

6 Henry Street

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MR. WEBSTER'S ADDRESS.

John Furmer.

AN

ADDRESS

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BY DANIEL WEBSTER.

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ADDRESS.

IT is in the power of every generation to make themselves, in some degree, partakers in the deeds, and in the fame of their ancestors, by adopting their principles, and studying their examples. Wherever history records the acts of men, the past has more or less influence on the present. The heart, as well as the understanding, feels the connexion. There is not only a transmission of ideas and of knowledge, from generation to generation; there is also a traditional communication of sentiments and of feelings. The mind delights to associate with the spirits that have gone before it; to enter into their counsels; to embrace their designs; to feel the impulse of their motives; to enjoy their triumphs, and to hold common sorrow in their misfortunes. It exults to find itself, not a distinct, confined point of present being, without relation to the past, or the future, but a part of the great chain of existence, which commencing with the origin of our race, and running through its successive generations, binding the present to the past, and even to the future, in mutual attachments, sym-

pathies and common desires, will hold on to the period, when all sentiments and all affections merely human shall be no more.

On the Anniversary of our National Independence, we are assembled to diffuse our intellectual and moral being beyond the limits of sensible existence, and to enjoy a retrospective participation in the most important transaction in our country's history.

In an hour big with events of no ordinary import, and surrounded by DANGERS of no ordinary aspect, we meet, that we may ascend, together, to the original fountains of our political prosperity and happiness; that we may imbibe new portions of the spirit and the principles of our fathers, and that we may thence come, refreshed and invigorated, to whatever scenes may be before us. We come to take counsel of the DEAD. From the tumults and passions that agitate the living world, we withdraw to the tomb, to listen to the dictates of departed wisdom. We come, to instruct and to fortify our patriotism, by hearkening to the voice, and contemplating the character of HIM, to whom we owe all that nation ever can owe to mortal achievement.

Our National Anniversary, and the fame of WASHINGTON are mutual guarantees for each other, that neither shall be forgotten. They are meet to be companions along the tract of our history, and to uphold, together, the name of our Nation, until the extinction of the race of men. The virtues of its Great Leader reflect on our Rev-

olution a character for sober wisdom, for mildness, and beneficence, which is its chief value and greatest ornament. The world saw under the guidance of WASHINGTON, what it hath seldom witnessed under other auspices, a Revolution conducted without ferocity, without fierce proscription, without blood-thirstiness ; and succeeded by a Government framed on the principles of rational liberty, and sincerely intended for the good of mankind.

It should be our constant aim to exhibit WASHINGTON's example as the true fruit and genuine effect of our revolution. We should point to his principles as the true principles of our Government, and to his Administration as the best practical development and application of those principles. We shall thus possess an infallible criterion, by which to distinguish our Countrymen from other movers of political changes, and shall be able to rescue *our* assumption of National Rank, from the imputation of holding a common character with those commotions and outrages, those political earthquakes and thunderstorms, which have sometimes been called National Revolutions.

As this occasion is particularly designed to commemorate the virtues and services of WASHINGTON, it would be a pleasant employment to attempt the delineation of his personal character. For if there was ever a man whose reputation was not accidental ; whose character was systematic ; and whose conduct was the result of well-considered and settled principles, that man was WASHINGTON. For him, fortune did nothing but present the occasion. His fame therefore, not resting on tempo-

rary circumstances, will not be of temporary duration. Like the spontaneous, self-planted, self-supported Oak, it will continue to rear its venerable branches through many ages, and the assaults that are made upon it will but strengthen its hold, and give it deeper root in the affections of mankind.

But the circumstances of the **TIMES** draw us from the personal character of our Illustrious Countryman, to consider those principles and maxims of civil administration, by the observance of which he was so successful in maintaining the **PEACE** and fostering the **COMMERCE** of the Country.

