

THE ART OF SPEAKING,

A Grand Tragi-Comical, Drama-Farcical Episode, In One Act:

Taken down in Short Hand.

Scene

THE LOUSEUM, For free debate.

Enter Phelim O'Flagherty, John Bull, Mons. Petit, Brother Jonathan, Mein Heer Vanpump, Timid, Sawney, Chiefel, Simple, Buckram, Soalleather, Currycomb, Slaughter, Hammer, &c. &c. with red noses; all with pewter mugs before them.

Mr. MAGPYE, President.

President. Order, order; will gentlemen come to order? You must know, gentlemen, it is an indispensable duty incumbent on us to be ready cut and dried for the grand argumentation that is to ensue. Are your mugs all well primed?

All. Aye, foaming to the brims.

Pre. Bravo, bravo! we shall all have flippant tongues in this important debate. Will we now proceed to the order of the evening? Shall the rules be read?

All. Aye, aye, aye, aye, yes, yes, yes, no, no, by J—s.

Pre. The ayes I believe have it. Those in the affirmative will please to hold up their hands.

The ayes have it. [Reads] All gentlemen who frequent this illustrious As-Embly are considered members for the evening. He who speaks first may speak last; but nobody else. You are to observe, gentlemen, that you are to take great care not to disturb the harmony, decorum, and regulation of this meeting—no howling, pounding, kicking, hissing, clapping, scratching, elbowing, &c. will be tolerated. I will now proceed to read the question. On motion by Phelim O'Flagherty last Wednesday will be debated to night, viz. "Is the joys to be endured in the old bachelors' state greater nor under pettycoat government?"

PHELIM O'FLAGHERTY.

Mr. O'Flagherty, as the proposer, will please to open the debate.

O'Fl. I will rise as your honor bids me, and I shall beg leave for to be spakin to the banquets exulting from fitch meetings as these here.

Pre. You mean referring, Mr. O'Flagherty, dont you?

O'Fl. Aye, all's one for that—now—as do you see—for argument sake,—and, as I was going to say this evening, to speechify is the most applauded thing in the universe: because, do you see, perhaps, as I would be after telling you, this here haugut body will, may hap, come to little in time the great confarms of the nation—now—as I have told you, or to be after astonishin you with my hellescence; by J—s that was a bold pulpit for an orator [Aside]—or if—

Many voices. He dont speak to the point; kick him down, kick him down, turn him out, turn him out—

Pre. Silence, silence, order, order, gentlemen, oh, gentlemen.

O'Fl. By my shoul but I will spake; I'll spake in spite of the prattiest of you. Arrah be quiet there honies.

The deel burn O'Flagherty but he will spake, and you that are so noisy in that there corner, will you please to be aye while I beg leave to spake in praise of pettycoat government.

Soalleather. Pull him down; he dont speak a word of sense.

O'Fl. Arrah, dear Soalleather, the dibbil pitchfork me, an you ant the greatest liar that ever stitched a shoe.

All. Pull him down—down—kick him—hullo—whew—[whistling] wring his nose—nose—niss—s—clap, clap, clap, [clapping of hands.]

Pre. For God's sake, gentlemen, do, pray, do try to be a little more quiet.

O'Fl. Arrah dear honies, as long as I've a pair of knuckles, do you see, I'll be lettin you know that Phelim O'Flagherty arnt afraid of the prattiest of you. By my shoul, was there ever such impudence under the sun? A set of raggamuffins, with leather aprons and dirty faces, to be taling a gentleman in his spach, is a burning shame, do ye see? [all quiet] but as you aim to be boddering me no more, I'll beg leave to be for going on with my cart. The government of pettycoats, Mr. President, as I was a going to say, do ye see, is—I spake from experience—as—lurely more honorable nor the old bachelors' state. Arrah I shall be bold enough in telling you, by the bye, that the old bachelor is a poor, lousy sort of being. Now—as—that is—take notice, that my wife and I have been the very happiest couple in all the Kingdom of Pennsylvania, do you hear, honies?—We have lived now this seven years upon paraturs and Indian dumplings, and by my shoul the tender jade never bate me the deel a once except twice a week, or so with the broomstick now and then,—do you see,—and—for—because—as I would acquaint you, the once give me a black eye with the tongs; but both of luzz were soon as swate again as sugar candy, do you see? and by my conscience the was the finest body in all the world to darn stockings, and so, do you see. And—as if—but Mr. Spaker this whiskey has made a woeful compression about my bowels, and has given me a small fit of the cholick, do you see? and so I move you, that the fuider consideration of this question be postponed for immediate discussion by the other gentlemen now present, do you see?

