In the end Clinton lost the presidential election to Madison 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.

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!

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

# Part VI Into the Future

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

## '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"

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A few weeks before his death, Gouverneur Morris wrote, in an open letter to leaders of the Federalist Party: "Gentlemen, let us forget party and think of our country. That country embraces both parties. We must endeavor, therefore, to save and benefit both.... Such worthy men may, I trust, be found in both parties; and if our country be delivered, what does it signify whether those who operate her salvation wear a federal or democratic cloak?... Perhaps the expression of these sentiments may be imprudent; but when it appears proper to speak the truth, I know not concealment. It has been the unvarying principle of my life, that the interest of our country must be preferred to every other interest."

Within days Morris would be dead. Through what leadership, and by what means could the words of his final political advice be accomplished? By 1816, all of the key New York leaders of Washington's first administration were gone. Although John Jay lived until 1829, he was in very poor health during the last twenty years of his life, and, except for two occasions—his opposition to the War of 1812 and his opposition to the Missouri Compromise— he remained in retirement from politics during that entire period. Rufus King lived until 1827, John Marshall until 1835 and Steven Van Rensselaer until 1839, but, despite the sometimes vital contributions of these individuals, the truth is that the promise of the Washington Administration died with Hamilton in 1804, and after the passing of Hamilton's partner Morris, the forces of the Slave Power controlled the nation. The obvious question was "What is to be done?"

Once again, the leadership in continuing the battle would emanate from New York, but before we turn to that story, there is one issue which must be disposed of.

### Whence the Whigs?

In our discussion of the American Patriotic Tradition there has been no mention, until now, of the Whig Party. This has been deliberate.

The Whig Party, as a political party, was a deeply flawed institution, doomed to extinction from its moment of birth, and when the crises it had refused to address finally reached the point, in the 1850s, that the Nation itself faced dismemberment and ruin, that Party—lawfully—vanished, to be replaced by a new leadership, one founded on superior moral and philosophical principles. That new leadership was not the Republican Party, but the Lincoln Presidency.

There were several serious shortcomings in the Whig Party, but its horrendous, fatal flaw was its subservience to the Slave Power throughout its brief twenty years of existence. Let's be blunt about it. Henry Clay was a slave-owner, and he pushed to extend slavery into the territories until his dying breath. Despite his positive accomplishments, William Henry Harrison was also a slave-owner who fought to bring Illinois into the Union as a slave state. We all know what happened to John Calhoun.

This is not to say that there were not good—or even very good—people in the Whig Party, and the Whig Party was certainly a bastion of relative sanity when compared with the 1829-1841 Jackson and Van Buren Presidencies, but that was simply not adequate.

One insight into this problem can be found in the "ownership" which the Virginia Combine exercised over the Philadelphia Democratic-Republican Societies. Mathew Carey's Olive Branch is subtitled "Faults on Both Sides," and it purports to present an evenhanded criticism of the Federalist and Jeffersonian parties. But there is one, huge, glaring omission. Nowhere in that document does Carey once mention slavery, and this at a time when Gouverneur Morris and DeWitt Clinton were battling, by means of the Erie Canal Project, to break the grip of Virginia and the Slavocracy over the nation. In every Presidential election from 1800 to 1820, a Virginian had been elected President and a New Yorker Vice-President.<sup>38</sup> The **strategic** battle led by Morris and Clinton was to shatter the Virginia supremacy and to make New York City the navigator for the Nation's Destiny. This battle was raging at the time the Olive Branch was published, but it simply does not appear in that docu-

What of John Quincy Adams?, one might ask. First off, Adams was no Whig. He was his own Party; or, perhaps, one might say, in the words of Charles de Gaulle, that he used political parties "like taxi-cabs, to get to where he wanted to go." Adams went from being a Federalist, to a Democrat-Republican, to a National Republican, to a candidate of the Anti-Masonic Party,<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38.</sup> The Vice Presidents were Aaron Burr, the anti-Constitution George Clinton and Van Buren's man Daniel Tompkins.

<sup>39.</sup> A party founded in New York State after 1828 to rally those opposed to the new Presidency of Andrew Jackson. Thaddeus Stevens began his political career in the Anti-Masonic Party, and the 1832 Anti-Masonic Presidential Candidate William Wirt would lead the effort to prevent Andrew Jackson's extermination of the Cherokee Nation.

to a Whig, and during his post-1830 tenure in Congress, when he often stood alone against the Slave Power, he was out-of-step and shunned by the majority of the Whig leadership.

