

GEORGE CLINTON
NEXT PRESIDENT,
AND OUR
REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS

Rescued from Destruction :

ADDRESSED

TO THE

CITIZENS

OF THE

United States :

OR

JAMES MADISON

UNMASKED.

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COUNSELLOR AT LAW.

Cyrus non fuit imbecillior in senectute quam in juventute.

CIC. DE SENECT.

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PREFACE.

THE awful situation in which we are placed as a nation, and the good or evil consequences to be apprehended, from the election of a successor to Mr. Jefferson, impelled the author of these reflections, to hold them up to the view of his fellow-citizens, that by a determination of their choice, they might avert the impending clouds, and give strength and stability to the whole republican body. Let me not be accused of harshness ; this is no time to trifle : it is the duty of every citizen to unmask designing men, and guard his country with jealousy : with such views this was written ; if the sentiments advanced are incorrect, let them be disregarded : I have my reward, the consolation of having endeavoured to serve my country.

AUTHOR.

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AT this important crisis of our national affairs, unparalleled in the history of our country, either for its magnitude or dread, it becomes the supporters of our republican institutions, and the guardians of our liberties, carefully to investigate the causes which have involved us in the dangerous perils that surround us, and to calculate with a calm intrepidity, what is best suited to extricate us. The United States, from the very moment of their political existence, have excited the seeds of European jealousy; from those days that our country proudly commenced her career of glory and independence, she became the object of unmerited scorn, and unfounded suspicion: her rising greatness and her growing power, soon enkindled

the sparks which, since her creation, had lain hid in embryo ; and caused the poisonous flame to pervade the very vitals of her government. The commerce of the United States, which soon became extended throughout Europe, now penetrated the most remote corners of the world, and afforded, first to Great Britain, an opportunity of checking its progress ; from the most gradual beginnings, she advanced to the most rapid strides ; until in the year 1806, we find the commerce of the United States oppressed with the most arbitrary vexations ; and the law of nations interpolated with innovations, which nothing but the grossest injustice could dictate, or the arm of force sanction.

France, who in imitation of the United States raised the fabric of republicanism upon the ruins of despotism, unable, from habit and inexperience, to ride the tempestuous sea of liberty, sunk into a perfect anarchy, and again reverted into her original despotism ; she also, like Great Britain, omitted no opportunity of enriching herself upon the spoils of American industry, and to fetter our commerce under the pretence of aiding her enemies ; under the guidance of Bonaparte, having prostrated her enemies and terrified her friends, she assumed the province of dictating to the United States their political course ; and, as the penalty of their disobedience, subjected them to the anger of a chief, at whose voice Europe trembled, and whose commands she implicitly obeyed. Spain, who had promised an indemnity to our merchants for losses sustained through her, the value and sufficiency of which was agreed upon between the American

Ministers and the Court of Madrid, instigated or compelled by Imperial France, refused to comply with her stipulations, and the boundaries of Louisiana were called in question and denied.

The expences incurred by France in maintaining her armies and fleets had become immense: her finances were exhausted, and her commerce extinguished: she therefore applied to the United States, for two or three millions of dollars, as a ratable part of the expences of a war, waged against England for no other purpose, than establishing the liberties of the seas; as it would have been degrading in the extreme for the United States, as an independent nation to have assented to the demands of France unconditionally, James Maddison, Secretary of State proposed to give her two millions of dollars, provided she would confirm our title to the Floridas, which he thought she could not reasonably refuse, considering we had paid her twice for the same land: in this way was the interest of the United States sacrificed, and her glory tarnished by a man, whose chicanery and intrigue, had obtained him a most unbounded influence over Congress: who had insinuated himself into the unsuspecting confidence of Mr. Jefferson; in so high a degree, as to prevail upon him to assent to an act, more prejudicial to the United States than the loss of thousands of millions: from this period the historian may date the ascendancy of French influence, in the councils of the United States, and the declension of public virtue.

France saw the advantage she had obtained, and the humiliation the United States had suffered; and

reckoning upon the ancient maxim, that the day on which a man becomes a slave, he loses half his value, she soon discovered that nations, for the most part, are alike affected as individual.

The United States, which from the days of Washington, commanded a respect that had never been denied them, now perceived that they had fallen into a state of the most abject humiliation, and that the ignorance or design of their civil Counsellors, were precipitating them into the pit of destruction: in vain had Randolph painted to Congress, with Demosthenean eloquence, the consequences of ingloriously sacrificing the independence of the United States at the shrine of imperial despotism, and of extinguishing those liberties which were bought with the blood of their fathers. In vain did he represent, in all the awfulness of reality, the rights of posterity crushed in the dust. Mr. Madison lulled the rising fears of his dependents, by exclaiming, "France wants money." As France had at this time subjugated all continental Europe, she beheld with mortification, the British isles successfully to resist her arms; their fleets covered the ocean, and their manufactures, in spite of French prohibitions, were secretly conveyed to the ports of the continent. In the rage of despair, Bonaparte, regardless of neutral right, or the sacredness of treaty, decreed from Berlin the blockade of Great Britain, withholding from the United States the rights of commercial intercourse, in the face of an existing treaty between herself and us; the remonstrances of our government were of no avail, the "Emperor decreed, and his will must be obeyed."

Thus were the interests of the United States sacrificed, to promote the views of France, and the downfall of Great-Britain; the honor of the United States having in appearance departed, and their national virtue declined, this invasion of their rights instead of being resisted unto death, was silently acquiesced in, and a way paved for a more grievous bondage.

