

man, proposed an amendment preventing the extension of slavery into any of the territory gained from Mexico,<sup>28</sup> the aging Henry Clay (now with the support of Stephen Douglas) acted for the Slave Power once again, this time with the Compromise of 1850, which allowed the expansion of slavery into the entire southwest (Arizona, New Mexico and Utah), legalized the interstate slave trade, and imposed a brutal fugitive slave law.

Then came 1854, and victory for the Slave Power was within reach. Stephen Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act, with its provisions for "popular sovereignty," effectively legalized the introduction of slavery into all the territory west of the Mississippi River, as Jefferson and Madison had intended in 1803. With this act, the Whig Party, after a mere 20 years of appeasement to the Slave Power, vanished. Three years later, the Dred Scott Decision *de facto* opened up the entire nation, including the Northeast, to slavery.

There are many, past and present, who defend the compromises of 1820 and 1850, proclaiming that they were the only way to prevent a break-up of the Union. As we now know, despite the "compromises" the Union did break up, and when that came in 1861 it was terrible. What almost everyone fails to recognize, is that the South never wanted to "be left alone;" that it was never the case that as long as no one interfered with their "peculiar institution" of human bondage, they would peacefully co-exist with the North. From the beginning, it was the design of the Virginia Slave Power to take over and dominate the entire nation, and over a span of 70 years their efforts were unceasing and relentless.

28. This Amendment, known today is the Wilmot Proviso, was modeled on Rufus King's Northwest Ordinance. Like the Tallmadge Amendment from 30 years earlier, it passed the House of Representatives and stood a good chance of enactment before Henry Clay intervened to kill it.

FIGURE 1:

## The Mississippi/Missouri River System



## Part V The Erie Canal & DeWitt Clinton

First, let us discuss the Erie Canal from the standpoint of the war between Hamilton's New Yorkers and the Slave Power. Then we will look at a little of its history and other implications.

Look at two maps. First, a map of the Mississippi-Arkansas-Ohio-Missouri River system (**Figure 1**). From New Orleans the Mississippi River stretches up through Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and into Minnesota. Of its three main tributaries, the Arkansas River reaches out to Kansas, Oklahoma and Colorado; the Missouri River flows north to Nebraska, South Dakota and Montana; and the great Ohio River extends eastward into Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and western New York State. It is a river basin that covers 50 percent of the total land mass of the continental United States.

After 1803 it became the intention of the Virginia Slave Power to transform New Orleans into the largest

FIGURE 2

## The Great Lakes Region



port in the United States, as well as the commercial and financial capital of a slave-dominated economic system that would control the future of the nation. New Orleans would become the entry-point into a vast inland slave territory, with commercial goods coming down the river and slavery spreading up the river.

Next look at a map of the Great Lakes region, with New York City as the easternmost point (**Figure 2**). This covers an area stretching from Manhattan, out through Buffalo to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The Erie Canal was intended to direct all of the commerce of this region through New York, as well as to enable the settlement of these new regions by free New Yorkers and New Englanders.

Furthermore, a second canal—the Ohio & Erie Canal—was constructed in tandem with the Erie Canal through the collaboration of DeWitt Clinton and Ohio Governor Thomas Worthington. It linked Lake Erie to the Ohio River, thus allowing all the traffic from that river to travel eastward to New York City.

The Erie Canal was a strategic flank (attack) on the Slave Power. And it was understood to be so by Gouverneur Morris. The issue was “who would control the westward expansion of the nation.” Morris, Jay, and most emphatically Hamilton, before his death, were determined to make New York City the commercial, cultural, and political capital of the Republic. By 1803,

Morris viewed the Erie Canal project as a life-and-death strategic necessity to prevent the takeover of the nation by the Slave Power.<sup>29</sup>

### Morris and Clinton

If one had to bestow the title of “Father of the Erie Canal” on any one person, that honor most certainly would have to be given to Gouverneur Morris. He was the first to propose the canal, in 1777, and after his return from Europe in 1797, the Erie Canal project consumed most of the rest of his life. In 1800 Morris drafted detailed plans for a canal to Lake Erie which he submitted to New

York Surveyor General Simeon DeWitt. At the time DeWitt dismissed the plan as impractical, but years later he would write: The merit of first starting the idea of a direct communication by water between Lake Erie and the Hudson River unquestionably belongs to Gouverneur Morris.”

