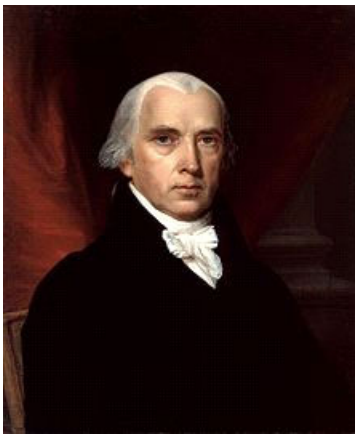
President	James Madison Jr.
Chronological Order	4
Life Span	1751-1836
Home State	Virginia
Elected	1808, 1812
Political Party	Republican (Democratic-Republican)
Vice President	George Clinton (First Term), Elbridge Gerry (Second Term)
First Lady	Dolley Payne Todd Madison
Children	One stepson
Physical Attributes	5' 4" tall, thin (100 lbs.), light brown hair, blue eyes, dressed in black
Undergraduate Education	College of New Jersey (now Princeton University)
Military Service	None
Profession	Public servant
Other Political Offices	Delegate to Confederation Congress, Delegate to Constitutional Convention, U.S. House of Representatives, Secretary of State
Nickname	Father of the Constitution
Family Lineage	English
Religious Affiliation	Anglican (Episcopalian)



Biographical Notes

1. Madison was smart, soft-spoken, calm, and studious. He was the eldest son of a wealthy Virginia plantation owner who allowed him to pursue politics instead of taking control of the plantation. Madison served eight years in the U.S. House of Representatives, eight years as secretary of state, and eight years as president.

2. Madison's best friend and closest collaborator was Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson lived just thirty miles from Madison in Virginia and was like a big brother to him. (He was eight years older than Madison.) They were friends for fifty years and exchanged approximately 1,250 letters. They worked well together because their styles were complementary. Jefferson was brilliant and insightful but sometimes a bit radical in his opinions. Madison was steady, practical, and good at getting things done. He sometimes moderated Jefferson's point of view before it was made public. Madison visited Jefferson's home, Monticello, so often that one of the mansion's bedrooms was – and still is – referred to as "Madison's Room."

3. Madison was a close friend of and a trusted advisor to George Washington until they had a falling out during Washington's second term. It was Madison who convinced Washington to attend the Constitutional Convention. It was Washington who convinced Madison to attend the Virginia Ratifying Convention to ensure that their home state would ratify the Constitution. Madison helped write Washington's first inaugural address and his famous Farewell Address. In 1792, Madison, Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton helped persuade Washington to run for a second term.

4. Madison grew up on his family's five-thousand-acre plantation, Montpelier, in Orange County, Virginia, near Charlottesville and the Blue Ridge Mountains. His father, James Sr., was a successful planter and entrepreneur who served as a justice of the peace and a vestryman of his Anglican parish. (N.B. In French, Montpelier means "Mount of the Pilgrim.")

Dozens of slaves managed Montpelier's livestock, cut timber, raised tobacco, and worked in James Sr.'s contracting business and ironworks. James Jr. was the eldest of six children who survived childhood. After James Sr. died, Madison's younger brother Ambrose took over the day-to-day operation of the plantation.

5. When it came time to choose which college Madison would attend, his father and mother were both opposed – for different reasons – to the conventional choice for a Virginian: the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg.

His father opposed William & Mary on political and academic grounds. James Sr. was already feeling the tension between Virginia and Great Britain that would ultimately escalate into the Revolutionary War, and his allegiance was firmly with Virginia. When he looked at William & Mary, he saw that the majority of the faculty were English-born graduates of Oxford University who were Anglican (i.e., members of the Church of England) and also (a) deeply rooted in English customs and history, (b) skeptical of trends towards modern literature and science, and (c) mistrustful of modern philosophies on individual freedom and justice. Most of the William & Mary faculty felt that the college's curriculum should provide the type of rigid classical education that had guided generations of English students. James Sr. did not want that for his son. He preferred that James Jr. attend the College of New Jersey, where the faculty was Presbyterian, Scottish, and sympathetic to the Scottish Enlightenment.

