

"Address to the Republican Electors of the State of New York," [c22 February 1820]

Fellow Citizens.

The republican members of the legislature, at the close of the last session, announced to ~~their constituents their firm conviction that~~ ^you their conviction that the prosperity of the republican party and so^ the welfare of the state required a change of the Chief Magistrate. Subsequent events have proved the correctness of this opinion and enforced the expediency of this measure. While a doubt existed that Gov. Clinton has abandoned ^the principles he professed at the time of his election^ the republican party— While a hope remained that his errors were but occasional and not systematic—While an expectation could be rationally indulged that he might be withdrawn from the guardianship of those men who had been discarded by or were always opposed to the republican party, a regard for the public tranquility enjoined caution and forbid precipitancy; but ^after^ the evidence which his recent conduct has exhibited, to doubt of his errors would be stupidity ^incredulity^, to hope for reformation would be folly and to delay in adapting measures to retrieve the state from his misrule would be weakness.

It is ^to us^ a subject of lively satisfaction ~~to me~~ to know, that, while we in our stations are contributing our humble efforts to arrest the progress of political evils, ^& to restore the lost ascendancy of republican principles^ our republican brethren in every part of the state have duly appreciated these ^our^ efforts, accorded in our views, and are devoting themselves to the accomplishment of the same object.

Those are ^generally^ the most anxious to retain power who have most abused it. #~~To interest, which ^seeks its^ is always subserved by its abuse, is ever ready to suggest a thousand wily expedients which ^that^ require great circumspection to detect and much industry to counteract~~ Strong claims upon the confidence of the people are interposed on behalf of the present executive and urged ~~upon their consideration~~ with a boldness that is ~~calculated to command~~ ^intended to secure^ belief. Duty compels us to examine some of their claims.

It is now more than twenty years since the people of this state and of the union divided into parties and they have maintained ~~during the the greater part of that time~~ ^almost ever since^ a vigorous controversy for power. From 1807 until the

close of the war our foreign difficulties added much to our party conflicts & both together prevailed the introduction & prosecution of those plans of improvement which the intelligence of individuals had brought into public discussion & the good sense of the people approved. Fortunate beyond the destiny of any of his predecessors, Mr Clinton was placed in the chair of state by the republican party when faction had remitted its efforts to disturb the regular operations of government, when foreign powers ceased had ceased to trouble our repose & when public sentiment approved called for and the resources of the state justified magnificent undertakings. It is to the not therefore to the wisdom of our chief magistrate but to the felicity of the times, the intelligent views of the people and to the ability of the state that we are to ascribe most of what has been done for in the last three years for our the general prosperity of the state; and we have the fullest confidence that, if any other man had occupied the chair of state been our chief magistrate, improvement would have progressed with an equally rapid pace and our political affairs would have but been as prosperously & more tranquilly conducted.

It would be derogatory from to the character of our government and a reproach upon the people

It would be derogatory to our government & reproachful to the people if any one man was essential to their prosperity or if any measure which public opinion had approved or condemned could be prosecuted or retarded in defence of such opinion by a single individual however splendid his talents or exalted his station.

We are ready to bestow due praise upon Mr. Clinton for the industry with which he has collected the sentiments of intelligent individuals and various classes of our the community upon our affairs, and for the faithfulness with which he has presented them to the legislature in his annual speeches. From the unexampled length of these communications he has been enabled to touch upon almost every subject that comes within the range of legislation. The partiality of his friends have however greatly overrated the value of these occasional hints and unsystematised suggestions. Very little credit is due to the executive for the most wise & salutary recommendations if the measures of his secret influence is exerted to defeat what he has recommended.

