CHAPTER VI
VICTORY AND WORLD RECOGNITION UNDER MADISON
1813-1817


President.

Madison's second inaugural address advocated more vigorous prosecution of the war. Four days after its delivery the Russian Minister on behalf of Czar Alexander made an offer of mediation. Napoleon's disaster in Russia gave his enemies hope and they wanted England unburdened of the war with us. Gallatin and James A. Bayard were sent abroad to reinforce John Quincy Adams. Gallatin's enemies blocked his confirmation, on the ground that he was still a cabinet officer. Madison refused to recognize officially a Senate committee calling on him about this question and would not withdraw Gallatin's name. Later Gal-

latin, who had departed on his mission before Congress met, was confirmed as one of the peace commissioners.

The Thirteenth Congress met in special session in May, 1813. The apportionment under the 1810 census had given New York the largest delegation in the House. Chosen after the Declaration of War this Congress may be taken to show the war spirit of the country, 114 to 88 in the House, 27 to 9 in the Senate. The Demo-

crats lost their two-thirds majority in the House. Clay was chosen Speaker, 89 to 64 for Pitkin and 5 scattering. Macon and Epes came back into the Democratic fold from wandering off with Randolph. Randolph and Quayle were out of Congress but Pickering, defeated for the Senate, appeared in the House. A "New School Federalist" sent by New Hampshire to this Con-

gress, Daniel Webster, was put by Clay on Calhoun's Foreign Relations committee. Another brilliant new man was John For-

syth of Georgia. George Campbell of Tennessee, a great friend

of Andrew Jackson's, was the administration's House leader. Rufus King, now a New Yorker, was in the Senate, the last sur-

vivor of the old high type of Federalists.

With great regret, but forced by the decreased revenues and increased expenditures of war time, the Republicans had to re-

impose those taxes which it had been Jefferson's glory to abolish. Direct taxes, licenses and import duties were all resorted to and still the needs were not fully met.

The war dragged. Our naval victories brought honor and glory, but Winchester's disastrous defeat following Hull's surrender of Detroit were scarcely redeemed by Harrison's successes. In the battle near Sandwich, Canada, Tecumseh, the noted Indian war-

rior, met his death at the hands of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who thus won in time the title of "Old Tecumseh," the Vice-

President in Van Buren's administration and the honor of often being a Presidential possibility.

While William Henry Harrison in the Northwest was making his way to the Presidency, Andrew Jackson in the Southwest was striding toward the same goal. His first offer of services had received only thanks, but Harrison's success in his section in recruiting led to Jackson being given a chance in the Southwest. Jackson raised 2,000 volunteers and marched to Natchez where he was met with an order from the Secretary of War to disband his men. Armstrong who seems to have been a misfit as War Secretary, wanted regulars, not volunteers, and disbanded these men five hundred miles from home and near General Wilkinson with regular forces was thought an excellent way to secure them. This Jackson refused to do, but instead marched his men home and forced Armstrong to pay their transportation charges. Harrison suffered from the bureaucratic administration of the War Department, but Jackson rode roughshod over it.

General Winfield Scott, later Whig nominee for the Presidency, was winning his spurs in the North.

A great Indian massacre occurring at Fort Mims, Alabama, Jackson was ordered there. Without waiting arrangements by the War Department he had his Tennessee Volunteers marched there and in a short campaign broke the back of the Creek nation at Horse-Shoe Bend. The war on land seemed to demonstrate the better fighting qualities, in such encounters as were had, of the volunteers over regular army forces, though Harrison's and Jackson's victories may have been due solely to the superior abili-

ties of the commanders. The War and Navy Departments at Washington do not shine in this war. Madison thought once of
making Monroe commander-in-chief of the army. Monroe's friends credited him with military ability.

The President called the attention of Congress at its December, 1813, session to smuggling of British goods into the United States and obtaining from us essential supplies. Congress passed a drastic embargo but for political reasons almost immediately repealed it, the commercial interests of the South as well as North and East being strongly opposed to it.

Napoleon's fall after Leipzig had changed European conditions but Clay-Alexander used his influence for peace between England and America. Castlereagh refused interference in what he called a "family quarrel" but suggested a quiet negotiation between the two nations; and Madison accepted and appointed Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell and Gallatin commissioners and all were confirmed.