His mother opposed William & Mary for health reasons. The climate in Williamsburg was completely different from Montpelier's. It was close to the Atlantic Ocean (and the York and James Rivers), low-lying, humid, and, in her mind, full of mosquitos and teeming with unseen diseases. Clearly, it was not the place for a young man like James Jr., whose health was fragile.

6. Attending the College of New Jersey expanded Madison's horizons in two ways. First, on the way to and from the college, he rode past the small, neat farms of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where owners and hired workers – not slaves – worked together. At school, he lived with young men from Philadelphia, New York City, and the cities of New Jersey whose merchant and professional families had ties to other colonies and other countries. These experiences sowed the seeds for Madison's appreciation of the factors that divided the country north and south.

Second, the College of New Jersey was Presbyterian, and Madison was Anglican. However, he never encountered any religious discrimination at the college, unlike Baptists in Virginia, who were persecuted by Anglicans. Madison saw this distinction clearly, and religious freedom became a core issue for him upon his return to his home state.

7. After college, Madison returned to Montpelier and began studying the law. However, he found it very dry and decided not to pursue it. In 1774, Madison traveled to Pennsylvania to visit his college friend William Bradford. While there, he witnessed something he had never seen before: riotous street demonstrations supporting the Boston Tea Party. For the first time in his life, Madison felt truly inspired, marking his fascination with revolutionary politics. Once back in Virginia, he asked Bradford to send him regular updates on the political scene. Aimless until then, Madison had finally found his life's mission in the contest that would become the American Revolution.

When war broke out at Lexington and Concord, Madison joined the Orange County militia as a colonel, elected because of his father's importance. But, before he ever took the battlefield, it became apparent that the sickly Madison was better suited for indoor pursuits, like the state legislature. After less than six months, he resigned from the militia and was elected the Orange County delegate to the Virginia Assembly in 1776. It was a moment that would change his life forever.

8. Madison stepped onto the national stage by serving as one of Virginia's delegates to the Congress of the Confederation from 1780 to 1783. This experience convinced him that the Articles of Confederation, which governed how the national government worked, were woefully inadequate.

Others felt the same way, and at an interstate commerce convention at Annapolis in 1786, Madison and Hamilton convinced the other attendees to unanimously call for a meeting to try to produce a constitution that could meet the nation's needs. As a result, the Constitutional Convention convened in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787.

9. Well before the Annapolis meeting, Madison decided that he wanted to learn more about ancient and modern governments that had formed confederations, and he asked Jefferson, who was in Paris, to send him any books he might find on the subject. In January 1786, two crates filled with dozens of books arrived from Paris. The volumes contained exactly what Madison needed: information about the Achaean and Amphicytonic Leagues of ancient Greece, the Dutch Republic of the 17th century, the confederation of Swiss cantons, the Holy Roman Empire, etc.

During the spring and summer of 1786, Madison studied these books and wrote a detailed set of notes entitled "Of Ancient and Modern Confederacies," in which he analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of each system. Madison was not the first person to do a comparative study of the constitutions that defined such

confederations – Aristotle compared different kinds of constitutional arrangements in his *Politics* – but as a systematic effort to identify the core working elements of all the confederacies known to have existed, Madison's document was unprecedented. This set of notes provided the groundwork for the plan for the U.S. Constitution that he brought to Philadelphia.

10. The Virginia delegation arrived at the Constitutional Convention before the other delegations and its members collaborated to create the Virginia Plan, which was largely based on Madison's ideas. The plan called for a republican government with three separate branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative branch was to be bicameral. The lower house of the legislature was to be elected "by the people" in a proportional vote based on the population of their state. The upper house was to have fewer members serving longer terms than the lower house. A system of checks and balances between the three branches of government would ensure that no single branch gained too much power. Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph presented the plan at the start of the convention, setting the tone for the meeting.