Those who profess to have the greatest regard for the public interest and affect to study it the least most, not only often feel it the least & but often

^sometimes^ cover the most dangerous designs under these ^this^ popular pretence. All Those unfaithful servants who have been ^incurred^ merited ^incurred^ the just displeasure of the people & been abandoned by them, justly discarded by the people have been ^were^ discarded ^have invariably been condemned^ for their acts and not for their declarations. Some of the worst tyrants of antiquity are yet unremembered for their popular & wise addresses to the unhappy people whom they afterwards addressed & enslaved. □

You are called upon ^Fellow Citizens^ to yield Mr. Clinton your support on account of the wisdom of the "state administration." This term ^phrase^ S. A. has lately come into very general use and has occasioned much popular delusion; its abuse has created confusion and caused great injustice in the distribution of applause. The administration usually means those persons who are entrusted with the executive powers of the government; but it ^is however^ sometimes means ^applied to^ the conduct of these persons in relation to the discharge of their official duties. Those who execute the laws are both by the theory & practice of our government are distinct from those who make them. The administration is therefore distinct from the legislature and the measures of the <illegible> ^former^ are distinct from & should not be confounded with the latter ^of latter^ ^the acts of the latter^. When therefore you are importuned to subscribe to the wisdom & contribute to the support of the "state administration" an account of the excellence of its measures you will at once perceive that these measures can not include any of the acts of the legislature. If you separate from what does not ^<illegible>^ belong to, the "state administration," ^what does not belong to it^ you may ask & we think you will ask in vain for the ^its^ much boasted excellence of its measures. Not one of those measures for which the the administration ^it^ is so much extolled can and Mr Clinton so much praised can with truth be ascribed to him or to the state ^this^ administration. An other view of the subject will show how groundless is this assumption of merit on the part of the administration in claiming the wisdom of the legislative acts ^Executive^. No act of the legislature can be an administration measure because the concurrence of the senate (a majority of which now is & ever has been opposed to the state administration) is indispensably requisite to the validity of such act. Surely the administration ^neither Mr Clinton or his friends^ can not claim the exclusive merit or even superior merit for a measure for ^towards^ which its ^his^ opponents have ^at least^ equally contributed. That merit must be exclusive which is entitled to all the praise. The wisdom of those acts in which the republicans have shared with the Clintonians can never be a cause furnish just

grounds of preference for the latter.

Mr. Clinton's own conduct affords a most conclusive refutation <sup>^</sup>objection to <sup>^</sup> of the claim that is urged in his favour. Very soon after he was inducted to office and particularly during the two last years we have seen one class of politicians excluded from the favors of the government. We <sup>^</sup>have<sup>^</sup> seen men—who deserved and enjoyed public confidence—who had maintained the cause of the republican party by arduous services and great sacrifices—whose competency even their enemies had never drawn in question and whose honesty was above suspicion removed from office by Mr. Clinton because they were opposed to his administration, and yet we ~~can not~~ do not know of a single one on this long list of proscribed republicans who has opposed those measures ~~that~~ which are claimed by the "State Administration: but the very measures which the partisans of the executive call the measures of the administration have been ably supported by and in some instances owe their adoption to men who have been proscribed for opposing the administration. Discreet men would never so far insult the understanding of the people as to discard faithful & competent public servants who have approved and supported those measures and which they <sup>^</sup>is<sup>^</sup> pleased the whole merit of ~~the State~~ <sup>^</sup>an<sup>^</sup> administration and at the same time alledge an justification of this conduct that those persons were removed for opposition to <sup>^</sup>it.<sup>^</sup> ~~the state administration~~. We think that your ~~prostration must have~~ intelligence and good sense must have laid open to you the true character of the state administration and you must ~~have~~ be convinced that it is a thing altogether different from that which its friends would induce you to believe it to be. We are confident that we do not mistake your character in believing that you will mark with your displeasure this bold attempt to monopolize merit and to mislead your judgment.

