

[The following address of Mr. SMITH contains a summary view of the reasons and motives by which the Federal party in Congress were influenced, during the last Session. It will be remembered that it was written for the perusal of his immediate constituents.]

AN ADDRESS FROM WILLIAM SMITH, of South Carolina, To his CONSTITUENTS.

To promote the welfare and prosperity of his country, is the first duty of every citizen who is invested with a public trust; to conciliate the claims of his fellow citizens in general, and those in particular by whom he is entrusted, is the next. — Fortunate is he who by his conduct can unite two objects so interesting & so desirable: But too frequently happens that they are irreconcilable to each other, and that in the conflict of arguments arising from political circumstances, the public man must make his election to sacrifice his confidence to his popularity, or his popularity to his confidence.

These ideas are intended as an introduction to an address to my constituents, which some recent information, relative to their opinions, has suggested as necessary in the existing crisis of our public affairs. In free governments, the representative is bound to explain to the represented, whenever they require it, the grounds and motives of his conduct. It is essential to their satisfaction that they should, in matters which concern their honour and happiness, be acquainted with the principles and feelings of him whom they have delegated to represent them. In this doctrine, I have found one in ordinary times, it derives increased strength from the solemnity and solemnity of the present juncture.

It is with much readiness, therefore, that I direct your attention for a time from the objects which at present engage it, to enter into a candid discussion of those points upon which I understand there exists a diversity of sentiment, between some of my constituents and myself. I am unapprehensive of the precise nature and extent of that difference, or of the grounds upon which it falls, or of the number of those to whom it may be confined. I have only been informed in vague and general terms, that my constituents on the proposed commercial system, have been deemed by some of my constituents derogatory to our national honour and welfare, without enquiring from what class this sentiment has proceeded, or the extent of those to whom it may be applicable, defence for every class & for all, prompt me to lay before them a fair, explicit and honest account of the motives which actuated and the principles which governed me in opposing those commercial regulations.

To suppose that all those who may oppose this address have read that address, would be to expect a miracle. — Were I convinced of it, this publication would not be a little abridged, as a reference to those speeches would considerably answer the purpose intended by this address. But knowing from experience how few take the trouble to read long speeches, how many turn with disdain from even those ones who had little to their opinions, and how many more are satisfied with a verbal report of the contents of a lengthy work, I must take it for granted that the few who have been thus ready, as they have been much misapprehended, and that the many who have not been there, have contented themselves with the inaccurate and unfaithful interpretation of the few who have.

Those who have been much on the active scene of public life need not be told how easy it is to misrepresent and what a hill work it is to explain. — The truth is, whether it proceeds from the folly or wickedness of human nature I will not determine, that mankind in general live with pleasure to a short calumny, and with reluctance to a long defence. In the present degraded state of science, there has been discovered a species of shorthand logic, which artful politicians resort away the character of those whose policies they dislike; it is I suppose by this summary process that I have been sentenced: The following syllogism was probably the process which produced conviction. "He has advocated the cause of the British nation, which is practically plundering us of our property; none but an enemy to the honor and prosperity of America, would advocate such a nation, therefore he is an enemy to the honor and prosperity of America." — To do away the effect of this unanswerable kind of logic, may appear to some an audacious attempt, and after having myself filed the difficulty of refuting a calumny, ought perhaps to deter me from the task. — But every rule has its exception, and, as on a former occasion, my constituents were found more willing to expostulate than condemn, more pleased with the

revelation than the charge, a lively gratitude for the liberality & candour evinced by them on that occasion, a just sense of what I owe them on this, and a strong conviction that the same liberality and candour will not now be withheld, invite me to undertake it.

I have feared that I suppose to have been the process of reasoning by which I have been condemned. — Were the premises true, the inferences would have been just and would have failed my conviction.

Were it true that I had advocated the cause of the British nation and vindicated her piratical conduct, no reproach could have been to harsh for such treachery. But let us state the thing truly, and then the syllogism would stand thus: — "Commercial restrictions were proposed, which were thought by many of the most respectable characters in the United States to be pregnant with mischievous consequences to the commercial and agricultural interests of this country; it was the duty of those who viewed them in that light, to oppose them: — He did oppose them, therefore he has done what his duty dictated."

