THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

JANUARY 1969

VOLUME 70 NUMBER 1



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THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY CHARLESTON, S. C.

CONTENTS

Articles: Pa	age
Capt. Charles Hardy on the Carolina Station, 1742-1744, by Commander W. E. May	
Samuel Chiles Mitchell, Social Reformer in Blease's South Carolina, by Daniel W. Hollis	
The Letters of William Loughton Smith to Edward Rutledge, June 8, 1789 to April 28, 1794, edited by George C. Rogers, Jr	
The Schirmer Diary	59
Elizabeth Heyward Jervey	64
Reviews:	
Cooper, The Conservative Regime: South Carolina, 1877-1890, by Carol K. Bleser	
Mitchell, The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South, by Ernest M. Lander, Jr.	
Head, A Time to Rend, An Essay on the Decision for American Independence, by George C. Rogers, Jr.	
Clark, Naval Documents of the American Revolution, Volumes II and III, by George C. Rogers, Jr.	
Notes	69
Auglinea Norm	70

THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM LOUGHTON SMITH TO EDWARD RUTLEDGE

June 8, 1789 to April 28, 1794

EDITED BY GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

(Continued from October)

This fourth group of Smith to Rutledge letters covers the period from November 8, 1792, to April 28, 1794. One letter to Herman LeRoy, dated February 11, 1793, has been omitted. Within this period Smith successfully stands for reelection to Congress from the Charleston district, but by the end of this period he is losing the support of the Rutledge-Pinckney faction and thus this correspondence draws to a close.

Philadelphia, [November] 8, 1792

My dear Sir,

I wrote you a few lines from Mount Vernon about the 25th Ult. I returned here the 30th¹—& had the pleasure on my arrival to find by a Letter from Campbell ² that thro the kind & friendly mediation of yourself & some other Gentlemen, Col. Motte has consented to his daughter's marriage: On behalf of all the parties, whom I love & respect, I sincerely thank you.

Henry Izard sails for England in a week—I think this is a much better plan than marrying at present, tho the young gentleman (& probably the young Lady) don't agree with me.

I am not only surprized but much mortified to hear that G. is to succeed Barnwell;⁵ it is much to be lamented the latter cannot be prevailed on to serve; with respect to myself, while I blame others for withdrawing their Services when called for, I am ashamed to withhold mine when desired, by those I esteem, to serve again: Altho I am sensible that my essential & permanent interest requires that I should return to my profession & by active industry repair the ravages occasioned by so long an absence from it, yet I must confess to you that the motives which had once led my mind to a pretty firm determination to retire

¹ Smith was on intimate terms with George Washington.

² David Campbell.

³ In 1792 Campbell married Nancy Motte, the daughter of Colonel Isaac Motte.

⁴ Henry Izard was Senator Ralph Izard's eldest son.

⁵ Alexander Gillon replaced Robert Barnwell as the representative of the Beaufort and Orangeburg Congressional district.

Mitchell subsequently had a successful career as president of the University of Delaware, and his departure in June 1913 deprived the University of South Carolina of ten or fifteen more years of his vigorous leadership. Yet, actually, the University had emerged victorious. Whereas Tillman's onslaughts had nearly brought extinction, Blease's diatribes received little or no support in the General Assembly. Indeed, even while Blease raged in 1913, the University received an increased appropriation, continued its building program, and had an increase in enrollment. Yet the sensational nature of Blease's attacks and his apparent victory in ousting an educator whose precocious progressivism was alien to the history and traditions of the Palmetto State obscured the victory. The crisis was remembered; its successful solution forgotten.

The Greenville News was perhaps close to the truth when it declared that one reason for Mitchell's difficulties was that he was building a University commensurate with any in the South.⁹² There were many in South Carolina beside the Bleasites who did not welcome such a development. If Carolina were to emulate Wisconsin it would become a force for social and political change that would upset the status quo. Such a development would also mean that the University would not continue to be overshadowed by the agricultural and mechanical college and the state college for women. Many twists and turns lay ahead before the University would again become the capstone of higher education in South Carolina, but it should always be grateful to President Mitchell for his role in setting it on the path. It was unfortunate that his career in South Carolina coincided with the governship of Blease, but the efforts of this dedicated progressive were to help make it possible for South Carolina and its University to enjoy better days in years to come.

⁹² Greenville Daily News, April 13, 1913.

institutions, the chief executive should have been familiar with these details.85

Despite the fact that his charges had been proved groundless, the governor continued his attacks.³⁶ At an April 2 meeting of the board of trustees he demanded Mitchell's resignation. His resolution, which bristled with the old charge of "taking money from the white girls of South Carolina for the education of free Negroes," was defeated by a vote of eight to one. Blease, however, asserted that both the legislature and board of trustees had whitewashed Mitchell, and he announced to the press that he was determined to oust him.³⁷ Contemptuously referring to Mitchell as the "so-called president of the University," Blease stated publicly that if Mitchell showed him any discourtesy, "I most assuredly will slap his face." ⁸⁶

Perhaps it was too much to expect a man with a sensitive wife and a family to subject himself to such abuse. When friends in Richmond offered him the presidency of the Medical College of Virginia, Mitchell readily accepted. Educators of the South rallied to his support. "I am indignant beyond expression," wrote Vanderbilt's James H. Kirkland.⁸⁹

One expression of help came ironically from an unusual source. "I am certain that Governor Blease, in his crusade against you, does not voice the sentiment or wishes of any considerable number of people," wrote Senator Tillman, who stressed the importance of having men who represented "progress, enlightenment, and statesmanship" remain in South Carolina.⁹⁰

Mitchell, however, had reached the conclusion that he had contributed as much as he could to the University and remained firm in his decision to leave. He can hardly be blamed for desiring to be beyond the range of Blease's invective, although many felt that, having been vindicated by both the legislature and the board of trustees, he should have remained. The Blease camp was quick to interpret the resignation as a victory. "Well, on with the dance, Governor, and let our joy be unconfined and show up any more high muck-a-mucks that want to give niggers college education," wrote one ardent Bleaseite legislator.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Ibid.; Hollis, University of South Carolina, II, 251-259.

⁸⁶ House Journal, 1913, p. 499.

⁸⁷ Hollis, University of South Carolina, II, 260; Columbia State, April 3, 1913.

⁸⁸ Charleston News and Courier, April 4, 1913.