But there is more. The Whig Party is often seen as synonymous with Henry Clay's American System of Economics, as that "American System" is delineated in the three-point policy of: 1) a National Bank, 2) Internal Improvements, and 3) a high Protective Tariff.

That "American System," as enumerated above, is absolutely not the same thing as Alexander Hamilton's policy, nor is it coherent with the "Hamiltonian Principle," as Lyndon LaRouche has defined it.

First off—point by point—Hamilton actually vigorously opposed high protective tariffs. He considered them counterproductive to industrial and technological advancement, and injurious to trade. He supported a moderate tariff for revenue and to provide a modicum of protection to key parts of the economy. Secondly, on the National Bank, it must be understood that once Hamilton had left the Washington Administration, except for the brief 1825-1829 partnership between John Quincy Adams and Nicholas Biddle, neither the first nor the second National Bank ever functioned as a national Credit System in the way that Hamilton had intended. The issue was not the Bank, per se. A National Bank, yes; but for what purpose: to function as a mere monetary institution,— or as an engine for economic development?40 The issue was one of intent. After Hamilton's death, the nation would not see a true Credit System until Lincoln's Greenback Policy of 1862.

This brings us to the issue of Internal Improvements, and there are two critically important things to consider. During the period from 1830 to 1850, many canals, roads and other important projects were built in the United States. Certainly, the Whig Party was more supportive of these projects than most of the Democrats. Yet,—and this is very important,— except for the Quincy Adams Presidency, between 1797 and 1861 there was never any *National* development policy, including under Monroe and the various Whig Presidents. Essentially, the policy of Internal Improve-

ments, as it was carried out during those years, has to be understood as a "States' Rights" internal improvement policy. Many good people did many good things, but it was the State Governments, or sometimes even private investors, who financed and built these projects, with practically no help or participation from the National Government. States were free to "do their own thing," but the hegemony of the Slave Power over the nation prevented any policy of unified National economic development. That Southern veto of a National policy was never seriously challenged by the Whigs.

But there is a more profound, axiomatic, aspect to this. The policy of "internal improvements," i.e. "infrastructure" in the form of canals, roads, ports, etc., as important and beneficial as these endeavors might be,—is absolutely *not* the same thing as a Hamiltonian "Science Driver" policy. It is extremely important to recognize that, during the first Washington Administration, the Virginia Combine, led by Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, were far more opposed to the policy intent contained in Hamilton's Report on Manufactures, than they were to his National Bank Proposal. In that Report, far from proposing a passive system of protectionism, Hamilton posited an active central role for the National government, including both his system of "bounties," as well as the way in which a National Credit System would be utilized, in defining how the National Government would consciously and deliberately direct the industrial and scientific advancement of the Nation. National productivity, science, cognitive and skill levels would all be advanced in such a way that this would become the very nature of the Republic itself. This outlook is not the same thing as "internal improvements," and for the Slave Power-influenced Whigs, such a Hamiltonian Principle was impossible to implement, because it stemmed from a vision of the nature of the human species, of the actual human identity, incompatible with the outlook of the Slavocracy.

#### The 1824 Election

First, DeWitt Clinton mounted an insurgent campaign, through the People's Party, for the New York Governorship, challenging the Van Buren-backed Democratic-Republican machine. Clinton's campaign became a referendum on his leadership in the Erie Canal Project, and Rufus King's son Charles

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<sup>40.</sup> Gouverneur Morris actually opposed the re-chartering of the National Bank in 1815 because he considered the legislation incompetent, and he predicted that the new Bank would become a vehicle for unchecked speculation, leading to a financial crash, which is exactly what happened in the Panic of 1819.

joined the People's Party<sup>41</sup> and actively campaigned for Clinton. On election day, the voters overwhelming rejected the Van Buren state leadership and returned Canalbuilder Clinton to office. At the same time, Rufus King publicly endorsed Adams and swung what was left of the Federalist Party base, still a significant though minority force in New York, behind the Adams campaign.<sup>42</sup> New York gave its electoral votes for Adams.

After the nationwide election failed to deliver a majority to any of the four candidates, the choice for a new President was given to the House of Representatives, where it would be the Congressmen—not the Presidential Electors-who would decide. Here again, the allies of Martin Van Buren dominated the New York Congressional delegation. The way in which Presidential selection by the House of Representative is specified by the United States Constitution, is that each state, regardless of the number of its congressmen, shall have one vote. The vote of each individual state is determined by a majority vote within the delegation of each state. At the onset of deliberations, the majority of the New York

congressional delegation was in favor of Van Buren's choice Crawford. It was New York Congressman, and the Chairmen of the Erie Canal Commission, 43 Steven Van Rensselaer who battled for an endorsement of Adams. In the final tally, Van Rensselaer cast the **tie-breaking** vote within the delegation, that gave the vote of New York to Adams. It was that New York State vote which then **broke the tie** in the House of Representatives and delivered the Presidency to Adams. Without it he would have failed to secure a majority.