If you direct your attention to the <sup>^</sup>its<sup>^</sup> real measures of the "State administration" <sup>^</sup>present of the state<sup>^</sup> if we cannot fail to appreciate the motives of its friends in resting its claims for support upon borrowed merit. When the true character is bad credit can only be obtained from honest men by assuming a fictitious <sup>^</sup>false<sup>^</sup> one. You can not yet have forgotten with what professions of attachment to the republican party Mr Clinton approached us in 1817, and with what disdainful airs he affected to exclude the federalists from ~~any~~ <sup>^</sup>a<sup>^</sup> participation in his nomination. A majority of a republican convention believing in these professions nominated and the party elected him for a republican governor. At that time ~~He recognised the long established usage of~~ a nomination by the republican members of the legislature

was admitted by him to be according to long established usage & an ^was deemed by him^ indispensable ^a necessary proceeding to bring^ method of ushering a candidate bringing a candidate before the people with well founded claims for their support. His friends sedulously maintained the validity of such nominations until a change of public opinion unexpectedly decided against them. Since that untoward event it has been their policy of Mr C & his friends to decry caucus nominations. and Because ^Because^ it can no longer subserve their ambitious views ^they renounce & reprobate^ a practice which has been approved and <practice> ^followed^ from the first organization of the republican party—which has withstood the test of experience presented the only practicable ^effectual^ means of collecting the various views and uniting the scattered energies of that party—and which has sustained us in the worst of times against the the firm and vigorous on attacks of a hostile party led on by Leaders of veteran experience, and supported by wealth talents and character is removed out and reproached.

The abandonment of this important out post was but a prelude to the surrender of the main fortress. The friends of the Executive declared ^proclaimed^ "that party <distinc> former party ^political^ distinctions were obliterated" and "the barriers of party were trodden down." This language was well understood by our former opponents. They gave Mr Clinton a Speaker of and a council of appointment. Their favor in this respect was more than returned by the acts of the latter. Republicans were removed from office and federalists appointed in their places. The scenes of last winter have been repeated this. Our efforts to prevent the dismemberment of the republican party ^have been vigorously opposed^. The friends of his Excellency who profess to be republican were invited ^to meet with^ us according to usage and to conduct the affairs of the party in the manner pursue that course of conduct which experience had proved to be wise & fair. They declined the invitation. We have had again to contend with and have been ^again^ defeated by the combined strength of the Clintonians & federalists ^and Clintonians^. A Speaker & council were a second time given to Mr Clinton by the aid of the federalists. This repeated cooperation ^alone^ affords ^furnishes^ to our minds satisfactory proof of coalition. If however these acts should leave doubts in the minds of any republicans as to the existence of an improper connection between Mr Clinton & a large portion of the federal party to remove these doubts we appeal to the long list of republicans discarded ^from office^ to make room for federalists. We appeal to the new born zeal with which these federalists embark in Mr Clinton's cause and their rekindled animosity against distinguished republicans. We appeal to the declarations

of the leading administration paper<sup>#</sup> published under the eye of Mr Clinton that "there will hereafter be but two parties in this state the friends & opponents of the administration." —We appeal to the obvious and admitted fact that MrClinton's hopes of a re-election depend upon the federalists. Against such accumulation of credence to disbelieve the charge of coalition requires a lamentable degree of blindness obstinacy and blindness & incredulity.

It is certainly without regret that we have witnessed the partial failure of the attempt to unite the entire federal party in the cause of Mr. Clinton and to array them against the republicans. Many of that party distinguished for talents, private virtue & public worth have nobly withstood the allurements of the administration, loudly condemned the profligate conduct of their former associates and are firmly resolved not to unite their political faction with the fate of this new association. To such persons as Those federalists who are determined to avoid the wayward destiny of the state administration—who are willing to unite their exertions with those of the republicans to establish an administration in this state that shall harmonize with that of the General government we believe will find sufficient encouragement to persevere in this honorable cause from the magnanimity & liberality of the republican party. That This party will cease to regard men as political enemies when they cease to be such—it is willing to forget its controversies but it will not renounce old principles. But those federalists who still retain their hostile feelings towards republican men and are seeking every occasion to embark in opposition to republican measures—who consider apostacy from our ranks an ~~of former~~ atonement for all past errors & a resistless claim on their confidence & a resistless reconsideration to their ~~such justifying ordinance~~ such justifying ordinance—who flock to the standard and embrace the cause of every political adventurer that proclaims war against republicans—who are ever ready to signalize their zeal in the service of factions—who conform their principles to their interest and merit by the inconstancy of their faith and the profligacy of their conduct the distinctive appellation of Success. Such men we avow can have no fellowship with the republican party. They As they deserve nothing they have nothing to hope from it. This party will not, suffer on the one hand, suffer worth to pass unobserved or worth merit to go unrewarded, neither on the other will it become the ladder for "unchastened ambition" or the sanctuary for political impurity.