Madison not only helped author the Virginia Plan, he also fought for it at the convention. He attended every session and spoke at almost all of them. William Pierce of Georgia said of Madison: "He always comes forward the best-informed man of any point in debate." Convention Secretary William Jackson said: "By far the most effective member of the Convention was Mr. Madison." In the end, some of the details of Madison's plan did not survive, but the basic structure did.

Madison is considered the "Father of the Constitution" because (a) its basic structure is based on his ideas, (b) he helped get it ratified as one of the authors of *The Federalist Papers* and via his actions at the Virginia Ratifying Convention, and (c) he authored the first ten amendments to the Constitution (a.k.a. the Bill of Rights).

11. Madison played two critical roles in the fight for the ratification of the Constitution. The first role was as a contributor to *The Federalist*, a series of eighty-five newspaper essays explaining why the Constitution was needed and how the new federal government would work. Madison wrote twenty-nine articles, Alexander Hamilton fifty-one, and John Jay five. *The Federalist* essays (a.k.a. *The Federalist Papers*) were later published as a two-volume set of books praised as both a literary and political masterpiece. Theodore Roosevelt commented "that it is, on the whole, the greatest book" dealing with practical politics. It is, without a doubt, the most persuasive defense of the Constitution ever written. The influence of the essays was especially critical to the ratification of the Constitution by New York and Virginia, two large states indispensable to the country's viability.

Madison's second contribution was his role at the Virginia Ratifying Convention (VRC), where ratification faced a strong Anti-Federalist opposition led by Patrick Henry. Henry, a powerful orator, fought Madison tooth and nail as the VRC went over the Constitution line by line. However, Madison's complete control over the logic behind each of the decisions that went into forming the Constitution won the day. One objection that did gain traction was the lack of a bill of rights. Madison handled this by convincing the delegates that a bill of rights could be added later as a set of amendments. The convention voted to ratify the Constitution, with a set of recommended (but not mandatory) amendments, by a vote of 89 to 79.

For the Constitution to take effect, it had to be ratified by nine states. Virginia was the tenth state to ratify, and New York was the eleventh; both occurred in July 1788. The federal elections were held in the winter of 1788-1789. The new federal government began in the spring of 1789 without the states of North Carolina and Rhode Island, who ratified in November 1789 and May 1790.

12. In 1788, Patrick Henry, still smarting from his defeat by Madison at the Virginia Ratifying Convention, made efforts to ensure that Madison was elected to neither the U.S. Senate nor the U.S. House of Representatives. Henry had many allies in the state legislature, which chose the senators from Virginia, and they denied Madison a place in the Senate.

As concerns the House, Henry took two steps to oppose Madison. First, he gerrymandered Madison's home congressional district into a hatchet-shaped region that included several strongly Anti-Federalist counties. Second, he made sure that the new district contained James Monroe's home county of Spotsylvania. Since Monroe had already decided to run for the House, this ensured that the two friends would have to run against each other. During the campaign, Madison advocated adding a bill of rights to the Constitution as a set of amendments, which won over many undecided voters. He defeated Monroe 1,308 votes to 972 and quickly became a leader in the House.

13. George Washington was very impressed by Madison's contributions to the Virginia Plan, and the two men collaborated closely to make the Constitutional Convention successful. Afterward, they began collaborating on other projects as well.

In February 1789, on his way from Montpelier to attend the first session of the House in New York City,

Madison visited Washington at Mount Vernon. The two men discussed the president-elect's seventy-three-page draft of his inaugural address, which had been prepared by Washington's secretary, David Humphreys. Madison and Washington agreed to start over on the speech, and Madison drafted a four-page alternative, which Washington edited and gave two months later at his inauguration.