FIGURE 5



Courtesy of the Ohio Department of Natural Resources

#### The Ties That Bind

- John Jay's son, Peter Augustus Jay, served as the President of the Erie Canal Commission. He also followed in the footsteps of his father as President of the New York Manumission Society, and his single most famous act was a speech he delivered at the New York State Constitutional Convention in 1821, arguing that the right to vote should be extended to free African-Americans. He was also James Fenimore Cooper's closest lifelong friend.
- Steven Van Rensselaer, after leaving Congress in 1829, continued to serve on the Erie Canal Commission until 1839. In 1824, he conceived the idea of establishing a school of higher education "for the purpose of instructing persons, who may choose to apply themselves, in the application of science to the common purposes of life," and he established, entirely with his own funds, the Rensselaer School in Troy, New York (now the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute), located directly on the route of the Erie Canal. By the 1830s,

<sup>41.</sup> Lincoln's future Secretary of State William Seward also joined the People's Party and campaigned for Clinton. In the 1830s Seward would be active with John Quincy Adams in the Anti-Masonic Party.

<sup>42.</sup> In 1826 President Adams would appoint the now-elderly King as Ambassador to Great Britain, a position which he had previously held under George Washington.

<sup>43.</sup> Van Rensselaer succeeded DeWitt Clinton and served as Chairman of the Erie Canal Commission from 1816 to 1830.

Rensselaer's school became the foremost engineering school in United States. Rensselaer's son, Philip, married the daughter of James Tallmadge, the New York Congressman and protégé of DeWitt Clinton who introduced the famous Tallmadge Amendment in 1819 which almost blocked the admission of Missouri as a Slave State.

- Rufus King's son Edward, would marry the daughter of Ohio Governor Worthington, DeWitt Clinton's collaborator in the building of the Ohio-Erie Canal, and then would himself serve as the President of the Erie Canal Commission. Another of his sons, Charles, became president of Columbia College, and Charles' son, Rufus King, Jr., migrated to Wisconsin, was a signer of the Wisconsin State Constitution, a founder of the Wisconsin Republican Party, and an early backer of Abraham Lincoln's Presidential Campaign. In 1863 Lincoln named him Ambassador to the Vatican, and in 1866 King personally arrested the Lincoln assassin John Surratt, who was hiding as a Papal Zouave in Rome!
- James Tallmadge—in addition to his leadership in fighting both the Missouri Compromise and the admission of Arkansas as a Slave Territory, Tallmadge was a fierce advocate of a national economic development policy, including national funding for the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, (finally built under the Quincy Adams administration). After leaving the Congress, Tallmadge would serve from 1831 to 1850 as the President of the American Institute of the City of New York, an organization devoted to the promotion of inventions and scientific education.
- Peter Cooper—the creator of the Tom Thumb steam locomotive in 1830, the first man to successfully use anthracite coal to puddle iron, and the first person to extensively use the Bessemer blast furnace method, Cooper was a remarkable figure. In the 1830s, he began a years-long collaboration with DeWitt Clinton on the improvement of public education in New York City. This ultimately led to Cooper's decision to create "The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art," an institution, financed entirely by Cooper, and

intended by him to be modeled on the *École Polytech-nique* in Paris. Enrollment was free, open to all—men or women, black or white—and aimed primarily at the working class population of the City. In 1860 the Cooper Union hosted the prospective Presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln, and after the attack on Fort Sumter, in April of 1861, a massive public rally was held at Union Square, only nine blocks north of Cooper's school. The 70-year old Cooper was one of the first speakers at the rally, saying:

We are contending with an enemy not only determined on our destruction as a nation, but to build on our ruins a government devoted with all its power to maintain, extend, and perpetuate a system in itself revolting to all the best feelings of humanity,—an institution that enables thousands to sell their own children into hopeless bondage.

Shall it succeed? You say 'no!' and I unite with you in your decision. We cannot allow it to succeed. We should spend our lives, our property, and leave the land itself a desolation before such an institution should triumph over the free people of this country....

In 1864, when there was a strong chance that the Democrat McClellan might carry New York City, it was Cooper who organized a great mass meeting for September 27, 1864, in the Hall of Cooper Union to rally the population behind Lincoln.