While we condemn coalition we wish not to be understood as advocating political intolerance. Though we are in favor of liberality to political opponents who have not the power, and do not manifest the will to endanger our cause; yet we can not approve of that liberality to federalists which necessarily produces proscription of Republicans. ~~Though We should wish~~ should rejoice at the extinction of prospect of destroying party without extinguishing liberty we yet <sup>^but^</sup> both experience and history teach us that such an event is rather to be desired ~~^wished for~~ <sup>^desired^</sup> than expected.

The fuel which had so long supplied the fire of party in this state seemed to be almost consumed at the time of Mr Clinton's Election; but he has <sup>^since^</sup> kindled a new and more ~~<devastating>~~ <sup>^devouring^</sup> flame. Availing himself of old political distinctions he has organized a new party or rather modified the old federal party & given it a more dangerous character and a more ~~threatening~~ <sup>^alarming^</sup> direction. The principal object of this party appears to be the exaltation & aggrandisement of its chief and founder. The articles of its creed are few. ~~No matter what how various~~ <sup>^has been the</sup> ~~faith he has professed or object~~ <sup>^too^</sup> ~~what how numerous~~ <sup>apostacies by him</sup> No matter how changeful has been the faith or how numerous the apostacies of him who seek admission into it—no matter what has been his past conduct or what is his present estimation among the people, if he acknowledges the supremacy and believe in the infallibility of the chief he is readily received into this association & is cherished & promoted according to the measure of his obsequiousness and sychophancy. Into the embraces of this party have rushed those who have been driven <sup>^from all others^</sup> ~~for their political crimes from all other parties~~—those ~~political~~ <sup>^"miscalculating^</sup> wanderers" who have explored the whole region of politics in search of adventures—those <sup>^"men" ^</sup> (as once one of their associates has called them) "wanting principle & wanting bread" "the followers <sup>^Brotherhood^</sup> of hope"—and the hirelings of power." By the misplaced confidence of the people the government of the state has been placed in <sup>^acknowledged^</sup> chieftain of these ~~is political~~ <sup>political</sup> bucanears <sup>^inglorious band^</sup> has been placed at the head of the government of the State and its patronage estimated by himself at a million of Dollars usually has secured for this party many devoted ardent and active members. All the arts of the demagogue have been used to veil its real character & increase the number of its deluded followers. By its procurement torrents of calumny have flooded the land. The character of our best men and firmest patriots have been assailed with ~~wanton~~ unexampled virulence. The enterprise of the people, the wisdom of an statesmen, the honor & glory of the state acquired in spite of its

pernicious influence have been all laid at the feet of this its Idol.

From this character this free the present reigning power in this state we think it no idle magination to apprehend ^the^ degradation of ^our political^ the character, of the state & perhaps the ruin of our government. What did we experience from the temporary ascendancy of the federal party that we have not experienced under the present state administration? What had we to dread from the permanent establishment of the former that we may not expect with equal certainty from the latter?