⁸⁹ James H. Kirkland to Mitchell, Feb. 14, 1913, Mitchell Papers, SCL.

⁹⁰ Benjamin R. Tillman to Mitchell, April 10, 1913, Benjamin R. Tillman Papers, Clemson University Library.

⁹¹ Quoted in Burnside, "Blease," p. 229.

made to the universities, the remainder of the funds would go to the education of Negro teachers in the Southern states. The request of the university presidents was in direct conflict with the long cherished hopes of President Johnson of obtaining a large grant (perhaps as much as \$500,000) for Winthrop College, which had been named for a former chairman of the Peabody Board. Johnson felt very strongly that Peabody funds should go to the state colleges for women, and he especially resented Mitchell's having signed the state university petition, since he felt that what he regarded as Winthrop's "special position" with the Peabody Board was well understood in South Carolina.⁸⁴

When the Peabody Fund was distributed in 1911 almost every Southern state university received \$40,000. In South Carolina, however, President Johnson succeeded in diverting this sum to Winthrop, and his institution also received an additional grant of \$50,000, making a total of \$90,000. The University received only \$6,000, and when the keenly disappointed Mitchell made furthur appeals to the Peabody Board, Johnson, who was disappointed because Winthrop had not received several hundred thousand dollars, assumed that the University would attempt to prevent the distribution. A Winthrop trustee who was also a political associate of Blease presented the governor with a strong statement of Winthrop's case, in which much was made of the fact that Mitchell had signed a statement in which he agreed that certain Peabody funds would go to the education of Negro teachers. Blease was encouraged to assume that Mitchell and the other university presidents were suggesting that Peabody funds be taken from the education of white women of the South and given instead to Negroes. Blease, as might have been expected, reacted strongly, and he subsequently launched his attack.

The investigation of the legislative committee cleared Mitchell of the charges, the majority report stating that while he had indeed signed the 1909 petition, nothing he had done had deprived Winthrop of a large grant because the final distribution had been determined by a change in policy of the Peabody Board. Furthermore, the committee found that the controversial clause pertaining to funds for Negro education had simply recognized the terms of the Peabody trust, in which it had always been clear that the Negroes of the South were to share. The governor's facts were highly distorted. Winthrop had actually received \$90,000 and had not, as Blease had charged, lost this sum because of the University's "underhand fight." As ex-officio president of the board of trustees of both

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 1246, 1375.

from public life are now considerably weakened: the opinion I entertain, that the federal government has not yet established itself so well as to disregard any fear from antifederal attempts in the ensuing House of Representatives, makes me extremely anxious to see in it men decidedly & warmly attached to the federal measures of the new government -men, who have given birth to those [torn]6 therefore feel [torn]7 regard for them & guard them with vigilance & vigour: I love this Constitution, because I think it essential to the welfare & prosperity of my Country & therefore would quit with the utmost reluctance, a Post where I thought I might in some small degree resist any attempt to injure it: I think the principal Measures which have been adopted have promoted the prosperity of this Country & that Disunion & ruin would ensue from an overthrow of them; nothing therefore but urgent necessity would induce me to abandon a Station where my Vote at least would always oppose such a dangerous attempt: I am persuaded the enlightened Citizens of Charleston District will never send an antifederal Character; but they may send a Man who may suffer himself to be misled by a faction after he gets here, & with upright intentions, fall into their Snares which are laid to entrap the new Members, I can answer for myself that my Vote & Voice shall always be found on the side of those who wish to preserve the Union, character & credit of the Country: the result of these reflexions is that if my friends still entertain the same flattering opinion of my Ability to serve them with which I have been so much honored & wish me to continue their representative I will accept the sacred Trust & promise to be faithful to it. At the same time I wish it to be understood that it is not sought by me & that if any good federal character is by them thought better entitled to it, I will chearfully withdraw my pretensions.8

The President leaves Mount Vernon this day & will be here in the course of five or six days.

Mr. Clymer, the Supervisor of the Revenue for this State, is gone to Pittsburgh to take depositions against the opposers of the Excise in that neighbourhood & the Attorney General of the U. S. sat out this morning for the Court at York To[wn] to institute Prosecutions against the Delinquents; these officers [ac]t in obedience [to the] commands of the President who is determined to have the Laws of the Union executed. Mr. Clymer writes that the people of Pittsburgh begin to repent &

⁶ Two or three words missing.

⁷ Two words missing.

⁸ The election for representatives to Congress from S. C. was held on Feb. 4 and 5, 1793.

disavow the proc[eedings] of the meeting: I am in hopes this business will end well.9

The Elections here begin tomorrow; there will be a great contest, but it's thought the antifederal ticket will not prevail. In Maryland I understand there will be Six out of Eight, good men: their Elections were over last Thursday, but we havn't the returns yet: In Rhode Island the two Members chosen are good federalists:—I pray most sincerely that our *Jacobin* party may be every where defeated.

News yesterday from Europe mention the capture of Mr. Delafayette by the Austrians, from whom, he will receive more mercy than from the Jacobins, who would certainly have murdered him, had he been carried to Paris. What a dreadful situation they have reduced that country to—God forbid we should ever set so little value on the liberty we now enjoy in America as to throw it away for anarchy, licentious rage & heads on pikes.

Mrs. Izard has recovered from her lying in & is quite well the rest of the family are well.¹¹ Your son ¹² was here, un[fortunately] for me during my Journey to Virginia.

I desired Campbell to speak to you about one McFarlane & to request you would try & prevail on him either to send something to his family here or to return to them.

What is Brailsford doing?18 I hope you will attend him.

With Sincere wishes for your happiness, I remain, My dear Sir, Yours ever affectionate

Wm Smith

- ⁹ George Clymer undertook an investigation in western Pennsylvania for Alexander Hamilton. See *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. H. C. Syrett and J. E. Cooke (New York, 1967), XII, passim.
- ¹⁰ Lafayette was held by the Austrians at Olmutz prison from which a gallant South Carolinian attempted to rescue him.
- ¹¹ Charlotte Georgina Izard was born in Philadelphia on Sept. 16, 1792. "Izard of South Carolina," SCHM, II (1901), 217.
 - 12 Henry Rutledge.
- ¹⁸ Smith through his attorneys Edward Rutledge and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney eventually sought a bill in the court of chancery for a specific performance of a parol agreement between himself and William Brailsford respecting a lot of land in Meeting Street. "William Smith v. William Brailsford," March 1794, Henry William DeSaussure, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Chancery of the State of South-Carolina, From the Revolution to December, 1813, Inclusive (Columbia, S. C., 1817), I, 350-352.