John Bull. As for my wife, fir, by the lord Harry, she was the kyndest crachur I ever knyew; she was a fifty thous and ponder; and then her eyes were so languishin—

Mons. Petit. [Interrupts him]—[Somebody treads on his toe] Oh—ah—[a christie]—oh my toe—sacre nondondieu—[a christie]—de tierd time dat I haf like to be kilt vid dis tem rabble. [A great uproar.]

Brother Jonathan. Mr. Cheerman, it makes me feel plaguy shamed, I vew you now, to face fitch a ducid fligut of foalks. Hewfondubber, it is fartin that I line to speak a good word in favor of the gals. P'fe been married to my Dorothy this three years, and, tarnation seize me, ef there's fitch another in the land of the living. Why, I vew you, the milks twenty ceows every day; the ferubs the handiest you ever seen, and as for making molasses cake, dickins take me ef she'd turn her back to any woman in the varial world. And always when I comes home from the punkin patch she comes to me to loving and—[Somebody kicks him] sticks a pin in me—[a most unconscionable laugh follows Jonathan.]

Member Vanpump. I dings, Mr. Speaker, das te shentleman mit te tow trowsers dat shprakt last was a most termination fools: mine Cot, cuf he hat mein fife the would soon fpeel te teivel mit him!

Mr. Timid gets up with a piece of paper in his hand, containing the heads of his discourse.

Timid. I conceive, Mr. President—[that]—[ch]—I lay—[ch]—[looks down in his hat] give me leave to remark—that—[ch]—[ch]—that my col-

league—hem—is conclusive—[ch]—[in his argument]—[ch]—[he has told you]—[ch]—[looks close in his hat]—[ch]—[that he was]—[ch]—[the happiest]—[ch]—[of all men]—[ch]—[By]—[ch]—[establishing this]—[ch]—[old bachelors' doctrine]—[ch]—[it would be]—[ch]—[his month becomes terribly parched and he spits]—[ch]—[dangerous to the state]—[and]—[ch]—[I would beg leave]—[ch]—[to tell you, Mr. President,]—[ch]—[that]—[his throat seems choked up, he bows and then spits]—[ch]—[that I say]—[ch]—[looks down in his hat again]—[ch]—[that]—[ch]—[I lay, Sir]—[ch]—[sits down confused.]

Pre. Oh Mr. Timid, dont be disheartened; try again—pray finish your harangue, Mr. Timid.

Tim. I lay, Mr. President—[ch]—[it is a matter, fir]—[ch]—[coughs and spits]—[ch]—[that is]—[ch]—[to lay]—[ch]—[I have nothing more to say.] [He sits down and Sawney gets up.]

Sawney. An ye wad ha' a fample o' spakin, gentlemen, I wul gee it to ye. In guide troth, I ha' a mickle deel to fay on this subjeck, and ken ye, mon, wha was the prettiest lassie in a' the world? ye dinna ken, I suppose. [A scraping of feet and a loud talking.] Gad zooks, an ye wanna ha' patience to hear, ye may talk yoursel, and the muckle deel tak ye a'. I wad tell ye, maister President, 'ti, a greet disgras to ye, mon, to let them kick up fic a dust; [loud bursts of laughter] what the deel are you about, mon, wif your long face; ye kinna kape pace, eh? [a very loud cough] then the deel tak me an ye thanna ha' nae mair o' my eloquence. [Sits down.]

Chiefel. I likes, Mr. President, the notion of improving in oratory. I ant prepared to speak; but I think in time the city of Philadelphia will hold a candlestick to the world—[a dreadful fit of sneezing seizes the honorable member, which prevents him from proceeding, and unfortunately having no handkerchief, he is obliged to wipe his nose on his coat tail; Mr. Simple, taking the advantage of his discomfure, rises.]

Sim. As I ant ready, Mr. President, to debate this here question, and a great many of my friends present here ant ready nuther, if I ant out of order I'll make a motion to adjourn this here question till some other time; but as to the gentleman's candlestick I would observe—

Pre. [Interrupting him] Sir, you are out of order.

Mr. Buckram. I must confess, Mr. President, I had no intentions of offering my sentiments on this subjeck, and to face this respectable audience where all eyes are agapt upon one, puts me all over in a sweat; but, as circumstances prove to me the fallacy of the arguments of the gentleman in the red night cap over the way, I shall beg leave to differ from him in opinion. I must say, fir, that I am kicked and called a lousy rascal by my wife every hour in the day. Would you believe it, Mr. President? don't you think she had the audacity to call me only half a man!

