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To the Republican Electors for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the state of New-York.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

The periodical choice of Chief Magistrate is an event which deeply concerns the general prosperity. The approaching one is not only important as it regards our local transactions, but highly interesting in its relations to the government of the union; an inseparable connection exists between them; and to preserve a republican system in the general government, it is essentially requisite that similar councils should be supported in the governments of the respective states.

For the last three years we have enjoyed the mild and benevolent ascendancy of a Republican administration. In all the measures of our government, dignity has been blended with moderation, temperance with firmness, and the security of public liberty with the preservation of social order. During this propitious period we have advanced with equal steps to the attainment of happiness and greatness; we have realized a state of public felicity, unknown to our cotemporaries, and, perhaps, unequalled in the history of the world.

In our exterior relations, while the blessings of peace have been carefully cherished and preserved, our national dignity has been maintained inviolate, & our public character established upon the most solid and honourable foundation—our commerce has rapidly increased, and our flag, instead of being treated with indignity, displays its respected emblems in every quarter of the globe. To habits of extravagance and profusion has succeeded the practice of republican œconomy. The expenses of government have been diminished in proportion to the moderation of its views, and the wisdom and equity of its measures. Standing armies have been disbanded, and the public taught to intrust their defence to the virtue and valor of a well regulated militia. The Sedition Act has been repealed, and government, no longer fortified by the terror it inspires, relies for its support upon the gratitude, affections, and suffrages of an enlightened people. Notwithstanding, the abolition of all the internal taxes, such has been the diminution of our national expenditures, that in less than three years, many millions of dollars have been saved, or apppropriated towards the extinction of the national debt. With the continuance of the republican system, and its natural disposition to cultivate peace and pursue œconomy, we are happy to anticipate the approaching period, when that debt will be finally extinguished, independent of any direct taxes; a surplus revenue will then exist applicable to the promotion of literature, the improvement of roads, the erection of public edifices, and in fine to every other object which can demand the attention or contributed to the interests of a great and flourishing people.

Among the most signal benefits derived from the present administration permit us, fellow-citizens, to congratulate you upon one of incalculable value—the accession of the fertile and extensive territory of Louisiana and its dependencies, acquired by the mild and equitable title of treaty, and unstained with the effusions of human blood. We do not pretend to calculate all the advantages which are destined to arise from this interesting and extraordinary event. It is enough that it invests us with the entire property of the Mississippi; opens to our enterprize the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico; furnishes an ample outlet to the productions of the west, and, by removing all apprehensions of collision with foreign powers, strengthens the boundaries of our empire.

The measures of government, with regard to our domestic affairs, have been equally wise and prosperous. In every department of the community, and in every station of life, we experience the influence and realize the blessings which flow from the republican system. Every individual is secured from injury, and guarded, not only from the reality, but even the apprehension, of oppression; religion continues to flourish; the rights of property are maintained and cherished by an impartial administration of the laws. The hand which labors is sure to reap the fruit of its industry and toil, without restraint from the arm of power, and without exaction from that of rapacity. Thus secure in the enjoyment of uninterrupted tranquility, and happy in the exercise of the civil and patriotic virtues, the free citizen of America considers that enviable title as superior to every idle distinction of nobility, and every frivolous appellation of human pride.

From the affairs of the general government, directing our attention to those of our particular state, we find that similar causes have produced similar effects. Rivals, not in ambition, but in patriotism, Governor Clinton has exhibited the like inflexible integrity, and the same political virtues which have adorned the life and distinguished the administration of Mr. Jefferson. That œconomy which prevails in the treasury of the union, has been successfully introduced into the fiscal departments of the state, and our increasing revenue is accompanied by a total abolition of taxes. In every other branch of the government we perceive the same unshaken attachment to principle; the same solicitude to promote the happiness and welfare of the people.

To the fostering hand of a government administered upon republican principles, to the wisdom and activity of our republican fellow citizens, under the protection and guidance of Providence, we are indebted for the enjoyment of all these blessings. Such an enviable and exalted situation requires the most sincere and fervent acknowledgements to the infinitely benevolent Dispenser of all happiness. It demands, too, our active and industrious exertions for its perpetuation, since our present advantages can never be secure but by an exercise of the means by which they were originally acquired.