Senator George W. Campbell of Tennessee, Jackson's friend, took Gallatin's place in the Treasury. Jones was succeeded in the Navy by Crownsheld and Richard Rush, son of Franklin's and Jefferson's old patriot friend, Dr. Rush, was made Attorney-General, vice Pinkney, resigned; Governor Moigs of Ohio took over the Post Office.

Armstrong, always doing the unwise thing, accepted Harrison's resignation in the President's absence, much to Madison's anger, but Brown, his successor, proved a good soldier, and would have done well except for departmental interference. Landy's Lane was one of Brown's victories, and McDonough's lake fight at Plattsburg paralleled Perry's victory.

The British in 1814 threatened all our coast, came up the Chesapeake, attacked Washington, and just as the American and British peace commissioners were beginning their deliberations burned Washington. This so-called retaliation for the alleged burning of York, Canada, reflects as little credit on Ross as on his Peninsula veterans as it does on our forces. The Statesman, a London newspaper of the day, said—"Willingly would we throw a veil of oblivion over the transaction." Monroe gained credit by his courage and decisive actions and took over the War along with the State Department, Armstrong disappearing from the cabinet, and matters rapidly mended under his administration. Baltimore successfully resisted the British and our national anthem, The Star Spangled Banner, perpetuates the event.

Monroe recalled Jackson to activities and gave him the lower Mississippi country to guard, news having been received that 15,000 British had been sent to take New Orleans. Jackson concentrated his troops there and Monroe wrote him—"Great trust is reposed in you."

The financial straits of the government were severe. A lack of specie prevailed and the Bank of the United States was sadly wanted. The banks of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore had subscribed liberally to war loans, but their resources were well-nigh exhausted. The New England banks loaned comparatively little and hoarded specie in their vaults; some, it was charged, with deliberate intent to hamper the government. Of the $16,000,000 of war loans New England subscribed less than $3,000,000, although Massachusetts bank deposits grew from $1,700,000 in 1811 to $7,200,000 in 1814. Banks in other sections began to suspend specie payments, and Campbell gave up the Treasury to Alexander Dallas of Pennsylvania, a disciple of Gallatin and an able man, though not so famous as his son, who later held the same office. His first recommendation was a national bank. Known to be conservative, he inspired confidence and the national loan went better.

The state elections showed support of the administration except in New England, where the Federalists rallied. New Hampshire reverted to the Federalists and elected Chittenden, the Legislature electing by joint ballot in default of a popular choice, and his first act was to recall a militia company detailed by his Republican predecessor to garrison Burlington while critical operations were in progress at the front. This action was denounced as treasonable by the legislature of some loyal states. New York was Democratic and loyal, but Massachusetts issued an address condemning public rejoicings over our victories as "not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military and naval exploits not immediately connected with the defense of our sea coast and soil." Lawrence was denied such state honors as had been bestowed on Bainbridge, Debar and Hull.

Congress proposing to have Governor Chittenden prosecuted, Massachusetts resolved to support him with her whole power. The Federalist papers of New England were filled with urgings of a separate peace. "No more taxes from New England until the administration makes peace," was their cry. The Boston Gazette asks:

"Is there a Federalist, a patriot, in America who conceives it his duty to shed his blood for Bonaparte, for Madison and Jefferson and that host of ruffians in Congress who have set their
No sooner was the Ghent Treaty ratified than we declared war on the Algerine pirates and Decatur went after them. Two days after entering the straits he captured their largest frigate, and as soon as our fleet appeared off Algiers the terrified Bey signed a lasting peace on the deck of Decatur's ship.

This war established our ascendency over the Indians in the reunited country. Jackson and Harrison on the land and Decatur, Hull, Bainbridge, Lawrence, Jones and Perry on the water were the diplomats who fixed our status in the eyes of the world, their work being consummated by Adams, Gallatin, Clay, Bayard and Russell at Ghent.

Taxation and other war measures made up the work of the middle and of the last session of the Thirteenth Congress. A bill was passed at the final session creating a bank of the United States, but Madison vetoed the bill on the grounds that the capital stock was too small and the advantages and aids promised the government were insufficient, especially in time of war.

The message to the Fourteenth Congress congratulated the nation on the accomplishment of peace and assured Congress that a convention on commerce between the two nations was being held with hopes of removing all causes of friction. In this connection Madison advised confining American navigation to American shores. The national debt was stated as $129,000,000 (plus some unliquidated claims), made up of $39,000,000 of old debt, $64,000,000 funded debt during the war and $17,000,000 unfunded. The President suggested that Congress reconsider the establishment of a national bank, and urge the establishment of roads and canals, and a tariff which should favor the branches of manufacture especially those needed in war. The Federalists in Congress, entirely ignoring Hamiltonian views on these matters, opposed these measures and denounced the protective principle.