[To Henry William DeSaussure]14

Philadelphia, November 22, 1792

Dear Sir,

A certain Party (of whom I spoke to you when here)¹⁵ in order to gain compleat possession of the Government have been taken measures to injure their Opponents in the eyes of their Constituents by the grossest Calumny; handbills have been printed & sent into New Jersey, Massachusetts, & Connecticut, containing the most slanderous assertions; they have however failed of their intended effect in that quarter for all those whom they have stiled Aristocrats & Speculators have been or will be re-elected. I am informed they have done *me* the Honor to class me among those whom they wish to oust, & that similar manoeuvres have been practised in So. Carolina for that purpose:

By the last accounts from Charleston I understand that Reports have been industriously circulated the object of which is to persuade my Constituents that I have acted the part of a great rascal towards them, & to be sure if they can succeed in inculcating that belief they will have no difficulty in carrying their point: however as many of my Constituents are pretty well acquainted with me, & know the truth of the Maxim, Nemo repente turpissimus, they will not be so ready to condemn as the others are to accuse & will require further proofs of the Criminality of an old Servant than the mere flying slanderous reports of a malignant & disappointed faction; the reports to which I allude are to this effect, "that I was concerned in some Pilot-boats which went from New York to Charleston to buy up Indents while the Assumption was before Congress." To those who know me I think no answer necessary to such a [torn]16 to others I declare most solemnly that the report is malicious & totally unfounded—in truth, that so far from it my Letters about that time to my friends in Charleston warned them from selling their Indents & urged them to advise all their friends by no means to sell, for that altho it was uncertain whether the Assumption would be carried that Session that I had little doubt it would at some other period & that therefore they should not be induced to sell by any check it might then receive.

¹⁴ This letter can be identified as having been written to DeSaussure by the first sentence in Smith to Rutledge, Nov. 30, 1792, which begins: "I desired Mr. DeSaussure, Jun., to shew you a letter I wrote him a week ago on an subject which has made me very uneasy." The Nov. 30 letter is in the Pinckney Papers in the Library of Congress.

¹⁵ These are the emerging Republicans or Jeffersonians.

¹⁶ Two or three words missing.

While the subject of the Assumption was under consideration, I received one day in Congress an anonymous Letter charging the Anxiety of Mr. Izard & myself for that measure to the account of interestedness & alledging that the writer knew for a fact that we had bought Indents to the Amount of £100,000, & that unless I abandoned the Cause, he would bring to public view the proofs he had in his possession & expose my conduct to the world; as I was conscious that neither Mr. Izard nor myself had bought Indents to the value of one farthing, I on that very day exerted myself for the Assumption in the House more than ever in spite of the writer's proofs. It is well known that when the funding System was before the House, I was among those who always voted for the lowest rate of interest, altho I had in my possession some indents from my patrimonial estate which were the wreck of a large Estate lent the public.

The time at which this report has found its way to Carolina is somewhat remarkable: Since the expedition of the Pilot-boats, I have been re-elected, & have been twice into that State, when had such a Rumour existed I might easily have refuted it; the thing must have happen'd upwards of two years ago, viz., in July or Aug. 90—it is not a little surprising it should have just come to light—but the Scheme is well planned [torn]¹⁷ of my Enemies is better promoted by propagating the report in my absence & at a period when my attendance at my post prevents my return prior to the Election, so that the Poison may have its effect before the Antidote can be applied.

It is by chance the report has reached my Ears, had it not, my Silence would by some have been attributed to conscious guilt & these malevolent aspersions been converted into well founded charges.

It is not improbable that some of my constituents may have received some impression from these rumours; it is a true saying that if you throw Dirt enough, some of it will stick, & if measures be not taken by my friends & those who have confidence in the purity of my conduct (& I pledge myself to them to justify their confidence in me) these Detractors may succeed in exciting opposition to me—indeed I have received information that Mr. Jacob Read 18 intends to oppose me; now tho I shall have no objection to any opposition which is made on the score of merit, Zeal, & Patriotism or attention to public business by a fair appeal to the suffrages of the Citizens, yet I trust Mr. Read possesses too much candor & liberality of mind to allow his friends to promote

¹⁷ Three words missing.

¹⁸ Jacob Read did oppose Smith in the ensuing election. See Rogers, Evolution of a Federalist, pp. 239-240.

his election at the expense of my reputation & that he will ground his opposition on facts duly *substantiated* not on fleeting whispers which every one has heard but which no one will avow. From the opinion I have formed of Mr. Read, I have every reason to believe that the opposition on his part, if any be intended, will be conducted on the principles of candour & fairness, & that these reports have originated from a very different quarter.

With respect to myself viewing the abstract question of a re-election, I assure you it is a point about which I am extremely indifferent; my views as far as relates to my own personal gratification do not look to a continuance in my present station, but I confess [when I con]sider how far a failure of my re-election may in the eyes of the World be connected with my Character & future prospects the business assumes a serious aspect & it becomes an important consideration whether any evidence of a disinclination on my part to meet the contest would not be interpreted by my Enemies into a pusillanimous shrinking from a fair inquiry: viewing the subject in this light, I could wish that the Election might not take place till the Spring for as I intend to return home in March I shall then have an opportunity in person of dissipating any Mists which the infectious breath of Calumny may have raised. Should these reports have come to your Knowledge & you Should hear them repeated you will much oblige me by communicating the facts & declarations I have herein inserted. By an Appeal to some of my Correspondents in the Summer of 1790 I think you will find some of them confirmed; Mr. Darrell, E. Rutledge, G. Manigault, & D. Campbell were at the time among the number.19

Please to shew this Letter to Mr. E. Rutledge with my best Compliments & tell him that I propose writing to him by this opportunity, but that he shall at all events hear from me by the next.

The Antifederal party are making prodigious exertions to get Clinton elected Vice President; the Electors in this State will all vote for Adams, but in New York where they have been chosen by the Legislature (which is devoted to Clinton) it is said every Vote will be for Clinton; in Virginia, North Carolina, & Georgia & part of Maryland, Clinton will have, the party say, every Vote & they promise themselves some in So. Carolina—much depends upon our votes—our State may decide this Question.

