

THE PAPERS OF
THOMAS
JEFFERSON

RETIREMENT SERIES

J. JEFFERSON LOONEY, EDITOR

ROBERT F. HAGGARD, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

JULIE L. LAUTENSCHLAGER AND DEBORAH BECKEL,
ASSISTANT EDITORS

LISA A. FRANCAVILLA, MANAGING EDITOR

6

March to November 1813

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE PAPERS OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON

RETIREMENT SERIES

THE PAPERS OF
Thomas Jefferson

RETIREMENT SERIES

Volume 6

11 March to 27 November 1813

J. JEFFERSON LOONEY, EDITOR

ROBERT F. HAGGARD, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

JULIE L. LAUTENSCHLAGER AND DEBORAH BECKEL,
ASSISTANT EDITORS

LISA A. FRANCAVILLA, MANAGING EDITOR

ELLEN C. HICKMAN AND PAULA VITERBO,

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS

CATHERINE COINER CRITTENDEN, SENIOR DIGITAL TECHNICIAN

SUSAN SPENGLER, DIGITAL TECHNICIAN



PRINCETON AND OXFORD
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

2009

Copyright © 2009 by Princeton University Press
Published by Princeton University Press, 41 William Street,
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

IN THE UNITED KINGDOM:
Princeton University Press, 3 Market Place,
Woodstock, Oxfordshire OX20 1SY

All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Jefferson, Thomas, 1743–1826

The papers of Thomas Jefferson. Retirement series / J. Jefferson Looney, editor . . .

[et al.] p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: v. 1. 4 March to 15 November 1809

v. 2. 16 November 1809 to 11 August 1810

v. 3. 12 August 1810 to 17 June 1811

v. 4. 18 June 1811 to 30 April 1812

v. 5. 1 May 1812 to 10 March 1813

v. 6. 11 March to 27 November 1813

ISBN 978-0-691-13772-8 (cloth: v. 6: alk. paper)

1. Jefferson, Thomas, 1743–1826—Archives. 2. Jefferson, Thomas, 1743–1826—
Correspondence. 3. Presidents—United States—Archives. 4. Presidents—
United States—Correspondence. 5. United States—Politics and government—
1809–1817—Sources. 6. United States—Politics and government—1817–1825—
Sources. I. Looney, J. Jefferson. II. Title. III. Title: Retirement series.

E302.J442 2004b

973.4'6'092—dc22 2004048327

This book has been composed in Monticello

Princeton University Press books are printed on
acid-free paper and meet the guidelines for permanence
and durability of the Committee on Production
Guidelines for Book Longevity of the
Council on Library Resources

Printed in the United States of America

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
ADOLPH S. OCHS
PUBLISHER OF THE NEW YORK TIMES
1896-1935
WHO BY THE EXAMPLE OF A RESPONSIBLE
PRESS ENLARGED AND FORTIFIED
THE JEFFERSONIAN CONCEPT
OF A FREE PRESS

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

LESLIE GREENE BOWMAN
THEODORE J. CRACKEL
CHARLES T. CULLEN
JAMES HORN
DANIEL P. JORDAN
PENELOPE J. KAISERLIAN
JOHN P. KAMINSKI
STANLEY N. KATZ

JOHN M. MURRIN
BARBARA B. OBERG
PETER S. ONUF
ANDREW J. O'SHAUGHNESSY
DAVID M. SEAMAN
JOHN C. A. STAGG
BRENT TARTER

THIS EDITION was made possible by a founding grant from The New York Times Company to Princeton University.

The Retirement Series is sponsored by the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc., of Charlottesville, Virginia. It was created with a six-year founding grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts to the Foundation and to Princeton University, enabling the former to take over responsibility for the volumes associated with this period. Leading gifts from Richard Gilder, Mrs. Martin S. Davis, and Thomas A. Saunders III have assured the continuation of the Retirement Series. For these essential donations, and for other indispensable aid generously given by librarians, archivists, scholars, and collectors of manuscripts, the Editors record their sincere gratitude.

FOREWORD

THE 516 DOCUMENTS printed in this volume cover the period from 11 March to 27 November 1813. Although Thomas Jefferson assured his old friend George Logan on 3 October that “an entire confidence in the abilities and integrity of those now administering the government, has kept me from the inclination, as well as the occasion, of intermeddling in the public affairs, even as a private citizen may justifiably do,” he found it impossible to disassociate himself from politics completely. As the conflict with Great Britain dragged on, he recommended to President James Madison that gunboats be used to protect the Chesapeake Bay and wrote three long letters to his son-in-law John Wayles Eppes, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the United States House of Representatives, urging the moral necessity of providing for the rapid repayment of the national debt and reining in a banking system he regarded as corrupt.