The bank bill of this Congress was introduced in the House by Calhoun; he waived discussion of its constitutionality as having been settled and addressed himself to the needs of the country and the value of a bank. Webster was among those who opposed the bill, a national bank not being the proper remedy for our ills in his opinion; give the state banks time and they would serve. Clay in a speech not reported, but a synopsis of which prepared later is given, explains his vote in the Senate on the old bank and advocates this one; times and conditions had changed, he said, though he was not perfectly satisfied of the constitutionality of such an institution. The bill finally passed 80 to 71,
many Republicans—voting no. In the Senate, the vote was 22 to 12. In both Houses the Federalists opposed the measure. Dallas, to whom much credit was due for this new financessising, resigned on account of ill health and was succeeded by Crawford.

The financial condition of the country imperatively required a national bank, as Dallas convinced Madison, and the new law met Madison's objections to the bill modelled at the preceding sessions. As Washington, Madison signed the positive and technical objections to the necessity, striking examples Washington and Madison give that necessity, knowing no law. The banks with branches in various cities being established, deposition of specie proceeded to begin in January, 1816. The national treasury contended that it was liable to some of its transactions, adding Madison's last two years of service suited well his talents and disposition. The House in Congress worked in perfect harmony with the executive, giving it all it loaned out as its campaign. For President's nomination hereafter, he had been rather lenient, everyone knowing what was going to be the result. The President had a good library among the Democrats. There had been years of great jealousy in Virginia, his personal one of the President's position feeling. In the Northwest and Southerners as well as Federalists, and North Carolina, at this time the name of Whig might never have been heard in the state. Washington had been a true, honest old man, Adams was alive, Washington had been a true, honest old man, Adams was alive, Washington had been a true, honest old man, Adams was alive, Washington had been a true, honest old man, Adams was alive, Washington had been a true, honest old man, Adams was alive. New York's position was a simple one, Governor Dunnington, under whose tenancy it was managed by Albany, the Regency, the state's head, was Martin Van Buren, already having had the reputations of being a statesman politician. It was a dark minority, dissatisfied and discontented on Crawford! Monroe, however, had earned the nomination by his services to the state and his loyalty to the party. He was, the last of the Revolutionary soldiers, a disciple of Jefferson, but known to be more independent than Madison, who thought he would be. He had a warm heart, and a long, distinguished, civil one. Jackson, the popular hero, of whom it was said, himself, had gained For the people's sake. Monroe, knowing, said, On his way to Washington from New Orleans, he toasted in great banquet in Lynchburg, Virginia, and been a significant man in Virginia, Maryland. Then Congressional sessions met in Washington. Monroe objected to a treaty and some of his friends, which led to some trouble. This was at that time. The Congress would have given the place to involving, on his way to Crawford, east of the mountains, to involving, on his way to Crawford, east of the mountains, to involving, on his way to Crawford, east of the mountains, to involving, on his way to Crawford, east of the mountains, to involving, on his way to Crawford, east of the mountains, to involving, on his way to Crawford, east of the mountains, to involving, on his way to Crawford, east of the mountains, to involving, on his way to Crawford, east of the mountains.

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in New York, but no nominations were made. King had been endorsed by the Legislature of New York, but there was no campaign worth speaking of. Connecticut, Massachusetts and Delaware cast their 34 electoral votes for Rufus King. The other 183 went to Monroe and Tompkins. The full development of party lines in the Republican (Democratic) forces appears from the fact that every Presidential elector who voted for one also voted for the other nominee.

In vivid contrast to the era of good feeling soon to begin was the New England Separation movement of 1804-1814. It is still much of a mystery; Daniel Webster in his debate with Hayne professed to know little about it. John Quincy Adams in 1828 brought much evidence to light which may be seen in Henry Adams' "New England Federalism."