Are not the same men who were the conspicuous in the ranks of our former opponents the interperate zealots of the ^present^ administration? #Are not their acts the same? In 1810 by the apostacy of Robert Williams the federalists produced a council of appointment which acted in obedience to their wishes. What was the act of ^this conduct^ then which ^called forth^ at the election that year called forth the united opposition and strength of the republican ^party?^ We will give it in the language of Mr Clinton "They" (the federal party)" Having by his (Richard Williams) ^In the address to the Electors of 1810 written by Mr Clinton after alledging that the federalists had seduced Robert Williams from the paths of honor and virtue he says ^that "having by his^ instrumentality secured a majority of the Council they have proceeded to eject republicans from office from the shores of the Atlantic to the waters of the great lakes without regard to revolutionary services, to competency to talents, to private or public virtues, and to supply their places with the minions of faction & the myrmidons of official patronage." We oblige without the fear of contradiction that Mr. Clinton and his party have ^with surprising exactness^ imitated in every particular the conduct & policy of the federalists for which he & the whole republican party unitedly condemned XWe forbear to institute a comparison between the conduct of Mr Williams as a senator and Mr Clinton as a Governor. We To discriminate between them requires great refinement and we leave it to the friends of the latter to show what part of the vehement language of denunciation and reproach that ^which^ the one received that the other does not deserve. By the instrumentality of Mr. Clinton the federalists have lately accomplished ^or rather he has himself accomplished^ every thing that they were enabled to do in 1810 by the "odious apostacy" of Robert Williams. ^Taken in some^ if drawn from *<illegible >* Mr. Clinton's conduct in misinforming his ^conduct to the^ -views of ^the^ federalists is more inexcusable than Robert Williams's was. He has place ejected republicans from office from Canada to Pensylvania & from the Atlantic to the Lakes



he has disregarded <sup>^</sup>without regard to <sup>^</sup> revolutionary services, to competency, to talents, to private or public virtues—he has put in their place the minions of faction and myrmidons of official patronage. And we can not see why he does not & his trust cannot ~~<illegible>~~ merit from the republican party the same treatment that the federalists <sup>^</sup>then <sup>^</sup> ~~<illegible>~~ the loss of power

As we have suffered <sup>^</sup>under Mr Clinton's party <sup>^</sup> evils precisely the same in character and equal in magnitude ~~under Mr Clinton's party~~ to those that were brought upon us by the temporary ascendancy of the federalists; so from its continuance we have a prospect ~~more~~ <sup>^</sup>as <sup>^</sup> gloomy than <sup>^</sup>as <sup>^</sup> that which ~~the~~ was presented to us by the apprehended election of Judg Platt in 1810. ~~In contemplating the possibility of this event Mr Clinton says in the address to the electors of that year written by him.~~ We have Mr Clinton's own edias of the consequences of this event in the address <sup>^</sup>above mentioned <sup>^</sup> ~~to the electors written by him~~ "Shall" says he "this state" <sup>^</sup>says he <sup>^</sup> "alone prove recreant to those principles which are held dear and sacred by every friend of the rights of man! Shall she plunge into ruin & disgrace, "drop like a falling from the zenith like a falling star," and commit herself to the government of a faction devoted to Great Britain and hostile to our national administration! And are we prepared to calculate the consequences & encounter the evils which may spring from this odious apostacy? May it not be the signal of relapse to our sister states & set an example that will be followed? And if the result shall produce a state of things which may eventually terminate in the dissolution of the union & in the overthrow of republican government let us at least have the proud satisfaction of having faithfully discharged those duties which we owe to ourselves to our country, to our posterity & to our God." Will the same men of whom such direful apprehensions were entertained now they have ceased to listen to the counsels or be influence by the examples of those eminent federalists who would not follow them in their profligate career exercise at this time a less pecuniary domination in this state under the man whom they stigmatized <sup>^</sup>in their public address ~~<illegible>~~ <sup>^^</sup>~~<illegible>~~ <sup>^^^</sup> as a "Demagogue and tyrant?" Does not duty to ourselves to our country and to posterity imperiously call upon us to raise our voices <sup>^</sup>and direct our exertions <sup>^</sup> against a political association in which are embodied the enemies of the republican party and by which the very principles of our government are jeopardised? Its effects upon our tranquility and happiness at home are too obvious to require elucidation. The contagion of our example must make us an object of peculiar ~~deed~~ dread to our sister states. We can not justly expect to occupy that conspicuous station among them to which under a wise

administration of our affairs by men whose character was not justly an object of distrust ^who are not justly feared for their inordinate ambition & selfish conduct^ we might by our ^confidently aspire^ on account of our wealth population wealth and position. confidently express. Our influence as a member of the federal union is but little felt and our character as a state but little valued. The views of our eminent men are confined at home by the threatening attitude of our domestic affairs and our energies are wasted in internal struggles.