Despite his concern that the combined effect of the British naval blockade and the worst drought in half a century would ravage his personal finances, for the most part Jefferson remained active, optimistic, and healthy. As he commented to Abigail Adams on 22 August, except for recurring bouts of rheumatism “I have enjoyed general health; for I do not consider as a want of health the gradual decline & increasing debility which are the natural diathesis of age.” The septuagenarian found it difficult to walk long distances, but his love of horseback riding remained undiminished, and during this period he traveled three times to his beloved Poplar Forest retreat. Jefferson also continued to entertain a steady stream of visitors at Monticello, including the noted Portuguese botanist José Corrêa da Serra, who made the first of many visits to the mountaintop in the summer of 1813. Such friendships aside, family remained a high priority for the ex-president. He happily supervised the education of his grandchildren and other relations, procured a gold watch for the seventeenth birthday of his granddaughter Ellen W. Randolph (Coolidge), and exchanged more letters than usual with his younger brother Randolph Jefferson, who lived nearby in Buckingham County.

The volume and diversity of Jefferson’s other correspondence also showed no sign of abating. Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours forwarded a French translation of the treatise on education in the United States that he had written at Jefferson’s behest more than a decade earlier. Although he claimed to have little affinity for grammar, exchanges with John Waldo and John Wilson reveal Jefferson’s love

FOREWORD

of neologisms and well-developed ideas about how to improve English orthography. The engineer and inventor Robert Fulton sent a detailed description of the military potential of submarine weaponry, and Fulton's business partner, the entrepreneur John Devereux DeLacy, requested Jefferson's endorsement of their plan to use steamboats to improve navigation along the Atlantic seaboard. In a 13 August letter to Isaac McPherson, Jefferson sought to restrict the scope of Oliver Evans's milling patents with an eloquent call for limits on government-sanctioned intellectual-property rights. Furthermore, Jefferson responded favorably when Paul Allen, who was in the process of preparing Nicholas Biddle's *History of the Expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark* for publication, asked for biographical information about the two famed explorers. While he had little to offer Allen on William Clark, Jefferson supplied an account of Meriwether Lewis's life and career on 18 August that includes a penetrating study of Lewis's mental state leading up to his apparent suicide. Jefferson's narrative, which was printed in 1814 in the introductory section of Biddle's work, remains among the most frequently quoted primary-source documents regarding his former private secretary.

Finally, this volume contains the most intense period of communication between Jefferson and John Adams during their many years in retirement. Adams, who firmly believed, as he wrote on 15 July, that the two men "ought not to die, before We have explained ourselves to each other," sent Jefferson twenty-five letters between the latter part of May and the end of November, and Jefferson reciprocated with six lengthy replies. A few tense moments resulted when the older statesman read several decade-old letters from Jefferson to Joseph Priestley critical of Adams and his administration, which appeared without Jefferson's prior knowledge or permission in the recently published *Memoirs of the Late Reverend Theophilus Lindsey*. In general, however, Adams and Jefferson enjoyed considerable success in steering clear of recent political controversies. Instead, their letters abound with wide-ranging discussions of government, philosophy, religion, and a host of other topics. These exchanges, while sometimes threatening to degenerate into intellectual one-upmanship, provide real insight into their respective worldviews and their hopes and fears for the young nation they had done so much to create.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MANY INDIVIDUALS and institutions provided aid and encouragement during the preparation of this volume. Those who helped us to locate and acquire primary and secondary sources and answered our research questions include our colleagues at the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, especially Anna Berkes, Eric D. M. Johnson, Jack Robertson, Leah Stearns, and Endrina Tay of the Jefferson Library; Robert H. Smith Director of Restoration William L. Beiswanger; Director of the Center for Historic Plants Peggy Cornett; Director of Gardens and Grounds Peter Hatch; Conservator of Architecture and Furniture Robert L. Self; Shannon Senior Research Historian Lucia C. Stanton; staff archaeologist Derek Wheeler; and Foundation historian Gaye Wilson. Also instrumental to our work were Valerie-Anne Lutz van Ammers and Charles Greifenstein from the American Philosophical Society; Lynne Harrell at Brown University Library; David S. Svahn at Christ Church, Cooperstown, New York; Joshua A. Lascell of Dartmouth College Library; Martha N. Noblick, Historic Deerfield Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts; Suzanne Porter from Duke University Medical Center Library; Ralph Ketchum; Leslie Jordanger of the Louisa County Historical Society; Karen Kravcov Malcolm; Inge Dupont, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York; Jack Gary, Travis C. McDonald, and Gail Pond at the Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest; Presbyterian Cemetery, Lynchburg, Virginia; Christine W. Kitto and Daniel J. Linke from Princeton University; the South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Stephen G. Hague, Laura Keim, and Dennis Pickeral at Stenton, George Logan's home in Philadelphia; Pat O'Donnell of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College; John J. McCusker, Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas; Rebecca Dobyns, William Luebke, and Patricia Ferguson Watkinson from the Library of Virginia; John McClure at the Virginia Historical Society; and Steve Bookman, Eileen O'Toole, Susan Riggs, Amy Schindler, Ute Schechter, and Chandi Singer of the College of William and Mary. As always, we received advice, assistance, and encouragement from a large number of our fellow documentary editors, including Margaret Hogan and Sara Martin from the Adams Papers; Mary Hackett and Angela Kreider from the Madison Papers; and Martha King, John Little and Linda Monaco from the Jefferson Papers in Princeton. Genevieve Moene and Roland H. Simon transcribed and translated the French letters included in this volume; David T. Gies, Jennifer McCune, and Pedro Alvarez de Miranda performed a similar service