This stands the syllogism as to the fact; how would it stand as to the arguments and principles by which the opposition was conducted? Thus a system of commercial regulations was proposed favourable to France, injurious to Britain, predicated upon a system of commerce on the part of France favourable to the United States, and on the part of Britain, unfavourable to the United States: the reverse being the truth, it was the duty of those who knew the reverse to be true to oppose them: he proved it by an undeniable statement of facts; he did therefore nothing more than duty prescribed. Considering the two foregoing statements they form this refutation: that the subject was merely a commercial one, and the inquiry, sit. Whether the French or the British commercial system was on the whole most beneficial to the United States; 2d. Whether the proposed regulations in a commercial point of view were likely to prove injurious or not?

It is my opinion, that the commercial system of Great Britain, was, on the whole, more favourable to the United States, than the permanent commercial system of France; it likewise appeared to me, from the best documents, that the deviations from the latter, were in general either dictated by the necessity of the moment, or left favourable to us than the original system. 2d. It was my opinion, that the proposed restrictions would bring counter-restrictions on the part of Britain, and would terminate in a commercial warfare, which, however benign it might be to our country, would undoubtedly injure that country, especially South Carolina, depending so much on foreign supplies and requiring so much quantity of shipping for the port of bulky products. Both these opinions were sanctioned by the authority of all the mercantile Members of the House of Representatives and by a considerable number of other enlightened and respectable statesmen.

For the facts and reasons in support of these opinions I beg to refer to the speeches I made on the occasion, as collected in a pamphlet, and to the multiplied accounts, of misrepresentations or garbled quotations in the libellous speeches of others. Let the reader peruse them, take this as a consideration, that the subject was purely a commercial one; the restrictions proposed on the one hand as counter-restrictions for supposed commercial grievances existing on the part of Britain, and on the other as a boon for supposed commercial favours, granted by France, that they were intended to ameliorate the condition of our commerce, that they were in the first instance introduced, not as a remedy for political grievances, but merely a restriction for commercial arrangements, having reference entirely to a state of peace, and especially intended, as it was said, to prevent a state of war. It may be proper further to observe that the instructions of 6th November, and the condemnations under them in the West-Indies, were unknown at the time these speeches were made, that our then existing political grievances were in a train of negotiation, and answers from Great Britain, daily expected as to its sense. Had those instructions and condemnations been known, it is probable that the commercial regulations would never claim a consideration, as all would have agreed that it was folly to waste time in regulating a commerce which required immediate protection, or in discussing systems of improvement for that which would speedily meet its end.

Being the first who opposed the commercial regulations, and aware of the difficulties in others to support them by adducing the passions already inflamed by the political conduct of Britain towards the United States, I was particularly cautious forebore to make any allusion to the political wrongs experienced from Britain, but I recommended to those who thought

follow me, to consider the discussion entirely to the commercial system of France and Britain: The avowal of the propositions, who replied to me, took up the subject on that ground, and tho' he sprinkled on it from time to time a little political seasoning, to make his dish more palatable, yet it must be admitted that he seized the strength of his cause and the merits of his system, to rally on the respective commercial systems of France and Britain. The discussion was pursued in this its true course for some time; on one side it being urged the British commercial system, though containing some disagreeable features, was, upon the whole more advantageous to the essential interests of the United States than that of France; and that the proposed regulations which they would lay short of the intended effect, as to Britain, would cause a very serious derangement to our commerce, injure essentially our agricultural interests, and materially impair our revenue; on the other, that the French commercial system conferred on the United States a favour not to be found in that of Britain, which was said to be hostile to our most precious interests, and that the regulations which they might occasion, would in the end enlarge the sphere of our trade, open new markets for our supplies and exports, and compel Britain to enter into commercial arrangements with us, which would remove the present embarrassments arising from her system and secure to us valuable and permanent advantages. As the subject however came to be developed, the advocates for the commercial ground was untenable; and the facts which had been stated and the inferences arising from them had made an impression which rendered the rejection of their favourite project, referred to their political ground.

This course of reference being now brought into play, a furious charge was made up on the passions and feelings of the House with the Indians, the Algerines, the western ports, the violations of our neutral rights, the spoliation on our commerce.