Great-Britain alive to every thing which might affect her existence, for awhile waited with anxiety and suspense for the moment when the United States with all the energies of a powerful nation, should resist those inroads upon their neutrality. Astonished at our humiliation, and incensed that we had consented to become a main link in the chain riveted for her destruction, she boldly demand that the United States should oppose the decree, or feel the effects of a severe retaliation. The United States refused; and Great-Britain executed her threat: her orders of council were unsuccessfully repelled by Mr. Madison, in whose bosom a most deadly and unjust resentment, towards Great-Britain unceasingly reigns; while on the contrary, a most inconceivable and ungrounded predilection towards the French nation, is constantly nourished; this fondness has ever remained, since he received from Robespierre a diploma, investing him with the honors of a French citizen.

The commerce of the United States, which had been previously attacked under the pretence of illegality, was now violently seized by order of Bonaparte; as the unlawful means of upholding the British nation; an exact counter part soon followed from Great Britain; decree multiplied upon decree; order succeeded

order ; so that at the present moment there is not a part across the Atlantic which a vessel of the United States dare navigate. The laws of nations, heretofore the standard and guide of those beyond their national jurisdiction, were now trampled under foot; or regarded, at best, as a dead volume; a new system was introduced in its stead, sanctioning national piracy, individual robbery, and common violence : the riches of the East, transported in American vessels, destined for these western shores ; the treasures of Europe, acquired by hard industry and commercial skill ; the produce of our own earth, raised and matured by the hands and plow of our farmers, became equally the spoil of all who could possess them by force, or protect them by violence ; hospitality, the claims on humanity, or the cries of distress, were alike disregarded. An American vessel, driven by stress of weather on the coast of France, and exposed to the most imminent danger, was denied assistance ; a few days after she wrecked, and what remained of her cargo was voraciously seized by the special order of the French Government, sold by its order, under its inspection, and the proceeds deposited in the national treasury ; no provision made for the support of the crew, or any allowance to ship them to the place of their destination. So aggravated a case, unparalleled in enormity, unknown among civilized nations, called forth a remonstrance from the Government of the United States. France avowed the act, and unblushingly asserted, that hereafter it should be considered a precedent for future decisions. Great Britain watched, with eagle eyes, whatever passed

between France and the United States ; perceiving, that after an ineffectual remonstrance our government rested in security, and that France continued her encroachments with impunity, she imagined that, perhaps, she was equally entitled to a similar privilege. Accordingly, as the frigate Chesapeake was sailing for the Mediterranean, with naval stores, presents, &c. for the Barbary Powers, she was required by the British frigate Leopard, to deliver up some of the crew, who had deserted from British vessels ; which being refused, the British frigate poured her broadsides upon the Chesapeake, until she was but just able to float ; then carried away as many men as she pleased, obliging the Chesapeake to return into port to repair, and bury her murdered seamen. Mr. Madison made remonstrances to the British Court, but they were as unsuccessful as those he had made to the French Court : atonement has been made in the latter instance no more than in the former.

The political horizon being darkened with the most heavy clouds, caused the United States, in the month of December, 1807, to lay an Embargo on all their vessels, interdicting all trade and intercourse with the world ; this measure it was supposed would enable them to collect together, whatever might escape the freebooters of the seas, and fortify their extended and defenceless coasts, the inhabitants of which were exposed to the most perilous dangers ; their cities were unprotected, and daily liable to a bombardment from a hostile fleet.

New-York particularly had already experienced some of the evils of an approaching war ; her ships

were seized by British cruisers, which blockaded the harbor, her coasting vessels fired upon, her citizens murdered, and the cloud of war seemed to lower upon her devoted head; in vain did the State of New-York represent to Congress their unprotected and defenceless state, in vain did they unfold to them the miseries they had already suffered, and supplicate the executive of the national government to afford them a temporary succour of ships of war; entreaty was of no avail, a cabinet council was held to deliberate on what might be necessary; but a hoary sage, whose wisdom and experience the citizens of New-York had learned to contemplate with transport, and upon whom the citizens of the United States rested with security, was denied a share in the public deliberation; in this hour of peril, when the honor of his country was tarnished, and its independence, for which he had braved a seven years war, was set at nought, he was excluded his seat in the cabinet council; thus was a wound inflicted, aimed by a most deadly jealousy, but upon his country a deeper wound, whose continual running can only be healed, by the victim at whom it was aimed.

The result of this deliberation was no other than was anticipated; instead of sacrificing petty feuds at the altar of patriotism, jealousy, malice, and discord, unceasingly distracted their jarring counsels; self interest alone occupied their minds, and measures to secure their own elevation were debated, while their suffering country wanted their decision; this soon transpired; a proclamation interdicting the ships which blockaded the harbor of New-York, from all intercourse and communication, was published!!!

The citizens of the United States saw and lamented the inefficacy of the measure; discovered, by dear experience, that Clinton, the friend and companion of Washington; their pillar, their boast, and their protector, had been absent; and that they had been deprived of his counsel: they now looked up to him as the only one able to avert the impending danger, to dissipate the clouds, and to introduce that calm and tranquillity which existed, until James Madison obtained an ascendancy in our national councils; or to ride triumphantly; prostrate the enemies of his country; vindicate her honor, establish her peace, her independence, and her glory. To exalt him to this dignity she placed him unsolicited in the Vice-Presidency; while others asked in vain; while courtly intrigue, official reward, and boasted services were employed to obtain that station. George Clinton, like Cincinnatus of old, was called from his plow to serve his country; the hero obeyed; and the discomfited host swelled with anger, malice and revenge, early determined that he should never sit in the Presidential chair.