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We advert with humiliation and regret to the internal troubles by which our peace at home and our character abroad has been destroyed and our character abroad debased. The state of New York has been a theatre on which for a few years past restless and turbulent politicians have played conspicuous parts. Actuated by strong personal feelings they have been governed in their political conduct by the best ^lust^ of vengeance and the love of power—at one time uniting their efforts in favor of the same party that they might domineer over it—at another joining separate opposite parties in order to infuse into them their passions ^personal resentments^ and induce them to espouse their ^individual^ quarrels; alternately seeking the support and arraigning the conduct of the general government. They have conformed their opinions to their passions, and changed their parties as the objects of their love or hate^aversion^ have changed.

"In friendship false, irreplaceable in hate

Resolved to ruin or to rule the state."

The past is forgiven if it is not forgotten that they may enjoy the future. There has ^They have^ collected their ^respective^ retainers, transferred their allegiance and in honor of their leader, are ^now^ willing to be distinguished by the name of "clintonians."

By their divisions we have hitherto been agitated with factions—by their union we are now threatened with tyranny. Although they regard with distrust all honest men who cannot be duped by their artifices, the republican party is the only object of their peculiar hostility. We conjure you by the memory of past misfortunes—by the hope of future repose—by your love of character—by your regard for the existence of the republican party, to join unite in our grand & glorious effort to hurl from power and drive into retirement those factious & selfish men from whom we have suffered

so many evils and have so many more to dread.

The limits of an address will not permit us to expatiate at large on the measures Mr Clinton has pursued since he has filled the chair of state. He approached us as one ^a republican^ reclaimed from former errors—We ^he was^ received him as one ^a republican^ who merited restoration to our confidence by the sincerity of his repentance and and who has become wise by the discipline of adversity. But under his administration we have seen the republican party distracted, its character impaired, its integrity jeopardised. We have seen the tranquility of the state destroyed, new parties formed and increased acrimony given to our conflicts. We have seen men whose lives have been spent in warfare against the cause of republicanism—and who have often transferred their attachment without changing their principles to accomplish the object of their hostility become the favorites and advisers of this ~~republi~~ pretended republican magistrate—we have seen men who never changed their attachment or their principles—who have been as constant as virtue and as ardent as patriotism in devotion to that cause indignantly proscribed by him. We have seen the claims of merit, talents and character suspended by the pretensions of ~~favouritism~~ of favorites. We have seen ^the^ legislative brokers and bank undertakers who have defiled the sanctuary of legislation by their abominations & have driven into obscurity for their political offence issuing from their retreat to enjoy t[he] confidence & share in the councils of the Executive; yet this administration is called republican, its purity is commended its character is eulogized its support demanded of the people—its chief & founder presented to us as a profound statesman and consistent republican did of the people and its founder & chief is ~~called~~ presented to us as a profound statesman and a consistent republican.

The honor and interest of [. . .] happiness of the people and the secur[ity] [. . .] government all conspire to urge upon us the necessity of rescuing our political affairs from the hands in which they are now placed. To accomplish important object we look with confidence to the known ~~virtue~~ energy, firmness enterprise of the ~~republic~~ great republican ~~party~~ family To unite the suffrages of this family the republican members of the legislature have selected Daniel D. Tompkins ~~for the republican candidate for to be supported~~ for governor & ^General Benjamin Mooers for lieut. Govr to be supported^ at the approaching Election. This selection is made in the manner which has been long practised and universally approved by the republican party and they come recommended to you ~~support~~ by the sanction of a

regular nomination.