Pre. As to matter o' that, Mr. Buckram, she may have some reason.

Buck. I beg pardon, fir, but, Mr. President, I call you to order.—I say I call you to order, fir, and you needn't to gaze your eyes wide open at me. I was going to tell you, fir, she grins at me, and swears it takes nine taylors to make one man!—Zounds—zounds—zounds—give me my yard flick, give me my yard flick, till I labour her till she's black and blue.

Pre. Oh, fie, fie, Mr. Buckram, do you know where you are. Your wife is not near you.

Buck. I beg the company's pardon, and from these observations I would infer, that old bachelors'hip is the happiest state.

[A great noise of hissing, clapping hands, pounding on the floor, &c. in the mean time Messrs. Soal-leather and Soap-boiler both rise together; some cry Soal-leather, some Soap-boiler.]

Pre. Mr. Soal-leather.

Soal-leather rises upon the top of a bench, and speaks with his hat on.

Soal-l. Mr. Chairman—if—[a great blowing of noses and coughing drovins his voice, but he continues speaking.]

Pre. Silence, order, gentlemen—as honorable member is up.

Soal-l. I lay, if we consider the question in its widest extent, it will appear the most important question ever agitated even before Congress themselves. I beg leave to differ entirely from the gentleman in the leather apron on my left. He has told you—[a great cough and blowing of noses again.] I intend to prove to you, fir, [one of the benches breaking down causes a great laughter] to prove to you that the "yard-flick" of my honorable colleague—[a loud roar of laughter]—my colleague who was so much hen-pecked—[a great horse laugh which continues some minutes; Soal-leather gnashes his teeth, sits down in a great passion, and Hammer rises]

Pre. A member up.

Ham. As to this here motion, Mr. President, I am apt to think, it is a matter of great concern to the United States in point of population, and as to what the gentleman in the red wig has said—

Slaughter. [Interrupting him]—I move you, Mr. President, that the gentleman now up be ordered to comb his head, to wash his face, and to pull off his apron, before he is allowed to speak before this illustrious assembly.

Mr. Currycomb. Second that motion.

Ham. Mr. President, my face is as clean, and I'll appeal to your honor if I dont look as decent as any of you. Zounds, to be plain with you, I never saw fuch a group of ragged coats, greasy night-caps, and dirty faces, in my life.

Slau. You're a liar and a fool.

[Hammer darts at him and clenches him; a terrible battle ensues, a dreadful uproar in the hall, and several gentlemen are trod under foot.]

Pre. Silence, silence, order, order, for God's sake, order gentlemen: this is not the way to be made orators on.

Slau. Fair play, fair play, let up.

Slau. Form a ring, form a ring.

[The uproar increases, and the ladies scream: mugs, wigs, hats, members, &c. &c. are tumbled together in a heap.]

Ham. I dare you into the street.

Slau. Come on, I'm your man.

Pre. [His heart beating violently.] On motion by myself, I adjourns this Society to meet again at the sign of the Cabbage-stalk, on Thursday next, at seven o'clock P. M.

Exit Omnes.

THE WARNING No. III.

THE Paris accounts inform us, that France has lately exercised towards Genoa an act of atrocious oppression, which is an additional and a striking indication of the domineering and predatory spirit by which she is governed. This little republic, whose territory scarcely extends beyond the walls of her metropolis, has been compelled, it seems, to ransom herself from the talons of France by a contribution of nearly a million of dollars; a large sum for her contracted resources. For this boon, "the French government engages on its part to renounce all claims upon Genoa, to forget what has passed during the present war, and to forbear any future demands." It would appear from this, that France to colour the odious exaction, besides the pretence

of misconduct towards her in the present war, has not dissimined to resort to the stale and pitiful device of reviving some antiquated claim upon the country itself. In vain, did the signal hazards encountered by Genoa to preserve her neutrality, in defiance of the host of enemies originally leagued against France—in vain did the character and title of republic—plead for a more generous treatment: the attractions of plunder predominated. The spirit of rapine, callous to the touch of justice, blind to the evidence of truth, deaf to the voice of entreaty, had marked out and devoted the victim. There was no alternative but to compound or perish.