Since that transaction, which gave to this day the character of an Anniversary, and a Jubilee, its annual return has never found us, in circumstances more critical and hazardous. This is a point not to be disputed. Whatever difference of opinion there may be, as to the causes which have produced the present situation, none deny that it is a situation both of distress and danger. We are at this moment but partially emerging from the coercion of a system of entire, severe, and universal Commercial Restriction. We are at the same time in **OPEN AND PUBLIC WAR**, with the greatest maritime power on earth. This is a condition not to be trifled with. It calls for the exercise of whatever political wisdom or firmness may be found among us. It demands as well the free and dispassionate inquiry, as the unbroken resolution of the American People.

The War in which we are involved; is declared to be commenced for the defence and protection of Commercial Rights. It is such a WAR as we had no occasion to wage, during the administration of the first President. This fact, which some will ascribe to chance, others, who recollect the circumstances of those times, will think more proper to be referred to prudence and foresight.

The maxims of WASHINGTON on the subjects of Commerce and Foreign Relations, appear to have been few, plain, and consistent. The first of these was honest and exact *impartiality* towards foreign nations. He deemed it the wildest of political phantacies, that nations can have friendships. In his system, therefore, every species and degree of foreign alliance was regarded as dangerous to the liberties, and destructive to the happiness of the people. When that conflict began in Europe, which has continued to the present day, and of which perhaps we shall not live to see the end, he assumed a dignified attitude of NEUTRALITY. He placed the nation above the friendship, and above the enmity of both belligerents. The tone of his measures was effectual. It produced the desired impression, and although each party in the war, in its turn inflicted manifold injuries on our commerce, the same firmness which issued the Proclamation of Neutrality, demanded satisfaction in a manner not to be disregarded.

When WASHINGTON commenced the career of his civil Administration, the Constitution had been recently

formed and adopted, to effect certain important *objects* and *purposes*, to which the States were incompetent in their individual capacities. With these objects and purposes he could not but be acquainted, and he sought their accomplishment with honest and ardent zeal. He drew the rules of his conduct from the spirit and design of the instrument which had been put into his hands. The national compact, he saw, guaranteed to the several States, not only equal political rights, but also equal protection to their *several interests and pursuits*. It was designed, not to revolutionize the habits or employments of any section of the country, but to protect the interests of all, in the channels they had naturally worn for themselves. It was an Instrument of *preservation*, not of *change*. In the administration of the first President, therefore, there was nothing of constraint. Every laudable pursuit was protected, nothing was forced. None were turned from Agriculture, and none were turned from Commerce. The fields of earth and of ocean were alike open to cultivation and enterprize. As public happiness is nothing more than the aggregate happiness of individuals, he saw, that protected by just laws, and at liberty to pursue their particular vocations, individuals would add to the stock of national felicity whatever they added to their own.

The Federal Constitution was adopted for no single reason so much, as for the protection of *Commerce*. Whoever recollects, or will examine, the history of the Country from the close of the war to the year 1788 will

be fully sensible of this important truth. The war left the States individually sovereign and independent. They all supposed themselves able to defend themselves against external aggression, at least with the aid of such temporary alliances among themselves, as occasion might suggest. Each, too, was competent to its own domestic affairs, and the administration of its internal justice. They had all Constitutions, and Governments, and Laws. They were in truth thirteen separate and independent NATIONS. The confederacy which had bound them together during the war, was in effect dissolved, when the war was over; for, although there remained a General Congress in name, its real powers were at an end.

In this situation, it was their *commercial embarrassments and distresses*, which first convinced the States of the indispensable necessity of a new General Government. Without such a Government, they found, that an extensive commerce, such as the local situation and natural products of the country indicated, was impracticable. There could be no system. The custom-house regulations of one State, thwarted those of another.† Instead of an united effort to rival foreign nations, petty competitions were springing up at home.

It was at the same time found impossible to negotiate commercial treaties abroad, because there was no power of compelling thirteen separate and independent Governments to observe them. The first attempt to enter into

† "We have no uniformity in duties, imposts, excises, or prohibitions."
Hon. Mr. Daves' Speech in the Conven. of Mass.