During the first five months of Washington's presidency (April to September 1789), the executive departments did not exist yet; hence, the president had no cabinet members to advise him. Consequently, Washington relied heavily on Madison for advice during this trying period when all sorts of presidential precedents were being set. He sought Madison's counsel about relations with Congress, appointments, policy, and etiquette. Madison edited Washington's first annual address in January 1790 and drafted his second one in December 1790. Madison was Washington's chief ally in Congress early in his first term as president, and Washington supported Madison's effort to pass the Bill of Rights.

14. The first ten amendments to the Constitution enumerate the rights of a U.S. citizen and are called the Bill of Rights. Madison drafted them after consulting the amendments recommended by the various state ratifying conventions. He then shepherded them through Congress (with some modifications) in 1789. The states approved them in 1791. Hence, Madison is the primary author of the Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights includes freedom of speech, the press, and religion; the right to assemble and petition the government; the right to bear arms; freedom from unreasonable search and seizure; freedom from self-incrimination; the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury with assistance from counsel; freedom from double jeopardy in a criminal matter; and freedom from excess bail and cruel and unusual punishment.

15. Madison was not only a great political theorist but also an immensely talented, practical politician who knew how to count votes and make a deal when the situation called for it. For example, in 1790, one of the critical components of Hamilton's financial program for the country was the idea that the federal government would assume the war debts of the individual states. Madison opposed this and helped defeat the authorizing bill in the House of Representatives.

Around the same time, Congress was to decide where to locate the nation's permanent capital. Southerners, including Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, wanted the capital on the Potomac River at the Virginia-Maryland border. Northerners preferred the permanent capital to be in Pennsylvania. Jefferson then invited Madison and Hamilton to have dinner with him at his home, and the three men struck the "Dinner Table Bargain": Madison would see that enough votes would change for the assumption to pass, and Hamilton would ensure that his legislative allies supported the Potomac location for the capital. Madison and Hamilton fulfilled their parts of the bargain. Assumption passed, and the capital ended up right where the three Virginians wanted it: present-day Washington, D.C., fifteen miles from Mount Vernon.

In the opinion of historian Joseph Ellis, the Dinner Table Bargain should "rank alongside the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850 as one of the landmark accommodations in American politics."

16. Washington, Jefferson, and Madison were intimately involved with creating the nation's capital. Washington put together the land deal and chose the three local commissioners. Washington, Jefferson, and Madison wrote the building codes and arranged for the sale of the government lots. Madison, Jefferson, and the commissioners gave east-west streets alphabetical names and north-south streets numerical names, with the Capitol serving as the coordinate system's origin. The commissioners named the federal district Columbia and the city Washington.

The three Founding Fathers brought complementary talents to creating the nation's capital. Washington excelled at surveying and land acquisition. Jefferson understood city planning and architecture. Madison knew history and constitutionalism. Madison mediated between Washington and Jefferson when differences occurred. In particular, he reconciled Jefferson to Washington's desire for a city majestic enough to meet a rapidly growing nation's needs for centuries to come.

17. Hamilton and Madison were friends and worked closely together when they were writing *The Federalist Papers*. At that time, they lived around the corner from each other in New York City, and mutual friends would send ideas to one, confident that he would share them with the other. The two men published four essays per week of about 2,000 words each for over three months.

Their paths diverged, however, once Hamilton became secretary of the treasury and put forth his economic plan. His model was England, with its national bank, regulated commerce, and powerful finance ministers. Madison and Jefferson felt that this approach benefitted wealthy commercial interests to the possible detriment of the broader public. They feared the undue influence of moneyed interests on American politics, as had occurred in England.

The two Virginians co-founded the Republican Party in 1792 to oppose Hamilton's economic plans and

Anglocentric foreign policy views. (This party is not related to the modern GOP; it evolved into the modern Democratic Party.) Shortly after, Hamilton and his allies formed the Federalist Party.

