a mock-inauguration oath—, King Pest swears allegiance to “that unearthly sovereign reign is over us all, whose dominions are unlimited, and whose name is Death” (249). The tale seems to predict an apocalyptic end to Andrew Jackson’s rule. Energized by liquor, King Pest and his associates enjoy their brief moment of exalted merry-making, singing and shrieking. However, their revel cannot last long, as they are all incapacitated not only by alcohol, but also by palsy, the gout, and consumption. Their outfit of palls, shrouds, winding sheets, and even a well-tailored mahogany coffin (245, 257) also suggests that their end is near. At last, the day is carried by the tricky plebeians’ heroes, Legs and Hugh Tarpaulin. Roguish rascals as they are, they stand up against the wayward tyranny of King Pest and manage to drown the whole party of cadaverous pretenders in a flood of ale.

2. “King Andrew the First”

Poe’s tale portrays an accomplished despot of the kingdom of death. Clad in a black “silk-velvet pall,” his head decorated with “sable hearse-

plumes,” King Pest exercises his monarchic powers by means of a scepter in the form of “a huge human thighbone” which serves him for knocking down “some member of the company for a song” (245). At the request of the confounded sailors, he identifies himself as the “monarch [ruling] under the title of King Pest the First” (248). The allusion could not be lost on contemporary readers. “King Andrew the First” was the nickname by which opponents denounced the President’s authoritarian leadership. Andrew Jackson rose to national fame as a general in the Tennessee militia, on account of his successful campaigns in the Creek War (1813–14), the War of 1812 against Great Britain, and the First Seminole War (1817–18). According to his critics, these accomplishments might have contributed to his inflated public image, but did not qualify him for political leadership. His arch-rival, Henry Clay doubted that “killing two thousand five hundred Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies for the difficult and complicated business of the chief magistracy” (qtd. in Meacham 44). “General Jackson,” wrote Alexis de Tocqueville, “is a man of violent character and middling capacities; nothing in the whole of his career indicated him to have the qualities needed for governing a free people” (278). Jackson embodied the self-assertive leader with an ability to make quick and effective decisions during his campaigns, even if those were not acceptable to his superiors in Washington. His sense of independence and momentousness, however, was enough grounds for his popular appreciation which delivered him the presidency.

However, it was exactly this impulsiveness that left Andrew Jackson’s career sprinkled with deaths. The duels he provoked and fought, as well as the armed altercations he took part in, earned him a reputation of ruthlessness, vindictiveness, and even savagery. At the time when he ascended to the presidency, he had been carrying two bullets in his body: mementos of his 1806 duel with Charles Dickinson, and of a pistol fight, in 1813, with the brothers Thomas and Jesse Benton (Burstein 58, 96). As a military leader, he was implacable with defectors. For example, during the 1814 campaign against the Creek Red Sticks in Alabama, he had an eighteen-year-old enlistee, John Woods summarily tried and shot for mutiny. In 1818, during the First Seminole War, he had two British subjects, alleged spies, executed at Fort St. Marks (Burstein 105, 131). His first presidential term commenced with a large scale of dismissals of office holders in the Washington bureaucracy, which caused waves of anxiety and had, as former President John Quincy Adams noted, “indirectly tragical effects.” Adams mentions a clerk named Henshaw

who “cut his throat from ear to ear, from the mere terror of being dismissed” (144).

Poe made several allusions to Jackson’s deadly exploits in “King Pest.” The two sailors who enter the district under the pest-ban, assailing the cadaverous monarch’s dominion, behave like Indians, General Jackson’s antagonists in two major campaigns. In their flight from the owner of the Jolly Tar, the “grim” Legs lets out “yells like the terrific war-whoop of the Indian,” seconded by Hugh Tarpaulin’s “bull-roarings *in basso*” (243). Their war hoops are replied to by “a rapid succession of wild, laughter-like, and fiendish shrieks” of King Pest’s motley court. The sailors-as-Indians will end up to be the monarch’s challengers, causing his downfall—or rather, drowning—in “a hogshead full of October ale” (251). But before the burlesque ending of the tale, many more details point to the character and exploits of Andrew Jackson. The members of the drinking revel celebrate under a makeshift chandelier, a human skeleton suspended upside down, his cranium filled with “a quantity of ignited charcoal.” Further skulls serve as drinking cups (247). All of these can be regarded as mementos of Jackson’s record as a duelist and a ruthless commander. Poe takes good care that the brutality of Jackson’s personality and leadership should not be lost upon his readers. Nor do we miss the suggestions to Jackson’s pride and vanity. At first, King Pest behaves generously and invites the representatives of “the people,” two sailor-rascals, to the party. However, he immediately takes offence when one of them behaves disrespectfully. Hugh Tarpaulin upsets the King when he refuses to drink to “the health of the Devil.” On top of this, he recognizes King Pest as “Tim Hurlygurly the stage-player,” exposing the monarch and his court as common frauds (250–51). The reaction is immediate, and revenge is quick to follow. “‘Treason!’ shouted his Majesty King Pest the First,” and hurls the offender into a huge puncheon of ale (251). The gesture bespeaks not only of the President’s inclination to hold grudges, but also of his vindictiveness and his acts performed on impulse. Poe must have been familiar with the circumstances of the first assassination attempt ever threatening an American president. On January 1835, Jackson was attacked by a young deranged house-painter who tried to shoot him, but both of his pistols misfired; the President, “[i]nstead of ducking away,” went for his assailant with his cane (Remini 297).

