With a mind as clear as a spring and as capacious as a great river he had an integrity of intellect and an honesty of character that won implicit confidence. Only the perverted minds of Randolph and Pickering and the thwarted ambitions of Burr could find matter for hate and abuse in the conduct and character of Madison.

If Jefferson was the great prophet of Democracy, Madison was his first and chief and well-beloved disciple. In their close association of more than half a century there seems never to have been a discordant thought to mar the perfection of their fellowship.

But Jefferson handed over to Madison a most difficult situation. England commanded the seas, Napoleon the continent of Europe. Responding to the demands of her merchants England was determined that neutral America should not take from them what they regarded as their own peculiar commerce. Napoleon was equally determined that no ports under his control should fare better than those of France. Between the upper and the other mill-stone was America ground. It was charged and in some instances proven that our flag was prostituted, in some parts of the ocean covering vessels belonging to one nation, in another those of another, and that our vessels sailed under various flags as circumstances demanded. The seizure of our ships and the hindrance of trade infuriated those interested, but the impression of our seamen was an outrage hated by all except those Nov-Anglans (Pickering's pun) of New Englanders and New-Englanders) who came to favor Great Britain over the United States.

Our population in 1810 had grown to nearly 6,000,000 white and 1,360,000 colored, of which latter 186,000 were free, and most of this white increase was native born, and much of it living in the new states, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. Jefferson's friendly treatment of the Indians and his treaties with them purchasing their lands had tremendously increased immigration westward. Already forward-looking Americans could see only the Pacific as our western boundary. Omitting Russia we already had the largest home domain of any continental nation, and ours was a homogenous population.

The constituents of the new state almost inextricable Patrick Henry who had supporting him such men as George Mason, Benjamin Harrison, John Tyler and others. In addition he aided Hamilton carry it through in New York. All these tremendous labors and their successes are indelibly written in the records.
cotton a great industry but not yet did it figure particularly in politics. Agriculture was still our greatest industry though commerce and shipping were a close second in New England.

The two grand political divisions, North and South, represented by Massachusetts and Virginia, had grown into four. Pennsylvania, long the Keystone State, had become only one of the Middle States, and the West had come into being. The East was preponderantly Federalist, the Middle States divided and debatable ground, the South and West Democratic with a few Federal strongholds. Though one race, our people of the various sections differed as much as a Yorkshireman from a Cornishman, a Kentishman from a Lancashireman. There were wealthy merchants and a poor laboring class in the North, rich planters and poor whites in the South; a powerful Quaker element in Pennsylvania and an influential Dutch and patroon influence in New York. The Westerners were more of a kind and thorough democrats as well as Republicans. They were untrammeled by Eastern or Southern conventions, social or political. "Wild and Wooly" and "Effete" had not become terms of derision banded between the sections but for the city-bred aristocrats of the North, the Westerners had less affinity than for the country-bred Southern planters who lived out-of-doors and could ride and shoot. The West trained with the South in politics.

There were about 364 newspapers published in 1810, 315 being party organs fairly well divided between the parties. The columns of these latter were filled with argument and vituperation rather than news and information. Such was the field and the players, the spectators and rooters, in the great game of politics in 1810 and following years.

The accession of Madison marked a change in administration methods commensurate with the change in the nation. Washington conducted his administration without regard to party; Adams governed in spite of his party; Jefferson ran the government and his party; Madison was to govern with and by his party. Congresses had followed or resisted the Presidents; now they were to be taken into partnership. Madison's long service in parliamentary bodies and his success in them as well as his mental make-up both fitted him for inclined him to such a method. His eight years in an executive department had given him, by reason of his and Jefferson's invariable coincidence of opinion, little actual experience of independent executive direction and action. He was wont to reason with and convince rather than direct other men. Since his day,

DECORATIVE DEVELOPMENT UNDER MADISON except with very strong Presidents and with them only to limited extents, Congress has been actuated by coordinate and independent branches of our government with policies of its own which it has induced the Executive to adopt or forced upon him or over him. This new relation established between the President and his party in Congress has operated to make the President more the chief of his party in party affairs, a party boss and not a mere titular commander, though it was not until Jackson's day that this came about.

Madison consulted politics in the making up of his cabinet and laid up trouble for himself by so doing. The State portfolio was given to Robert Smith, late Secretary of the Navy and brother of Senator Sam Smith of Maryland. Ex-Congressman Asa of Massachusetts was made Secretary of War. Ex-Governor Paul Hamilton of South Carolina of the Navy. Gallatin of the Treasury, Granger of the Post Office and Rodney, Attorney-General, were retained from Jefferson's cabinet.