If it be even supposed, though this has never appeared, that at some period of the war, Genoa may be chargeable with acts of questionable propriety in relation to France, it is manifest, that it ought to be attributed to the necessity of a situation which must have obliged her to temporize—a very small and feeble state, in the midst of so many great conflicting powers, parts of her territories occupied by armies which she was unable to oppose; it were a miracle, indeed, if her conduct in every particular will bear the test of rigorous scrutiny. But if at any time the pressure of circumstances may have occasioned some slight deviation, there is nevertheless full evidence of a constant solicitude on the part of Genoa to maintain, to the utmost of her ability, a sincere neutrality. It is impossible to forget the glorious stand, which she at one time made against the imperious efforts of Great-Britain to force her from her neutral position. The magnanimous and exemplary fortitude, which she displayed on that occasion, excited in this country universal admiration, and must have made a deep impression. "This only to recollect that instance to be satisfied, that the treatment which she has just experienced from France merits the indignant execration of mankind. Unfortunate Genoa! how little didst thou imagine, that thou wert destined so soon to be compelled to purchase thy safety from the crushing weight of that hand which ought to have been the first to rise in thy defence!

How fruitful at the same time of instruction to us is this painful example! The most infatuated partisans of France cannot but see in it an unequivocal proof of the rapacious and vindictive policy which dictates her measures. All men must see in it, that the flagrant injuries which we are now suffering from her, proceed from a general plan of domination and plunder; from a disposition to prostrate nations at her feet; to trample upon their necks; to ravish from them whatever her avidity or convenience may think fit to dedicate to her own use.

The late intelligence from France seems to dispel the doubt whether the depredations in the West-Indies may not have resulted from misapprehension or abuse of the orders of the French government. It is now understood to be a fact, that the cruisers of France every where are authorized to capture and bring in all vessels bound to the ports of her enemies.

This plan is pregnant with the worst evils, which are to be dreaded from the declared and unqualified hostility of any foreign power. If France, after being properly called upon to renounce it, shall persevere in the measure, there cannot be a question but that open war will be preferable to such a state. By whatever name, treachery or pusillanimity may attempt to disguise it, 'tis in fact war, war of the worst kind, war on one side. If we can be induced to submit to it longer than is necessary to ascertain that it cannot be averted by negotiation, we are undone as a people. Whether our determination shall be to lock up our trade by embargoes, or to permit our commerce to continue to float an unprotected prey to French cruisers, our degradation and ruin will be equally complete. The destruction of our navigation and commerce, the annihilation of our mercantile capital, the dispersion and loss of our seamen obliged to emigrate for subsistence, the extinction of our revenue, the fall of public credit, the stagnation of every species of industry, the general impoverishment of our citizens, these will be minor evils in the dreadful catalogue. Some years of security and exertion might repair them. But the humiliation of the American mind would be a lasting and a mortal disease in our social habit. Mental debasement is the greatest misfortune that can befall a people. The most pernicious of conquests which a state can experience is a conquest over that just and elevated sense of its own rights which inspires a due sensibility to insult and injury, over that virtuous and generous pride of character, which prefers any peril or sacrifice to a final submission to oppression, and which regards national ignominy as the greatest of national calamities.

The records of history contain numerous proofs of this truth. But an appeal to them is unnecessary. Holland and Italy present to our immediate observation examples as decisive as they are deplorable. The former within the last ten years has undergone two revolutions by the intervention of foreign powers without even a serious struggle. Mutilated of precious portions of its territory at home by pretended benefactors but real disposers, its dominions abroad slide into the possession of its enemies rather as derelicts than as the acquisitions of victory. Its fleets surrender without a blow. Important only by the spoils which it offers no less to its friends than to its enemies—every symptom in its affairs is portentous of national annihilation.

With regard to Italy, 'tis sufficient to say, that she is debased enough not even to dare to take part in a contest, on which, at this moment, her destiny is suspended.

Moderation in every nation is a virtue. In weak or young nations, it is often wise to take every chance by patience and address to divert hostility, and in this view to hold parley with insult and injury—but to capitulate with oppression, or rather to surrender to it at discretion, is in any nation, that has any power of resistance at all times, as foolish as it is contemptible. The honor of a nation is its life. Deliberately to abandon it is to commit an act of political suicide. There is treason in the sentiment, avowed in the language of some, and betrayed by the conduct of others, that we ought to bear any thing from France rather than go to war with her. The nation, which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one!

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, January 19.

The House being in a committee of the whole on the subject of further revenue, Mr. Dent in the chair.