3. “King Pest”

The setting of “King Pest,” the sealed-off, pest-stricken district of London, invites an association with Washington D. C., the theater of national politics. The capital appears as an enclave reserved for the political elite, a site of snobbery, pretense, and even dishonesty and debauchery, a veritable “strong hold of pestilence” (244). Fenced off from the rest of the country with “terrific barriers,” it is the realm of “Awe, Terror, and Superstition” (241, 242) arrested in a state of moral and intellectual corruption. Evoking the picture of general ruin and decay, Poe manages to render, quite impartially, the political atmosphere of the city where the game of national politics was being played. The years preceding Jackson’s presidency were marked by bitter political contests, changing loyalties, and cunning maneuvers. In the election of 1824, Jackson had won the popular vote but not the Electoral College majority. Convinced that he had the support “the people,” he resented the political maneuvering by those he called “our political weathercocks,” politicians who decided the outcome of the elections in the House of Representatives. He meant Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams, whom he suspected of having made a “corrupt bargain” (qtd. in Meacham 44) in order to procure the House votes for the latter. The next, 1828 election was carried by Jackson, but his victory came at the expense of much personal slander and mud throwing between his own supporters and those of John Quincy Adams. Rumors about the legal irregularities concerning the marriage of Andrew Jackson and Rachel Donelson were aired in the press, enraging Jackson and causing much distress for Rachel.⁴ In December 1828, Jackson’s beloved wife died, and the President-elect blamed Adams and his supporters in the press for the tragedy (Brands 399).

The moral implications of political machinations and the change of political climate were not lost upon Poe, the satirist. Nor did he miss the signs of alarm among the Washington elite at the arrival in the city, during the spring of 1829, of Jackson and his associates. In 1833, at the

⁴ During the election campaign of 1828, Rachel Jackson was accused with bigamy, having married Andrew Jackson before her divorce from her first husband, Lewis Robards was pronounced. The accusation of bigamy was technically correct, although unjust. At the time of Andrew and Rachel’s marriage, the divorce had not yet been made official. Yet under frontier circumstances, with the slow and imperfect means communication, the couple supposed that their marriage was legal (see Burstein 243).

time when Poe probably wrote “King Pest,” Jackson’s momentous second term was just beginning, and the President was intent on carrying the Bank War to an end. While the atmosphere of the capital became more plebeian during Jackson’s presidency, criticism of his dictatorial leadership abounded in the opposition press. In the fall of 1833, a broadside was issued with the picture of “King Andrew the First” in full regalia, with one of the inscriptions declaring that he was “Born to Command.”⁵

Poe, brought up and educated as a Southern gentleman, was at the moment a struggling magazine writer. He resented both the patrician privilege of the old political elite and the unsophisticated views and attitudes of the Jacksonians. “King Pest” has an assortment of grotesque characters, the entourage of the gruesome monarch, who boast with aristocratic titles but look like freaks and behave like the rabble. The sinister monarch courteously introduces the aggregation of his closest intimates as his Serene Consort Queen Pest, Her Serene Highness the Arch Duchess Ana Pest, His Grace the Arch-Duke Pestiferous, His Grace the Duke Pest-Ilential, His Grace the Duke Tem-Pest (248). All of them are in states of dropsy, consumption, alcoholic tremor, and palsy (245–47), but make efforts to look “dignified,” “*dégagé*,” proud, or elegant (246–47, italics in the original). The King’s urbane manner and his court’s snobbish affectations have a comic effect, which soon turns into one of terror when the monarch’s wrath is unexpectedly unleashed. King Pest roars—“Profane varlet! ... profane and execrable wretch!”—, and orders that Legs and Hugh Tarpaulin should be “duly drowned as rebels in yon hogshead of October beer!” (249, 250). Civility, Poe’s tale suggests, is only an outer layer concealing the moral decay and madness of Washington politics. Meanwhile, the whole country is falling apart, eaten away by the disease of political cronyism, corruption, and incompetence.