Early in the administration the English situation seemed to be clearing up. Erskine interpreted too broadly his instructions and made concessions. He was recalled by Canning who sent Robert Jackson to succeed him. Jackson, encouraged and misled by Pickering and a few other Federalists, refused all concessions and was insulting to Madison and his Secretary, so much so that Madison refused to deal at all with him and reported the matter to Congress which passed resolutions upholding the President and censuring Jackson.

A large and loose majority in Congress had divisions in that body, and Madison had cabinet troubles, too. Monroe accepted the premiership in March; 1811, but not until being specifically assured that the foreign policy of the administration was open to change. William Pinkney, succeeding Rodney as Attorney-General, added more strength to the administration.

Conditions were almost unbearable yet not quite sufficient to unite the country in war. Our foreign trade dwindled from $108,000,000 in 1807 to $7,000,000 in 1814. But Madison himself, and millions of other Americans, regarded Europe engaged in a "manifest" war into which no sane nation should be drawn if possible to avoid. The disaffected Federalists wanted war, but war against France and on England's side; whatever other war spirit there was was directed against England, but the knowledge of our unpreparedness gave pause to many.

Congress stood by the administration in the Jackson matter but emancipated its measure excluding English and French war
vessels from our ports and restricting importations of those nations' goods, and passed a weaker one, an independent action by Congress not paralleled in the preceding administrations. The refusal to recharter the Bank of the United States and the Senate's refusal to confirm several of Madison's appointments are other instances during this administration of Congressional independence, occasioning Randolph's taunt that Madison was President de jure but not de facto.

The Federalists were in high feather when it was thought that an amicable arrangement with England had been made. This proved, they said, that England had always been willing to do right but was prevented by Republican (Democratic) mismanagement. They gained strength that spring, but the truth becoming known they lost in the succeeding state elections much more than they gained.

In opposition the Federalists found themselves occupying positions diametrically opposed to all their historical and theoretical principles. From centralisationists they had become disintegrationists. They claimed that the former Union of the "Thirteen good old States" was gone. The new and larger confederation in which their section had lessened power and their party very little at all was not to their liking. In Congress they had no power except when the Democratic were divided.

In power, the Republicans (Democrats) had become converts to a larger degree of nationalism, though not surrendering their principle of states' rights. They lost their fear of the central government when it was controlled by themselves, and Jefferson had convinced them that worked right our government was a most excellent one. That they represented the views of the great mass of the people is proven by that infallible test—the election returns.

Madison, as provided by the Act of May, 1810 (Macon's Bill, No. 2), prohibited all commerce with England after February 1811, thus giving that country three months' warning and in the meanwhile a formal revocation of the Napoleonic decrees was sought. Congress approved the President's action.

Napoleon announced the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, but insisted on the charge that British and American merchants were running English goods into European ports under forged papers making them appear neutral goods from America. It appeared now that if America went to war it need be with only one nation, and the French attitude seemed vastly better than the brutal contempt of our rights exhibited by

DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT UNDER MADISON. 71

England. The impressment of our sailors was still the sorest spot.

Spanish West Florida was in insurrection and asked our aid, and in October, 1810, Madison, instead of favoring either faction, took possession of the east bank of the Mississippi, claiming it under the Louisiana Purchase but leaving the matter open for negotiation with Spain. He directed that no force be used against East Florida, but announced that the United States could not quietly see the Floridas pass into other hands.

An act providing for the cession of Louisiana to a state was passed and a year later when created some of West Florida was incorporated into its borders.

William Henry Harrison won the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, practically clearing our near western domain of Indian troubles and his own way to the Presidency in 1840.

Political history began now to divide itself into Congressional periods. A new Congress came sometimes to mean a new policy or a new political situation. The first and special session of the Eleventh Congress was harmonious. It was made up of a few Federalists, a few anti-embargo Republicans and a majority of straight-out Republicans. Van Buren was elected Speaker, receiving 60 votes against 36 for Macon and 20 for Ritken, Federalist.

This establishes the complexion of the House as 96 Republicans and 20 Federalists. Macon's going off the reservation with Randolph had injured him with his party. Eppes of Virginia, Chairman of Ways and Means, with Macon and Richard M. Johnson led the majority, while Clay, Key and Van Buren—Ralph Randolph—were pitted against them.

In the Senate the veteran Giles was administration leader, ably aided by Crawford of Georgia and Pope of Kentucky. Clay was Senator but made no great reputation in the upper house at this time.

The administration's actions were approved and its measures adopted at this session, with liberal appropriations for defense of our sea ports and our western lands. The Senate refused to confirm John Quincy Adams' appointment as Minister to Russia as a former Senator had turned down Jefferson's appointment of Short to the same post, but a Minister from Russia arriving in Washington Adams' name was again presented and he was confirmed.