¹⁹ Edward Darrell, Edward Rutledge, Gabriel Manigault, and David Campbell. For a discussion of the charges of speculation against Smith, see Rogers, *Evolution of a Federalist*, pp. 289-240.

A copy of this goes by post. With real esteem I remain, Dear Sir, Your obedient

Wm Smith

Philadelphia, December 10, 1792

It is now some time, my dear Sir, since I have had the pleasure of a Letter from you—I make however great allowances for your various & necessary avocations & endeavour to wait with patience till I have your communications from Columbia which I expect by the first opportunity. I am anxious to hear what has been done by the Legislature & particularly how the Electors have voted.20 The accounts already received convey the following information; from this State-14 for Adams -1 for Clinton-from Jersey, & Delaware, unanimous for Adams-& we understand (but not certain) in Maryland, unanimous for Adams: in New York the Election being made by the Legislature, in which Clinton has secured a considerable influence, there is great fear that he will have every Vote; as the Electors were to meet at Poughkeepsie we have no accounts from that State: New York, Virginia, Kentucky, No. Carolina, & Georgia will be the only States (out of 15) in which Clinton will have much Success; but I am very apprehensive he will have nearly all their Votes. Mr. Adams will I think be elected, but the opposition to him & the Competitor set up against him reflect in my opinion considerable disgrace on the Union.

This Letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Hall, brother of the late worthy George Abbot.²¹ He seems to be a respectable Character [&] entertains much esteem for you: He lamented that there had been some inte[rruption of y]our former acquaintance with each other & explained to me (in a manner which appeared satisfactory) the causes which occasioned it; I have no doubt that he will, if an opportunity be afforded, give you also a satisfactory explanation.

I have sent you the Secretary's Report of a Plan for the Reduction of the public Debt.²² I have this day reported a Bankrupt Law, which I will send as soon as printed.²⁸

²⁰ The S. C. legislature sat from Nov. 26, 1792 to Dec. 21, 1792. Edward Rutledge and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney were among the eight electors chosen. Journal of the House of Representatives, 1792, p. 82, S. C. Archives.

21 George Abbot Hall was a Charleston merchant who had been collector of customs.

²² Hamilton's "report of a plan for the redemption of the Public Debt" had been before the House since December 3. There was a debate on Feb. 11, 1793, during which Smith spoke. *Annals*, III, 733, 870.

²⁸ Smith "presented a bill to establish an uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States; which was received, read twice, and committed." Annals, III,

The Commissioners for settling the Accounts between the States have informed us that they will make their final report before the 1st July next: I am in hopes we shall have a handsome Ballance, tho perhaps not enough to cover our whole outstanding Debt: this is however still uncertain: it is contemplated to propose a provisionary Assumption by funding on the part of the United States Indents of the Creditor States to the amount of the Ballances which on the final Settlement will be found due to them respectively: this is the utmost that will be agreed to (& that not certain;) an unqualified & unconditional Assumption would undoubtedly be preferable for the Interests of our State but I fear we have no chance of carrying such a measure: it will probably be tried; it would certainly be no more than Justice.

I have lately had a Letter from Campbell—wherein he informs me that he does not understand there will be any opposition to my re-election—that some reports had circulated (originating as he understood from Major Butler)²⁴ injurious to me & that my friends had removed them: The Envy & Malignity of that man are unbounded; he should however reflect that there are certain characters who gain nothing by spreading scandal, because no body will believe them; the only chance they have of success is by concealing the quarter from which the Scandal originates.

As I shall have occasion to write again soon, I shall for the present only add my most respectful Compliments to your amiable Lady & the assurance of esteem of Dear Sir, Your faithful friend and Servant

Wm Smith

December 12th. The Accounts received respecting the Election of Vice-President are as follows—

Adams	Clinton
Pensylv. —14	1
Jersey — 7	
Delaw. — 3	
Connectic.— 9	
New York —	12
Maryland — 8	2 absent

[P.S.] I received a Letter from B. Smith from Newbern 25—he is one of the Electors but I apprehend all his Colleagues will vote for Clinton.

^{741.} The federal government did not pass a bankruptcy act until April 4, 1800. Thomas Cooper, The Bankrupt Law of America, compared with the Bankrupt Law of England (Philadelphia, 1801).

²⁴ Major Pierce Butler.

²⁵ Benjamin Smith, a North Carolina Federalist, was Smith's first cousin.

Philadelphia, January 3, 1793

Since yours of the 24 November, my dear Sir, I have not had the pleasure of a Line from you. In your last to Mr. Izard of the 6th December you mentioned having written to me from Columbia, but I have not received that Letter. A few days ago I received a Letter from Mr. Desaussure dat. 15th December from Columbia, giving me an account of some legislative proceedings. I was happy to hear that the Election was fixed by Districts, as the other mode is pregnant with evils & inconveniencies T—it also gave me pleasure to hear that the Law for prohibiting the importation of Negroes had passed. I am anxious to hear the fate of poor Moultrie—he is much to be pitied indeed, & I sincerely wish he may recover the Esteem of his Countrymen—I have long thought that his Conduct & Negligence would sooner or later bring down a Storm on his head.

We have done but little this Session & I am afraid shall not do much. A certain party in the House who think they will be omnipotent at the next Session after the increased representation takes place, are desirous of postponing every thing material to that period. In such a Body as ours a claim to further [time or to further consider]ation is attended with such plausible reasons that [such endeavours] for intended delay are but too often [success]ful in spite of the honest endeavours of those who wish to perform their duty.

I sent you a few days ago a printed Copy of the Bankrupt Law, on which I request you will send me such observations as may occur to you. It is a very interesting subject & requires the fullest information from mercantile & professional Sources.

I was much pleased with the state of the votes of our Electors for Vice President—Mr. Adams is re-elected by a majority of about 20 or 25 which is a very handsome one, considering the unparallelled exertions which have been made to poison the public mind by the grossest cal-

²⁶ Henry William DeSaussure was a member of the S. C. House of Representatives.

²⁷ "An act prescribing, on the part of this state, the times, places and manner of holding elections for representatives in the Congress of the United States," signed Dec. 21, 1792, divided the state into six Congressional districts. S. C. Statutes, V, 212-214.

²⁸ "An act to prohibit the importation of slaves from Africa, or other places beyond sea, into this state, for two years," signed Dec. 21, 1792. S. C. Statutes, VII, 431-432.