18. Once political parties began to form, it was inevitable that political newspapers would appear. In 1789, John Fenno, at the urging of Alexander Hamilton, began publishing the *Gazette of the United States*, which discussed issues and personalities from a decidedly Hamiltonian point of view. In 1791, Madison and Jefferson decided that they needed an "antidote" to Fenno's newspaper.

Conveniently, Madison's old college friend Philip Freneau was unemployed and needed a job. Also, Secretary of State Jefferson had a job opening at the State Department for a clerk of foreign languages. Jefferson explained to Freneau that the job required only " a moderate knowledge of French" and would not "interfere with any other calling a person may choose," for example, publishing a newspaper. Freneau began work at the State Department in August 1791 and brought out the first issue of his Republican newspaper, the *National Gazette*, on Halloween.

19. Madison and Jefferson clashed with President John Adams when he signed the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798. The Alien Acts allowed the president to deport any noncitizen foreigner he thought was "dangerous to the peace and safety" of the country without a hearing or a trial. The Sedition Act made it a federal crime to say or publish anything "false, scandalous, and malicious" about the federal government, Congress, or the president.

These laws were partisan. The aliens the Federalists feared were the French and the Irish, who both hated the British and usually joined the Republican Party. The Sedition Act was used to imprison and fine Republican, not Federalist, activists and newspaper editors. Madison and Jefferson felt that the Alien Acts were unconstitutional because they violated the separation of powers by giving the president judicial powers. They felt very strongly that the Sedition Act was unconstitutional because it violated freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

20. When Jefferson became president in 1801, he chose Madison to be his secretary of state. Since Jefferson had been secretary of state, he had opinions about and hands-on experience with foreign policy that could have made the situation awkward. However, the fact that Madison had been advising Jefferson on a wide range of issues for many years made this a moot point.

The two men shared two goals and two predispositions that guided American foreign policy for the next eight years and beyond. The goals were peace and territorial expansion; the predispositions were to trust France and distrust Great Britain.

They favored peace because war was expensive and destructive. War oppressed taxpayers, expanded the state, and caused oppression (the Alien and Sedition Acts had just proven that). They favored expansion because American settlers were already pouring into Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Ohio Valley. They trusted France because it had been America's ally during the Revolutionary War and because of Jefferson's many connections to France. They had many reasons to distrust Great Britain, among them the Revolutionary War, the impressment of American sailors, and the Jay Treaty.

The signature achievements of Madison’s tenure as secretary of state were helping Jefferson purchase the Louisiana Territory and staying out of the war between France and Great Britain. The low point was his strong support for the trade embargo employed during the latter part of Jefferson’s second term.

21. When President Jefferson was considering purchasing the Louisiana Territory from France, he was of two minds about it. As a lifelong proponent of westward expansion, he was thrilled at the opportunity to double the size of the United States. But, as a lawyer, he was troubled because, in his opinion, the Constitution did not give him the power to add territory to the nation; instead, an amendment to the Constitution would be needed. However, with France anxious to make the deal, there was not enough time for Congress to pass such an amendment and then get it ratified by the states.

Secretary of State Madison – the nation’s leading constitutional expert – argued that the Constitution gave the president the power to make treaties, which is all the Louisiana Purchase would be, a treaty between the U.S. and France. He added that if the president felt that the later admission of parts of the new territory into the union as *states* required a constitutional amendment, then, perhaps, that would be appropriate. Jefferson followed Madison’s advice and made the purchase. Later, the constitutionality of the entry of the new states into the union never came up.

22. When Jefferson chose Madison as secretary of state, he also selected Albert Gallatin for secretary of the treasury. The trio of Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin was almost – but not quite – as talented as the trio of Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton twelve years before. And this group, unlike the earlier one, agreed on most issues and stayed together all eight years of Jefferson’s presidency.

Even ambition did not create divisions between them. Jefferson had already become president; his only ambition was to do well. Gallatin was almost unique amongst successful American politicians in that he was focused on the job at hand and did not have presidential aspirations. Madison was next in line for the presidency, and all three men knew that.