The second session of the Eleventh Congress, November, 1809-March, 1810, had to deal with worse foreign conditions and was a stormy one. The resolutions condemning Jackson, the British Minister, were carried in the Senate, only the Connecticut and
Massachusetts Senators voting nay. In the House there was a bitter fight made by Quincy, Gardinier and Dana, but it was carried 72 to 41. The dilatory tactics pursued by Quincy and his helpers led the House to consider a rule that the previous question should cut off all debate. The House refused to pass a bill allowing the President to send an offending Foreign Minister out of the country.

The Non-intercourse Act was repealed and Macon's Bill, No. 2 was passed, prohibiting British and French vessels from American waters but authorizing the suspension of the act to enter belligerent vessels as usual in so far as in the interest of war or other offenses. The passage of a protective tariff was referred to a committee to obtain fuller information and statistics. The arming of our merchant vessels was refused. An appropriation of $5,000 was made to enable Fulton to carry on experiments with marine torpedoes.

An anti-Gallatin clique in the Senate, with ramifications in the cabinet, roused to anger by Gallatin's disclosure of carelessness or irregularity in the navy when Smith, now Secretary of State, was at its head, gave Madison much trouble.

The great political battle of the third session of the Eleventh Congress was over the formation of a state from the Louisiana Territory. This the Federalists opposed with all the law, logic, and reason they were able to muster. It is a fact to be noted that the Federalists as a party treated the slavery question solely in its political aspect, i.e., slave representation in Congress, paying little attention to its moral phase. To this "undue" (slave) representation at New England's expense was to be added new states still more decreasing that section's relative power in the government. In the original Union of thirteen states New England possessed about one-third of the power; in the Union enlarged by Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee she possessed hardly one-fourth. In the creation of new states she saw a steady decrease of her proportionate influence.

The Federalist position as stated by Quincy, and adopted by his party and his party press, was based on—"The fundamental principle that the proportion of political power, subject only to the internal modifications permitted by the Constitution, was an unalienable, essential, intangible right. When it is touched the fabric of the Union is unbalanced." To increase the number of states, therefore, was unconstitutional. The Republicans, now rather loose, as the Federalists were rather strict, constructionists, cited the power given Congress by Article IV to "dispose of and make all needful regulations respecting the territory of the United States," a power without limitations, and the constitutional provisions concerning the making of war and the disposal of captures, the treaty making power and the attributes of sovereignty generally.

It was in the debate that Quincy made his famous utterance—"If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is a virtual dissolution of this Union; that it will free the states from their moral obligation; and, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must."

Here Poindexter of Florida interrupted the speaker by raising a point of order "whether it was competent in any member of this House to invite any portion of the people to insurrection and, of course, a dissolution of the Union." Quincy replied that it was "the duty of a member to state the consequences of a measure." Speaker Van Buren upheld the point of order but was overruled by the House 66 to 33. Macon and other Democrats voting with the majority, and Quincy continued his speech. He lived long enough to see and rejoice in a great United States. It was Poindexter and other Southerners who now spoke of the "Detestable project of dismembering the Union."

Another political episode was the censure by the Senate on motion of Henry Clay, of Timothy Pickering for reading in public session a confidential document sent the Senate. He made an obdurate, wrongheaded defence. His friends endeavored to soften the rebuke by inserting "unintentional" in the resolution; Clay announced that if the amendment was proposed he would move an amendment to it striking out the "un," so the amendment was not proposed.

The attitude at this time of Clay toward the Federalists is of interest in view of their support of him in after years, as is also his position at this session toward the Bank of the United States.

The Senate debate on a petition to recharter the bank occupied two-thirds of the Senate Proceedings in the Annals of Congress. Clay made the chief argument against the bank, a speech that was to plague him for years afterward. Twenty years later he was to champion the United States Bank, gaining thereby the support of the Federalists and losing, as many think, the Presidency. The report was adopted but only by the majority of the Vice-President, George Clinton. The House debate was long and bitter and indefinite postponement was finally carried 65 to 64. Thus Hamilton's cherished institution passed out of existence. The arguments against the bank were its unconstitutionality, the dan-
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The making of cannon, enlarging the army and navy and other war measures were asked. The violation of our commercial laws by smuggling, and by use of foreign licenses to evade them were mentioned. One clause referred to our duty to take a deep interest in the destinies of the people of our Southern hemisphere, and "not to be unprepared for whatever order of things may be ultimately established."

Randolph of Roanoke resumed his mad-dog tactics of biting at everything in reach. Calhoun, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, again took the stand that all trade should be stoppage all, and the granting of licenses to American vessels carrying British goods made it, he declared, impossible to relax his decrees.

Madison, between France and England, the devil and the deep blue sea, contrasted the conduct of the two belligerents. British abuse of blockage and imprisonment of our seamen, he concluded, preceded and exceeded that of the French, at least nominally, had deviated from some of the wrongs. Just when Napoleon released our vessels and cargoes in French ports, Great Britain's admiralty courts condemned American vessels and cargoes worth more than $1,000,000. Napoleon sequenced in our occupation of Florida, Britain protested. The encounter between our frigate the President and the English ship Little Belt increased the tension. General Harrison after the battle of Tippecanoe found indubitable evidence that English agents had encouraged the Indians to make war against us and supplied them with arms and ammunition. Knight, an English historian, admits this.