 $^{^{29}}$ Alexander Moultrie, the attorney-general of S. C., was impeached and found guilty of embezzling £60,000 of public money. Rogers, *Evolution of a Federalist*, p. 254.

umnies. The Virginians are enraged against him, merely because he gave a casting vote against a favorite measure of their's last Session.³⁰

We are to be gratified next week with a sight of the famous Blanchard's ascension in a Balloon;³¹ he says he is come to this Country to celebrate the great Characters of the United States; as that is the case, I take it for granted he will pay you a Visit & celebrate our Statesmen & Heroes by an Ascension.

What a surprising success the French have had & what an inglorious campaign has been made by their Enemies! [I hope that the] former will make good use of their situation [to establis]h a good government founded on stable principles [which] will secure Liberty, Prosperity, & Tranquillity, but I confess I augur little good from their past transactions; there seems to be such a spirit of wildness in their ideas of Liberty & government that it will be a work of many years to settle their ideas down to those principles on which our governments in this Country are established.

The ideas contained in your Letter respecting the advantages which may flow from a monied interest formed in the Country are certainly just—& yet they differ widely from those which our Patriots here broach; they say that a monied interest is dangerous & will destroy & swallow up all other interests.

In February next there will be a new Election for Directors of the Branch in Charleston—I wish you would consult your Brethren & inform me whom you & they recommend to be elected in the room of one fourth who must go out. I find you don't discount much—your Capital would justify a much larger Discount; & if you think it not sufficient, it may be increased.

In expectation of soon hearing from you I remain, my dear Sir, Your affectionate friend

Wm Smith

Philadelphia, February 27, 1798

Many thanks, my dear friend, for your two last Letters of the 6th & 8th inst. & for the alacrity with which you communicated the pleasing accounts contained in them, for pleasing indeed they were for many

³⁰ As there were many occasions on which the Vice President cast the deciding vote in the previous session of the Senate, it is difficult to tell which measure was involved.

³¹ Jean Pierre Blanchard was a professional French balloonist. For an account of the early "balloon fever" in America see Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America*, 1735-1788 (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1956), pp. 339-342.

reasons; in the first place they satisfied me that the scandalous imputations on my character had been done away & that the malevolence of my enemies had been defeated; in the next place, they convinced me that I still enjoyed the confidence of the respectable part of my countrymen, & what is truly satisfactory, that I possess the friendship of men whose friendship does not consist in professions alone but in the most active & zealous exertions of service. This late struggle may be cons[ider]ed as an important crisis in my Life for th[ere] is no foreseeing the many disagreeable circumstances [whi]ch might have resulted from the success of m[y ca]lumniators; the world, who are too apt [to follow] appearances only, would have drawn [torn] inferences very inacc[urate] [torn] future welfare [torn]³² Viewing it in this light I cannot [in jus]tice to my feelings in expressing my gratitude to you particularly & to other valuable friends—you must there[fore] give me credit for more than I know how to express.³⁸

March 2d. Our two last days have been employed in discussing certain resolutions, the offspring of all the rancour, malevolence & envy which have been fermenting for some time past & the means whereby the Faction intended to overthrow the funding System by the Ruin of Mr. Hamilton: we soon found that their intention was to send out the resolutions to the public without a vote as a foundation to work upon during the recess & to be decided on next Session when their materials were ready; we therefore resolved to meet them with a full investigation, tho there remained but three days of the Session after they were moved. & to sit day & night until we got a vote; we accordingly went into a full inquiry into the Secretary's official conduct; when the Party found [that] they would be certainly defeated, they offered to withdraw all the resolutions, except the one [under] debate, but we would not agree to it, & last [night] at 12 oClock we took the question on a [division] which we negatived, in the propor[tion] [torn] 40 to 13-of which last number [torn] shewn [torn] bitter [torn]³⁴ is complete; the [Secretary] has added new Honors to his character & it has come out as bright as a Jewel. I will send you the Resolutions & their ignominious fate. 35

We adjourn today, being Saturday—our political life does not terminate till tomorrow night, but our Eastern Members are too pious to sit on Sunday.

⁸² There are two words, two words, and three words respectively missing.

³³ Smith had been reelected to Congress.

⁸⁴ There are two words, three words, three words, and six words respectively missing.

³⁵ For Smith's defense of Hamilton see Rogers, Evolution of a Federalist, pp. 240-241.

I am fatigued to death with the last three days. The multitude of business crowded upon us & the hurry & confusion have quite be-wildered me, & were it not for my joy at the victory of last night, I should certainly be sick. After idling away 4/5ths of the Session, we have crammed all the business into the residue of the time; conscious of our culpable neglect of public duty during the course of our political existence we imitate the conduct of the dying atone for past offences by doing as much good as possible on our deathbed. An author has remarked that 'tis common to mankind to try to expiate their past offences by recommending to their successors to do that which they ought to have done themselves—this is a good deal the case with us—it [has] been dinned in our ears [every] day [torn]⁸⁶.

March 4th. Congress adjourned [Saturday night]. The President is to be inaugurated this [morning] in the Senate Chamber.

Art is arrived—& we sail in about 10 days.87

Philadelphia, December 6, 1793

My dear Sir,

Just before I left New York I wrote you a few words: I arrived here the 1st Inst. Congress met the next day & to the surprise of very one both Houses made a Quorum the first day; many of the Members were so polite as to express a wish to compliment me with the Chair, but finding that offering myself would divide the federal votes & expose the Chair to be filled by an improper person, I withdrew my Pretensions in favor of Sedgwick, who would undoubtedly have been elected had not the other side, finding themselves disappointed with respect to their favorite (Baldwin) joined the Pennsylvanians & supported Muhlenberg, who was therefore elected; We are very well pleased with him, as he is a candid & impartial Man.³⁸

The President made his Speech the next day; it has given general satisfaction as far as I can find, except to Butler & Giles, 30 who are the only persons who have been heard to complain of it; the former, for mentioning the Proclamation, 40 & the latter, for recommending, Tem-

³⁶ Four lines are missing.

³⁷ "Art" was one of the captains plying his vessel between Charleston and Philadelphia.

³⁸Theodore Sedgwick of Mass., Abraham Baldwin of Ga., and Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Penn.

⁸⁹ Pierce Butler of S. C. and William Branch Giles of Va.

