Achates, moved dissent from the clause against free colored persons. His motion was carried. There the matter rested until Clay returned to Washington and moved to take up the Senate resolution. Sergeant sought to keep Missouri out, and Randolph to admit her, without restrictions. Between the two extremes Clay dragged the measure through. A committee of seven Northerners and six Southerners, doubtless carefully selected, reported unanimously that the Missouri Compromise should be carried out, but that the objectionable clause in the constitution be removed; Randolph and his associates combined with Northern men and defeated the report. A joint committee of twenty-seven Representatives and seven Senators agreed unanimously; and Missouri accepted as a state by a House vote of 86 to 2, and a Senate vote of 28 to 14, but on the expressed condition that the constitutional clause excluding free colored persons be never construed to authorize laws abridging the rights of citizens. After this the slavery question slumbered for years, but the Missouri question had sowed dragon's teeth and when Massachusetts and South Carolina gained direction of the opposing forces war came.

Clay has been called the father of the Missouri Compromise. He did not originate it, but he did play a most conspicuous part in its adoption. This required a renunciation of his former antislavery views, and he seems to have been embarrassed by the fact for none of his speeches on the subject appear in the Congressional Debates, though parts of them are quoted by other speakers. He is quoted ridiculing anti-slavery men as afflicted with negrophobia, denying Congress the right to prescribe slavery restrictions on new states, excusing the spread of slavery as likely to cure the evil by diffusing it and improving the condition of the negro. He fought valiantly for Missouri's admission with her unconstitutional constitution, and without his efforts the state would not have been admitted when it was.

CHAPTER VIII

DEMOCRACY LAYS DOWN THE LAW OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

1821-1825


Monroe's second administration witnessed a religio-political change in New England. In Connecticut, New Hampshire and Maine the liberal element had more or less gotten rid of religious domination in politics, but in Massachusetts citizens were still taxed for support of the church. The rise to influence of the Unitarian Church broke the control held by the Congregationalists and brought about religious freedom in all New England and abolition of denominational tests for office. Except in New York where a new constitution extended the suffrage and had other progressive features, there were no constitutional changes among the other states. The New York constitution was a triumph of Van Buren and his Tammany Bucktails of New York City and the Albany Regency.

The 1820 census gave 10,000,000 inhabitants, four-fifths of whom were white. Virginia had lost first place in population to New York and was losing political leadership in the South to Tennessee and South Carolina. The new Southern States were growing but Virginia standing still, due, her Northern friends asserted, to the incubus of slavery. She was furnishing many settlers to the new states, and good men many of them were.

No sooner was the 1820 election over than speculation became rife as to who would succeed in 1825. Newspapers in 1821 began to push the claims of their friends, Adams, Calhoun, Clay, Crawford and Jackson, three of whom were in the cabinet. Clinton and Lowndes figured also in the calculations. This early political fury centered in the Capital, where Crawford was accused of constant plotting, and where the others, except Jackson, had very
active friends and were not motionless themselves. Crawford had been a candidate for so long a time that his claims were stale in the eyes of the spectators of the game. Adams and Calhoun, both watching Crawford, remained friends with each other. Adams records his impression of Calhoun's freedom from sectional bias, his broad national-mindedness. He was young, only thirty-nine, and could wait, while Adams was nearing sixty. Calhoun had been educated at Yale and Dickinson, and had many Eastern friends; they suggested the good policy of giving the North the Presidency the next time and, after that, with the North in control, obtaining the Presidency for South. The result was no surprise as no news had reached the North yet that Jackson had any hope of getting the Presidency. The North, after the defeat of Crawford, was floundering.
DEMOCRACY DECREES MONROE DOCTRINE

Young, enthusiastic and generous Calhoun now was, but the canker of Presidential ambition, which has been likened to the worm that never dies, fastened on his heart, and, together with what he conceived to be great wrongs to his state and section, was to transform him into a cold, bitter and implacable politician and statesman.

Clay was charged to be responsible for an attack now made on Adams by Jonathan Russell. All three had been on the American Peace Commission at Ghent, and Russell there and since had been thought subservient to Clay. Russell charged Adams with being willing to surrender our right to the Mississippi in exchange for Newfoundland fishing rights, but his evidence turned out to be forged and Adams was exonerated. Clay's proposed postponement of this dispute until after the election was called the "question of adjourned vacancy" between him and Adams. Russell was politically ruined while Adams' spirited defense produced a favorable impression and brought into notice the high service rendered by him.