In 1876, this Peter Cooper, an enthusiastic supporter of Lincoln's Greenback policy, was nominated and ran as the Presidential candidate of the Greenback Party. Seven years later, when Cooper died at the age of 92, his funeral procession was the largest in the City since that of George Washington.

#### The Pathfinder & the Candidate

The life and works of James Fenimore Cooper are far too vast a subject for a short work such as this, but let us simply say this:

James Fenimore Cooper's father, William Cooper, was a close political ally to Philip Schuyler, Alexander Hamilton. and John Jay. John Jay's son, Peter Augustus, was James Fenimore's closest and most intimate friend throughout the lives of the two men.

In his young adult years, Cooper formed an intense political loyalty to DeWitt Clinton, which continued

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<sup>44.</sup> In 1805 DeWitt Clinton had secured a charter for establishing "The Society for Establishing a Free School in the City of New York for the Education of such Poor Children as do not Belong to, or are not Provided for, by any Religious Society." By 1809 a school had been built to house 500 students, and this was greatly expanded over the next 25 years, directed and presided over by Clinton. This was the beginning of the free public school system in New York City.

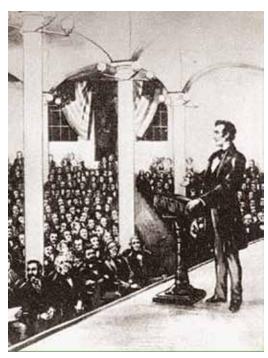
until Clinton's death. Later, it would be President John Quincy Adams who would secure Cooper a European Consulship. Essentially, one might say that *the Erie Canal Principle* is to be found in Cooper's personal and political life.

Over a thirty-year period, beginning with the 1821 publication of *The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground* and ending with the 1851 writing of *New York: or The Towns of Manhattan*, Cooper, perhaps more than any other individual, was personally responsible for sustaining and developing the *Idea* of Hamilton's New York. From his attacks on the oligarchy, beginning with *The Bravo*, to his vision of an American Republic

of Free (non-slave) Citizens in the *Leatherstocking Tales* and elsewhere, to his chronicling of the civilizing of New York State in the wake of the Erie Canal, it was Cooper who bridged the span from Washington's (Manhattan) inauguration of 1789, to Lincoln's (Manhattan) Cooper Union Speech of 1860.

Cooper's final work, New York: or The Towns of Manhattan, remained unfinished and unpublished at the time of his death in 1851, but the completed introduction to that work began to circulate under a variety of titles, including "On Secession and States Rights," shortly after Cooper's death. This work—written ten years before the inauguration of Lincoln—addresses directly the issue of the expansion of slavery into the territories, and the mortal danger that the expansion of the Slave Power poses to the nation. The wording and subject matter of Cooper's final work, echo the battles against the Slave Power going back to the Northwest Ordinance, the Constitutional Convention, and the continuous fight led by Washington's New Yorkers.

Nine years later, Abraham Lincoln delivered his famous Cooper Union Speech at the Great Hall, located at the intersection of Fifth Street and Third Avenue in Manhattan. For those not familiar with the speech, two things should be conveyed. First, this was the singular speech which made possible Lincoln's achievement of



Lincoln at Manhattan's Cooper Union, 1860

the Republican Party Presidential nomination. Prior to the speech, it was considered almost certain that the nomination would go to New York State's own William Seward. Lincoln came into Seward's home territory and took the hearts and minds of Seward's supporters out from under him.

Second, the subject matter of Lincoln's speech on that occasion, was the mortal danger posed to the Republic by the continuing, rapacious drive by the Slavocracy to expand its power, particularly through the spread of slavery into the territories. In the text of the speech, Lincoln names—name by name— Hamilton, Morris, Jay, and King, as leaders of the

Nation who had fought the Slave Power from the beginning.

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Gouverneur Morris once stated that New Yorkers were "born cosmopolite." In a very real way, that short assertion defines the nature of the City. The localism, the backwardness, the rural idiocy of the Southern Slave System, could find no home in New York. Even after the infestation of the financial parasites—Aaron Burr, Martin Van Buren, August Belmont and J.P. Morgan—Manhattan has always been Hamilton's New York, and the financial agents of Empire merely a foreign bacillus that has no legitimate existence. It is still to this day the cultural, educational, financial, and—in a very real sense—the political capital of the United States.

In the mid-1960s, only about two decades after the death of New Yorker Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Lyndon LaRouche initiated a series of classes and lectures at Columbia University —the *alma mater* of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and Gouverneur Morris—which attracted young people, and led eventually into the founding of the LaRouche political movement, an association which stands to this day. It is that movement, our movement, which speaks for Hamilton's New York.