In 1801, Morris toured the region, from Albany to Lakes Ontario and Erie and Niagara Falls, exploring the topology and the obstacles to a future canal.

Between 1800 and 1808, Morris wrote letters, lobbied in Albany, and propagandized for the Canal. In 1809 he traveled to Washington D.C. and testified before a special Committee in the House of Representatives, requesting (unsuccessfully) that the National Government undertake and finance the Canal project. In 1810, DeWitt Clinton, who had been working with Morris since 1807 on Morris’s design to transform Manhattan Island, came on board the campaign to build the Canal.

29. A tributary project to the strategic Canal Initiative was the Blueprint for New York City, devised by Gouverneur Morris between 1807 and 1811. Morris headed a five man committee and employed the same engineers and surveyors involved in the Erie Canal Project. The result was the famous Manhattan “Grid” of avenues and streets from Houston Street in the South to Harlem in the North. Manhattan is essentially man-made (or Morris-made), as hills were flattened, dales leveled, swamps filled, and forests cleared. This was done in tandem with the Erie Canal Project to prepare New York to become the economic and political driver of the nation upon the Canal’s completion.



In 1810, at Morris's request, the New York legislature appointed a seven-person "Commission to Explore a Route for a Canal to Lake Erie," which became known as the Erie Canal Commission. Gouverneur Morris was selected first, Steven Van Rensselaer second, and DeWitt Clinton third. For the next five years, Morris served as Chairman of the Commission.<sup>30</sup> During the summer of 1810, the entire Commission would spend two months in western New York exploring possible routes for the Canal.

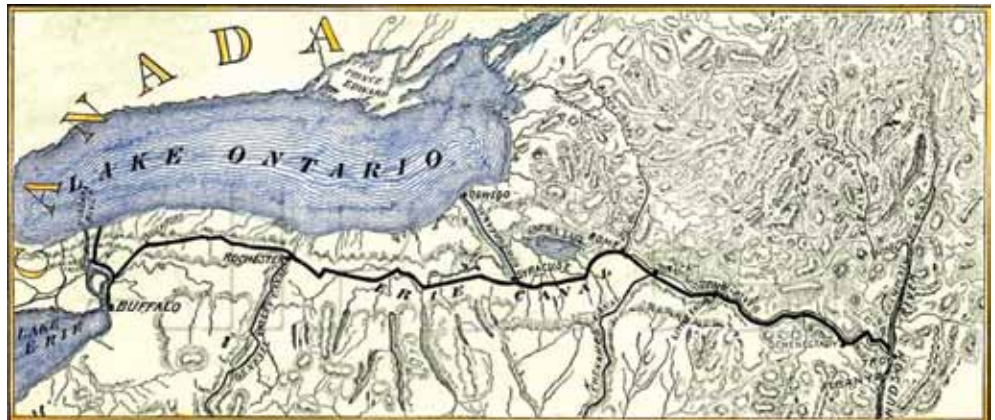
In 1811, Morris and Clinton, now joined by Robert Fulton (whose steamboat had been launched on the Hudson River four years earlier), launched an all-out campaign for the Canal, criss-crossing the state and speaking at numerous public events to organize support. As part of the campaign, Clinton authors the "Atticus" letters, which appear in the *New York Evening Post* to popularize the project, and in January of 1812, Morris and Clinton make a second trip to Washington D.C., which this time includes a meeting with President Madison. Madison turns down their request for aid, stating that it would be unconstitutional to finance such a project.

Finally, following the submission of an extensive report, authored by Morris, to the New York Legislature, in June of 1812 the Legislature authorizes the Commission to borrow \$5 million to begin work on the canal. Within weeks engineering studies begin.

And that is where the project almost died. Less than one month after the New York vote, the United States declared war on Great Britain, and over the next two and one-half years, funding dried up and political support evaporated. In 1814, the Legislature repealed the 1812 Act which had authorized the Canal construction, and by 1815 the project was dead. But on December 31, 1815, Morris, Clinton, and the other commissioners meet with 100 potential financial backers in New York

FIGURE 3

### The Erie Canal, c. 1840



City, and present a detailed plan, at an estimated cost of \$6 million, with a completion timetable of ten to fifteen years. Public meetings are organized throughout the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys to explain the plan and organize support, and in early 1816, a petition, signed by tens of thousands throughout the state, is presented to the Legislature, stating that a completed canal will "convey more riches on its waters than any other canal in the world."