23. As a young man, Madison was shy around women, and for a while, it looked like he would always be a bachelor. Then, in 1794, at age forty-three, he married Dolley Todd, an attractive, vivacious, outgoing, well-educated, twenty-six-year-old widow.

Dolley turned out to be the perfect political wife. At the time, the congressional caucus of each party chose its presidential nominee. In 1808, when Madison was secretary of state, the dinner parties Dolley hosted for members of Congress helped Madison obtain the Republican nomination for president. When Madison became president, she held a reception every Wednesday evening open to diplomats, Republicans, and Federalists. Dolley made these evenings fun, and the receptions were well-attended. They allowed James to engage in bridge building and information gathering, and Dolley, who was very politically savvy, served as a second set of eyes and ears. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Madison's 1808 Federalist opponent for president, said he "was beaten by Mr. and Mrs. Madison. I might have had a better chance had I faced Mr. Madison alone."

As life partners, James and Dolley achieved an excellent balance. Her warmth balanced his restraint, and her gaiety complemented his discipline. And they truly enjoyed each other's company.

24. Just as Madison's antagonist, Patrick Henry, arranged for James Monroe to run against Madison for Congress in 1788, John Randolph, a harsh critic of Madison's foreign policy as secretary of state, convinced Monroe – a Republican – to run against Madison for president in 1808.

The key issue of the campaign was Madison's support for the embargo. To address this issue, he asked Jefferson to send Congress the entire correspondence amongst Madison, the British and French ambassadors to the U.S., and the American emissaries abroad – including Monroe. These were then read publicly in Congress over the next six days.

The result was an enormous success for Madison. His letters were understood to suggest the U.S. was insisting on the rights of neutrality and taking a strong stand against impressment; the correspondence also showed that the British had been extremely intransigent. The record showed Madison to be a defender of American rights; on the other hand, Monroe, the ambassador seeking a deal, appeared weak and soft. Public opinion fell squarely on Madison's side.

In the general election, the Federalist candidate, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, swept the New England states except for Vermont. Madison won the remaining states for a 122 to 47 electoral college win.

25. Diplomatic crises with Great Britain and France dominated Madison's first term as president. Great Britain, in particular, tried to bully the U.S. into not trading with France. It also refused to stop the practice of impressment – taking American sailors off their ships and forcing them into the British Navy (under the guise that they were British deserters). These problems led to the War of 1812.

The war began with an American attack on Canada, both as an effort to gain land and to cut off British supply lines to Tecumseh's Indian confederation, which had troubled the U.S. for a long time. The initial battles in Canada were difficult; the British pushed back the inexperienced American soldiers. Only timely naval victories by Oliver Hazard Perry on Lake Erie and Thomas Macdonough on Lake Champlain prevented a northern-front invasion of the United States. General William Henry Harrison's forces killed Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames in 1813 amid a decisive victory against British General Isaac Brock's smaller force.

On the Mid-Atlantic Coast, British troops landed in the Chesapeake Bay area in 1814 and marched towards Washington. General William Winder attempted to stop the British forces, which were commanded by General Robert Ross, but the British routed his troops. The Americans evacuated the city of Washington, and the British burned the Capitol and the White House, along with most of nonresidential Washington. The British pressed onward, and Admiral Alexander Cochrane sought to invade Baltimore. The Americans killed General Ross as his forces advanced towards the city, and their movement stalled. Cochrane's forces bombarded Fort McHenry, which guarded Baltimore's harbor, but they could not take it. This event inspired Francis Scott Key, an American lawyer detained on one of Cochrane's ships, to write the Star-Spangled Banner. Unsuccessful at Baltimore, Cochrane's damaged fleet limped to Jamaica for repairs and prepared for an invasion of New Orleans, hoping to cut off American use of the Mississippi River.