Like Washington, Clinton had become as wise and discerning a statesman as he had been an expert and courageous soldier; he looked with regret on the departed glory of his country, clasped his sword as in other days when he heard that she was defied; rebuked those who were placed in stations of confidence, for seeking their own aggrandizement, rather than the public good; and pointed out the mischief of that philosophy, which had substituted vain speculation, untried theory for systems tested by practice

and ripened by experience. The efficacy of the executive proclamation was manifested, by a total disregard to its mandates ; the interdicted ships approached nearer into harbor ; committed the same enormities, and ridiculed what they called the "President's paper gun." Peirce, conducting his vessel into port, received a bullet into his throat, which in an instant closed his eyes in death ; the citizens of New-York interred him at the public expence, mourning a death to which all were exposed. The defenceless situation of the harbor, commanded the eloquence and ability of her representatives in vain ; her growing population and increased influence, aroused the fears of Virginia, who determined to retard her progress and restrain her influence ; no means to check her growth were left untried, or measures to cramp her exertions unexecuted : Virginia saw that if New-York ever obtained an ascendancy, the uncontrolled sway she had hitherto exercised, was at an end ; elated by prosperity and the rank she had sustained since the revolution, she scouted the idea of a national executive from any but herself : hence arose her opposition to the venerable Clinton.

Unable from local situation but to cultivate the tobacco plant, and reap the fruits of a soil tilled by plantation slaves, she sternly inveigled against commerce as the source of contention with foreign powers ; from her proceeded all the arrows that were shot at its vitals, and all the difficulties with which it was incumbered.

New-York, guided by maxims more friendly to the habits and wishes of its citizens, plowed the remotest

seas; and her ships returned, laden with the riches of the eastern world.

Virginia, although, according to her doctrine, commerce had been left to protect itself, saw with indignation, the rising greatness and the pre-eminent rank New-York would assume among the individual states; and in all the blackness of malevolence and envy, immediately plotted her dismemberment, and the establishment of two distinct states in her stead. This plan now in possession of James Madison, Secretary of State, was submitted by him to the inspection of several members of congress: a scheme as diabolical in practice as the heart of man could conceive; and as dangerous in its tendency as could possibly be devised: a scheme of which the citizens of New-York are well aware; and in the prevention of which, they would sacrifice their hearts' blood. The corruption and evil bias of the human mind, has at all times and in all ages, constituted a theme for the philosopher or the moralist; that man endowed with the noblest faculties of soul, should debase them in the commission of acts, the most vile and detested, exceeds human wisdom to account for; that a man possessed of reflection, should knowingly become the wicked instrument of deeds, at which reason shudders and virtue blushes, is beyond the comprehension of the finite mind—though we may receive consolation from the belief, that it is but seldom the case, that those of large capacities and cultivated minds, plunge into such guilty excesses; publish to the world their utter disregard of the distinctions of virtue and vice; and in the mad career of ambition, willingly sacrifice

the best interests of their country to advance their own.

Perhaps no man ever injured the United States in an equal degree with James Madison; and not contented with what he has already done, his mischievous head is now agitating the means by which New-York may be the more easily divided. The awful crisis of our public affairs; impending war; internal broils; the defenceless state of the country, are all the dreadful consequences of a system organized by this man; and which, if not speedily dissolved, cannot fail to destroy the prosperity of the United States: nay, if the effects already produced, which the wisest politicians predicted, may be considered as data on which to calculate, the liberties of our country, with our boasted independence, must be prostrated in the dust.

Republicans turn your eyes around and view the surrounding danger! Ships of war hovering on our coasts, ready at a signal to work destruction: millions of American property sequestered by the order of Bonaparte; our citizens, whom profit or health had induced to travel abroad, immured in the cells and prisons of France, and her dependencies; the American flag forbidden to sail the seas under the penalty of capture and confiscation; the produce of our farmers rotting in their barns; the ships of our merchants eating up their capital and decaying; the citizens withholding their confidence from the men in whom they had placed it; calling upon them to prove the expediency of those laws which they had enacted, and resisting by force, in some instances, the very decrees of Con-

gress. In this state of calamity and terror, the citizens of the United States have reiterated the name of Clinton; they hail to their embrace the venerable patriot, in the view of ascending that seat, which in a few months must be vacated by Mr. Jefferson; they know that he can correct the evils that exist, and give tone and vigor to those parts of our government, which through stupidity or indolence, have become feeble and relaxed.

But from the day that George Clinton had been placed in the Vice-Presidency, with the universal plaudits of his fellow-citizens, who intended that at the expiration of the term he should assume the reigns of government; from that day a host of unprincipled and disappointed men attempted to seal his political death; his locks had become whitened through seventy revolving suns; twenty-five of which were consumed in the toils of war and in the civil concerns of his country; his wisdom had increased with his years, and age which so often unfits us for the active duties of life, seemed to approach him in a contrary course; his mind remained elastic and firm, his judgment sound and decisive; his perceptions acute, and his body strong and vigorous; like Franklin he seemed too choice a vessel to be overthrown or blasted, by the rough and frequent visits of the tempestuous seasons. The combination which had arrayed themselves against him, exerted all their skill to supplant him; his age they pretended rendered him unable to undergo that pressure of business which devolved on the chief magistrate; to guard the common-

wealth with that vigilance, which the perilous state of the nation required ; or to sustain those fatigues, which are inseparably connected with the presidency ; —in advancing those charges they were belied by their own consciences ; the indignation of their citizens compelled them to retract those ungrounded assertions, and to admit, that if he was the choice of the people, he was every way qualified to administer the government.