In April, a new Commission is selected, now headed by Clinton and including Stephen Van Rensselaer, and in 1817 a New Canal Bill authorizes the beginning of construction, which starts at Rome, New York on July 4.

It would take eight years to complete, but when finished there was nothing like it anywhere. At 353 miles, it was by far the world's longest man-made waterway, with 83 locks and 17 aqueducts. Its construction overcame staggering natural obstacles.

It could not have happened without DeWitt Clinton.<sup>31</sup> He was attacked every step of the way by the political machine of the Slavocracy-allied Martin Van Buren, who at one point even had him thrown off the Canal Commission, and throughout the entire period, no one in the Monroe Administration would lift a finger to help (Monroe despised Clinton). But year-in and year-out he fought, and in 1824, running against the Democratic-Republican Party, he was elected Governor on the ticket of the People's Party, and by 1825 the Canal was completed. Here is a description of what followed:

30. Later Chairmen of the Erie Canal Commission would include DeWitt Clinton, Steven Van Rensselaer and John Jay's son Peter Jay. Future Directors of the Commission included Alexander Hamilton's nephew Philip Schuyler Church and Rufus King's son Edward.

31. Gouverneur Morris had died in 1816.

October 26—In Buffalo thousands gather, entertained by a military band, booming cannons, and speeches, followed by a 5,000-person parade, led by Governor Clinton, through the streets of Buffalo. At 10:00 a.m., the Seneca Chief enters the canal at Buffalo, heading east for Albany. Celebrations ensue along the canal route at major towns and cities, with fireworks, rifle volleys from the local militia, and even the launching of a balloon. A Cannon Volley was organized along the route, with cities along the canal and Hudson River participating. It began in Buffalo, and it was organized so that the next nearest city could hear the first blast. When the blast from Buffalo died out, the next city on the route fired its cannons, and then the next one after that all the way to Albany and then down the Hudson River to New York City. Then it went in reverse, up the Hudson and west on the Canal to Buffalo. The completed round trip of cannon volleys took 160 minutes. Governor Clinton heads a delegation which makes the complete inaugural trip from Buffalo to New York. At Albany the flotilla of boats is tied together and pulled by a steamboat down the Hudson to New York City. On November 4th, the Seneca Chief arrives at New York harbor at 7:00 a.m., followed by the Wedding of the Waters ceremony, in which a keg of Lake Erie water is emptied into the Atlantic at Sandy Hook.

Within five years of the Canal's opening, Buffalo became the busiest lakeport in the United States, and between 1830 and 1850 more Americans emigrated to the west (via the Great Lakes) through the Erie Canal than by any other land or sea-based route. Manhattan was now the gateway to the nation's heartland.

## 1812

By 1812 there were two surviving members of Washington's 1789 New York inner circle still alive—John Jay and Gouverneur Morris. Additionally, Washington's two closest Virginia friends—John Marshall and Henry Lee<sup>32</sup>—were also still alive, as were several

others who had been closely associated with the first Washington Administration, such as Rufus King. All of these people, every single one of them, opposed—**strongly opposed**—the War of 1812.

That reality alone should cause one to stop and reflect. That War was bitterly opposed and denounced by every individual who had been closely allied with George Washington between 1789 and 1797—among whom were Alexander Hamilton's most intimate friends and associates. You can not shrug this off, or ignore it.

Not surprisingly, Morris was the most vocal and the least cautious in his attacks, and Morris placed the responsibility for the war squarely at the feet of the Slave Power. Morris charged, repeatedly and publicly, that the war was pushed through by the slave states for the purpose of vastly expanding their power over the nation. In a letter to Rufus King, Morris blamed the Three-Fifths clause of the Constitution as the ultimate *casus belli*, and stated that the war was all about “strangling commerce, whipping Negroes, and bawling about the inborn and inalienable rights of man.” Later, after the fighting had begun, he declared “If Peace be not immediately made with England, the Question on Negro votes [i.e., the Three-Fifths clause] must divide the Union.”

