

CONGRESS.

House of Representatives.

January 27.

In committee of the whole on Mr. Madison's resolutions.

(Mr. Ames's Speech concluded.)

Thus we see a total stoppage of the West-India trade would not starve the islanders. It would affect us deeply, we should lose the sale of our products and of course not gain the carriage in our own vessels. The object of the contest would be no nearer or reach than before. Instead, however of a total stoppage of the intercourse, it might happen that each nation prohibiting the vessels of the other, some third nation would carry on the traffic in its own bottoms. While this measure would disarm our system, it would make it recoil upon ourselves. It would in effect operate chiefly to obstruct the sale of our products. If they should remain unsold, it would be so much dead loss; or if the effect should be to raise the price on the consumers, it would either lessen the consumption or raise up rivals in the supply. The contest as it respects the West-India trade is in every respect against us. To embarrass the supply from the United States, supposing the worst as it regards the planters, can do no more than enhance the price of sugar and coffee, and other products. The French islands are now in ruins, and the English planters have an increased price and double demand in consequence. While Great-Britain confined the colony trade to herself, she gave to the colonies in return a monopoly in her consumption of West-India articles. The extra expence arising from the severest operation of our system, is already provided against two-fold: Like other charges on the products of labor and capital, the burden will fall on the consumer. The luxurious and opulent consumer in Europe will not regard and perhaps will not know the increase of price nor the cause of it. The new settler who clears his land and tills the lumber, will feel any convulsion in the market, more sensibly without being able to sustain it at all. It is a contest of wealth against want; of self-denial, between luxury and daily subsistence, that we provoke with so much confidence of success. A man of experience in the West-India trade will see this contrast more strongly than it is possible to represent it.

One of the excellencies for which the measure is recommended is, that it will affect our imports. What is offered as an argument is really an objection. Who will supply our wants? Our own manufactures are growing, and it is a subject of great satisfaction that they are. But it would be wrong to overrate their capacity to cloathe us. The same number of inhabitants require more and more, because wealth increases. Add to this the rapid growth of our numbers, and perhaps it will be correct to estimate the progress of manufacturers as only keeping pace with that of our increasing consumption and population. It follows that we shall continue to demand in future to the amount of our present importation. It is not intended by the resolutions that we shall import from England, Holland, and the north of Europe do not furnish a sufficient variety, or sufficient quantity for our consumption. It is in vain to look to Spain, Portugal, and the Italian States. We are expected to depend principally upon France; it is impossible to examine the ground of this dependence without adverting to the present situation of that country. It is a subject upon which I practise no disguises, but I do not think it proper to introduce the politics of France into this discussion. If others can find in the scenes that pass there, or in the principles and agents that direct them, proper subjects for amiable names and sources of joy and hope in the prospect, I have nothing to say to it. It is an amusement which it is not in my intention either to disturb or to partake of. I turn from these horrors to examine the condition of France in respect to manufacturing, capital, and industry. In this point of view, whatever political improvements may be hoped for, it cannot escape observation, that it presents only a wide field of waste and desolation. Capital, which used to be food for manufactures, is become their fuel. What once nourished industry, now lights the fires of civil war, and quickens the progress of destruction. France is like a ship with a fine cargo burning to the water's edge, she may be built upon anew, and freighted with another cargo, and it will be time enough when that shall be, to depend on a part of it for our supply: at present, and for many years, she will be not so much a furnisher as a consumer. It is therefore obvious, that we shall import our supplies either directly or indirectly from Great Britain. Any obstruction to the importation, will ruin the price which we, who consume must bear.

That part of the argument which rests on the supposed distress of the British manufacturers in consequence of the loss of our market, is in every view unfounded. They would not lose the market in fact, and if they did, should we prodigiously exaggerate the importance of our consumption to the British workmen? Im-

portant it doubtless is, but a little attention will expose the extreme folly of the opinion, that they would be brought to our feet by a trial of our self-denying spirit. England now supplies France in the important Levant trade, in the supply of manufactured goods to the East and in a great measure to the West-Indies, to Spain, Portugal, and their dependencies. Her trade with Russia has of late vastly increased; and she is treating for a trade with China—so that the new demands of English manufactures, consequent upon the depression of France as a rival, has amounted to much more than the whole American importation, which is not three millions.