A republican at heart and at principle, Governor Clinton disdained the arts of duplicity and intrigue ; he despised the petty artifices of his enemies, and rested his foundation on the will of the people ; of a most irreproachable character and unspotted life, before this time the bitterest of his political opponents, were restrained in their rage by the bounds of truth ; but now the poison of calumny preyed on his character, and those who administered the draught, enjoyed that delight, which a savage experiences while torturing his victims.

And will the citizens of the United States close their eyes with indifference upon so shocking a scene ? Will they see the venerable sage who with Washington, Franklin, Adams, and Gates, reared the temple of liberty, robbed of his fame ; despoiled of his honors, and deprived of his reward ? Forbid it heaven ! may in gratitude towards those, who braved the perils of death, that we might enjoy the fruit of their toils, never darken the record of our deeds, or give posterity cause to reproach us. But who are those that are thus fattening upon detraction ? Who would

raise themselves upon the ruins of greatness and worth?—A number of men who allured by the promises of reward, and the anticipation of basking in the sunshine of presidential favor, have attached themselves in a band, placed James Madison at their head, and nominated him as one best fitted to be the next President: the very same man who by his folly and littleness of soul, involved the United States in all their present troubles; advised a double purchase of the Floridas, because he said “France wanted money;” assisted in exporting thence two millions of dollars; and by his unbounded influence in Congress prevented the fortifications of the sea-port towns; who has established a system which lays bolts upon commerce; and which would be totally annihilated, should he unhappily succeed in his schemes to the presidency; we need advance no better proof of his hostility to commerce, the support and life of our government, than his declaration, that the citizens of the United States, like the Chinese, should be perpetually embargoed; and the produce of their fields carried away by foreign nations, without the interchange of luxurious commodities.

It was not known till the month of December last that Mr. Jefferson intended to retire to the walks of private life, except to a few of his friends in Virginia, who quickly revolved the measures, best fitted to exclude Governor Clinton from the presidency; without generosity or honor, they opened all the sluices of calumny, and endeavoured to sink him in the whirlpool of Virginian aristocracy; the public prints which had

‘been engaged to oppose him, like common sewers, bilched out their contents, ruinous as the volcanic lava, which destroys wherever it rolls ; the patriotic republicans of Congress endeavored to stem the current, to convince the citizens of the United States that Mr. Madison was no way fitted to take the helm of state ; and that in his elevation republicanism must receive its fall , that his republican honesty was doubtful, and that his firmness had crouched to French despotism ; that but a few years before he had emerged from the obscurity in which nature had laid him, and that his elevation was pregnant with the greatest evils : they published to the citizens of the United States their protest to his nomination ; they asked why he aspired to so dignified a station ; where were the qualities which recommended him, and assigned the following reasons why they rejected him : because say they his nomination “ is in direct hostility with the principles of the constitution ; because it was a gross assumption of power not delegated by the people.” Yes, they would not suffer the liberties of the people to be wrenched from them ; they would not behold with indifference the constitution of their country most glaringly violated ; they moreover considered the man for whom this was to be done ; they inquired whether he possessed a soul alive to the honor of his country ; swelling with indignation to revenge the wrongs she had endured.

Again, “ We ask for energy, and we are told of his moderation : we ask for talents, and the reply is

his unassuming merit: we ask what were his services in the cause of liberty, and we are directed to the *Federalist*, written in conjunction with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, in which the most extravagant of their doctrines are maintained and propagated; we ask for constancy as a republican standing forth to stem the torrent of oppression which threatened to overturn the liberties of the country; we ask for that high and honorable sense of duty, which would at all times turn with loathing and abhorrence, from any compromise with fraud and speculation; we ask in vain; he has forfeited his claims if ever he had any, to public confidence, by recommending a shameful bargain, with the unprincipled speculators of the Yazoo Companies; and because we wish a man unsuspected of undue partiality or enmity to either of the belligerent nations."

These are the reasons advanced by the unbending members of congress, why James Madison should not receive the support of their constituents; founded on the basis of truth, their realities flash conviction on the mind, and reflect, as in a mirror, the consequences which they point to.

Now, citizens of the United States, shall James Madison be the man of your choice? Remember the liberties which you yet possess; in a few years the ruinous blast may destroy them; remember how dearly they were purchased; let not folly and ignorance work their destruction: look at imperial France; call to mind her struggle in the cause of freedom; see her altars yet crimsoned with the blood which flowed to

establish it ; ruminatè with solemnity on the causes which erected a despotism on the ruins of the republic : internal broils, civil commotions, the will of the people disregarded by ambitious schemes ; the public voice stifled by traitors ; these, these were the causes of its downfall ; this same system has been enforced here, by the supporters of Mr. Madison ; those who dared to oppose him have been anathematized : the virtuous remnant of the fathers, and heroes of our independence have been proscribed ; and clubs, assemblies, and midnight caucusses, more rucful than those which destroyed the liberties of France, admonish you of your danger ; already is republicanism tottering ; already has it received a shock which staggers our belief. New-York has turned with disgust at the measures and men which have become to its citizens a curse : the middle and northern states all, all has deserted in a greater or less degree from the republican course ; nothing less than the election of Governor Clinton can arrest the strides of Federalism ; introduce harmony among the citizens, heal the diseased body politic, and establish republicanism on its basis.

