

have destined as the social and political character of this country.

He was willing therefore to trust as much as possible to the operation of those causes which, whatever they were, had hitherto, under a fortunate neglect, produced effects, and a prosperous train of things, which perhaps human contrivance and speculative wisdom had never attained for us. Had they meddled more than they have, they might, from the pernicious force of imitation, applied to a scene which had not its like upon the globe, have thwarted that course of things, which nature pointed out, and which has been successfully pursued. He could not therefore feel the force of a system that certainly meant to tamper with a condition in which, a very few things excepted, he felt satisfied and grateful. He had dwelt the longest on the fitness of a navigation act to the present circumstances of this country, as most of the arguments of those from whom he differed in opinion, were drawn from the propriety of adopting something extremely like one.

But even taking it for granted, which cannot be admitted, that these resolutions afford on general principles, a well founded hope of relief from commercial and navigation restraints, he had no hesitation in saying, that the present is the very worst time to try the solidity of the policy.—It was bad, as it related to the chance of a war:—and there was reason to fear that no nation would at this moment, hold out great commercial temptations, except as a condition of joining in the war.

It was bad, as it related to a commercial contest with other commercial nations; for where was the nation on whom we could rely under such a derangement of our trade, as this system designs?

An alteration so great, in navigation, habits, employment of capital, and all sorts of commercial views, had been more reasonable and more practicable, if a clear necessity for such sacrifices could be shown; or if, in yielding to the force of a justly excited resentment against the British for insults offered to our flag, the gentleman had given us reason to believe, that the sources of negotiation had been first exhausted; but there still remains a hope, that negotiation and reflection might remedy evils, which neither had been able to prevent.

At all events, the meditated change involved interests to our industry, not to be hazarded on mere commercial theory, unsupported by the very last necessity. It was to be expected that any man who should make an attempt so serious as the present, would have come forward with a statement of advantages to be derived from the change, so great and so certain, as to warrant some hazard in the experiment.—That where he meant to change the stream of commerce and industry from its present bed, and exclude supplies of manufactures from one country, he would have pointed out another channel for its current, and have told us precisely, the very nation from whose ports the new supplies of manufactures were to be substituted, and on what terms.

The gentleman who meditated this thorough change, ought to have had at least the outline, of fresh treaties in his hand, for the old were worth nothing—he might thus have shewn us the only ground of expectation that a nation ought to calculate on—a view of the interests of such nation with which an accommodation of our own might be moulded into treaty. But no such thing was either conceived or done—indeed it was impracticable at the present time, and his measures ought to have waited for a proper time, had they been in other respects adapted to our policy and interests.

But even allowing times, and the settled state of things abroad to have been at this moment, such, as to permit this measurement of the sober interests of all, it would not be useless to enquire shortly into the probable ground of treating, supposing a treaty for instance with France to be undertaken in the spirit of those resolutions. He would not indulge any of those romantic expectations which some seem to place in the affection of that, or any other nation on earth: He would look steadily at her interests, in order to form an opinion of what she would do—and he would measure her interests by her own scale, the opinions she had ever entertained since she became a great maritime power. Ever since the days of Colbert, France has looked on her West-Indies as the support of her maritime greatness.—A jealousy, equal to that of any other

country, had always appeared in her colonial system—and a spirit of monopoly, which her interests, as a maritime power to use the term, seemed to inspire.

The republic, by their navigation act, seem determined to adhere to the colonial system; or if they at all relax, it is but a temporary yielding to transient necessity rather than a principle of change, introduced by either a revolution of government, or real and lasting alterations of their interests. Their interests would be the same now as heretofore, and that they meant to have a powerful marine was evident from their navigation act.

He did not believe they would let us into their West India trade freely, except under circumstances like the present, which operated on all alike. They never did permit a free export from their islands but to the mother country, and thence circuitously to others; by these means, they were secure both of the carriage and a cheap supply. Were a treaty now offered, giving a free trade to those islands, we would think it hazardous to discriminate in their favor on that account. We should be suspicious of an offer that stood on a sacrifice of their own interests, and would not calculate on the permanency of provisions, which the necessities of war and disorder produced, but which never would long survive those necessities, which peace would remove. But there was no such offer; nor was now the time to digest such a business as a treaty, if this were an offer really made.

He would not then fancifully indulge himself or his constituents in hopes which a view of the interests of France showed him to be fallacious, and he would not in so serious a question suppose that they, more than we, would act steadily on any other principle than *interest*—it was the only immortal principle in the intercourse of nations; it may vary its shape and modification, but never its nature—and it is the most useful as it contains a perpetual stimulus to honest emulation.