26. The Federalists did not put forth a candidate for president in 1812; instead, they supported DeWitt Clinton, a New York Republican who chose to oppose Madison. Clinton won New York and all the New England states except for Vermont. Madison won the remaining states for a 128 to 89 electoral college win. If Clinton had won Pennsylvania (25 electoral votes), he would have won the election.

27. By 1814, Britain had the upper hand militarily, but it was exhausted from its war with the French and offered direct negotiations with the U.S. to end the War of 1812. Madison accepted, and both sides sent negotiators to Ghent, Belgium. Great Britain sent a second-class team of negotiators because their primary team was busy at the Congress of Vienna. But Madison sent an all-star team of five, led by America's top diplomat, John Quincy Adams, Speaker of the House Henry Clay, and former Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin. The American team, who all lived together in one house, was a study in contrasts, ranging from the highly disciplined Adams, who rose every morning at 4 a.m., conscientiously kept a diary, and went to bed early each night, to the cigar-smoking, whiskey-drinking Clay who stayed up until all hours running a poker game in his room.

The British team began the negotiations with harsh demands, but Clay immediately recognized this as a bluff. The final settlement, the Treaty of Ghent, was signed on December 24, 1814. It left most things status quo ante bellum and set up a commission to address some of the subtler problems between the two countries.

The war was officially over, but news traveled slowly across the Atlantic Ocean. On January 8, 1815, Admiral Cochrane landed an army of 8,000 highly disciplined British regulars near New Orleans, where they encountered Andrew Jackson's ragtag army of 4,000 that consisted of militiamen, a few regulars, free blacks, and a band of pirates led by the infamous Jean Lafitte. Jackson predicted perfectly where the British would strike and built fortifications there that his men could hide behind and fire from. In the ensuing "Battle of New Orleans," over two thousand British soldiers were killed, wounded, or captured to the Americans' seventy-one. Even though this battle was unnecessary (the treaty had already been signed), Americans celebrated this victory enthusiastically, and there was an upsurge in American nationalism.

28. Although the war had sheltered New England manufacturing from British competition, damage occurred to New England merchant shipping, and a group of New England Federalists convened in Hartford, Connecticut, in late 1814 to discuss their grievances. A few talked of secession from the Union, but most just wanted to make it hard for the U.S. to declare war or impose embargoes in the future. The victory at the Battle of New Orleans and the reasonable terms of the Treaty of Ghent made these Federalists look ridiculous or, to some people, even treasonous. The Hartford Convention marked the beginning of the end for the Federalist Party.

29. When the British invaded Washington D.C. during the War of 1812, Dolley supervised the removal of important documents and artifacts from the White House. In particular, she refused to leave until the now famous Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington was safely out of the mansion and into the hands of friends. Dolley narrowly escaped capture; then, the British torched the building.

30. Under the terms of the Louisiana Purchase, it was unclear if it included West Florida. (West Florida included the part of what is now the state of Louisiana between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers, plus the southernmost parts of what are now the states of Mississippi and Alabama, plus the panhandle region of the current state of Florida.) The U.S. felt that at least some of it was, but the area remained under Spanish rule until 1810. In 1810, American settlers in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, rose in rebellion and overpowered the Spanish garrison. Madison sent American troops into the area and declared the part of West Florida from the Mississippi River to the Perdido River (the western boundary between the present-day Florida and Alabama) under American sovereignty. The land acquired included the Mississippi Gulf Coast, the Alabama Gulf Coast, and Mobile Bay.

In 1819, the Monroe administration negotiated the purchase of the remainder of West Florida and all of East Florida in the Adams-Onis treaty. In 1822, West and East Florida merged to form the Florida Territory.

31. Since the mid-1780s, the Barbary States (Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis) had, at various times, captured American commercial shipping vessels, enslaved the crews, and demanded tribute and ransom. As president, Jefferson defeated them in the First Barbary War (1801-1805). However, during the War of 1812, the Barbary States, led by Algiers, again began capturing American merchant ships as prizes and enslaving their crews.