Republicans rouse from the slumbers of ease ! See the vortex into which you are about to be engulfed : be mindful of posterity, and show the world that virtue is your guide, and the safety of the republic your aim : if the farmer would ensure the sale of his produce ; the merchant secure his commercial privileges ; the mechanic receive the reward of his labor ; the laborer preserve the earnings of his toil ; the patriot

perpetuate his country's independence, oppose manfully, and you shall oppose successfully, men who would sacrifice the American Eagle to the Gallic Cock; their country's glory to their own ambition; the rights of mankind to the cravings of despotism.

In this day of darkness, a union of views and a union of measures, will enable us to finish our course with joy: mountains shall become vallies; rough places will be made smooth; and the name of Clinton will ensure the success of the republican party: consider what he has done; inquire whether his merits are unheeded by his citizens; learn why he was placed in the Vice Presidency, if it was not the reward of his services; inquire whether from that same station they did not advance Mr. Adams to the Presidency, if from the same station Mr. Jefferson did not succeed Mr. Adams; and if according to this established rule the people did not intend George Clinton to succeed Mr. Jefferson; and shall not a nomination made by interested men, the dependants of Mr. Madison, receive the disapprobation of the citizens of the United States? shall it not extort from them their sentiments in favor of Governor Clinton; his age, his valor, his merit, his wisdom, calls upon them to support him. See the prosperity to which he raised New-York while Governor of that State, and how he bore her through every difficulty: the following masterly sketch from an admired author claims the public attention:

“ He is descended from a worthy and respectable family which belonged to the county of Orange, and state of New-York. His father was a judge and commanded a regiment.

“ In early youth he was put to the law, and long before he became a man, he rallied under the standard of his country, and assisted Amhurst in the reduction of Montreal. In this campaign, he nobly distinguished himself in a conflict on the Northern waters, where with 4 gun boats, after a severe engagement, he captured a French brig of 18 guns.

“ This war being ended, he returned again to his favorite pursuit, the science of the law, and placed himself under the tuition of Justice Smith, where he became a student with Governour Morris, between whom and himself, a difference of political opinion, has since wrought a separation.

“ He had scarcely commenced as a practitioner, when in 1765, the storm appeared to gather round his native land, and the tyrannic disposition of the mother country was manifested.— Foreseeing the evil at hand, with a mind glowing with patriotism, correct and quick as lightning in its perceptions; and, like time, steady and fixed to the atchievment of its object, he abandoned the advantages of the profession to which he had been educated, and became a member of the colonial Legislature; where, he ever displayed a love of liberty, an inflexible attachment to the rights of his country, and that undaunted firmness and integrity, without which

this nation never would have been free ; and which has ever formed the most brilliant, though by no means the most useful trait of his character.

“ In this situation he remained, contending against the doctrines of British supremacy ; and, with great strength of argument, and force of popularity supporting the rights of America till the crisis arrived when in 1775, he was returned a member of the patriotic Congress, who laid the foundation of our Independence.

“ While in that venerable body, which is never to be forgotten, and can never be sufficiently admired, it may be said of him with truth, that *he strengthened the feeble knees and the hands that hung down.*

“ In 1776, he was appointed Brigadier General of the troops of his native state, and in the same year received from Congress, an appointment of the same rank, in the national service, which he held during the war.

“ In 1777, he was appointed by Congress to command the posts of the Highlands, a most important and arduous duty. The design of the enemy was to separate New-England from the rest of the union, and by preventing the succor of the East, to lay waste the middle and Southern country. Had this plan been carried into effect American liberty would probably have expired in its cradle.

“ It was then that this vast and comprehensive genius viewed in its true light the magnitude of the evil contemplated ; and, he roused to a degree of energy unknown and unexpected. It

was then that Burgoyne was, with the best appointed army, ever seen in America, attempting to force his way to Albany, and Howe was endeavouring to effect a connexion with him at that important place.

“ The crisis was all-important and awful—Clinton by being elected Governor, had just become the father of that people—the only alternative left him, was, to preserve those committed to his care, or at their sacrifice to prevent this junction and save the nation.

“ He did not hesitate—In an instant resolved, and his resolutions were as firm as the decrees of heaven. He determined at all hazards to save the country.

“ With this view, when Howe attempted to ascend the river—Clinton from every height and angle assailed him. Howe, driven by madness and a temper of revenge, inconsiderately landed and marched into the country, and immortalized his name by burning Kingston and other villages. The hardy sons of the North assembled under the immortal Gates—the junction was prevented—Burgoyne and his army were taken—**AMERICA WAS FREE.**

“ From this moment for eighteen years in succession he remained the Governor of New-York; elected to that important station by a generous and wise people, who knew how to appreciate his wisdom and virtue, and their own blessings.

“ During this period he was President of the convention of that state which ratified the national constitution; where, as in all other situa-

tions, he undeviatingly manifested an ardent attachment to civil liberty.

“ For the benefit of posterity, it may be well to descend to a few strong characteristics of his administration of the State Government.

“ A riot as violent and extensive in proportion as that of Lord George Gordon in London, broke out in New-York. The untarnished hero mingled with the mob to prevent excess, and allay the passions of the multitude. Tender of the lives of a misguided populace, for two days he submitted himself to this all important service, and prevented the subversion of private as well as public rights, and the destruction of private property. Perceiving that the passions of the people were not to be allayed, the tenderness of a father yielded to the duties of a magistrate, and those who by his remonstrances he could not soften, by his energy and power, he instantly subdued.