Had a detail been entered into by gentlemen on the other side of those provisions which we should rightfully expect of any power, in whose favor discrimination was intended, our judgements would have had some employment on fixed and certain objects; we might from a correct view of the benefits and temptation presented, have estimated with some precision, though not with perfect accuracy, the value of that gain which such a commutation promised; but at present we were in the dark and foresaw nothing with certainty—commerce was to be let loose to be blown to any quarter of the world, but its certain direction was not to be counted upon and could not be foreseen.

It was impossible he observed to calculate the extent of the good and the evil—but we were certain that there was not a nation in the world ready and prepared at present either to receive our advances, or to supply us with manufactures if these resolutions succeed. The only country to which we could look as a substitute to the British market is at present in a state so convulsed and in such a paroxysm of affairs that from thence we had nothing to expect, nor did he think that a treaty of which he had heard some intimation with that country, of justice and reciprocity would suit the United States. Mr. Murray much questioned whether any treaty with the powers of Europe on perfect reciprocity, for instance with mutual duties of, say, five per cent. on imports would suit our situation. Such a one would suit those nations only in which manufactures had obtained considerable perfection, but would be the ruin of our infant manufactures which we must and ought occasionally to protect, by duties varied according to their progression and the probability of the supply from them proving adequate to our demands.

The effects of these resolutions on our internal affairs immediately, would prove that they were pernicious and a real tax without a well founded reason. They would immediately be perceived in a diminution of our revenue, in their operation on the value and price of goods, and in the reduction of the value of our produce and raw materials. The last would be affected from the discouragement of foreign shipping. The first from the inability to bring in foreign manufactures, from which a duty could be raised, because the line of trade and correspondence being altered, it was impossible to say when or where the importing merchant would be able to form new connexions abroad, which were not things of a day or a year, but

required much time and mutual confidence to mature.

The value of goods would immediately rise, and the merchant every where, actuated by the same principle, *interest*, which ought to guide us here, would benefit by the monopoly of goods to the injury of the farmer.

The moment these resolutions pass, said Mr. Murray, there is not a shop or a store in Philadelphia in which every imported article will not rise in price, *fifteen per cent.* while our own produce will probably fall. But a gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Nicholas) wishes to see retrenchment; he confessed, he saw no reason for violent self denial. There was no society he believed in the world that could so well afford to live well, and taste of every rational and refined enjoyment as the citizens of this free and happy country. The universal prosperity which this very commerce which is designed to be destroyed, diffuses throughout America, justifies enjoyment. Very natural would it be for the farmer to enquire the causes of this sudden rise in the price against him. He would be told that the British had insulted our flag and therefore our system of self-denial. Could it be answered that we had exhausted all the gentle means of negotiation, or could any man lay his finger on any country, in a map, and say we have a certainty that from this country we shall not only have supplies of goods, but sure and high prices for our country produce. This could not be said. Where there such a country now prepared and ready to substitute for our present connections, he said he would feel more justified in voting for this change, for he like every other American, had severely felt the indignities offered to our flag, and posts, by the British.

But said Mr. Murray it has been more than intimated, even in this house that our country had pursued a pusillanimous conduct and stood in a humiliating point of view—He denied it. No country on earth stood, he believed in a more exalted station among the nations nor better supported the character of a spirited people. Could any nation be charged with pusillanimity that had declared such a neutrality as this country did last spring? At a time when all the great and formidable powers in Europe, combining every engine of immense force and despotism against the French, were hovering round her borders and seemed determined to crush her; at a time when she had not one ally on earth, and no nation received her ministers, the United States dared to maintain a treaty, that looked the proudest nations in the face—They dared to be just, and there was a magnanimity in venturing so far in such times, and on so hazardous stipulations, that not only refused them: from every charge of humiliation, but in his opinion, added to the glory of the country—No, this country was not humbled—Like a young man of virtuous mind, and of fortitude, just setting out into life and business, she comports herself among the nations with dignified reserve, with amiable and innocent manners; she complies with her engagements though imminent danger overhang the performance & bravely trusts the consequences to Providence.