Only a comparatively few men are involved. The better Federalists abhorred the idea, John Quincy Adams so much that he abjured the Federalist and joined the Republican Party. The plot began in 1804 when the embargo bore so hardly on New England. It lagged for lack of popular support, but with the restrictive measures preceding and the War of 1812 it revived and the Hartford Convention was the culmination. New England was vexed over the loss of power in the Union resulting from the creation of new states; the Federalists were vexed over their loss of control of the government. A new and small Union was desired which they and New England would control. There was much excuse for New England discontent for all the country it suffered far the most from the conditions prevailing. It should be remembered that at that time the right to withdraw from the Union was scarcely questioned.

Many of the disaffected Federalists were learned men, and argued in speech and writing the legality of their disaffection. "State sovereignty excludes the possibility of State rebellion," they said. A State may infract treaties, and our Federal Constitution was but a treaty between sovereign States, but can never rebel and no citizen obeying State laws can be guilty of treason. In fact, they thoroughly did those cases under the condition. The Nullificationists and Secessionists later on could adduce no new arguments to support their contentions, but could only show new facts and conditions.

In 1811 Senator Pickering led an attack on the Madison administration which was essentially an assault on the government itself. The Boston press and pulpits joined in. "Come ye apart from them," was a popular text. The "Boston Resolutions of
1811" denied the power of the federal government to change our relations with the belligerent nations and advocated resistance to the federal government. After war was assured Pickering at a Boston dinner was applauded, "The world's last hope, Brit-
sin's fast anchored isle." Governor Chittenden recalled the New Hampshire troops, the Massachusetts Legislature condemned as unman the celebration of American victories (a resolution ex-
punged in 1825) and refused state honors at the funeral of Cap-
tain Lawrence, the Federalist leaders even declining to attend the funeral, and, worst of all, the disloyal men burned blue lights as a signal from American shores to the English fleet hemming in Decatur and his ships, and "Blue Light Federalists* came to be a term of reproach as severe as "Copperhead Democrats" during the war between the states. All through the war the nation was hampered by these people through acts of omission and commis-
sion, supplying the enemy with essential supplies and failing to support the war loans.

The Hartford Convention met in December, 1815. Massa-
chusetts sent 12 delegates, among them George Cabot, who was made president, and Harrison Gray Otis. Connecticut sent 7 and Rhode Island 4. A few unofficial delegates from other states at-
tended. Oaths of secrecy were taken at each meeting. The for-
mal report recommended state measures to protect the state mili-
tia and citizens from acts of Congress, passed or to be passed, enforcing drafts or impressment, and advised the formation of state armies to repel invasion. Seven amendments to the Constitu-
tion were recommended—excluding slaves in apportionment of representaives in Congress; requiring a two-thirds vote in Con-
gress for admission of new states; prohibiting any embargo for more than sixty days; requiring a two-thirds vote to interdict commerce or to declare war; no person thereafter naturalized to be eligible to office; limiting the President to one term and pro-
hibiting any state from having the Presidency two terms in suc-
cession. It is amusing to note what a complete reversal these Federalists proposed of the old Federalist principles of a strong, unhampered centralized national government.

The curious may see in Volume 17 of the Annals of Congress, pages 333 et seq., what John Quincy Adams believed to be the designed constitution for the Northern Confederacy. Senator Plumer, who was at one time in the plot, stated that the method originally intended to be pursued was to secure control of state governments, then refuse to elect Senators and Representatives, and thus get out of the Union peaceably.

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The convention kept only mere skeleton minutes of its proceed-
ing and Cabot had all his correspondence and memoranda burned. The recommendations were made only to the states having delegates. The proposed constitutional amendments were sent to all states, but no attempt was ever made to have them adopted. Massachusetts and Connecticut sent delegates to Washington to convey their demands, but meeting there the news of the victory at New Orleans, the delegates hastened home.

The worst feature of the movement was that the Separatists worked in secret and stabbed the nation in the back while it was grappling with a powerful foreign foe. The convention sat while our commissioners were negotiating for peace, and England through Pickering's nephew in London was kept advised. How long peace was delayed, how many Americans dead were added to the lists, how much the peace terms were influenced by this convention can only be conjectured.

The conspirators received scant encouragement except from their own particular cabal, even in those states in which they held political control. The most of the nation condemned them. Jackson said that if the Hartford Convention had been held in his military department he would have court-martialed the leaders, and doubtless he would have.