While these quarrels were agitating political Washington there were men scattered all over the country from Maine to the Texas line who thought the time ripe to dehome King Caucus and elect a People's Choice, a plain, blunt man who loved his country and was no politician, and these men believed Andrew Jackson to be just such a man.

Adams was thinking of Jackson as a running mate, the Vice-Presidency being, he opined, an admirable, restful place for a worn old soldier of forty-five who deserved well of his country.

Jackson, however, after resting a few minutes or a few months at the Hermitage, wrathful at criticism of his conduct as Governor of Florida, rumors of which had reached him in his retirement, wrote a defiant letter to the Speaker of the House, and a renunciation to the President, recalling his resignation. Monroe with reason and good nature and an unfeigned regard for the General reconciled him and he remained on his farm. Jackson's friends, notably Major William B. Lewis, a modest gentleman but able and far-seeing politician, beseeched themselves and in 1822 the Nashville Gazette urged Jackson for President. Pennsylvania welcomed the suggestion and the idea spread. The Tennessee Legislature formally nominated him. With Jackson's elating entrance into the list the hope entertained by some, of the contest narrowing down to one Northern and one Southern man disappeared, and no election by the Electoral College, but a choice by the House was foreseen. Gone, too,
United States was sufficiently strong and independent to act alone and on its own initiative. The Monroe Doctrine was a significant milestone in the foreign policy of the United States, asserting that the American continent was closed to future European imperial expansion.

The document goes on to discuss the implications of this doctrine for future American foreign policy, emphasizing the importance of maintaining a balance of power in the Western Hemisphere and the need for the United States to act as a guardian of the region.

The text also touches on the historical context of the doctrine, noting that it was a response to fears of European powers encroaching upon American territory, particularly with regard to Latin America.

Overall, the document provides a detailed analysis of the Monroe Doctrine and its role in shaping American foreign policy in the 19th century.
THE STORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Senate proceedings, no longer behind closed doors, now fill eight hundred pages instead of the few score of preceding administrations. Congress devoted its time to internal improvements and a protective tariff. As Monroe's successor, whoever he might be, was thought not likely to hold his constitutional views, Clay pushed forward his American System. A protective tariff was gaining favor and catching up with internal improvements in popularity. The Middle States convinced the West that the interests of both would be served by protection, but the South and East held aloof, a moderate tariff passing 107 to 102. The Senate disagreeing; a compromise was reached only by the casting votes of the Speaker and the Vice-President.

Clay and Webster had not yet begun their wonderful teamwork in Congress, that matchless combination of oratory and exhortation with matchless argument and diction. One brought up a Republican and the other a Federalist, they came to agree on many questions, and were to form the cavalry and artillery of the Whig army. But now Webster made, in opposition to Clay, what some consider the ablest anti-tariff argument ever made in Congress. He ridiculed Clay's "American Policy" as one America had never tried, but which foreign nations pursued; what Clay denominated a foreign system was the one America had always followed and foreign nations had not.

The second session of the Eighteenth Congress was devoted to routine measures and private bills, for the first time a very large number of the latter appearing in the record. The choice of a President was the main business engaging the attention of Congress.

The Presidential candidates were all in Washington in the spring of the Presidential year, three in the cabinet, one in the Senate and one in the House. Crawford's state of health really put him out of the race but he refused to see it; he could not sign his name and the duties of his office for a year had been transacted by a clerk. Adams pressed the Adams-Jackson combination. On the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, in 1824, he gave a great ball in honor of the General, one of the grandest affairs social Washington had ever experienced. A long poem in the National Intelligencer heralded it, the refrain of each verse being

Belles and matrons, maids and maidens
All are gone to Mrs. Adams'.

But Jackson had accepted Tennessee's nomination and was an avowed candidate for first place. Calhoun wisely was playing a lesser role.

DEMOCRACY DECrees MONROE DOCTRINE

for the smaller but surer honor of second place. Clay, sure that Virginia still adhered to Crawford though he, too, was Virginian born, persevered hoping that Crawford's condition would eliminate him and give Virginia to himself.