⁴⁰ The Proclamation of Neutrality. Washington's speech is printed in *Annals*, IV, 10-14.

per: ⁴¹ a Committee of five, of whom *Madison* was Chairman have drawn up an address, which was *unanimously* agreed to; this Answer is highly approbatory of the President's Conduct; the President has laid before both Houses all his Proceedings with respect to the Belligerent Powers & particularly France & all Mr. Jefferson's & Mr. Genet's correspondance; ⁴² these Papers are accompanied by a letter to both Houses from the President, in which he unreservedly complains of Genet's conduct: We are now engaged in reading them & it is probable they will be all printed.

The President has also laid before us the Report of the Commissioners on the Ballances. Our State has a Ballance of about one million two hundred thousand Dollars due 1 January 90. If the 4 years interest be allowed by Congress on this Ballance which it ought to be, it will make a handsome addition & I hope will be adequate to our Debt. It is uncertain whether Congress will assume to this Amount or pay the Ballance to the State: nothing has been yet said on the Subject.⁴³

I am still unsupported, none of my Colleagues being yet arrived. We have a great number of new Members on the floor & more expected; I can't judge of their Complexions; the unanimous Vote in favor of the answer to the Speech augurs well, but still it's impossible to predict what turn Members may take when they are tampered with.

On arriving here I find that Mr. Kean,⁴⁴ the Cashier of the U.S. Bank became the purchaser of your three shares at the current price at the period. I left them in his hands & for some time after, viz. at about six per Cent premium, that he paid your Bill of 1200 Dollars & that he has in his hands a small Sum which I will remit to Mr. Goold: this gentleman has never received the six per Cents which you were to transfer to him; I saw him at N. York & explained to him that the deranged situation of affairs in Philadelphia & my absence from that place

⁴¹ Washington had concluded his speech as follows: "But, as the Legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or of candor, so shall not the public happiness languish from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operation." *Annals*, IV, 14.

⁴² The Jefferson-Genêt contretemps is well depicted in Dumas Malone, Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty (Boston, 1962), pp. 90-131.

⁴³ At the general settlement of accounts in 1793 South Carolina was a creditor of the Union to the extent of \$1,205,000. With interest this amounted to \$1,450,000, which sum the state received in the form of federal stocks. This allotment was just about equal to S. C.'s remaining state debt. Therefore, one thing that S. C. did secure from her joining the Union was the abolishment of her state debt. E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961), pp. 332-333.

⁴⁴ John Kean.

were causes of his not having received the money from Mr. Kean, with which he seemed satisfied.

By the communications laid before us by the President, it appears that in August last, Mr. Genet's recall was requested by our Executive, so that it is probable we shall Soon hear of it.

We are anxiously waiting for news from Wayne;⁴⁵ some of his Convoys have been molested, some horses lost & some men killed, but the Expedition will not be hurt by this check: He writes in good spirits.

Mr. Izard & myself keep Batchelor's House; Mrs. Izard remains with the Children at New York for a few weeks, on Mrs. Manigaults account—I shall from time to time transmit you a narrative of our most interesting proceedings.

With respectful Compliments to Mrs. Rutledge, I remain, My dear Sir, Your affectionate friend

Wm Smith

[P.S.] It is said that Mr. Jefferson intends to resign shortly—this is mentioned by good authority—Mr. Randolph ⁴⁶ is talked of as his Successor—& Mr. Lewis (of this place) ⁴⁷ successor to the latter. General Knox ⁴⁸ will also probably resign in the Spring. He intends to pass a part of the Year in future in the Province of Maine, where he possesses an immense territory: Pickering (Post Master General) ⁴⁹ is mentioned as his Successor—this suggestion of Successors is without authority.

Philadelphia, February 15, 1794

My dear Sir,

This day I have had the pleasure of receiving by the Post your Letters of 13th & 26 Ult. & hearing that there is a prospect of the *Juliana* ⁵⁰ getting away in a day or two I sit down to write to you some account of our affairs.

The business which has principally engaged our attention for some time was the commercial business;⁵¹ you have, I suppose, seen the pro-

- ⁴⁵ Gen. Anthony Wayne defeated the Indians in the Battle of Fallen Timbers on Aug. 20, 1794.
 - 46 Edmund Randolph, Washington's attorney general.
- ⁴⁷ Probably William Lewis, a Philadelphian and a Federalist, who was a federal district judge. David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism* (New York, 1965), pp. 341-342.
 - 48 Gen. Henry Knox.
 - ⁴⁹ Timothy Pickering was appointed secretary of war on Jan. 2, 1795.
 - 50 One of the vessels plying between Charleston and Philadelphia.
- ⁵¹ There was a major debate over the proper course to pursue with respect to England. Rogers, *Evolution of a Federalist*, pp. 259-264.

posed resolutions; the first passed the Committee of the whole by a majority of four or five; after which two or three of that majority having difficulties about the next resolution, all the others were postponed till the first Monday in March: It is uncertain whether they will be taken up again—this will depend on the opinions of a few, who are fluctuating & whose votes will decide the question either way: at any rate there is a decided majority against them in the Senate. The next business taken up was that of the Frigates; ⁵² after much opposition from the party who were in favor of the commercial regulations, a vote passed the Committee of the whole by a majority of two for building six frigates— 4 of 44—2 of 24. The ways & means are to be next considered, & will of course be strongly resisted—so that after all, it is probable we shall do nothing, except voting a Sum of money to purchase a Peace of the Algerians ⁵³ which they will never sell as long as they can take our Vessels & we are afraid of the Expence of protecting them.

Yesterday we displaced an antifederal Member from Delaware & put in his room a good federalist: 54 this will make a change of two votes for the residue of this House: a circumstance of some importance in the present critical situation of affairs, when a few votes may decide on our future welfare.

In my former letters I apprised you of the opinions I had formed in relation to the commercial regulations; I have since had the satisfaction of finding that those opinions have not only been sanctioned by the federal party in the House & out of doors generally but likewise by the mercantile interests of this City, who are [clear] that passing them into a law would be highly injurious to the agricultural as well as the commercial interests of this Country. The prejudices against Britain which her Conduct has excited has predisposed many in favor of these regulations who on a more serious view & full discussion see much danger likely to result from them, particularly at the present period & in the actual situation of France.

I send you herewith the observations I made during the discussion—you will find that I viewed the subject altogether as a commercial one & in reference to the effect the measures proposed would have on our agriculture & commerce: Having with great labor obtained the most authentic materials as my Data, I drew from them such inferences as appeared to my Judgment from a calm & mature consideration to result:

⁵² One solution was to build a navy. Out of this debate was born the United States Navy.