By the choice of a successor to our present worthy governor, of similar political principles, we shall contribute, in an eminent degree, to the security of public liberty, and the continuance of those blessings enjoyed under his administration. Such are the sentiments which have directed the nomination at present submitted to the public. The republican members of the legislature, and other citizens of like political sentiments, collected from the different counties of the state, have, with an unanimity honorable to our cause, and with that harmony which is ever the auspicious prelude of success, nominated MORGAN LEWIS, our present chief justice, as a candidate for the office of governor, and JOHN BROOME, one of the senators from the southern district, for the office of Lieutenant governor.

It is unnecessary to dilate on the respective merits of these gentlemen. They each possess a reputation unsullied in private life; they are both attached to the present constitution of government, and are equally faithful to the interests of our republican administration.

As a meritorious revolutionary character, in the various public stations in which he has been placed, the talents, integrity, and services of Mr. Lewis, are sufficiently known to a majority of the electors to entitle him to their approbation and suffrages.—The solid understanding—the inflexible integrity, and uniform patriotism of Mr. Broome, have been eminently conspicuous, and have commanded the esteem and affection of his fellow citizens.

Fully satisfied that these candidates possess every requisite virtue, and every essential qualification; considering that they have been selected with a proper attention to the public interest, and by the united voice and collected wisdom of the republican party—the Republican Electors of the city and county of New-York, in a full, public, and general meeting, have unanimously concurred in this nomination, and respectfully request the aid and co-operation of the electors of the southern district in particular, and of the state in general, to promote and ensure its success.

We confidently assure our fellow citizens throughout the state, that, notwithstanding the misrepresentations which have been made, the friends of the present administrations of the general and state governments here, are firmly united on the present interesting occasion. Relying upon the fidelity and wisdom of the friends of public liberty in the different counties, we entertain no apprehensions with regard to the success of our efforts. We nevertheless request and urge the industrious exertions of our friends every where.—Let our activity be correspondent with the importance of our object, and the inestimable value of the cause in which we are engaged. Let us be faithful and vigilant; let us convince our fellow citizens of the Union, that the cause of public liberty in this state is seated upon a strong and imperishable foundation—because it is maintained by the wisdom, cherished by the virtues, and secured by the affections of the PEOPLE.

Signed by sixty-one delegates from the respective wards of the city and county of New-York.

From the British Press, of the 8th ultimo.—on

THE IMPROBABILITY OF INVASION.

EMBARKATION OF THE TROOPS.

FAME has in a thousand shapes announced the myriads of warriors impatiently waiting the favorable gale for invading this country. Three hundred thousand men, we are told, are on the tip-toe of expectation. How, in the situation of Europe and of France, such a number can be either raised or spared, from a country that can maintain but little more than that number, is difficult to conceive. Certain it is that France, in 1799, menaced by all Europe, could never bring into the field two thirds of that number. By reducing the force one third, we less violate probability; by diminishing them two thirds, we may be nearer truth. I shall however, take them at two hundred thousand.

It requires but a superficial acquaintance with history, to see the difficulties opposing the embarkation of such a force. The precaution of the government of England, by removing every thing from the coast at the moment of invasion with the certainty that the British will neither open markets nor bring supplies to an invading army, oblige the invaders to bring supplies with them for their men and horses, provisions sufficient to last a whole month after landing. The circumstance of finding a country destitute of all manner of provisions and forage, of horses, cattle, wheel carriages, and of every implement fit for their use, will incumber them with most enormous quantities of draught horses, and provisions, over and above their ordinary loads, so as to require a far greater number of transports than might be otherwise necessary. Let us consult the evidence of facts. For the invasion of one of the naturally richest provinces in the world, where an enemy's landing was totally unthought of, where little resistance was expected, fourteen sail of the line, and above three hundred transports were requisite to transport about twenty-five thousand troops in Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Nay, compare the number of transports to be employed on this occasion, with those of the Prince of Orange in 1688, though certain of internal aid at landing; above four hundred thousand ton, above four thousand sail, at the most moderate computation, are necessary for the conveyance of one hundred and fifty thousand men to the coasts of Britain; and these too, besides a large squadron or squadrons, frigates, cutters, and small ships to cover and protect them from the fury of the English frigates, cutters, and privateers. Let those acquainted with the state of the French navy, her commerce and resources, explain the possibility of furnishing such a force. To speak of boats, drawing only four feet water, of fifty or sixty tons burthen, which are to ride triumphantly through the ocean, when our navy shall be driven home by contrary winds, but adds to the difficulty: their additional number, by adding to their confusion, would multiply the chances of their destruction. They would require a sea smooth as a mill-pond to manœuvre in; and on such a sea, half a dozen cutters could send as many thousands of them to the bottom. From the Land's End to Dungsby Head there can hardly be found 20 miles of space, where the surf, by the smallest easterly wind or a flowing tide, would not dash them to pieces. Such vessels are neither capable of carrying, with any safety at least, provisions, forage, or artillery, or even ammunition, or even the first necessaries for passengers. All these, over and above the disadvantages they are subject to in common with ordinary transport ships. Such a mode of conveyance equalises the descent of an invading army with the debarkation of so many barrels or staves.