Jackson's race was along different lines. Hickory clubs were being formed all over the country and hickory poles, some of which were seen standing twenty years later, were being put up. City, town and county meetings endorsed him. Some letters he had written Monroe in 1816-17 became public and his advice to his correspondent to appoint some Federalists to office gave Jackson strength in that quarter. His protective tariff position in Congress and some letters he wrote on the subject helped him too. His Pennsylvania friends, denouncing caucuses, brought a plan for a national nominating convention, and held a state convention at Harrisburg which nominated Jackson by acclamation, and Calhoun for Vice-President, young Dallas annotate Calhoun's waiver of first place.

Crawford's friends called these men radical Democrats and denounced their convention as party treason. They held a convention and named Crawford, criticizing Jackson as no Republican and unfit to be President. It was through them that the Jackson-Monroe letters came to light. Before Congress adjourned caucuses and anti-caucus notices appeared. At the Congressional caucuses only 46 out of 261 Representatives appeared, more than half being Virginians and New Yorkers, and these unanimously nominated Crawford, with Gallatin for second place, a play for Pennsylvania support to offset Jackson's popularity there.

This was the last Congressional caucuses. Virginia, New York, Maine and Georgia legislatures had urged standing by the caucuses system, but the system was out of date and generally unpopular. With two well-defined parties it was easy for party leaders to meet and name the party's choice, but here were five men with ardent friends in every state and all belonging to one party. "Why," it was asked, "under the cry of concert of action give the choice of President to a small group of politicians?" Ex-Senator Edwards in articles signed A. B. published in a Washington newspaper, charged Crawford with illegitimates and misconduct of immeasurable nature, but summoned before a Congressional committee could produce no proof, and Crawford was honorably and completely acquitted.

Calhoun was taken up by Adams' friends for second place so that his strength might not all go to Jackson. Gallatin withdrew from the Crawford ticket and Clay was offered the place but he neither accepted nor declined the honor.
Van Buren and the Albany Regency made a desperate attempt to control New York's vote for Crawford, the Legislature choosing the electors. The Clintonians demanded a new law giving the selection to the people, but the Regency, controlling the Senate, was inflexible. In the midst of this Clinton defeat the Regency candidate for Governor and the Legislature was thrown into a panic with the result that New York gave Adams 26 votes, Crawford 5, Clay 4 and Jackson 1.

The campaign was feverish for it seemed anyone's race, with the foreseen probability that it would be nobody's victory in the Electoral College. It was a period of mass meetings and the like, the taking of straw votes on stage coaches, on steam-boats, by grand-juries, wherever two or three were gathered together. Fancy vests adorned with pictures of the candidates were worn. The electoral vote was Jackson 99, Adams 84, Crawford 41, Clay 37; Calhoun for Vice-President 182. The selection of one of the three candidates receiving the highest votes was thus thrown into the House of Representatives.

It was known that Clay's influence in the House was such that he could name either Jackson or Adams, and Clay became a much courted man by the friends of the two, though neither of them appeared to have made the slightest attempt to approach him or influence him.

On the 9th of February the House proceeded to elect a President, voting by states. Adams received the votes of thirteen states, Jackson seven, Crawford four. Jackson had received the unanimous electoral vote of eight states and a majority of the electoral votes of three others; Adams had received the unanimous electoral vote of six states and a majority of the other. Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland and North Carolina, four states whose voters had elected Jackson electors, were voted for Adams by their Representatives in Congress, and Kentucky's vote, despite a resolution of its Legislature in Jackson's favor, was given to Adams.

On the day following his selection Adams announced that he would appoint Clay Secretary of State and a great cry of "Bargain and Corruption" was raised. The people, or at least a very great number of them, resented Adams' selection by the House. The idea was propagated and grew that Congressmen had thus assumed a guardianship authority over the people, and arrogated to themselves a superior intelligence, violating the American democratic principle.

Monroe was troubled over the affair but his strict neutrality secured him from any responsibility, real or asserted. The last days of his administration were pleasant. Jefferson, Madison and he met occasionally in a pleasing duty, the three men constituting the Board of Visitors, or trustees, of the University of Virginia. He and his country stood high in its own and the world's estimation. Even Canning, once before and again, to be our cautious critic, flattered and courted us.