More will be said below on the causes and outcome of the War, but for now, consider the following:

In June 1812, the U.S. House of Representatives voted 79 to 49 to declare war against Britain; the Senate voted 19 to 13 for war, for a combined Congressional vote of 98 to 62. This is by far—nothing else even comes close—the strongest Congressional opposition to a declaration of war in American History.<sup>33</sup>

One myth insists that the opposition to the War came solely from traitorous pro-British New England Federalists (who admittedly existed), but even a cursory examination of the Congressional vote provides a different picture. In the Senate the vote was 19 to 13 for war. The pro-war 19 included 12 Senators from slave states and 4 from free states. *All 10 Senators representing a state which later joined the Confederacy in 1861 (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee) voted for the war.* The 13 anti-war votes included 9 from free states and 4 from slave states. The

32. Henry “Lighthorse Harry” Lee is often derided by historians as the father of Robert E. Lee (which he was), but he was, perhaps, the only member of the extended Lee clan of Virginia not in service to the Slave Power. He was trusted by Hamilton, personally both close and intensely loyal to Washington, and he delivered the eulogy at Washington's fu-

neral, uttering the words, “First in War, first in Peace, and first in the Hearts of his Countrymen.” For opposing the War of 1812 Lee was beaten nearly to death by a Jeffersonian mob in Baltimore.

33. The next closest vote was the U.S. Senate's Declaration of War against Germany in 1917 by a vote of 82 to 6.

majority of the 13 anti-war Senate votes were cast not by Federalists (who only had 6 Senators) but by Democratic-Republicans, most of them backers of DeWitt Clinton, including **both** New York Senators, Clinton Democrats who voted against the Declaration of War. Another of the anti-war votes came from the Clinton-allied Ohio Senator Thomas Worthington, later famous as “the Father of the Ohio-Erie Canal.”<sup>34</sup>

The leading anti-war Democrat in the Senate was Obadiah German of New York, a DeWitt Clinton loyalist. The general view of the Clintonians was that the correct path was, first, to massively upgrade the military capabilities of the nation, something DeWitt Clinton had been calling for since 1808,—and then to intensify the negotiations with both Britain and France, but from a position of military strength. Senator German declared, “A country well-prepared to meet war will scarcely find war necessary, but if it cannot be avoided, preparation does away with half its terrors,” and “as to the great object of our wishes, an adjustment of our differences with Great Britain, I have never entertained a doubt that it might have been effected in a satisfactory manner long before the declaration of war, had our Executive entertained just and proper dispositions in regard to it.”

Senator German also posited that it was in Georgia and South Carolina that were to be found “the combustibles that have ignited this mighty war flame, and precipitated this nation to the verge of ruin.” German went on to charge that it was Crawford of Georgia in the Senate, and Calhoun of South Carolina in the House, who were leading the nation into war.

In Pennsylvania, both Senators, the Democrat-Republicans Leib and Gregg—although they ultimately voted for the final declaration of war—did everything in their power to prevent the war declaration from coming to a vote, through numerous maneuvers and repeated attempts to limit the scope of the war. During and after these efforts Senator Leib, a protégé of Benjamin Franklin, was widely and publicly criticized on the floor of Congress and by pro-Madison newspapers as a “Clintonian.”



*The Battle of Baltimore, 1814*

In the House of Representatives, the proportional breakdown of the vote between free and slave states was almost identical to that in the Senate, and it must be pointed out that in 1812, there were over 1 million slaves in the South, which under the Three-Fifths clause greatly inflated the voting strength of the slave states. Of the 107 Democratic-Republican members of the House of Representatives, 52 were from slave states and 55 from free states. Among the 55 Democratic-Republican representatives from free states, half of them (50 percent) either voted against the war or abstained from voting. The Southern delegates voted overwhelmingly for war. **Twelve of New York’s fifteen representatives voted against the declaration of war, almost evenly divided between Federalists and Clinton Democrats.**

Additionally, if you look at the Congressional leaders who between 1810 and 1812 were agitating the most aggressively for war, almost all of them were representatives of the Slave Power, including:

Henry Clay (Kentucky), John C. Calhoun (South Carolina), William Crawford (Georgia), William Carey Nicholas (Virginia), George Washington Campbell (Tennessee), Joseph Desha (Kentucky), Felix Grundy (Tennessee), Richard Mentor Johnson (Kentucky), William Lowndes (South Carolina), Langdon Cheves (South Carolina), and William W. Bibb (Georgia). There were, admittedly, other strong war supporters, such as Jonathan Roberts from Pennsylvania, but by-and-large the “war hawks” were agents of the Slaveocracy. Sometimes this Southern role is obfuscated by

34. Worthington was also the legal guardian of Rufus King’s son Edward, and Edward King would marry Worthington’s daughter.



claiming that it was the new republican “Western” influence in the nation which rallied the country against the British in 1812,<sup>35</sup> but between 1789 and 1812 only three “western” states had been admitted to the Union, and two of them—Kentucky and Tennessee—were slave states. During the war, Louisiana would also be admitted as a state, so that by 1814, six of the eight Senators “from the West” were representatives of the Slave Power.

## Causes and Effects

The notion that the impressment of American sailors by the British was the trigger for the War of 1812, is a falsified myth created later as part of the legend of the “Second War for Independence.” The truth about the practice of “impressment” is that it was legal, its legality was recognized by every United States Administration (Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe),<sup>36</sup> and it was practiced by all of the European empires, British, French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese. The involuntary seizing of idle or otherwise-occupied sailors for service into an empire’s navy was seen as the “military draft” of its day. Conflict arose with Britain only because in “impressing” British subjects serving aboard U.S. vessels, a substantial number of U.S. citizens were also being seized. But there are two things to keep in mind. At no time in 1812 did Madison, Monroe, Clay or anyone else name “impressment” as the reason to go to war; and secondly, the policy of impressment was so important to the British Royal fleet, that the United States was never able to get the British to sign a treaty outlawing the practice: not in 1783, not with the Jay Treaty, not with the Monroe-Pinckney Treaty, and not with the Treaty of Ghent in 1815. At the end of the War of 1812 the policy of im-

35. As if somehow, magically, being from “the West” confers the status of Guardian of the Republic.

36. None of these Administrations ever objected to the impressment of British subjects from American vessels, since British subjects came under British law.

FIGURE 4

## What the Slavocracy Wrought



pressment was still being conducted, and the United States government agreed to that.

At the onset of the war, in 1812, the key British “provocation” which was put forward by the “war hawks” as the *casus belli*, was the 1806 issuance by the British Government of what was called an “Order in Council,” which declared the entire coast of France and northern Europe under blockade. In 1807 the blockade was extended to the entire European continent, and all goods and ships which violated this blockade could be seized as contraband. Dozens of U.S. vessels were seized and tons of merchandise confiscated. However, the British Order in Council was actually promulgated in response to the slightly earlier Berlin Decree of Napoleon, which he then followed with the 1807 Milan Decree, declaring Britain under blockade and stating that any ships found honoring the British blockade were also liable to seizure. After 1807 all American shipping was open to seizure by the British, French or both, and both nations harassed American shipping with equal ferocity.

As many pointed out at the time, practically all of the issues of conflict with Britain could have been resolved if Jefferson had signed the 1806 Monroe-Pinckney Treaty, but in 1807 Jefferson rejected the Treaty (negotiated by his own representatives) because of its close resemblance to the 1795 Jay Treaty.

In November of 1810, President Madison issued a

statement that Napoleon had revoked the Berlin and Milan decrees—which was completely false—and Madison gave Britain an ultimatum to remove all trade restrictions within three months or face retaliation. Even after France continued to seize U.S. shipping, and it became apparent that the Berlin and Milan Decrees were still in effect, from January of 1811 onward, the political escalation for war with Britain became unstoppable.

One irony in the Chain of Events, is that the British eventually did repeal the entirety of the Orders in Council on June 23, 1812, but news of the repeal did not reach America for six weeks, and by then Madison had signed the Declaration of War on July 25th. After news of the British action reached Washington D.C.— and prior to any actual fighting between the belligerents— Madison and Monroe both admitted that there was no reason to continue the war; there was, in effect, nothing to fight about.