British manufactures exported Sterling.

in 1773, amounted to	£9,417,000
1774,	10,556,000
1775,	10,072,000
1789,	13,779,000
1790,	14,921,000
1791,	15,810,000
1792,	18,310,000

The ill effect of a system of restriction and prohibition in the West Indies has been noticed already. The privileges allowed to our exports to England may be withdrawn, and prohibitory or high duties imposed. Mr. Ames observed that not one of our articles is a monopoly, and noticed the effect of counter regulations on our products. He adverted particularly to pot and pearl ashes, and observed on the value of the extensive sale of that article, as it advances the clearing and settlement of our new lands; he said the best encouragement for agriculture is a good market.

The system before us is a mischief that goes to the root of our prosperity. The merchants will suffer by the schemes and projects of a new theory. Great numbers were deceived by the convulsions of 1775. They are an order of citizens deserving better of government, than to be involved in new convulsions. It is wrong to make our trade wage war for our politics. It is now scarcely said that it is a thing to be fought for but a weapon to fight with. To gain our approbation to the system, we are told it is to be gradually established: in that case, it will be unavailing. It should be begun with in all its strength, if we think of starving the islands. Drive them suddenly and by surprise to extremity, if you would dictate terms, but they will prepare against a long expected failure of our supplies.

Our nation will be tired of suffering loss and embarrassment for the French. The rice growers and tobacco planters of the south, will be, and ought to be, soon weary of a contest which they are told is to benefit the ship owners of the east. The struggle so painful to ourselves, so ineffectual against England, will be renounced, and we shall sit down with shame and loss with disappointed passions and aggravated complaints. War, which would then suit our feelings, would not suit our weakness. We might perhaps find some European power willing to make war on England, and we might be permitted by a short alliance to partake the misery and the dependence of being a subaltern in the quarrel. The happiness of this situation seems to be in view when the system before us is avowed to be the instrument of avenging our political resentments. Those who affect to dread foreign influence will do well to avoid a partnership in European jealousies and rivalships. Courting the friendship of the one, and provoking the hatred of the other, is dangerous to our real independence; for it would compel America to throw herself into the arms of the one for protection against the other. Then foreign influence, pernicious as it is, would be fought for, and though it should be shunned, it could not be resisted. The connections of trade form ties between individuals and produce little controul over government. They are the ties of peace, and are neither corrupt nor corrupting.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Ames adverted to the danger of cutting off a part of the public revenue by the operation of the proposed regulations.

He remarked upon the hostile tendency of the resolutions; we have happily escaped from a state of the most imminent danger to our peace. A false step would lose all the security for its continuance which we owe at this moment to the conduct of the President. What is to save us from war; not our own power which inspires terror; not the gentle and forbearing spirit of the powers of Europe at this crisis; not the weakness of England; not her affection for this country;

if we believe the assurances of gentlemen on the other side—What is it then? It is the interest of Great Britain to have America for a customer, rather than an enemy. And it is precisely that interest which gentlemen are so eager to take away, and to transfer to France. And what is stranger still, they say they rely on that operation, as a means of producing peace with the Indians and Algerines—The wounds inflicted on Great Britain by our enmity, are expected to excite her to supplicate our friendship and to appease us by soothing the animosity of our enemies.

What is to produce effects so mystical, so opposite to the nature so much exceeding the efficacy of their pretended causes? This wonder working paper on the table, is the weapon of terror and destruction—like the writing on Babel's wall, it is to strike parliaments and nations with dismay. It is to be stronger than fleets against pirates, or than armies against Indians. After the examination it has undergone, credulity itself will laugh at these pretensions.

We pretend to expect not by the force of our restrictions, but by the mere shew of our spirit, to level all the fines that have guarded for ages the monopoly of the colony trade.