Commercial regulations, in Europe failed for this reason. The party to be contracted with saw no security, that any stipulations which might be entered into, would be performed by the States, and therefore refused to treat. We disgraced ourselves, in the eyes of Europe, by endeavoring to form commercial treaties, without the means of carrying them into effect. †

In the mean time the debt of the revolution remained unpaid, and while it was impossible to extend our *Commerce* under existing circumstances, it was equally impossible, *without* such extension of Commerce, to establish a revenue adequate to any proper provision for the National Debt.

Notwithstanding the urgency of these considerations, it was long before the States would consent, that a new Government should be formed over them, which should deprive them of important and favorite prerogatives. "People must *feel*," said General WASHINGTON, "before they will *see*; consequently they are brought slowly into measures of public utility."

The first project of a Convention to form a General Government originated with a set of Commissioners from two or three States, assembled for the purpose of forming some mutual *Commercial regulations*, and agreeing upon a common tariff for those States. As they proceeded, they saw the necessity of a Convention of

† "We are *one* nation to-day, and thirteen to-morrow. Who will treat with us on such terms?"

Washington's Correspondence—vide Washington's Life, vol. V. p 72.

Delegates from all the States, "TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND TO CONSIDER HOW FAR A UNIFORM SYSTEM IN THEIR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS MAY BE NECESSARY TO THEIR COMMON INTEREST, AND THEIR PERMANENT HARMONY." They saw the inefficacy of partial and voluntary arrangements, and the utility of a great National System, which should unite all the States in one Government, vested with the powers necessary for Maritime Defence, Commercial Regulation, and National Revenue. These ideas are at the foundation of the National Compact. They are its leading principles, *and the causes of its existence.*† They were primary considerations, not only with the Convention which framed the Constitution, but also with the People when they adopted it. Maritime Defence, Commercial Regulation, and Revenue, were the objects, and the only important objects, to which the States were confessedly incompetent, in their individual capacities. To effect these by the means of a National Government, was the constant, the prevalent, the exhaustless topic of those, who favored the adoption of the Constitution.‡

† If Documents are wanted to prove this, see Gen. Washington's Letter to the States, June 1783; Mr. Adams' Letter from Europe, July 1783; The Memorial of the Merchants of Philadelphia to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and the Resolutions thereon:—The various reports of Committees, and Resolutions of Congress, calling for the investment in that body, of new powers; the Resolutions of Virginia, in January, 1786. These, and innumerable other public proceedings indicate the objects and duties of the contemplated Government.

‡ Mr. MADISON himself urged the necessity of coming into the Union, as the "GUARDIAN OF OUR COMMERCE;" as being palpably necessary, in order "TO PROVIDE AND MAINTAIN A NAVY," and as THE ONLY SOURCE OF OUR MARITIME STRENGTH." He pressed the adoption of the Constitution especially

COMMERCE, therefore, comes into the view of our General Government, not as a transient or incidental interest. It is not a concern, springing up, as of yesterday, with novel and unfounded pretensions. It is of the essence of the National Compact ; expressed in its terms, and embodied in its consideration. It calls not only on the wisdom, but on the *faith* of Government. It stands on the solemn PLEDGE of the nation.

This Commerce has discharged the debt of the Revolutionary War. It has paid the price of Independence. It has filled the Treasury and sustained the Government from the first moments of its existence to the present time. The interests, and the habits of a vast portion of the community have become interwoven with this Commerce, in a manner not to be changed, and that no Government hath the *power* of changing. To call upon us now, to forsake the seas, to forget the virtues of the magnet, to lose even the observance and guidance of the stars, is to summon us to repeal at once, as well the Constitution of civilized man and the laws of nature, as the Constitution of the Country.

on the Inhabitants of the *Atlantic frontier*, as being "ALL OF THEM DEEPLY INTERESTED IN THE PROVISION FOR NAVAL PROTECTION.

See the 14th and 41st No's. of the "Federalist," written by Mr. MADISON.

The speeches in favor of the Constitution in the Conventions of the several States are full of these sentiments—See especially the debates in New-York, and Massachusetts.