 $^{^{53}}$ It was still necessary to bribe the Barbary pirates as a navy was not yet ready.

⁵⁴ John Patton was replaced by Henry Latimer. Annals, IV, 453-455.

with respect to our political grievances, it was the opinion of the wisest & best men in the house that we should not precipitate, that delay was often advantageous & that passionate haste frequently gave rise to repentance: it has been suggested that Britain will soon give up the Posts. 55 & it appears that if She does not, the settlers in the neighbourhood, by occasioning frequent desertions from them will very soon render it impossible for her to keep them. It was the opinion of many of us that the proposed regulations would injure us more than Britain, that if they were meant as a retaliation for commercial grievances, they were unjust, because there are no greater commercial grievances experienced from her than from other nations; that if they were intended as a punishment for grievances & injuries resulting from the present war, we should first wait the effect of negotiations & then it would be time to regulate our future conduct. War is a thing so much to be dreaded that every one will see the propriety of public men, who are responsible for their votes, weighing well all the consequences before they take any Step which may plunge their country in so dreadful a calamity: it is a thing of the last resort & to be deprecated till necessity drives us into it. The general sentiments of our fellow citizens have been so universally expressed in favor of peace that the guardians of the public interests seem unequivocally called on to maintain it. Indeed the advocates for the regulations always reprobated War & insisted that they would not produce that effect—but to us they appeared pregnant with war like consequences & on that as well as other grounds to be dangerous.

I am sensible that your resentment against Britain is not without abundant cause but still policy may dictate the necessity of stiffling for a time those feelings with which a warm & patrotic breast glows on such occasions 56—aided & combined as She is with all the maritime powers of magnitude except France, & that Nation not in a condition to assist us, her government in the hands of people with whom we could with difficulty form any rational connexion I do not see that our embarking in the war would be attended with any other than the most disastrous issue to us—my opinion is rather that we should remonstrate & negotiate—that we should grow strong by Peace—while Britain is enfeebling herself by war, wait till France is in a condition to support us & then we may demand from Britain what She ought to do. Still it may happen that her Acts may be beyond all forbearance & that War may be unavoidable; I wish to believe that period is not yet arrived; I am so solicitous for the

⁵⁵ The reference is to the north-west posts still held by Britain around the Great Lakes.

⁵⁶ This is the beginning of the break with Edward Rutledge.

prosperity of this country & so persuaded that war would overwhelm us with every kind of distress that I shall very reluctantly give my assent to any proposition for war, unless on the most unavoidable necessity.

I am aware that feeling as you do, some things in my speeches will not meet your approbation; but the situation of affairs rendered it necessary that such things should be stated—the inflammatory materials which have been scattered about made it necessary to go further than one could have wished in reply—& really the commercial relations of this Country & Britain have not been well known nor understood. The statements & facts were thought by some of our friends too important to be consigned to the oblivion of a newspaper—they therefore had them printed in a pamphlet—it was also thought that our fellow citizens should be well acquainted with the subject before they agreed to put to hazard the advantages we enjoy—it was certainly the duty of a representative that the people should enjoy the benefits of the information he had acquired upon a subject so interesting to their happiness & prosperity.

Moultrie's conduct ⁵⁷ surprises me indeed—Genet is still supported here by the old party—the Virginia Leaders go & dine at his house & give him every countenance, notwithstanding the Convention have promised to recall him.

Pray tell your brother the Chief Justice that I have received this day his Letter—I have read all the inclosures & will convene the Committee in a day or two & prepare a report as soon as possible—I will write to him shortly on the Subject.⁵⁸

You will oblige me by forwarding the inclosed Letter to Col. Washington; ⁵⁰ it is from the President. Two of the inclosed Books are for Mr. Darrell & young DeSaussure—please to send them. Mrs. Izard is at present indisposed—the rest of the family are well—my best respects to Mrs. R. & believe me, my dear Sir, affectionately yours

Wm Smith

⁵⁷ Governor William Moultrie had been in correspondence with Citizen Genêt. See Moultrie to Genêt, Feb. 11, 1794, quoted in Rogers, *Evolution of a Federalist*, p. 258, n. 63.

⁵⁸ John Rutledge was probably sending Smith more information on the subject of bankruptcies. Rutledge was himself suffering financial reverses at this time. Rogers, *Evolution of a Federalist*, p. 283.

⁵⁹ Col. William Washington.

[February 1794]

My dear [sir],

On [torn] ⁶⁰ last I received your [Letters of 13th &] 26 January—hearing that night that the *Juliana*, which was at Marcus Hook, would get away the next day & that there was an opportunity of sending a Letter on board, I sat up late to write to you & dispatched my Packet early the next morning, but the Bearer of it arrived too late for the Vessel & my Packet was returned to me; I now write by Post, & I will send my other Letter via New York.

The proceedings of Drayton,61 Moultrie & Genet are all of a piece with that spirit of anarchy which has been infusing itself into our affairs gradually for a few years past & which increases with a rapidity correspondant with the increase of the anarchy in France. Notwithstanding the conduct of Genet towards this country & the information received that his conduct has been disapproved by his employers & that his recall may be hourly expected, yet a party still adheres to him, among whom are men, called by some, virtuous, respectable, & the best friends of the people: Mufflin, Dallas, Madison, Giles, Taylor, Munroe, &ca.62 associate with him or dine at his house & thus countenance him in his measures. Such is their devotion to France that every measure of G. Britain is exaggerated in order to excite indignation, false reports of things which never existed are fabricated, every measure of France which is hostile & injurious is palliated or contradicted, their commercial regulations professedly extorted by the actual situation of their affairs represented as intending favors & boons, in short no device is neglected which can on the one hand involve us in a war with the combined powers & subject us on the other to French influence.

The printers in some of the Cities have, I am persuaded, been secured to promote that influence—one in this city, who is constantly filling his paper with paragraphs of the nature above described, & who does not scruple to print the most indecent things against the President & the Spanish & other foreign Ministers has recently refused to publish some strictures against Genet, covering himself under the protection of his diplomatic privileges. [torn] those principles of [torn] which [torn] 68 country & more in confusion.

⁶⁰ One word missing.

⁶¹ Stephen Drayton like William Moultrie had been toying with Genêt.

⁶² Thomas Mifflin, Alexander James Dallas, James Madison, Willim Branch Giles, John Taylor, James Monroe.