This failure by the United States to define actual, legitimate war aims, was later reflected in the 1815 Treaty of Ghent. Negotiated by Henry Clay, Albert Gallatin, and John Quincy Adams, the treaty returned relations to the 1812 pre-war status quo. Boundaries were restored, trade policies remained unchanged, impressment of seamen went unmentioned and continued. The U.S.A. achieved **NONE** of its supposed war aims, which were very unclear to begin with. The British agreed to **only one** concession: that they would reimburse the United States \$1,204,960 in compensation for the slaves they had captured and freed during the war. So the slaveowners were paid.

After reading the treaty, Rufus King stated that the document “is scarcely worth the wax of its Seals. . . , and leaves every point of Dispute and disagreement unsettled.”

Gouverneur Morris described the war as “rashly declared, prodigally maintained, weakly conducted, and meanly concluded.”

One thing that did emerge out of the war was the expansion of the Slave Power. Mississippi and Alabama were soon admitted as slave states (following Louisiana), and in 1813 Madison authorized a military invasion and occupation of Spanish Florida, a nation with which we were not at war,—eventually leading to the establishment of Florida as a Slave Territory under Andrew Jackson in 1818.

Later, as part of the effort to mythologize the war as the “Second American Revolution,” it was declaimed that the main accomplishment of the war was somehow linked to its effect on the National Psyche, i.e., that the

nation emerged from the war with “a renewed sense of self-reliance and common national identity,”—as if previously we had been suffering from some sort of a lack of national identity or an inferiority complex vis-à-vis Great Britain. Let me assure you that George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris had no “inferiority complex” as concerns Britain, nor were they confused about the nature of the American Republic.

One example of this rhetoric is an 1815 letter that pro-war Pennsylvania Congressman Jonathan Roberts wrote to his brother, wherein —after first admitting that none of the pre-war aims had been achieved—he goes on to proclaim that “Victory perches on our banner . . . the triumph over Aristocrats and Monarchists is equally glorious with that over the enemy—it is the triumph of virtue over vice, of republican men and republican principles over the advocates and doctrines of Tyranny.”

Really! Is that what the war was about? Triumph over the alleged advocates of monarchy and aristocracy inside the United States? As Gouverneur Morris had identified as early as the 1787 Philadelphia Convention, there was only one truly evil aristocracy inside the United States, and it was headquartered in the South.

At this point, I will propose a—perhaps unfair—hypothetical question to the reader: What would Alexander Hamilton and George Washington have done? Had they been alive in 1812, what would they have done? It is worth considering.

### Clinton vs. Madison

On May 18, 1812 the Democratic-Republican National Caucus nominated James Madison for a second term as President of the United States. Ten days later, the New York Democratic-Republican Party, meeting in Manhattan, nominated DeWitt Clinton for President. On July 25th the United States declared war on Britain, and eleven days later, on August Fifth, Gouverneur Morris invited John Jay, Rufus King, and DeWitt Clinton to his home in New York City. At the meeting Morris proposed that they join together to prevent the Federalists from running a presidential campaign, and throw their support behind DeWitt Clinton. King refuses to endorse Clinton, but Jay and Clinton agree and a “fusion” ticket between Clinton’s Democrats and what was left of the old Washington New York leadership is born. In reply to a challenge from King as to his motives, Clinton vows that he “was separated from the administration forever; that he pledged his honor that the Breach was irreparable.”

Morris sends an invitation to Federalist Party leaders

throughout the nation, inviting them to attend an emergency meeting in Manhattan. For three days, from September Fifteenth through Seventeenth, sixty Federalist Party leaders meet in New York City. The discussions are contentious, but at the end, under Morris's influence, they agree not to run a Presidential candidate, but to unofficially and privately back Clinton. At one point, a group of Federalist leaders proposes the nomination of John Marshall, but Marshall demurs, endorsing the fusion ticket with Clinton. Only Rufus King and one or two others dissent. (In the election, the Federalist Party, with King as their nominee, appeared on the ballot in only one state, Virginia.) For the next seven weeks the national Clinton campaign is run out of an office in Manhattan by Clinton, Morris, and a mixture of Federalists and Democrats.