The repeal of the navigation act of England, which is cherished as the palladium of her safety, which time has rendered venerable and prosperity endeared to her people, is to be extorted from her fears of a weaker nation. It is not to be yielded feely, but violently torn from her, and yet the idea of a struggle to prevent indignity and loss, is considered as a chimera too ridiculous for sober reflection. She will not dare say they, to resent it, and gentlemen have pledged themselves for the certain success of the attempt; what is treated as a phantom is vouched for fact. Her navigation act is known to have caused an immediate contest with the Dutch, and four desperate sea fights ensued, in consequence the very year of its passage. How far it is an act of aggression for a neutral nation to assist the supplies of one neighbor, and to annoy and distress another, at the crisis of a contest between the two, which strains their strength to the utmost, is a question which we might not agree in deciding. But, the tendency of such unreasonable partiality, to exasperate the spirit of hostility against the intruder, cannot be doubted. The language of the French government would not soothe this spirit.

It proposes on the sole condition of a political connection to extend to us a part of their West-India commerce. The coincidence of our measures with their invitations, however singular, need no comment. Of all men, those are least consistent, who believe in the efficacy of the regulations, and yet affect to ridicule their hostile tendency. In the commercial conflict say they, we shall surely prevail and effectually humble Great-Britain. In open war we are the weaker, and shall be brought into danger, if not to ruin. It depends therefore according to their own reasoning, on Great Britain herself, whether she will persist in a struggle, which will disgrace and weaken her, or turn it into a war, which will throw the shame and ruin upon her antagonist. The topics which furnish argument to shew the danger to our peace from the resolutions, are too fruitful to be exhausted. But without pursuing them further, the experience of mankind has shewn that commercial rivalships which spring from mutual efforts for monopoly, have kindled more wars and wasted the earth more than the spirit of conquest.

He hoped, we should shew by our vote, that we deem it better policy to feed nations, than to starve them, and that we should never be so unwise as to put our good customers into a situation to be forced to make every exertion to do without us. By cherishing the arts of peace, we shall acquire, and we are actually acquiring the strength and resources for a war. Instead of seeking treaties, we ought to shun them, for the later they shall be formed, the better will be the terms, we shall have more to give, and more to withhold. We have not yet taken our proper rank, nor acquired that consideration, which will not be refused us, if we persist in prudent and pacific counsels, if we give time for our strength to mature itself. The America is rising with a giant's strength, it's bones are yet but cartilages: By delaying the beginning of a conflict, we ensure the victory.

By voting out the resolutions, we shall shew to our own citizens, and foreign nations, that our prudence has prevailed over our prejudices, that we prefer our interests to our resentments. Let us assert a genuine independence of spirit, we shall be false to our duty and feelings as Americans, if we basely descend to a servile dependence on France or Great-Britain.

(Debate to be continued.)

ALEXANDRIA, Feb. 14.

Last Tuesday being the anniversary of the Birth-Day of The President of the UNITED STATES, was commemorated by the Citizens of this town, in a manner highly demonstrative of that ardent and uniform affection which they have, on all proper occasions, manifested for the person of their revered and illustrious neighbor.

THE ADDRESS

Spoken by Mr. WIGNELL, at the opening of the New Theatre in this City.

WRITTEN BY MR. HARWOOD.

PAST is my toil and fled each anxious pain  
Since I beheld my friends, my home again;  
How oft, when far away my fancy rovd,  
Lur'd to this spot by every scene I lov'd,  
Here on these boards I trod in waking dream,  
And if I talk'd, this spot was still my theme.

I painted oft, in colors just and true,  
This glorious scene, so grateful to my view;  
My pulse would quicken and my bosom glow;  
But the true joy I never felt till now.  
Hard was our fate to be condemn'd to roam—  
Tho' sweet our exile, from our deatin'd home;  
Warm are our thanks to you who dar'd to brave  
Our foes' worst shafts, the drooping muse to save,  
Before whose phalanx superstition fled,  
And fell fanaticism bow'd her head.