General Mooers has long occupied a distinguished rank as a republican. He gave in early life abundant proof of his attachment to his country and of his devotion to the principles ^of liberty^ by embarking with youthful ardour and serving with distinction in the struggle that gave birth to the independence of this nation. When that country was threatened with invasion and those principles were put in jeopardy he again took the field in the late war he again took the field to defend them.

~~From the intimate knowledge which you must have ^had^ of the late ^From the~~ many opportunities you have to appreciate the character of Gov Tompkins, ^both^ as a man and a magistrate we sho[uld] t[hink] it unnecessary to say ^any^ thing on th[is] his nomination, were it not that a most desperate and as we believe wicked design has lately been formed to impair his popularity and impeach his integrity. In accepting the nomination we have proffered him he has given us an other instance of devotion to the will of that party which has honored him with ~~œn~~ their confidence & which he has served with fidelity. Having for twenty years shared with the republicans of this state in all their trials and participated in all their triumphs he is now willing not to be separated from their future destiny.

In considering his claims to public confidence we advert with just satisfaction to that character which many of his present enemies ^have heretofore^ conceded to him ^and none more evident than the man for whose interest his this character is now to be dismayed^. After ^Govr^ Tompkins had administered the government of this state three years—after he had been tried and was known, the republican members of the legislature again nominated him. ~~is <illegible> and~~ Mr Clinton in the address to the Electors says "It is our pride and our happiness to support a candidate whose private virtues are inestimable & who fills all the duties of life with the most expemplary fidelity Honor candor & truth adorn his life. Prudence temperance, fortitude and justice ^distinguish his character^. As a father, a son, a husband a friend, a patriot a christian and a philanthropist he sets an example worthy of all imitation." Since 1810 ^that period^ the character ^of Tompkins^ has lost none of its worth but has acquired additional splendour. ~~His conduct has become identified with the history of the state.~~ Every sincere friend to the honor of the state will feel the most grateful emotions in contemplating the firmness with which he breasted the torrents of corruption that inundated the capitol ^in 1812^ and swept away the virtue of the legislature. The fell spirit of speculation which was bartering away the character of the State stood for a season rebuked by his virtue, and was forever

exposed by his boldness [. . .] with most malignant industry [. . .]sion to immolate him on the altar of its vengeance. Much of the rancor and bitterness which characterise the attacks of his calumniators take their origin from this source.

During the war his duties as Governor of this state were rendered peculiarly [. . .] by [. . .] violence of two exasper[. . .] continually aspired to, and alternately [. . .] the ascendancy in the government. But heaven it seemed had doomed us to a severer trial than the rage of parties. New York had been selected as the theatre of the war. Invasion came rolling in upon us from the sea & the land. We were summoned to defend our liberty and firesides against the attacks of the victors in those sanguinary conflicts which had desolated Europe. Our hopes dependence in this period of general dismay were depended upon an exhausted treasury, a divided people and an undisciplined army. Gov Tompkins was compelled to assume the most audacious duty In governor Tompkins the nation placed its hopes and on him with all these difficulties this state cast its defense. While the danger lasted we looked to him from him we looked for safety. In the expenditures of millions amid this complication of duties confusion could not have been avoided. This confusion has been greatly increased by the mismanagement of the person to whom with unsuspecting confidence he has intrusted his papers. Legislative aid The aid of the legislature was sought & given but construction has made their act a reality A misunderstanding between the Vice President and the Comptroller <would>.

The friends of the executive have availed seized upon the controversy. They produced & arrayed themselves against Mr Topkins and assailed him with the envenomed malignity of exasperated partizans. They have addressed themselves to your avarice that they might thereby mislead your judgment. Before it was perceived that he was the destruction of Mr Tompkins reputation was essential to the success of Mr. Clinton The leading paper devoted to his cause distinctly frank frankly conceded the fact that the late Gov Tompkins had expended all the monies he had received from the state in the public service "every farthing of the public money had been appropriated to the service of the nation atthough he appears to be a defaulter." Notwithstanding the truth of this concession Tompkins is most unjustly stigmatized as a public Defen[. . .] [not]withstanding it is admitted that [. . .]ed no claim under the specific claim under the law and he has been refused the allowance of a single cent under it he is daily branded as a speculator who is attempting to draw has claimed from the treasury of the state a splendid

fortune.