The Twelfth Congress meeting now, November, 1811, brought to Washington a war spirit mostly from the West and South. The War Hawks organized the House by ejecting their chief, Henry Clay, Speaker. Whether there were other nominations does not appear. The Annals only state—"The House proceeded by ballot.
to the choice of a Speaker; and upon examining the Ballots it appeared that Henry Clay was elected."

The President's message showed a war spirit but warned of unpreparedness. The House acted promptly, reciting English misdeeds, increased the armament, and authorized the calling of volunteers and the arming of merchant vessels. Felix Grundy of Tennessee, chairman, explained that all who supported the measures pledged themselves to open war. The measures went through the House by such majorities as 117 to 11, 120 to 8, 110 to 22, 113 to 16, the leading Federalists voting generally with the majority. Proportionate majorities were given in the Senate.

Support of the administration was given by every state, and all began to place their militia on a war footing. Resolutions from legislatures, mass meetings and other bodies came pouring in, showing the rising war spirit.

In 1808 and 1809 John Quincy Adams had informed Jefferson and others that there existed between the British government and the party in Massachusetts opposed to Jefferson a channel of communication through the Governor of Nova Scotia. He further stated that it was the design of certain leaders of the Federalist Party to effect a dissolution of the Union and the establishment of a Northern Confederacy, a design formed in the winter of 1803-04 at the time of and as a consequence of the acquisition of Louisiana. Now, in March, 1812, John Henry, an Irish adventurer, claiming to have been the British agent between the Governor of Canada and the disaffected Americans, sold to the United States government a batch of documents which were laid before Congress. They revealed that Governor Craig had sent Henry to Boston in the official belief that some of the Eastern Federalists were to bring about a separation among the American States, to discover how far they would look to England for assistance, or enter into connections with her. Henry's correspondence with the Canadian Governor named 30 persons and only established the fact that England was intriguing to promote the disunion of a friendly power. The fact also was established that a separatist faction existed in New England. The British cabinet refused to deny the charges although Lord Hallard declared in Parliament that Great Britain stood convicted of a dishonorable and atrocious intrigue.

The last effort of the peace party was to extend the embargo in the hope of averting hostilities, and Madison still had longings for peace so much more suited to his talents and disposition than war. John Adams in somewhat similar circumstances had gone behind the war spirit of his party and avoided war, but England of 1812 was not France of 1799, and made no motion toward concession.

The war message was sent in June 1, 1812, and with little delay Congress passed a declaration of war against England, the House 79 to 49, the Senate 18 to 13. The sectional character of this vote will be noted later.

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party supported Clinton, making no nominations of its own. "King Caucus" was the great object of denunciation by the Clintonians, and Congressional caucuses were denounced in the first plank of their platform. Its second and third planks opposed official regencies and perpetuation in office in Washington and the principal offices on the part of particular states—a hit at Virginia domination; it criticized long continuation in office—(Galat
in had been the head of the Treasury twelve years) and criticized Madison's lack of efficiency and unpreparedness. It advocated a vigorous prosecution of the war and the conquest of Canada; and asserted that the election of Clinton was the cause for the evils afflicting the country. It can be seen that the platform was half political and half governmental, the political being given first attention.

Despite his bellicose platform, Clinton was supported by the peace element, by the Federalists, and by the dissatisfied generally. Clinton was a good politician himself and joined with him as candidate for Vice-President was Jared Ingersoll, a popular Pennsylvanian. Van Buren met with some leading Federalists and effected a combination between the Clintonians and the Federalists, Rufus King opposing it, Harrison Gray Otis advocating it, and a vigorous campaign was waged.

The Madison supporters denounced the Clintonians as bolters from the regular method of selecting candidates used for years and acquiesced in. The war cry of the Clinton men was "No Virginia Control," "Union, Peace and Commerce." Clinton, by the way, was a professed spokesman.

All the electors were elected by the people now except in Vermont and New Jersey where the Legislatures still selected them. Madison and Gerry carried Vermont but did not receive another vote until they reached Pennsylvania. They would have carried New Jersey, but six days before the election the Federalist Legislature took the selection from the voters, and assumed it themselves. Clinton carried the rest of New England, New York, New Jersey and Delaware and received 5 of Maryland's 11, 89 to Madison's 128.

In the preceding June in the House on the passage of the Declaration of War every Representative from Connecticut, Rhode Island or Delaware had voted no and a majority of the members from Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey had voted against it, while every member from Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina and Georgia had voted in favor of it along with majorities from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Caro-