But I forget—  
I come to plead for others, to engage  
Your gen'rous care, to aid a rising flag;  
I come to ask, and for a num'rous band  
Whom I have brought from a far distant land,  
Who have to me their future fate consign'd—  
Friends, parents, country, all they left behind:  
Grant but this boon, no sigh of sad regret  
Shall reach the distant shore, no tears shall wet  
This happy land of promise and increase,  
Save the glad tears of gratitude and peace.

I see, I read in each approving smile,  
A kind assent—I have not lost my toil;  
For them accept my thanks—Fancy alone,  
In richest efforts, can conceive my own.  
Nor let the critic, with lascivious eye  
And penetrating search, our faults detect,  
While yet the muse aspires on infant wing—  
"The Eagle suffers little birds to sing;"  
The trembling novice, ere matur'd by time,  
Must fall far short of judgment's happy prime;  
Dispell'd the doubts and dangers he has fear'd,  
You may admire the genius you have rear'd;  
Great by your favor grown, the rising age  
Shall blest the efforts of a moral stage:  
The stage in purity, the stage refin'd,  
Clear'd of its dross, may charm, instruct mankind.

Freedom new force from scenes heroic gains,  
The stage impedes not, but its cause maintains;  
Virtue may here its brightest lesson learn,  
And scoured vice its ugliest discern;  
Our precepts, well directed, reach the heart,  
And to act well shall be a gen'ral part.

NEW THEATRE.

THIS EVENING, Feb. 19,  
Will be performed, a TRAGEDY, called  
**ISABELLA,**

Or the FATAL MARRIAGE.

Count Baldwin,	Mr. Whitlock,
Biron,	Mr. Fennell,
Carlos,	Mr. Marshall,
Villeroi,	Mr. Wignell,
Samphon,	Mr. Francis,
Belford,	Mr. Cleveland,
Pedro,	Mr. Green,
Officers,	Mr. Warrel,
Isabella,	Mrs. Whitlock,
Nurse,	Mrs. Rowson.

In act 3d, an EPITHALAMIUM: the vocal parts by Mr. Darley, Mr. Rowson, Mrs. Warrel, Miss Broadhurst, &c.

To which will be added,

An OPERA, in two acts, called  
**ROSINA.**

Belville,	Mr. Marshall,
Capt. Belville,	Mr. Moreton,
William,	Mr. Francis,
Ruffin,	Mr. Warrel,
1st Irishman,	Mr. Green,
2d Irishman,	Mr. Blisset,
Refuge,	Mrs. Warrel,
Dorcas,	Mrs. Bates,
Phoebe,	Miss Broadhurst.

With the original overture and accompaniments, composed by SHIELD.

Places in the Boxes to be taken at the Box-Office of the Theatre, at any hour from nine in the morning till three o'clock in the afternoon, on the day of performance. Tickets to be had at the office near the Theatre, at the corner of Sixth-street, and at Carr & Co's Musical Repository, No. 122, Market-street.

The Doors will be opened at 5 o'clock, and the performances begin at 6 o'clock precisely.

BOXES, one dollar—PITTS, three quarters of a dollar—and GALLERY, half a dollar.

No places can be let in the side boxes for a less number than eight, nor any places retained after the first act.

Ladies and Gentlemen are requested to send their servants to keep places, at half an hour past 4 o'clock, and to order them to withdraw, as soon as the company are seated, as they cannot on any account be permitted to remain in the boxes, nor any places kept after the first act.

N. B. No money or tickets to be returned, nor any person admitted on any account whatever behind the scenes.

The managers request, to prevent confusion, servants may be ordered to sit down and take up with the horses' heads towards the Schuykill, and drive off by Seventh-street.  
*Treat Republica.*

PRICE OF STOCKS.

6 per cents,	18/2
3 ditto,	10/1
Deferred,	11/1
U. S. Bank,	12 per cent. adv.
Pennsylvania do.	10 ditto ditto.