No political satire is complete without some juicy scandal. Apparently, Poe was in no dilemma about showing disrespect for the memory of Rachel Jackson. She, too, is a member of the tale’s bizarre cast under the name Queen Pest. A lady with an ample figure, with a face “exceedingly round, red, and full,” she is introduced as King Pest’s “Serene Consort” (245, 248). Apart from her repulsiveness, she is of little relevance in the tale, just as the late Rachel Jackson Donelson was not an

⁵ Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Online Catalog.

entity for any public personage but her bereaved husband. The characterization of the other lady at King Pest's table, the "diminutive" one with hectic spots and a nose hanging down "far below her under lip" (245, 246), probably struck a chord with contemporary readers. The Arch Duchess Ana-Pest represents Margaret Eaton, the wife of Jackson's War Secretary Major Thomas Eaton. Margaret, or "Peggy," was the object of a scandal shaking the world of the Washington political elite in 1829. Her reputation as a woman of loose morality was founded in rumors about her previous marriage which ended with the death, presumably by suicide, of her first husband, the naval officer John Timberlake. It was suggested that her affair with Thomas Eaton had been the cause of her husband's act of despair, and the wives of Jackson's Cabinet shunned the couple (Brands 420). Andrew Jackson took the side of the Eatons, alienating many politicians of his own party.⁶ Poe duly places the lady Ana-Pest among King Pest's close associates and portrays her in a manner that is suggestive of Peggy Eaton in both looks and demeanor. For all her consumptive wheezes and inconveniently long nose, the Duchess Ana-Pest is a veritable beauty among the ghastly characters. She has an air of "*haut ton*," her hair hangs "in ringlets," and she is singled out by the "gallant Hugh Tarpaulin for flirtatious conversation. The two of them are quaffing red wine "for their better acquaintance" (246, 248, italics in the original). As the party and King Pest and his court are washed away in October ale, the two homely women are spirited away by the nimble sailors. Poe seems to suggest that although "the people" do not profit much from Andrew Jackson's policies, at least they will get away with their lives, and may even end up with some of the spoils.

Concluding Remarks

Jackson was not only a commanding personality but a stalwart executive who extended the political power of the presidency by wielding the veto power, interpreting the Constitution, and carrying out federal law even against the resistance of individual states. In 1833, at the beginning of his second term, he successfully exercised his executive power in both major political crises, the Bank War which led to the destruction of the Second Bank of the United States, and in the South Carolina Nullification

⁶ The so-called "pettycoat affair" had long-term consequences in the politics of the US, by alienating the Vice-President, John C. Calhoun from the President.

Crisis of 1833 (Yoo 105). Yet for all his tempestuous display of personal power, Jackson was committed to democracy. He made and carried out all his decisions with the firm conviction that he was acting in the best interest of “the people” who had elected him, and whom he represented. Such an interpretation of democracy reminded Massachusetts Senator Daniel Webster of monarchy, and led him to demand, in a speech delivered in the Senate on 11 July, 1832, “the rescue [of] Liberty from the grasp of executive power” (385) and to make the sarcastic remark that that “[i]f he is the representative of all the American people, he is the only representative they all have” (391). For Jackson, though, the notions of the people’s “rightful sovereignty” (qtd. in Burstein 169) and the powerful presidency were not mutually exclusive.

Poe’s tale captures Jackson’s expansive view of himself as the people’s champion and enlightened public servant. In answer to the insolent request of Legs to identify himself, King Pest affably gratifies his “reasonable curiosity” and invites the intruders to join the party. However, Poe makes his own statement about American democracy as it was taking shape during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. He suggests that the rising political relevance of the uneducated common people will unleash a power that would be, in the long run, destructive. In a bold tirade evocative of Jackson’s dramatic public speeches, King Pest makes a revealing statement about his role and mission as monarch of “these dominions”: his purpose is “to advance not more our own designs than the true welfare of that unearthly sovereign whose reign is over us all, whose dominions are unlimited, and whose name is ‘Death’” (248, 249). Apart from occasionally letting his political opinion transpire in a satire like “King Pest,” Poe did not comment on topical issues and never took a stand in political debates. His sentiments, however, must have been congenial with those of the Whigs who rallied into a formal political opposition to the Jacksonian “Democrats” in the emerging second party system of the United States.

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