Mr. Hartley hoped the amendment of the gentleman from Connecticut, would not prevail. He did not see that there was a prospect of raising sufficient revenue from impost duties, and they must, therefore, have recourse to direct taxes. The only question was whether the last census should be made use of, or a new one taken; he thought there was no necessity for a new one. He was convinced, he said, that a land tax was necessary; he would vote for it, and pay his portion of it. He hoped, since they must meet the question, that they might do it soon, and not consume more time in debate.

Mr. Dayton (the speaker) said that the words "according to the last census," which were proposed to be stricken out, appeared to him objectionable in every point of view. If they implied that the enumeration made several years ago, should be the rule of apportionment, even though a new one should be taken before the direct taxes were apportioned, or, what seemed more probable, if it was intended in this indirect and covert way, to decide that no new census should be ordered with a view to a more equal apportionment of the burthens, there was in either case a glaring impropriety in retaining and thus connecting them with the principle itself. The important question of direct taxes ought to have been presented to the deliberation of the committee of the whole, in terms the most general and abstract, stripped of every modification not necessarily connected with it, instead of which, there was blended in the same sentence, and they were to decide in the same breath, another question equally, nay to some states more, important than the first. Whether they were to take the relative numbers in 1790 or those in 1797 as the guide in laying the tax upon each state, ought to undergo a full and separate consideration, and not by being wrapped up as it was in the other proposition, pass as the sense of the house without any discussion.

Mr. Dayton said he should be satisfied with striking out those words, and inserting no other, but if any other were to be introduced he should prefer those in the constitution, viz. "according to their respective numbers." He was free to acknowledge that he should not vote for the proposition, even if the amendment, which he advocated, was carried, for he could never consent to resort to direct taxes upon lands and houses, until the less exceptional, less unequal, and less oppressive means of raising revenue by indirect taxes were exhausted. If however, a majority should think different from him, and carry the resolution for the adoption of a system of direct taxation, he should think it his duty to move for a new census to be taken previously to the apportionment. This ought not to be refused, if to equalize the public burthens was an object just and desirable. For if the last enumeration of inhabitants was to be adopted as the rule, every member upon that floor must be sensible that New-Jersey must be rated and taxed very far above her just proportion, and that a farmer in his state must contribute at least fifty per cent. more than a farmer of the same possessions and property in either of the adjoining states. Such, Mr. Dayton said, had been the course of emigration, and such the shifting of population from one state to another, that a census taken seven years ago, would furnish a very false estimate of the present state of wealth and population. Whilst emigrations had been going on for years past from New Jersey in all directions, many of the other states had received vast accessions of numbers, which ought to be ascertained by a new enumeration, before they commenced their as yet unexercised power of direct taxation which professes to found its apportionment upon numbers only. He did not at all concur with the gentleman from Virginia, who had said that the apportionment of representatives must necessarily precede the apportionment of taxes under every new census, for they might say with as much propriety that the representation under the new should not appropriate monies raised under the old apportionment.

Mr. Swift said he did not think the present debate about words, and not of substance, as it had been asserted. His intention was to introduce the words "according to their numbers," instead of "according to the last census." He did not wish the House to decide that the apportionment should be made agreeably to the last census. He wished to leave the resolution open in that respect. If his amendment took place, it would not preclude the use of the last census; but if the resolution passed in its present form, it excluded all idea of a new census. He, therefore, thought the amendment important, and he was sorry to hear gentlemen charge him with improper motives in bringing it forward.

Mr. Swift referred to the words of the constitution, relative to the taking of a census, and laying direct taxes. From these words, he said, Representation and Taxation must go together; and that a census could not be taken for the purpose of the latter, without having effect upon the former also. Admitting that a census could not be taken for the purpose of a direct tax, it could be taken for both purposes; and he would much rather it should be so taken, than that the tax should be laid according to the last census. Nor did he think this would occasion much delay. It would appear, he said, as if some gentlemen thought that a direct tax could be collected as soon as determined upon. This could not be. They must pass a general law, directing the principle of valuation to be adopted. The business could not be accomplished before the next session, however great the want of money might be; and the mode he proposed would effect the business as soon as if the apportionment, was at this time made. He thought this a sufficient reason for wishing his amendment to pass. No gentleman had said, that it would be either fair or honest, to make an apportionment according to the present census. The state which he represented when compared with the state of New-York, would be greatly injured; and ought they not, he asked, to have recourse to some measure, by which, to prevent this injury? He thought they ought.

This amendment was adopted, and a new census