“ In 1786, a rebellion which threatened a revolution, broke out in Massachusetts—the rebels were discomfited, and in large bodies fled to Lebanon, New-York; a place distant 150 miles from the city, which was then the seat of government, and where then was Governor Clinton.— Of this event he was informed—not foreseeing the evil, the legislature (which was then in session) had not provided for the emergency, and the Executive was without power—yet so great was the confidence of the legislature, and so powerful his energy, that in less than three days he appeared on the spot with two regiments of troops, and

a competent court of justice, and all proper and necessary characters attendant ; and in less than twelve hours the rebel army was dispersed, the faulty magistrates dismissed, and the offenders brought to punishment.

“ When he assumed the reins of government in New-York, the state was infested with many wealthy and potent tories.—Few (if not he alone) were brave enough to assume the responsibility : the State had but a spare and meagre population on the North River, with some trifling settlements on the Mohawk. It ranked below mediocrity, while it may now justly rank among the first States of the Union. In this situation he undertook to discharge the duties of the executive, and it may justly, in a great measure, be attributed to the bold, persevering, liberal, and dignified policy of this enlightened and able statesman, that this State has risen to so much importance.

“ To him it was owing, that in the revolution the tory party did not prevail in New-York.

“ It was his noble and dignified policy that furnished the hardy yeomanry of the East, not only with farms on a ten years credit, but a money capital to bring them to a state of cultivation. An act which does equal justice to his head and to his heart.

“ It was he who devised the plans of finance which have placed the citizens beyond the calls of the tax-gatherer ; and furnished for them an actual fund of near four millions. He may justly be called the father of that people.

It was he, who after having strove, in obedience to the law of this state, to unite Vermont with New-York; generously controlled his resentment, and effected her admission as a State into the Union.

“After the life of labour and of usefulness faintly pourtrayed; worn with the fatigues of duty, with disease which then afflicted him, but which has happily been removed for the last eight years; and with those calamities which are too commonly incident to life—having led his state to eminent, if not unrivalled importance and prosperity, he retired from public life, with a mind resolved not to mingle again unnecessarily with governmental concerns, and to taste those sweets which result from reflecting on a life well spent.

“From this state he was roused by a sense of duty, when the struggle came on between the political parties of the nation. He had suffered too much for liberty and *freedom of opinion*, to see them expire without any effort on his part. He loved retirement—but he loved his country more.

“Those called federalists, contended for rules and maxims of civil government, believed by the republicans (among whom is Governor Clinton) to be dangerous to civil liberty—at the head of the former was President Adams, who from a series of public service had justly acquired a high character. At the head of the latter was the illustrious Jefferson, whose name is the watch word of liberty, and whose memory will be dear to every lover of America.

“ It was impossible for the great Father of New-York to remain an idle spectator of these contests: the republican party wanted his aid—his country which has always been dearer to him than any thing else, demanded his services, and he listened to her voice.

“ It was the wish of the republicans to place him by the side of Jefferson: and accordingly a deputation was sent to him at New-York. He highly prized the honors of his country; but believing that in a humble station he could then render her more important services, than in one elevated; with that dignity and love of country which has governed all his actions, he generously declined the offer.

“ The republican candidates were selected. It was known that they could not succeed without the aid of the State of New-York—the republicans of New-York could not succeed without success to the republican ticket in the city—and that ticket could not succeed without the name and influence of George Clinton. Of course, the elevation of Thomas Jefferson, which every republican so ardently desired, and which has proved so eminently useful, could not take place, unless the patriotic Clinton, who had refused the Vice-Presidency, would accept of the station of a Representative in the State Legislature.

“ Again the patriot did not hesitate—he sacrificed his domestic quiet to the sense of duty, and the wishes of his country. He became a member of the Legislature—with him were carried the

other members of the ticket, and Thomas Jefferson was made President.

“ When he entered the threshold of the Legislature, he found, that *in his absence* federal principles had gained a dangerous influence in the state government, and upon the solicitation of his republican friends, he consented once more to discharge the duties of Chief Magistrate.

“ Accordingly, in 1801, he was again elected Governor, and completed the reformation of politics in his native state.

“ In 1804, the people having lost their confidence in Col. Burr, the Vice-President— to produce unanimity and restore harmony to the republic, Governor Clinton was elected Vice-President, by the same number of votes that elevated Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency : in which station he has discharged its duties with unremitting attention and universal satisfaction.

“ A dangerous scism took place among the people of New-York in the spring of 1807, as to their gubernatorial election, and Governor Clinton's name was brought into the contest. He was then attending a sick daughter in Washington. He spoke to the people of New-York— they recollected the voice of their beloved chief, and the murmur of discontent was silenced.

“ Of all the revolutionary heroes and worthies to him alone was entrusted the government of a state, and a command in the regular army. Nature gave him a clear and strong mind, which has been highly cultivated. Whilst he is wise from experience, age has not impaired his intellect. He is now what he was in the revolution,

an ardent friend of liberty, attached to the rights of the American people in their various classifications : quick to perceive—prompt to execute—devoted only to his country's good, invariable and inflexible.”

And shall the citizens of the United States refuse to honor a man whose days have been spent in the service of his country? shall his last days be embittered with the ingratitude of his citizens; shall a man be placed over his head, who was receiving correction from a school-master, while he was engaged in the strife of armies; despising the epithet of “rebel” to his king, and “subverter” of his colonies; while with that greatness of soul which characterises the noble patriot, he was spurning the offered bribes of British mercenaries, to desert the cause of liberty which he had espoused; shall he see his country ruled by a man who thinks that to offend against France, is to offend against God, and who agreeably to this sentiment, advised to give her two millions, and purchase her favour!