⁶³ One word, two words, five words respectively missing.

It can't be denied that [most] of the measures of Britain are altogether unjustifiable, but it must be admitted by the candid that France has adopted measures which would have excited an universal clamor had they proceeded from other countries: I refer to the arbitrary decisions respecting our Vessels & to their detention in their ports: we have received advices lately that they stop all our Vessels bound to the ports of other nations & that they have laid a general embargo on our Vessels in their ports: They have violated the article of the Treaty respecting free Ships making free goods: this they justify on the ground of war, but it is only in a war that that article can be of any Service to us: the property of our citizens has been taken in the F. W. Indies, & bills given, which have never been paid; in France, property has been taken & the owners compelled to take assignats: these things however have been passed over in Silence—a partiality for that country & a hatred of Britain have supressed these complaints which such proceedings would justify. It is said that allowances must be made for these aggressions, on account of the war in which they are engaged; Britain makes the same excuse-among them, our Neutral rights are violated; what is to be done, are we strong enough to go to war & insist on the maintenance of our neutral rights; if the country is in a proper state of defence & the majority of our citizens are for war, whatever aversion I may have for that state of things, I must acquiesce, but if we are in a very unprotected & feeble state, without an Ally which can be of any aid to us, & we find from one end of the continent to the other a cry for neutrality & peace, I consider myself bound to avert by every possible means the horrors of war. I endeavour to hope that the present state of things will not last long, that it will be wise to weather this storm with prudence; I consider that when all the great nations of the world are in a state of convulsion & warfare, neutral nations will necessarily suffer in their commerce; if an individual goes into a crowd where [torn]64 makes it indispensable—[were we] in a condition to prevent it & were it probable that this state of war would last long, I should not hesitate but if the state of war, which creates many embarassments to us & insults to our national honor, offers us at the same time some indemnity (& it has been asserted on our floor) & not contradicted (by a commercial member of information, that our commerce on the whole is benefited by the war) if a war would be productive of infinitely more harm than good, if by a little temporizing & firm remonstrances we can escape the horrors of war, salvo honore, I am for procrastinating as long as possible: The Executive, we know, has directed firm remonstrance—the result is unknown—let us not precipitate.

⁶⁴ Two lines missing.

Every day the great powers of Europe are weakening themselves by war, we are strengthening ourselves by peace: let us even put up with some affronts for the present & when we find Britain detached from her present alliances, & France in a situation to assist us, we may with more propriety insist on a compliance with our reasonable demands. Under the present circumstances of Europe & the U.S. I am satisfied that a war against the combined powers (& a war with Britain will be such) will be attended with the most ruinous consequences: I may be mistaken—but I have weighed the business seriously; & I have spared no pains to make myself acquainted with our situation—a war too at this time would be undertaken with only half of our strength—such is the aversion to war throughout the country, particularly in the interior country, that our resources would be called forth with extreme difficulty. The Imposts would be destroyed & a Land Tax 65 necessary; the country would not bear one -whatever enthusiasm might prevail in the outset, yet it would neither be general nor would it last long: The more I have thought on this subject, the more I have been convinced [torn] the indignities [torn] a public [man] [torn] 66 of the question—he should compare—causes & [effects] -ends & means-the good & the evil-he should weigh our strength & that of those to whom we are to be opposed—the national mind—the national resources, the facility of recurring to them-&ca., &ca. I have done all this, & I feel myself not only restrained by every consideration of duty & patriotism from giving effect to the passions which exist, but also to counteract them by every reasonable argument. It was on this ground that my opposition to Madison's war regulations cloaked under the description of commercial regulations was founded. The arguments on which they were predicated were arguments for a declaration of war & would undoubtedly after cramping & embarassing our commerce, terminate in war.

Feb. 20th. Yesterday I sent off my packet again & I hope the Vessel (w'ch put back after leaving Marcus Hook) will succeed this time. This goes by the Post.

We have a great deal of late intelligence from Europe but nothing decisive—The news papers will inform you of particulars—they are inclosed to Mr. Darrell,⁸⁷ who will send them to you. There are no dispatches from Mr. Pinckney,⁶⁸ that I hear of.

We are now on the Frigates—the Question is what articles shall be

⁶⁵ A direct tax was levied in 1798 with rather disastrous results.

⁶⁶ One line, two words, five words respectively missing.

⁶⁷ Edward Darrell.

⁶⁸ Thomas Pinckney, minister to Great Britain.

dutied to raise the ways & means—those are selected w'ch will be best borne & w'ch will at the same time give affectual aid to our own manufactures.

LaForest is arrived as Consul General: in a New York paper is a Report made to the National Convention against Genet by Roberstpierre reprobating his Conduct in this country—but we hear nothing of his Successor.

Mrs. Izard is recovered & the family are well. It is uncertain when we shall adjourn; the Session will be long.

Believe me with affectionate regard, yours &ca.

Wm Smith

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia, April 28, 1794

Gillon yesterday brought me your Letter. I wish your account respecting the Republican Society ⁶⁹ may have the issue you expected, but I fear they are too fond of mischief to relinquish their project. I have given notice to Hamilton (Secretary) of the proposed applications & have no apprehensions on that head; the President knows the parties too well; I shall mention Mr. Shubrick,⁷⁰ if any such appointment be made.

We have this day received favorable accounts from the West Indies of the release of captured Vessels & the William Penn is arrived from London in a short passage—accounts mention that restitution & compensation will be made. I wrote you lately—I expect to hear soon from Columbia.

General Pinckney 71 in a Letter to Mr. Izard, seems to think that in my Speech on Madison's regulations I painted the *conduct* of Britain in glowing colours & threw the French into the back ground; having much respect for the General & wishing to preserve his esteem, I wish you would take an opportunity of explaining that I only painted their respective commercial systems or conduct & not their political—that I was warranted by Facts & that it was necessary to state them & the inferences arising from them in order that the House might be possessed of the *Truth* & reject measures founded on prejudice & ignorance & injurious to us.

Adieu-believe me very affectionately Yours

Wm Smith

⁶⁹ For the attitude of the Republican Society of S. C. see Rogers, Evolution of a Federalist, pp. 255-257, 266, 271.

For the Shubrick family of S. C. see The Papers of Henry Laurens, ed. P. M.
 Hamer and G. C. Rogers (Columbia, 1968), I, 184n.
 This is the beginning of the break with Gen Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.