We believe nothing need be said to sustain in your estimation the man who has devoted his fortune and his health to serve you against such wanton and wicked accusations yet If the voice of justice ^can yet be heard^ in this Land he will ere long confound the malice of his enemies and rescue his character from the foul reproaches that have been cast upon it If the man who has served this state ten years with the most entire devotion to his interest—who has rebuked venality and checked the progress of corruption as it approached the very vitals of the government—who, when the nation was ready to fall under the weight & number of his foes, has put forth the grandest efforts to save our cities from plunder and our fields from desolation—if this man is permitted to fall become the victim of groundless accusation and we shall then furnish a melancholy instance of the ingratitude of republics. We are however far from indulging this idle apprehension—we rely upon your justice. We believe that the whole republican party with the exception of a few who are bound to the present executive by the ties of office or led astray by a fatal infatuation will discard all unworthy prejudices against this favorite candidate and that they will rejoice at the announcement of a name which in the most dismal periods of our party struggles has been a sure prognostic of success presage of Victory

The occasion will not admit of a minute examination of the circumstance which attended the adoption of the various legislative measure for which his followers attempt to pluck the wreath of honor and fame from every administration to adorn the brow of their idol ^or^ to <illegible> ^distinguish^ his three years of power. Every great undertaking in this state for the last 20 years [. . .] attempted to be credited to Mr Clinton when, in fact, so far from deserving these merits, even those measures of more recent origin, which have reflected honor upon some states, were either passed previous to Mr Clintons coming into office were acted upon without his aid, or could only be passed by the aid of the Republicans in the Legislature. The Grand Canal law the act concerning justices ^Extending the jurisdiction of^ & <illegible> <illegible> & the act relative to agriculture recd <illegible> <illegible> to <illegible> <illegible> facts

The former subject of the canals was submitted ^recommended^ to the ^attention of the^ Legislature by Govr Tompkins in his speech in 1816 of the ^public^ law authorizing their construction was passed before Mr. Clinton came into the Government. The act relative to the justices courts that ^by^ which it is claimed

that such great savings have been made for the people was never in any manner even recommended by the Governor & is a measu[re] with which he had no more concern than any other member of the council of revision. The ^bill making^ appropriations for the support of Agriculture ~~was indeed ecommended by Mr Clinton,~~ but it is well known that that measure like many others which have appeared in his speeches was opposed by his friends in the Legislature—& that this bill in particular met with the warmest opposition in the Senate from his prominent ^political^ friends and a member of his council, that it was sustained agt. that opposition & carried in the ~~Senate by the Republican members of that body~~ that body by the republican members

**Located in the left margin of pg. 2:** ^#To fortify themselves in its possession a thousand wily expedients are resorted to that require great circumspection to detect & and great industry to counteract.^

**Located in the left margin of pg. 5:** □It is not by an occasional display of professions but by the general tenor of conduct that we are to test the sincerity & prove the devotion of a public officer to the high trusts that are committed to him.

**Located in the left margin of pg. 11:** #See Albany Register of 11 Jany. 1820

**Located in the left margin of pg. 17:** #Are the objects they now pursue or the means they now use essentially changed since 1810? To show what they were then we appeal to the language of their present leader—to show what they are now we appeal to the conduct of the administration which they controul.

**Located at the top of pg. 18 and noting the insertion of this entire page following the X in the first line of pg. 21:** Taken in loose sheet

**Located at the top of pg. 21 and noting the insertion of an entire page following the X in the first line of pg. 18:** after the word condemned on the 6th page

**Located in the left margin of pg. 11:** the exclusive m[. . .]It is claimed by ^for^ Mr Clinton by his devoted followers

Document Information

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All People:

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