If the election of George Clinton or James Madison depended not so much upon the correctness of their principles, as upon their past services; (for if Mr. Madison cherishes hope from the correctness of his principles, his chance is but small); if their claims were to be “weighed in the balance,” whom would the citizens of the United States choose? an attentive perusal of the following extract of an address from the eloquent Mr. Sidney to the citizens of the United States will enable us to judge:

“First, what are the claims of James Madison? In our revolutionary contest, which terminated in the security of every thing dear to us as a nation, and

without which we should this day have been the slaves of a cruel and unrelenting tyrant. In that arduous contest, fellow-citizens, our country was never aided by the personal services of James Madison; indeed he was but little known until his election to Congress had brought him, as it were, from obscurity. In that body he was never considered a member of more than second rate talents.

His exertions to stem the torrent of venality and corruption, during the reign of terror and proscription, were but weak and feeble. His speeches are the *best evidence*, while his *conduct* affords the *most suitable comment*. What was the conduct of James Madison, when that reign of terror and proscription had arrived at its height? When we required the united energies of all good men and sound republicans to save us from *national destruction*, I ask what was the conduct of James Madison? Unable, or not disposed, from want of nerve or inclination, perhaps both, to make a stand against that torrent, he *shrank apalled* from the discharge of that duty he owed to his constituents, and to our common country. *He vacated his seat in that body*. The tempestuous sea of liberty was too rough for his flimsy barque. He *abandoned* his post, and sought refuge in the peaceful shade of retirement.

In that *secure abode*, he remained unnoticed and unknown beyond the county in which he lived, from which he was returned as a state legislator. In all human probability he would have remained there until this day, were it not that a *change of administration* was effected—This afforded an opportunity for the *fair weather birds* to emerge from their habitations of security and ease, and Mr. Madison was transformed from a mere recluse into a Secretary of State!! The storm was over, and fear ceased to agitate his timid mind.

In the diplomatic career of Mr. Madison there can

be no question (and it will not surely be denied by those who know the routine of office) that he is the *mere organ or mouth piece* of Mr. Jefferson. That the various diplomatic papers, bearing the signature of "James Madison," are as much, nay more the production of Thomas Jefferson's pen than of the former. I view them therefore as the dictation of Mr. Jefferson, and *merely copied* by his *chief clerk*: James Madison. Mr. Madison is a man of good talents, probably a second or third rate. He is an honest man, but *destitute of nerve*, and *easily played upon*.

I now come to matters of a different nature, matters of *deep importance*, with which you, my fellow-citizens ought not to remain unacquainted. The charge preferred against Mr. Madison, on the floor of Congress, by Mr. John Randolph, relative to the declaration that an enormous sum of money must be paid to the government of France to purchase its Friendship, has never been rebutted even by a public denial! Fellow-citizens! that charge was made in the most solemn and commanding manner:—Not by anonymous scribblers to gratify party malice, or personal spleen, nor in the fullness of infuriated resentment. It was made in the *cool and dispassionate discharge of a sacred and imperative duty*. In the most solemn manner the charge was made by one of *your* representatives on the floor of Congress; by a man who, though he has in some respects, in points of *policy* or *patriotism*, differed in opinion with a majority of the democratic party in Congress, yet whose *public and private virtue* is second to none within the walls of your capitol.

It is not for me to pronounce on the innocence or guilt of the party accused. It is for me, however, to perform my duty. In the name of *Justice* and *Independence*, and all that is near and dear to our country:—In the name of that *sacred regard* which he owes to his own *character* as a public functionary, I call upon James Madison, Secretary of State, to deny or admit the truth of this charge. *The public voice de-*

wants it—his own character requires it—It is in vain that he may affect to wrap himself in the mantle of official importance.—He is still but one of the servants of a sovereign people:—It is in vain he soars with waxen wings above the notice of Algernon Sidney:—This cannot avail. This will not satisfy the public mind. *Silence carries with it the strong presumptive evidence of guilt.*”

Now can a doubt exist upon the mind of any one at this moment whose claims upon the gratitude of his country are best supported; or whose wisdom best fits them to be our next President. Methinks I hear the grateful voice of her citizens exclaiming, “to George Clinton we award the victory.” The writer of this publication has the pleasure of beholding the wretches, who were endeavouring to sully the fame of our chief, arrested in their career of wickedness, by the indignation and frowns of an injured people, whom they were striving to delude by their deception and lies; stripped of their masks and exposed to public view, they have shrunk from the face of day, and been forced to declare, that if Mr. Clinton had been nominated by a majority in congress they would support him—vain subterfuge indeed: we have seen how and why Mr. Madison was nominated; how the constitution was violated, and the rights of the states trampled upon; this was one great cause of the spirited protest by an inflexible minority; unawed by threats; unmoved by promises, they would not sanction such an infraction of the constitution as Mr. Wirt, a Virginian lawyer and advocate of Mr. Madison considered equal to perjury!