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

for those in Spanish; John F. Miller assisted us with Latin quotations; Jonathan T. Hine and Rosanna M. Giammanco Frongia provided aid with Italian; Peter S. Baker advised us on several words in Anglo-Saxon; and Coulter George helped us puzzle out passages in Greek. The maps of Jefferson's Virginia and Albemarle County were created by Rick Britton. The other illustrations that appear in this volume were assembled with the assistance of Barbara Bair and Bonnie Coles from the Library of Congress; Peter Drummey and Elaine Grublin at the Massachusetts Historical Society; Roy Eddey and Jill Slight of the New-York Historical Society; Edward Gaynor, Margaret Hrabec, and Regina Rush from the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia; and Christina Deane and her colleagues at the University of Virginia's Rare Materials Digital Services. Stephen Perkins of Dataformat.com continued raising us to more sophisticated digital approaches. Our departing Retirement Series colleague Susan Holbrook Perdue contributed to this volume in a variety of ways, as did new arrival Andrea R. Gray. Finally, our colleagues and friends at Princeton University Press have gone the extra miles to keep this series and this edition at the highest level.

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

1. RENDERING THE TEXT

From its inception *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* has insisted on high standards of accuracy in rendering text, but modifications in textual policy and editorial apparatus have been implemented as different approaches have become accepted in the field or as a more faithful rendering has become technically feasible. Prior discussions of textual policy appeared in Vols. 1:xxix–xxxiv, 22:vii–xi, 24:vii–viii, and 30:xiii–xiv of the First Series.

The textual method of the Retirement Series will adhere to the more literal approach adopted in Volume 30 of the parent edition. Original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are retained as written. Such idiosyncrasies as Jefferson's failure to capitalize the beginnings of most of his sentences and abbreviations like "mr" are preserved, as are his preference for "it's" to "its" and his characteristic spellings of "knolege," "paiment," and "recieve." Modern usage is adopted in cases where intent is impossible to determine, an issue that arises most often in the context of capitalization. Some so-called slips of the pen are corrected, but the original reading is recorded in a subjoined textual note. Jefferson and others sometimes signaled a change in thought within a paragraph with extra horizontal space, and this is rendered by a three-em space. Blanks left for words and not subsequently filled by the authors are represented by a space approximating the length of the blank. Gaps, doubtful readings of illegible or damaged text, and wording supplied from other versions or by editorial conjecture are explained in the source note or in numbered textual notes. Foreign-language documents, the vast majority of which are in French during the retirement period, are transcribed in full as faithfully as possible, and followed by a full translation.

Two modifications from past practice bring this series still closer to the original manuscripts. Underscored text is presented as such rather than being converted to italics. Superscripts are also preserved rather than being lowered to the baseline. In most cases of superscripting, the punctuation that is below or next to the superscripted letters is dropped, since it is virtually impossible to determine what is a period or dash as opposed to a flourish under, over, or adjacent to superscripted letters.

Limits to the more literal method are still recognized, however, and

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

readability and consistency with past volumes are prime considerations. In keeping with the basic design implemented in the first volume of the *Papers*, salutations and signatures continue to display in large and small capitals rather than upper- and lowercase letters. Expansion marks over abbreviations are silently omitted. With very rare exceptions, deleted text and information on which words were added during the process of composition is not displayed within the document transcription. Based on the Editors' judgment of their significance, such emendations are either described in numbered textual notes or ignored. Datelines for letters are consistently printed at the head of the text, with a comment in the descriptive note when they have been moved. Address information, endorsements, and dockets are quoted or described in the source note rather than reproduced in the document proper.

2. TEXTUAL DEVICES

The following devices are employed throughout the work to clarify the presentation of the text.

[...]	Text missing and not conjecturable. The size of gaps longer than a word or two is estimated in annotation.
[]	Number or part of number missing or illegible.
[roman]	Conjectural reading for missing or illegible matter. A question mark follows when the reading is doubtful.
[<i>italic</i>]	Editorial comment inserted in the text.
< <i>italic</i> >	Matter deleted in the manuscript but restored in our text.