Theodore Roosevelt in his history of the War of 1812 says of Monroe:

"I think he was as much a failure as his predecessors and a harsher criticism could not be passed upon him. Like other statesmen of his school he was mighty in words and weak in action."

This is harsh censure from a high source. It is but fair to both that the two men, the critic and his subject, be contrasted, since their experiences and careers have much in common. Monroe was the first, Roosevelt the last of the "Colonels" elected President. Both were proud of their military service and title, and were commonly called by it both before and after being President. Both were well born, both well educated and men of means. There are other similarities.
DEMOCRACY DECLARES MONROE DOCTRINE

There have been other partisan critics of Monroe; they bring to mind the only humorous anecdote connected with him that has survived. He was on a journey once, attended by Sam, his colored body servant. Wishing to make an early start he wakened Sam, who, as the custom was, slept on a pallet in the room, before day, telling him to look out and see what the weather was. Sam stumbled around in the dark, opened a door and reported—"Marse Jeems, it's a monstrous dark morning and smells powerful of cheese." He had opened a cupboard, not the outer door.

The close of Monroe's happy administration was marked by one of the happiest occasions in our history. When Charles Lindbergh returned from France after his flight across the ocean he was given a welcome here which newspapers declared equaled in our history. There were in error. In 1824 a withered but hale old man returned from France to America after an absence of nearly fifty years and was given a welcome even more general and enthusiastic than that accorded the stalwart young Columbus of the air.

General, the Count LaFayette, visited the country to which he had given his services, his blood and his fortune, and America took him to her heart as it has taken no other man save Washington. Men and women wept in joy and gratitude, and gave it to him "To read his history in a nation's eyes." As Clay said, he was in the midst of posterity. This republic was not ungrateful. Congress gave him a grant of $300,000 and a township of land. This latter LaFayette afterward tried under the guise of a loan to transfer to Monroe when he heard of his financial ruin.

LaFayette visited Jefferson at Monticello, Adams at Braintree, Madison at Montpellier and Monroe at the White House. He remained nearly a year in America and visited every section of the country, and was carried home in our man-of-war Brandywine, named after the battle in which he had been severely wounded.

Monroe was the last of the first generation of Presidents; the Revolutionary patriots. In parting with these gentlemen of the old school and their rivals and associates, it is pleasant and honorable to remember that all were brave men and in their eyes a guinea never glistened. Hamilton died insolvent; Jefferson, Madison and Monroe left the Presidency impoverished.

Even Burr was driven by dreams of power and empire, not sordid motives. Pickering after forty and more years of public service left office with the expectation of having to dig his living out of the ground. Some of these men, notably Monroe, had, at times of stress, pledged their private fortunes to secure money for the government.

Monroe was described by those who knew him best, as cautious, slow almost to tediousness in reaching conclusions, but prompt in action and tenacious when once decided. He was not slow to resent insult; however, in reply to a peremptory letter from Alexander Hamilton, he ended by saying that if General Hamilton's letter was intended to convey a demand for personal satisfaction, a friend was authorized to make the necessary arrangements. Hamilton denied such intention but stated that if an invitation to the field of honor was intended by Colonel Monroe's letter he should not decline it. Both being assured that no challenge was intended by either the affair ended peaceably.

Monroe is credited with great influence with Madison in bringing about the declaration of war against England. His reputation for courage, military ability and decisive action was believed to have defeated in its inception the plan of these extreme Federalists who, in 1800, were in favor of continuing the deadlock in the House between Jefferson and Burr until March 4th and then have Congress select a President pro tem. He was then Governor of Virginia, and was reported to be ready to march with armed forces on Washington to forestall a revolution. He was not reputed to be "weak in action" at that time. Many were of the opinion that had Madison carried out his half-formed intention of putting him at the head of the army during the War of 1812, or had he sooner been put in charge of the War Department, Washington would have been saved. His first report as Secretary of War indicated vigorous action. He advocated the draft as the method to form an army, a plan followed in the War between the States and the World War.

Not the commanding spirit Washington was, not the philosopher Jefferson was, nor the comprehensive statesman Madison was, he surpassed each of these in some high qualities or practical abilities. His administration of the government is second to none in our history in manner and method, in accomplishment and honor.