Having prevailed to myself from the beginning, a line which I myself referred to these arguments, I can only refer to, discussing a peace system, and that it were to be referred to, other measures of a very different complexion would be expedient. In my reply, therefore, I confined myself as I had done before, to the commercial part of the arguments; I did not meddle with the political topics introduced, nor did I advance any thing which could be the tongue of calumny itself be confined into a vindication of any of those political injuries of Great Britain which either existed before or which have grown out of the present war.

Other members however did not follow those points to pass unnoticed. They observed, that if it were true that Great Britain had inflicted all these injuries on the United States, and should refuse to enter into such amicable arrangements, as would remove the grievances and afford simple redress, then it would be proper at once to interdict all commercial intercourse with that country or declare war against her: that with respect to the Indians, whatever suspensions might be entertained, yet Congress had sufficient evidence, that the Indian war was fomented by Britain; and if they had, the usage of nations required that a complaint should be made, before acts of hostility were resorted to. That although there was reason to believe that Britain had brought about the peace between Algiers and Algiers, yet there was evidence on the table from a respectable quarter which threw considerable doubt on the fact; but admitting the truth of it, and if it might be attributed less to any unkindly sentiment towards us, than to our own interests; that the subject of the western ports and the spoliation of our trade were then in a course of negotiation, and it would be an improper interpolation of the legislature to defeat or impede, by premature steps, a negotiation commenced by the executive, and at that moment depending; that it related from these considerations, that if war were contemplated, the proposed regulations were too late, if negotiation, they were premature, and if peace, there was nothing in the commercial system of Britain which warranted them, as a system of retaliation, and they would be as unjust with respect to Britain, as they would be injurious to ourselves.

Some of these arguments were so far effective as to induce the House to postpone the further consideration of the propositions for near a month, in the expectation of hearing the result of the pending negotiation: The postponement was however carried but by a very small majority, the minority, in which I was, deeming the measure unconnected with the negotiation, because it would not be the proper one in

the event either of its success or failure; for in the event of success it would be unjust, in the event of failure, to have therefore preferred to a certain and only true merits, namely, in its merits.

(To be continued.)

Seth Wright, HAS just received a new supply of BOOKS, Which in addition to those he has on hand, make a general assortment consisting of DIVINITY, LAW, TRAVELS, GEOGRAPHY, ANTIQUITY, PHILOSOPHY, ARCHITECTURE, MATHEMATICS, POETRY, PLAYS, MISCELLANEOUS NOVELS, &c. &c. Also the following COLLECTIONS of MUSIC, viz: Holden's 3 vol. World's Collection, Hans Graw's 2 vol. Anthem — An Anthem for the memory of the late Governor Hancock, by Doct. Rogerson, Kimball's and King's new works.

THE above BOOKS, will be delivered as low as at any Bookstore where School Books by the Doz. as usual — and will be furnished with the same care as they can be obtained in Boston or New York.

THOSE of his customers that are indebted to him and the time of payment by contract became due last Spring, are hereby notified, that unless they send this fall, he shall put the same into an attorney's hands to collect without further notice.

Northampton, Oct. 6, 1794.

LIST of Letters to the POST-OFFICE Northampton.

JOHN WRIGHT, Northampton, Obed Skill, Williamburgh, John C. Williams, Esq. Hadley, George Rice, Conway, George Anner, Worthington, Samuel Bacon, Lanesborough, Timothy Stockwell, Hadley, John Field, Conway, Daniel Dewey, Esq. Williamstown, John Smith, Conway, Daniel Ludden, Worthington, Gad Smith, Whately, Capt. — Toby, Conway, Capt. Joseph Clapp, Edmonston, Dr. Morris D. Light, Northampton, Josiah Lindner, Northfield, Solomon Bellwood, Amherst, Col. Saml. Bradford, Northampton, John Butler, Pittsfield, John Hart, Hatfield, Minna Waldron & Co. Pittsfield, J. BRACK, Post-Master.

BOOKS are to be had at the following prices, the beginning of Aug. — 10 SHEEP, marked as follows, viz: 50 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 2d. 20 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 1st. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 3d. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 4th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 5th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 6th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 7th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 8th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 9th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 10th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 11th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 12th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 13th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 14th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 15th. 10 marked with a swallow-tail, on the cover of the 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