In the Convention of Massachusetts, where there was a majority of only 19 votes in favor of the Constitution, it is very evident its final reception was owing to the exertion of the *Commercial Interest*. Instance the votes in the following Counties. Suffolk, yeas 34, Nays, 5. Essex, Yeas 38, Nays 6. Worcester, Yeas 7, Nays 45. Berkshire, Yeas 7, Nays 15. See Debates in Convent. Mass. 218 et seq.

It is not without reason, that **Commerce**, thus the source of our wealth, the redeemer of our **Credit**, *the bond and origin of our UNION*, should raise its voice in loud but respectful accents, as well against those *repeated restrictions* which *withhold* it from the seas, as against premature or inexpedient **WAR** which must *scourge* it from them.

When the Federal Constitution committed the interest of **Commerce** to the safe keeping of the **General Government**, it was not supposed to be after the manner in which a convict is committed to the *safe-keeping* of his gaoler. It was not for close confinement. It was for encouragement, for protection and manly defence. It was to the end, that under a patronage more liberal and powerful than individual States could afford, it might explore the earth, and mix its canvass with the white clouds that hover over every sea. Its progress for many years exceeded the highest expectations of its friends. A handful of People, scattered along the coast of a great **Continent**, just emerging from colonial subjection and the monopoly of the parent country, almost instantly, as if by miracle, presented themselves, in every corner of the globe, to which they could be water-borne. Europe saw a new competitor entering into all the great channels of the carrying trade, and some of her nations could hardly secure the monopoly of their own coastwise traffic, against the progress of this green but enterprising People. The **Baltic** heard unaccustomed calls for the products of its shores across the

Atlantic ; India perceived a new customer in her markets ; and other and more active enemies than before known, were found to vex and harrass the basking monsters on the shores and islands of the western sea. The benefit of this extensive traffic was felt by every interest, and every class of the community. What Agriculture gave, in its products, to the deep, it received again with large and liberal increase, to fertilize its fields. The forest fell before the reflux of mercantile wealth ; and population spread thick and pressed close on the retreating footsteps of savage nations.

An Embargo of sixty days was the only suspension which commerce met, during the Administration of WASHINGTON. It cannot be doubted that *temporary* Embargoes may be constitutional measures, nor was there a question of the expediency of this measure of the first President. It was an act of precaution. It was temporary. It had but one object, the preservation of property. It was properly “a regulation of commerce,” because it regarded only the safety and protection of commerce, and was *not* adopted for the purpose of affecting other nations by withholding from them the surplus production of our soil.

It is easy to perceive that frequent resorts to “Restrictions” must be productive of the worst consequences. An extensive commerce can no more endure a *habit* of restriction, than the human constitution can support a *habit* of paralytics. In either case, the first shock

may be survived; but if often repeated, it is only that instead of a *violent*, there may come a *lingering* death.

Such a measure, therefore, was but once adopted, during the first twelve years of the Government; although in those years the world was in uncommon agitation, and those nations especially with whom our intercourse principally was, sustained a shock, as well in their commercial as their political affairs, unprecedented in modern times. WASHINGTON viewed even a limited Embargo as a measure to be justified only by the pressure of great, sudden, and unforeseen dangers. What could not be done by Treaty, by wise precautions, or by present means of defence, he attempted to do, for once, by a temporary prohibition of trade. He administered "Restriction" to our Commerce, as its extreme medicine; not as its daily bread.

In the system of WASHINGTON was also embraced a competent provision for MARITIME AND NAVAL DEFENCE. He saw that we had no other grounds to look for safety or security, than in our own power to protect ourselves, and to punish wrong wherever it was offered. A NAVY, sufficient for the defence of our coasts and harbors, for the convoy of important branches of our trade, and sufficient also to give our enemies to understand, when they injure us, that *they* also are vulnerable, and that we have the power of retaliation as well of defence, seems to be the plain, necessary, indispensable policy of the nation. It is the dictate of nature and common sense, that means

of defence shall have relation to the nature of the danger.† In the administration of WASHINGTON, whose habit it was rather to follow the course of nature, than to seek to controul it, beginnings were made, bearing proportion to what our trade then was, and looking forward to what it would be. Even at that time, the quantity of our navigation justified respectable naval preparations. The quantity of shipping, owned by the single neighboring county of Essex, as early as that period, would bear comparison with the whole navigation of England in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Armada of Spain was defeated by the English navy.‡