Brethren of one common family, citizens of one common country, sons of Columbia, inheritors of your

fathers virtues, on you depends the welfare of the nation ; by your decision it may stand or fall : soldiers, let not the edifice which you reared ; the temple which you erected ; the altar which you raised, sacred to liberty and fame, be profaned by the unhallowed touches of wicked men ; nor demolished by one, who ignorant of the labour by which they were established, or of the blood by which they were cemented, foolishly sports with their realities and in the rage of experiment, undermines their foundation. Members of every class, in a little while your energies may be called into action ; the cloud of war thickens around us ; scenes more dreadful than those of the revolution, may soon be realised ; the momentous question will quickly be decided, whether we will nobly assert our independence, or ignobly bow to foreign nations : the Emperor of France has called upon us to declare war, or threatened to declare war upon us ; will you resign your necks to the gallic yoke ? Will you give up your independence and prove unworthy your fathers ? does not the fire of indignation rather kindle in your soul ? Do you not feel the ardour of freemen, and denounce vengeance on your country's foes ? and yet there are men, deadly as the adder nourished in the husbandman's bosom, endeavouring to lull us into security, and persuading us to smother our resentment : who tell us that France is so powerful, that to resist her is to smite ourselves, and to avert her anger we must purchase her favor. And do such beings breath the pure air of a republic ? yes hundred surround us ; and in the midst James Madison stands conspicuous ! O my countrymen, this is not the man who will face the

storm and the tempest ; of a little soul he cannot combat in the strife of contention. Clinton is the skilful pilot, the brave general, and the energetic statesman.

Cast your eyes upon the European world ; there you will see how fear and cowardice have prostrated kingdoms and empires : how the absence of national virtue, and a spirit of servility have swept from the world those, who in the days of their fathers existed in all the majesty of power, and all the glory of independence. Where is the Germanic Empire, which for so many centuries wielded a colossal sceptre ? Where is her boasted constitution, the admiration and wonder of the world ? Dissolved and buried in the pit of oblivion. And how was that effected ? By French emissaries, who swarmed thro' every part of the empire ; declared that the Corsican was the friend of mankind ; fomented dissensions among the friends of the empire, and enkindled jealousies among the different states.

Ignorant and unsuspecting, Germany knew not its fate, till Mack had betrayed them, or the members of the Diet swerved from their allegiance.

In a republic like ours, where all share equally the sweets of liberty, or bear alike the evils of servitude, every citizen should guard with vigilance the common rights of the community ; watch with jealousy those, whose lives and conduct render them suspicious, and expose the traitor, unmasked in a deceptions garb, in all the nakedness of deformity and guilt. From this conviction of the duties of a citizen, I forwarn the freemen of our soil of the perils that threaten them. Like Germany you are cherishing traitors in your bosom ; there are those among us who would sell our liberties to the despot who has trampled into non-ex-

istence all the nations of Europe ; who are crying peace, peace, when there is no peace ; who pray that the Almighty would crown his efforts with success ; and that Great-Britain [the only barrier to universal despotism may be hurled into the pit of perdition. Citizens of America ! these are no fairy tales ; they are truths as plain as they are awful : they need not the eloquence of the orator or the dress of the rhetorician to establish them in your minds.— Mark those men who tell you that France must not be resisted ; who say she must not be offended ; that the United States would suffer by not yielding to her power ! This was the doctrine preached by traitors in all these kingdoms, empires, and republics, that have fallen in the dust before Bonaparte ; this was the infernal gin that ensnared them, and rendered impotent every effort to save themselves. Where is the Batavian Republic ? That too was taught to believe, that France, her own dear friend, would cover her with a mantle of love ; emissaries less numerous there, than in the United States, pompously declaimed of the blessings of French alliance ; and proposed to the nation, to put itself under the protection of France ! Holland complied ! and immediately fell from the pinnacle of glory, into the abyss of slavery ; from the eminence of a republic, to the degradation of a province ; from the blessings of choosing a republican to watch over her interests, to the curse of submitting to a French tyrant. Where is Prussia ? blotted from the map of the world. Where is Switzerland ? her vestiges can but faintly be traced. Where is Italy ? swallowed in the whirlpool of conquest. Where are the Powers of the North ? doomed to contempt, im-

potence and insignificance. Who is the author of these direful evils? Who has crimsoned the earth with blood to possess the sceptre of universal sway? Bonaparte; the usurper of the thrones of the Bourbons; the conqueror of Europe; the tyrant of France; and the enemy of mankind. Citizens this is the monster that is striving to bury you into the common grave: already has he advanced—considerably has he progressed—and now at this moment he is poisoning the dart prepared for your destruction! Open your eyes—see death staring you in the face! fly from the path his minions have pointed out—when they tell you to cast yourself upon his protection; to make war with his enemies, and obey his commands, spurn at their admonitions; and shun their counsel; they are bitter as death; cruel as the grave; full of deadly poison—Make war upon the enemies of France? Who are her enemies? Great Britain is her enemy; and are you invited to make war upon her? Is she not a more secure barrier to the United States, than the waters of the Atlantic? Is she not almost the only guarantee of the independence of our country? If you make war upon her you will destroy her; and what then? Besides, Holland, Prussia, Russia, each in succession declared war against Great Britain: read their fate, and consider the instigators to such deeds, the enemies of your liberties. Select men to govern you who have been tried; whom foreign influence cannot reach; patriots of '76; whose wisdom has been manifested by experience; the friends and companions of Washington; who will tread in his foot-steps; protect you from foreign and domestic foes, and con-

sult your happiness, independence, and glory; place Clinton at your head and you are safe; but should Madison unfortunately rule, war with England will immediately ensue; honor, glory, happiness, and virtue will all bow at the foot of the conqueror; and the world become the theatre of barbarity and bloodshed. Spain is now undergoing the cruel tragedy; robbed of her liberties! her children massacred! who has not read her fate with the big tear of sympathy; it speaks volumes; she loved and obeyed France; she opened her treasure and her heart; read in her your own fate, unless you discard the favorites who are deceiving you; strengthen the arm of Government, and let Clinton guide the bark.

THE END.