But even admitting the impossibility of such wonderful exertions on the part of France, where is such a number of transport ships, or, if you will, ten thousand (the least possible number) flat boats to rendezvous in safety? Brest cannot contain one fourth of such a number; no half dozen ports in France would suffice; thence too they must sail in different divisions. Such a circumstance would, by dividing their strength insure their destruction by English fast sailing frigates, cutters, and numberless cruizers. As you multiply the number of ports from which they sail, you increase their danger, from the impossibility of their acting in concert, the troops in one division being ignorant where to seek the rest, whether, in fact, they have been able to get out, where, and in what force they can count upon their co-operation. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, counting moreover upon the additional energy and celerity of our gun boats, cutters, and small craft, above all, those manned by the sea-fencibles, joined to the proudest and best appointed navy which ever rode the ocean; contrasting these with the miserable wreck of the French marine, its pusillanimous, inexperienced sailors, hardly daring at this moment to creep from port to port under shelter of their batteries; their ports of preparation half depopulated from the terror of our very cutters; our fishing boats sailing contemptuously into the mouth of their harbors; invasion becomes the object of ridicule, or the subject of contempt.

THE SAILING OF THE ARMAMENT.

Will the fortune of Bonaparte, after conquering difficulties esteemed hitherto insurmountable, now desert her minion? She has driven the English from his ports; and leaves the ocean open to his mighty armament; let us see its fate on the open sea.

Four thousand transports, or ten thousand flat bottomed boats are at sea, with fifty or sixty frigates, cutters, advice-boats, &c. and under sail. Whilst steering their course for England, let us suppose our great fleet kept at bay by that of France, nay even beaten, or driven within their own harbours (for one or other of these things is necessary for the success of the expedition) and the French flag flying triumphantly in the English channel. What sort of seamen remain to navigate their transports? This question requires solution. The French seamen, at their best period, were inferior to ours, even on their own coasts, and their navy has since been ruined. Those of Holland can hardly be reckoned upon in such a fleet. Can it be supposed that such a flotilla, manned with such wretches, filled with sea-sick soldiers, and sea-sick frightened horses, will never, by day or night, run foul of each other, nor their commander mistake signals? This would be exempting them from every accident to which humanity is subject. Even in a convoy of forty or fifty sail, these accidents or blunders are inevitable, though the seamen be British. The annals of mankind afford no such exemption.

The most uncommon dexterity, and skilful manœuvres, are still necessary. Transports are unfit to fight; the more loaded they are (and we are assured those of Bonaparte's armament are to be so beyond all precedent,) the less fitted they are for defence. When attacked they must fly, leaving to the convoy the brunt of the battle. In such a scene, "where confusion becomes worse confounded," the most skilful commanders, and the expertest seamen, though only in a fleet of a few merchantmen, have seldom or never avoided committing some fatal mistake. What must therefore be the situation, in such an event, of four thousand transports, or ten thousand boats, or even the one eighth of these numbers, whose cargoes consist of sick soldiers, and sick and frightened horses; where three fourths of the sailors themselves are in the same predicament, and the remainder so ignorant and unskilful, as, instead of remedying, to add to the general confusion and mistake?