If the plan of WASHINGTON had been pursued, and our navy had been suffered to grow, as it naturally would have done, with the growth of our Commerce and Navigation, what a blow might at this moment be struck, and what protection yielded, surrounded as our Commerce now is, with all the dangers of sudden war! Even as it is, all our immediate hopes of glory or conquest, all expectation of events that shall gratify the pride or spirit of the nation, rest on the gallantry of that little remnant of a Navy, that has now gone forth, like lightning, at the beck of Government, to scour the seas.

† “I consider an acquisition of maritime strength essential to this Country. Should we ever be so unfortunate as to be engaged in war, what but this can defend our towns and cities upon the sea coast? or what but this can enable us to repel an invading enemy.” Mr. Madison’s Speech, on the Impost and Tonnage Bill, in the first Congress.

‡ The State of Massachusetts has now at least *four times* the quantity of shipping owned by England in the reign of Elizabeth.

It will not be a bright page in our history, which relates the total abandonment of all provision for naval defence, by the Successors of WASHINGTON. Not to speak of policy and expediency, it will do no credit to the National *Faith*, stipulated and plighted as it was to that object, in every way that could make the engagement solemn and obligatory. So long as our Commerce remains unprotected, and our coasts and harbors undefended by naval and maritime means, *essential* objects of the UNION remain unanswered, and the just expectation of those who assented to it, disappointed.

A part of our Navy has been suffered to go to entire decay. Another part has been passed, like an article of useless lumber, under the hammer of the Auctioneer. As if the Millenium had already commenced, our politicians have beaten their swords into ploughshares. They have actually bargained away in the market essential means of national defence, and carried the product to the Treasury. Without loss by accident, or by enemies, the second Commercial Nation in the world is reduced to the humiliation of being unable to assert the sovereignty of its own seas, or to protect its navigation in sight of its own shores. What war and the waves have sometimes done for others, we have done for ourselves. We have taken the destruction of our *Marine* out of the power of fortune, and nobly achieved it by our *own counsels*!

But although the system of WASHINGTON embraced competent measures of defence, by sea as well as by land, yet it was his settled purpose and constant endeavor to avoid *WAR*. By able and *impartial* negotiations, he more than once extricated the Country from the greatest embarrassments. A situation can hardly be imagined more difficult than this nation's in 1793. The *War* abroad was raging with uncommon violence. Our *neutrality* was assailed by both parties ; most by that, which pretending to be engaged in a war for liberty, left no effort unessayed to draw the American People to espouse her cause. But WASHINGTON could neither be intimidated, nor deceived. He saw the path of *impartiality* and *justice* open before him. It was illuminated with all the light of heaven. It conducted to the true glory and happiness of his Country. He entered, and pursued it. He triumphed, not only over the designs of foreign nations, but also over the temporary prejudices of a portion of his own Countrymen.

This, Gentlemen, is an imperfect view of the principal maxims of WASHINGTON's administration. UNIVERSAL PROTECTION ; HONEST, impartial negociation ; spirited preparations for defence ; utter aversion to all foreign connexions ; the love of Peace ; the observance of Justice ; these are the pillars on which he sought to establish the National Prosperity. Would to God, that the spirit of his Administration might actuate the Government, to its latest moment ; that His EXAMPLE might give a

movement, an impulse to our political system, that should forever keep it steady and regular in its brilliant and beneficent course ; like the laws of motion and of order, which pervade the orbs of the universe, impressed on them at their creation, by the hand of their Maker, and ever afterwards remaining inherent in their natures, to regulate and to govern them