Two passions of the Separatist leaders were their excessive devotion to England and their extreme enmity toward the West. They were outspoken to each other in hoping for British victory; in blaming the Western settlers for our Indian troubles; in wish-
ing that the peace treaty would create an Indian country—wilderness between the United States and the Western country so as to block our extension westward; in prophesying and hop-
ing for the capture of New Orleans and the establishment of a British province there, which they asserted, to each other, would be a happy thing for the Westerners and for the United States, for with a British or an independent country on the west and the ocean on the east a small and compact Union would result in which their section would have "due and proportionate power."

These New Englanders little foresaw that their heirs and as-
signs of the third generation, by sheer political ability, sixty years later, would mold this West to their political desires like clay in the potter's hands. Dominated by Eastern minds the latter day Republican Party, giving the West the Presidency and other high offices took for the East only the legislation it wanted. The happy combination so dear to Democrats and Whigs—a North-
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er man with Southern principles" or a "Southern man with Northern principles" was developed into perfection in "Western
men with Eastern ideas." Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, McKinley, Taft and Harding, loyal Westerners, but safe, and
and. Only twice the rule of partition, the flowers to the West, the fruit to the East, was violated, when Blaine was nm uminication in 1884 and Hughes in 1916, and defeats resulted. Roosevelt and
Cleveland gained the Presidency through the accident of death, and Roosevelt, was, spectaculy, more Western than the Middle
Western.

The Federalist Party though reduced to a sectional faction was still a force to be reckoned with until absorbed in the Whig
Party, a slow process occupying many years. When the Republican
Democrats) were evenly divided they exercised the balance of power. As to directing the policy of the government their power was almost nil.

Such large claims have been made for the Federalists that common fairness requires an examination of their assumptions
of superiority. Henry Cabot Lodge is one of these great

gyptians. In his life of George Cabot, referring to Hamilton's death he says:

"But the loss of their great leader, which was overwhelming and discouraging, was left in the smallest degree capable of affecting the party at the same time maintaining a strong influence over its members."

How much political intelligence and statesmanship it possessed and how great was that American party which embraced, as they claim, "the major portion of the wealthy, and intelligent, of the country" which yet contained only a small percentage of the voting population? Lodge further says of the expressions born of sympathy for the French on Genet's arrival:"

"The foreign influence, he says, was "under the circumstances," from a quarter where they had the means of getting in a shape they could never have imagined in the United States.""}

The Americans and French fighting the British in the war of 1812, the British with the aid of its fleet and army were fighting the British. But the war was fought, as it always has been, by the American people. The British are only the instruments of the people. Yet the Federalists were portrayed as the source and the shape of the foreign influence. How much political intelligence could this
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flag as if anchored in the Hudson or in Hampton Roads. The world acknowledged us as one of the great nations of the earth.

Two years later the English Chancellor of the Exchequer is to say: "England and America are the two great maritime nations of the world."

The American people of 1801-1816 and succeeding years were not fools, fanatics or ignoramuses. They kept in power the party which accomplished these things, in spite of the inevitable hardships of our situation and of war. Painful and mournful period indeed! Supported by the same spirit which made the people, the Democracy of America weathered the new nation through hard and perilous times to peace, prosperity and honor.

The War of 1812 had in it little of the pride, pomp and glorious circumstances of war. Our casualties in killed and wounded were less than 5,000 and the cost only $50,000,000. Yet in all history it is doubtful if ever so much was won at so little cost in life and money. As most of the glory of war goes to civil rulers and military officers of high rank while the fighting, suffering and paying is done by the people, the criticism of the War of 1812 will appeal more to the militarist than to the average American.

In that remarkable effort begun by Republican essayists in the last quarter of the 19th century to elevate Hamilton and depress Jefferson, Madison and their associates no authorities are quoted except extreme partisans in the heat of intense political controversy. From such judgments the Democrats appeal to the highest authorities among their political opponents. Rufus Choate spoke of "the calm, capacious intelligence of Mr. Madison—that great man among our greatest, the dead or living."

Webster on his return from visiting Madison at Montpelier told George Ticknor that he was fully confirmed in his opinion that Madison was "the wisest of our Presidents, except Washington." Clay spoke of him thus—"James Madison, the Father of the Constitution—that great man whose services to his country placed him only second to Washington—whose intelligence and wisdom in public councils stands unsurpassed." Pages could be filled with such tributes to Madison. Only the lovers of sternness and hullabaloo, or those infected with partisan venom belittle Madison.

James Madison was our "student" President, a scholar in politics. He was the most gentle and courteous of gentlemen, and of spotless character. After Washington no public man of his