To talk of an embarkation in ships of war, admitting even the French could (which they cannot) furnish them, hardly merits notice. A great ship, turned into a transport, or armed en *flute*, loaded or crowded with troops, horses, carriage equipage, ammunition, &c. being no longer capable of using its lower tier or guns, is no longer a great ship of war: in such a situation, a frigate of the lowest rate, becomes more than a match for a seventy four. In every point of view, therefore, the difficulties of invasion become more and more insurmountable:

"Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on
Alps arise."

THE DEBARKATION.

Admitting a concurrence of happier circumstances, and a series of better fortune than have hitherto been the lot of an individual, to obviate the difficulties already stated: the task is not finished; the fortune of the Corsican has still new obstacles to overcome, more difficulties to encounter, and more foes to combat. The ocean is calmed, and the gales become propitious; the armament of Bonaparte arrives in Britain, and at a single point; for it is necessary to observe, that if his force is divided, not only the chances of some part of it being intercepted are multiplied, but the probabilities of its ultimate and expected success are exceedingly diminished.

Our advice boats, spread over the enemy's coast will, no doubt, give notice of the approach and destination of such a force; the sailing of such an armament, unless provided with the ring of the Caliph, or of Jack the Giant killer, must undoubtedly be perceived by the telescopes of those on shore, at a considerable distance. In either case, the natural, the necessary progress of such a mighty body, will afford sufficient time to those on shore, to remove from the coast whatever may be of the least use to an enemy, horses, cattle, provisions, grain, even hay will be removed some miles up the country, and what cannot be transported ought to be burnt. Making every allowance for the state of weather and of the ocean, two days will intervene between the period of such a notice and the ranging of the armament for debarkation upon our shores. A much longer period, even with a small armament, consists with experience. Consider for a moment the immense number of horses for draught, and for the troops, the prodigious number of cannon, mortars, carriages, ammunition, baggages, tents, provisions, and even forage, entrenching tools, and a thousand other articles necessary for such an army, and such an armament? Do I exceed probability in asserting, that the debarkation of these, even in the most favorable season, above all in autumn or winter, when such an expedition would be most probably attempted, to say nothing of the collection of the various corps, the stores, provisions, and necessaries of each, at one or more given points, must at least occupy thirty days from the moment of their armaments touching ground? The experience of Bonaparte himself determines the question. In the most favourable season, in the most accessible and finest harbour, and in a sea *without tides*, ten days were necessary to land twenty-five thousand soldiers from only three hundred vessels, with the necessary stores for occupying Egypt, and that with unremitting labour. The third of that space hardly sufficed to land five or six thousand men with their muskets, and a day's provision though he laboured day and night. What period of time is then necessary for debarking eight times that number on a shore washed by the ocean, where the ebbing and flowing of the tide render exertions for one tide of the day, indeed for any more than eight hours, entirely useless? When to this is added, the ordinary state of the weather, and of the sea, at this period, it will be perceived, that the above calculation is much within the limits of probability. All this too upon the supposition of no interruption on the part of our numberless cruizers. It would be superfluous to demonstrate the absurdity of a debarkation with flat-bottomed boats. They could hardly land even naked soldiers; before reaching land they would be dashed in pieces; their ammunition wetted, their carriages of every sort broken on the rocks or sands by the surf, or flowing tide.

Though I have proved to demonstration that at least one month will necessarily intervene betwixt the landing and the final debarkation, though I might have proved that double that period is necessary for a debarkation with such a force, though the present state of our navy entitles me to assert, that no landing whatever would be permitted to take place, or a single vessel engaged in it to return to the ports of France, I will concede to our *croakers* more than they can even demand: I shall take it for granted, that only one half of that period, or fifteen days only, must necessarily elapse between the landing and debarkation of the armament of Bonaparte. To these fifteen days some addition is necessary to recruit the health of the soldiers, sickened and debilitated by their sea voyage, to refresh and invigorate the horses, jaded and fatigued by their continuance on shipboard. For this purpose, and for the repair and restoration of the different kinds of carriages, and others unavoidably broken, disjointed, or lost by the embarkation, and the debarkation on our coast, six days are necessary. Twenty-one days, at the least possible computation, must elapse, (indeed double that number is indispensably requisite) before the army could begin their march; a period sufficient, with one half the patriotism, and one third of the force locked up in this island, to crush the greatest force that ever France brought to the field.