With respect to the WAR, in which we are now involved, the course which our principles require us to pursue, cannot be doubtful. It is now the law of the land, and as such we are bound to regard it. Resistance and Insurrection form no parts of our creed. The disciples of WASHINGTON are neither tyrants *in* power, nor rebels *out*. If we are taxed, to carry on this WAR, we shall disregard certain distinguished examples, and shall pay. If our personal services are required, we shall yield them to the precise extent of our Constitutional liability. At the same time, the world may be assured that we know our RIGHTS, and shall exercise them. We shall express our opinions on this, as on every measure of government, I trust without passion—I am certain without *fear*. We have yet to learn that the extravagant progress of pernicious measures abrogates the duty of opposition, or that the interest of our native land is to be abandoned, by us, in the hour of her thickest dangers, and sorest necessity. By the exercise of our Constitutional right of suffrage, by the peaceable remedy of election, we shall seek to restore WISDOM to our Councils, and PEACE to our Country.

Standing thus pledged by our principles to obey the laws, and to perform the whole duty of faithful citizens, we are yet at liberty to declare FULLY and FREELY, the grounds on which we lament the commencement, and shall deplore the continuance of the present contest. We believe, then, that this *War* is *not* the result of *Impartial policy*. If there be cause of *War* against England, there is still more abundant cause of *War* against France.— The *War* is professedly undertaken, principally, on account of the continuance of the British Orders in Council. It is well known that those orders, odious as they are, *did not begin* the unjust & vexatious system practiced upon neutrals, nor would that system end with those orders, if we should obtain the object of the *War*, by procuring their repeal. The *Decrees* of France are *earlier* in point of time, more extravagant in their pretensions, and ten fold more injurious in their consequences. They are aggravated by a pretended abrogation, and holding our understandings in no higher estimation than our rights, that Nation requires us to believe in the repeal of *Edicts*, the daily operation of which is manifest and visible before our eyes

‘If it be no apology to England to have been *second* on the list of wrong doers, it is at least no justification to France to have been the *first*.’”

That we should now make common cause *with her*; that we should unite *with her* to wage war against a common enemy; that we should assist *her* to subdue and exterminate the nation of her Adversary, and to spread

chains and despotism over the civilized world ; while such accumulated wrongs on *her* part toward *us*, are unredressed, our rights set at defiance, and our National Independence derided, seems to us to be a wide and dreadful departure from the course of true wisdom, and honest politics

We believe, also, that the WAR is *premature* and *inexpedient*. Our shores are unprotected ; our towns exposed ; property to an immense amount in the hands of the enemy ; and the seas covered with our Commerce !

It exceeds human belief, that a nation thus circumstanced, should be plunged into sudden WAR. With no preparations appropriate to the element where the WAR is to be waged ; with no means either of attack or resistance, we are to waste our spirit in empty vamping and mutual recrimination, while our most valuable rights are at the mercy of our enemies.

It is not to be concealed, that this *War* professedly commenced for the defence of the *Commercial Interest*, is nevertheless undertaken *against* the urgent and incessant remonstrances of *that Interest*. Put the question, to day, to every man embarked in Commerce from here to the Delaware ; will one in an hundred tell you that we are at war at *his* request, or for the protection of *his* interest ? It is not a point on which public opinion is divided by Party. The magnitude of the event has in a great measure overwhelmed party-distinctions. The voice of

the whole Mercantile Interest is *united*, to an unprecedented degree, *against* the *War*, which is declared to be undertaken, at so much hazard of blood and treasure, for their benefit. Is this credible? Will any man affirm his *conviction*, that the causes assigned for t'is contest, are *the only causes*, and that there has been no other motive for it, than to yield protection to those, who have assured the Government, that instead of *protection*, it would be their *ruin*?†

Under these circumstances, we believe that the *War*, “instead of elevating will depress the national character; instead of securing, it will endanger our rights; instead of improving, it will prejudice our best interests.”