This was a bi-partisan challenge to the Virginia Combine. For example, an editorial in the *Cooperstown Federalist* read:

This nomination speaks a language that will not be misunderstood anywhere; and in our humble opinion, will tend more to lower the proud crest of the lordly Virginians than any measure which has been adopted since the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency—The people of all parties in the Northern and Eastern sections of the Union have had their eyes opened by that ruinous system of measures which has been pursued for the last ten years; by a government pretending to be the friends of the people but in reality their worst enemies. . . . It must rejoice the heart of every good man, of every friend to his country, to find that the democratic-republicans of the FIRST STATE OF THE UNION, have dared to make a stand against the usurpation and overbearing aristocracy of Virginia.”

To understand how these extraordinary events transpired, it is necessary to go back two years to the creation of the Erie Canal Commission. At that time Fed-



*DeWitt Clinton, by Rembrandt Peale*

eralists and Democratic-Republicans were at each others' throats. The term "bitter enemies" would be an understatement. Yet Gouverneur Morris and DeWitt Clinton formed a personal alliance, around which they consciously created a bi-partisan political movement. Like-minded Federalists and Democrats were recruited to one of the greatest projects in mankind's history, a design to transform the entire nation. In essence, the Erie Canal Project gave birth to the Clinton Presidential candidacy. It is very possible (hypothetically) that the decision for the campaign might have occurred in January of 1812, when Morris

and Clinton traveled to Washington DC, and Madison told them to their faces that they would not receive one penny to construct the Canal. Whatever the actual chronology, it was the Canal—and *what it represented as a means to break the grip of the Virginia Slave Power*—which was at the heart of the Clinton-Morris relationship.

There were other contributing factors as well, including the effort by a cross-party alliance of Federalists and Clinton Democrats in the spring of 1812, following the 1811 abolition of Hamilton's National Bank, to charter the \$6 million Bank of America in New York City, which was seen as a means for transferring the financial center of the nation from Philadelphia back to New York. This was vetoed by Madison-allied New York Governor Daniel Tompkins.

Clinton's campaign was anti-war but not "peacenik." He campaigned on the same theme as had been expressed by many of his allies in Congress. That the war was ruinous, divisive, and unnecessary, and should be concluded honorably as soon as possible. At the same time, the nation's economic strength and military capability should be rebuilt, so that in the future, negotiations with Britain, France, Spain and other European empires might be conducted from a position of strength.

In the end Clinton lost the presidential election to Madi-



son by only 7,600 votes in the popular vote. Every state north of the Delaware River except Vermont went for Clinton. All of the slave states voted for Madison (although Clinton received a fraction of the electoral votes in the border states of Delaware and Maryland). The deciding state was Pennsylvania, whose electoral votes gave Madison the election.<sup>37</sup> This subservience to the slave interests would continue for some years to come, with Pennsylvania voting for Monroe in 1816 and 1820, and then voting overwhelmingly for Andrew Jackson (over John Quincy Adams) in both 1824 and 1828.

If the Three-Fifths clause had not been in effect, it is very possible that Clinton would have won the election,

37. Madison actually suffered huge vote losses in Pennsylvania, particularly in the west, from his 1808 totals. What secured him victory was the continued romance between the Philadelphia clubs and the Virginia slave-owners, combined with an incredible deal whereby the U.S. government allowed all of the eastern Pennsylvania grain farmers to sell their flour to the British (!) army with the stipulation that the British would agree to use the flour only to feed soldiers fighting Napoleon and not soldiers fighting the United States!

even without Pennsylvania. There is no exact way to compute the figures, but is certainly the case that without the “slave electors” Madison would have received 30 or 40 fewer electoral votes, and the election could have gone either way.

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## Part VI Into the Future

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The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

*Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address*

A few weeks before his death, Gouverneur Morris wrote, in an open letter to leaders of the Federalist

### ‘An Asylum to Mankind’

“The portals of the Temple we have raised to Freedom, shall then be thrown wide, as an Asylum to mankind. America shall receive to her bosom and comfort and cheer the oppressed, the miserable and the poor of every nation and of every clime. The enterprise of extending commerce shall wave her friendly flag over the billows of the remotest region of the world. We shall learn to consider all men as our brethren, being equally children of the Universal Parent—that God of the heavens and of the earth, whose infinite Majesty, for providential favour during the late revolution, almighty power in our preservation from impending ruin, and gra-



cious mercy in our redemption from the iron shackles of despotism, we cannot cease with gratitude and with deep humility to praise, to reverence and adore.”

—Gouverneur Morris, 1778  
“Observations on the American Revolution”