Madison was furious, and in February 1815, one week after the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent, he asked Congress to declare war on Algiers, which it did. Madison sent two squadrons of American warships – a total of twenty-seven ships – to the Mediterranean. These ships soundly defeated Algiers in what became known as the Second Barbary War. After this, the Barbary States no longer harassed American shipping.

32. After the War of 1812, the 14th Congress (1815-1817) was one of the most productive up to that point in American history. It passed three significant bills, which Madison signed into law. First, it established the

Second Bank of the United States over the objections of some Old Republicans, who doubted the constitutionality of such a move. Second, it passed the Tariff of 1816, which was notable as the first tariff passed by Congress to protect U.S. manufacturing from overseas competition. Third, it passed a bill funding the extension of the National Road from Cumberland, Maryland, on the Potomac River to Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), on the Ohio River. The extension fulfilled George Washington's dream of a direct transportation route that connected the Midwest to the Atlantic Ocean.

33. Madison was a good president but not a great one, and there were several reasons for this. First, he was, at heart, a legislator, not a CEO. Madison tried his best to lead the country, but he had neither the commanding presence of Washington nor the guile of Jefferson. Second, the Republican Party he led was not unified. He had his detractors in Congress and even within his cabinet, and as a result, he could not simply propose policies and trust that they would be promptly endorsed and implemented. Third, and most importantly, he mistakenly thought that American commerce was so valuable to Great Britain and France that one or both of the belligerents would have to recognize the rights the U.S. claimed as a neutral power. In reality, the struggle to control Europe was far too deadly to allow the claims of a minor power like the U.S. to trump the deepest interests of Great Britain and France.

34. In his old age, Madison pioneered another political role: the former president as a political veteran whose counsel was valuable. After they retired, Washington and Jefferson busied themselves with their plantations and did not participate in politics. Adams was so unpopular that no politician would listen to him (except, perhaps, his son John Quincy). But Madison kept his hand in politics. In particular, he made his opinions known on constitutional issues and was taken seriously because of his status as the Father of the Constitution.

For example, he played a crucial role during the Nullification Crisis of the early 1830s. At that time, South Carolina was upset, as were other southern states, with the Tariff of 1828 that the federal government had imposed. In response, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina put forth the theory that any state had the right to *nullify* a federal law that it deemed unconstitutional. He referred to Madison's Virginia Resolutions and his Report on the Alien and Sedition Acts for support of this idea, and the fact that Madison might support nullification carried significant weight with some people.

Madison responded to Calhoun by publishing a letter in the October 1830 issue of the *North American Review*. In it, he explained that the doctrine of interposition he had advocated in those two places called on the states, plural, "to *concur* in declaring … acts to be unconstitutional, and to *co-operate* in … necessary and proper measures" to maintain their rights (Madison's italics). The measures he had in mind were the usual tools of political opposition – rallying the public, winning elections, etc. – and "as the event showed," the tools used were "equal to the occasion" (i.e., Jefferson and the Republicans in Congress won the election of 1800 and allowed the Alien and Sedition Acts to expire). As for nullification, Madison said, "There is not a shadow of countenance in the Constitution … for this preposterous and anarchical pretension." Upon reading Madison's letter, Chief Justice John Marshall, who strongly opposed nullification, was delighted and wrote to a friend, "Mr. Madison … is himself again."

35. In retirement, Jefferson enlisted Madison's help in one more project: the founding of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. The two men chose the books for the library (the ultimate shopping experience for a couple of nerds) and the curriculum. Madison also served as one of the university's first trustees. When Jefferson died, Madison replaced him as the rector of the university.

36. A few months before his death, when his health was failing, Jefferson wrote Madison a valedictory letter. In it, he said, "The friendship which has subsisted between us, now half a century, and that harmony of our political principles and pursuits, have been sources of constant happiness to me through that long period … You have been a pillar of support through life. Take care of me when dead, and be assured that I should leave you my last affections."

See the next page for a list of references.

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