Nor can we shut our eyes to the prospect of *French Alliance*. Horrible as the contemplation of such an event is, it is *forced* upon us. We cannot shake it from our minds. It cannot be said, that a *French connexion* is now more improbable, than a British war was, a year ago. The total *neglect of preparation* is a circumstance *awfully ominous* of our future course. It points but too distinctly to the ARM, on which we are to rely for succor in this conflict. The same counsels, that, under the present circumstances of this Country, could select England, for an enemy, must inevitably, in their further progress, cleave to *France* as a *Friend*, and an *Aily*

† It has been sometimes said, that we commence war to “restore our character.” When—how—by whom, was it lost? Certainly *not* by WASHINGTON. The difference between *him*, and his successors, is, that under WASHINGTON we had peace without disgrace—we have now disgrace without peace.

French Brotherhood is an idea big with horror and abomination. Up to that point, no duty or principle requires US, and no power should compel US to go. It is engraven on our hearts, and mingled with our blood, that we will have no communion or fellowship with that power. **WE WILL NEVER CONSENT** that her unhallowed hosts shall spread over our paternal fields ; that they shall violate these Temples raised by the hands, and made vocal with the worship of our Fathers, or that they shall profane the ground where the bones of New-England's Ancestors lie enshrined

There is no common character, nor can there be a common interest, between the Protestants, the Dissenters, the Puritans of New England, and the Papists, the Infidels, the Atheists of France ; or between our free, Republican Institutions, and the most merciless Tyranny that ever Heaven suffered to afflict mankind. Let the nation be named, that is the Ally of France, and not her slave ; “ let the degree of submission be marked, with which **SHE** will be content ; let the line be drawn between French usurpation and national Independence, which **SHE** will not pass.” What People hath come within the grasp of **HER** power, that hath not been ground to powder ? or hath communed of her principles, or received the bribe of **HER** friendship, that hath not been covered, like the mercenary servant cursed of the Prophet, with a leprosy, as white as snow ?

Hath any Nation or Government, Monarchy or Republic, ventured within the den of this *Monster*, and returned?

“ Me vestigia terrent,
“ Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.”

The fields of half Europe are whitened with the dried bones of human beings, slaughtered by this inexorable *Tyranny* last year, and stained with the red, gushing blood of other thousands of human beings alike slain this year. From the extremity of Italy to the Baltic sea, from the Atlantic to the mouths of the Danube, can you place your foot on one inch of ground, and say you stand on the soil of a FREEMAN? Can you, in that whole space, point me to *one man* whether king, prince, or peasant, that holds life or property by any other tenure than the Tyrant's will? Can you show me, within the tremendous sweep of *His Arm*, one Institution of Religion not profaned, or of Learning not prostituted? one fountain of moral Instruction not corrupted? one barrier of purity and virtue not demolished? or one principle of justice and natural right not obliterated?

If there be any among us, so infatuated, or so stupified, as not to shudder at the prospect of *French Alliance*, let them come and behold the nations that lie mangled and bleeding at the foot of the Tyrant's throne, in a mixture of moral and political ruin. If they will not hearken to the *warning voice*, they may yet perhaps be shocked into some feeling by the evidence of their own senses. Let them approach, and look into the horrible pit of European suffering and calamity. Although they will not hear Moses and the Prophets, they may yet believe, when they

draw near to the brink of the gulph, and with their own eyes look into the condition of the damned.

But if it be in the Righteous Counsel of Heaven to bury New England, her Religion, her Governments, and her Laws, under the throne of foreign Despotism, there are *those* among her sons, who will never see that event. If by the vigor of their Counsels, and the free exposure of their lives, they cannot avert, they will at least *never endure* it. They will *not* taste the bitterness of that cup. They will *not* be among the sufferers, when that vial of Heaven's wrath shall be poured out. Before that hour come, an honorable exit will be opened to them, from the land of their *Fathers*. They cannot perish better, than standing between their Country and the embraces of a ferocious Tyranny, hated of man, and accursed of God. At the appointed time, they will embrace that MARTYRDOM, not only with fortitude, but with cheerfulness ; resolved, in all events, that when they shall, for the last time, behold the light of *that* sun, or look on the pleasant verdure of these fields, it shall *not* be with the eyes of slaves and subjects of an impious Despotism.