Mr. Murray concluded with observing that the state of the debate presented no temptation to discussion as all the points of relative privileges and restrictions and the items of trade had been ably and often stated. He had concluded that as our trade does not at present (putting the disturbances of war out of the question) suffer from many restrictions which, when unacquainted with the subject, he thought did exist—as some of the existing restrictions against us belonged to systems, over which we had no certain controul, and which it did not suit us to imitate strictly; as the resolutions contemplated a change without affording a substitute in any degree, much less to more advantage; and as negotiation was not yet at an end, from which he hoped for some redress; as *peace was his very first object, and he believed that of his constituents*, and as those resolutions might go to disturb it, and did not appear to him supported by a certainty of advantage, though followed, by great present and certain mischiefs, he should vote against them.

(Debate to be continued.)

WINDHAM, (Con.) Feb. 8.

Departed this life at Pomfret, 29th ult. Doctor ALBIGENCE WALDO, in the 44th year of his age.

NEW THEATRE.

THIS EVENING, Feb. 28,

Will be performed,

A COMEDY, called the

JEALOUS WIFE.

Oakly,	Mr. Fennell.
Major Oakly,	Mr. Whitlock.
Charles,	Mr. Moreton.
Ruffett,	Mr. Wignell.
Sir Harry Beagle,	Mr. Chalmers.
Lord Trinket,	Mr. Finch.
Captain O'Cully,	Mr. Bates.
William,	Mr. Darley, jun.
John,	Mr. Warrell.
Tom,	Mr. Francis.
Lady Freelove's Servant,	Master Warrell.
Mrs. Oakly,	Mrs. Whitlock.
Lady Freelove,	Mrs. Shaw.
Harriet,	Mrs. Francis.
Toilet,	Mrs. Rowson.
Chambermaid,	Miss Willems.

At the end of the Comedy, a new Comic DANCE, composed by Mr. Francis, called

The Scheming Clown,

Or, the Sportsman Deceived.

By Mr. Francis, Mr. Darley, jun. and Mrs. De Marque.

After which, a COMEDY, in 2 Acts, called

The LIAR.

Old Wilding,	Mr. Whitlock.
Young Wilding	Mr. Chalmers.
Sir James Elliot	Mr. Cleveland.
Papillion	Mr. Finch.
Miss Grantham,	Mrs. Francis.
Miss Godfrey, (first time)	Mrs. Cleveland.
Kitty,	Mrs. Rowson.

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

* * * As inconveniences to the public have arisen from the Box-book being opened on the days of performance only, in future attendance will be given at the office in the Theatre every day from ten till one, and on the days of performance from ten till three o'clock in the afternoon. Applications for Boxes, it is respectfully requested, may be addressed to Mr. Franklin, at the Box-Office.

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

Vivat Republica.

For SALE,

The SCHOONER

NEPTUNE

(Lying at Morton's Wharf)

She is a good strong vessel, burthen about 300 barrels, and sails remarkably fast. Inventory may be seen on board, or at the Store of the Subscribers.

Wharton & Lewis.

Feb. 28, 1794.

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PROPOSALS

FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION,

A Ground Plan

OF THE

City Philadelphia,

AND ITS ENVIRONS:

Taken from actual survey, by A. P. FOLIE, Geographer, from St. Domingo.

THIS Plan will be engraved on a plate 26 inches square; and it will contain an exact description of all the squares, streets and alleys in the City and Liberties. The situation of the several public buildings, such as the State-House, City-Hall, Seat of Congress, Churches, Meeting-Houses, Hospital, Library and Seminaries of Learning—of the several Banks, and of the Federal and State Offices, will be ascertained. The parts which are built on will be distinguished from those that are not. The courses of the rivulets between Delaware and Schuylkill, and as much of the Canal, intended to connect the navigation of those two waters, as lies within the compass of the draught, will be accurately delineated. It will also be ornamented by a view of the shipping in the harbor, and an elevation of Congress-Hall, and of the other public buildings that occupy the ground contiguous. In short, nothing will be omitted to render this useful and desirable work acceptable to an enlightened public, that is in the author's power; and it shall be completed with the greatest possible dispatch, as soon as the generous encouragement of subscribers shall insure to the author such a sum as will be sufficient to defray expenses.

A Pamphlet will be delivered with each Plan, which will contain an alphabetical list of the Subscribers names, and information concerning the police, population and present state of the city.

The price to subscribers will be Two Dollars and one third, to be paid at the time of delivering the Plans.

Subscriptions will be gratefully received at the principal Bookellers in this city—and the original Draft may be seen at B. DAVIES', No. 68, Market-Street, at any time until it shall be put into the hands of the Engraver.

Feb. 28.

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