3. DESCRIPTIVE SYMBOLS

The following symbols are employed throughout the work to describe the various kinds of manuscript originals. When a series of versions is included, the first to be recorded is the version used for the printed text.

Dft	draft (usually a composition or rough draft; multiple drafts, when identifiable as such, are designated "2d Dft," etc.)
Dupl	duplicate
MS	manuscript (arbitrarily applied to most documents other than letters)
PoC	polygraph copy

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

PrC	press copy
RC	recipient's copy
SC	stylograph copy

All manuscripts of the above types are assumed to be in the hand of the author of the document to which the descriptive symbol pertains. If not, that fact is stated. On the other hand, the following types of manuscripts are assumed not to be in the hand of the author, and exceptions will be noted:

FC	file copy (applied to all contemporary copies retained by the author or his agents)
Tr	transcript (applied to all contemporary and later copies except file copies; period of transcription, unless clear by implication, will be given when known)

4. LOCATION SYMBOLS

The locations of documents printed in this edition from originals in private hands and from printed sources are recorded in self-explanatory form in the descriptive note following each document. The locations of documents printed or referenced from originals held by public and private institutions in the United States are recorded by means of the symbols used in the *MARC Code List for Organizations* (2000) maintained by the Library of Congress. The symbols DLC and MHi by themselves stand for the collections of Jefferson Papers proper in these repositories. When texts are drawn from other collections held by these two institutions, the names of those collections are added. Location symbols for documents held by institutions outside the United States are given in a subjoined list. The lists of symbols are limited to the institutions represented by documents printed or referred to in this volume.

CsmH	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
	JF Jefferson File
	JF-BA Jefferson File, Bixby Acquisition
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
DeGH	Hagley Museum and Library, Greenville, Delaware
DeHi	Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
	TJ Papers Thomas Jefferson Papers (this is assumed if not stated, but also given as indicated to furnish the precise location of an undated, misdated, or otherwise problematic document,

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

thus “DLC: TJ Papers, 213:38071–2” represents volume 213, folios 38071 and 38072 as the collection was arranged at the time the first microfilm edition was made in 1944–45. Access to the microfilm edition of the collection as it was rearranged under the Library’s Presidential Papers Program is provided by the *Index to the Thomas Jefferson Papers* [1976])

DNA	National Archives, Washington, D.C., with identifications of series (preceded by record group number) as follows:
	CS Census Schedules
	LAR Letters of Application and Recommendation
	LRSW Letters Received by the Secretary of War
	MLRSN Miscellaneous Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy
	NFMC Notes to Foreign Ministers and Consuls
	RWP Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files
DNT	National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C.
FTaSA	Florida State Archives, Tallahassee
ICPRCU	Polish Roman Catholic Union, Chicago, Illinois
L-Ar	Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge
LNT	Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana
MBCo	Countway Library of Medicine, Boston, Massachusetts
MBPLi	Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts
MDeeP	Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, Massachusetts
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MoSHi	Missouri History Museum, Saint Louis
	TJC Thomas Jefferson Collection
	TJC-BC Thomas Jefferson Collection, text formerly in Bixby Collection

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

MoSW	Washington University, Saint Louis, Missouri
NCaS	Saint Lawrence University, Canton, New York
NcD	Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York City
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, New Jersey
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey
NN	New York Public Library, New York City
NNGL	Gilder Lehrman Collection, New York City
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PPGi	Girard College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PPRF	Rosenback Foundation, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PSC-Hi	Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania
PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PWW	Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania
ScCoAH	South Carolina, Department of Archives and History, Columbia
TxH	Houston Public Library, Houston, Texas
TxU	University of Texas, Austin
Vi	Library of Virginia, Richmond
ViCMRL	Thomas Jefferson Library, Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc., Charlottesville, Virginia
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond
ViMtvL	Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, Virginia
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville
TJP	Thomas Jefferson Papers
TJP-Ca	Thomas Jefferson Papers, text formerly in Cabell Papers
TJP-CC	Thomas Jefferson Papers, text formerly in Carr-Cary Papers
TJP-ER	Thomas Jefferson Papers, text formerly in Edgehill-Randolph Papers
TJP-LBJM	Thomas Jefferson Papers, Thomas Jefferson's Legal Brief in

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

Jefferson v. Michie, 1804–13,
deposited by Mrs. Augustina
David Carr Mills

ViW	College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia	
	TC-JP	Jefferson Papers, Tucker-Coleman Collection
	TJP	Thomas Jefferson Papers
ViWn	Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia	
VtMiM	Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont	

5. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The following abbreviations and symbols are commonly employed in the annotation throughout the work.

Lb	Letterbook (used to indicate texts copied or assembled into bound volumes)
RG	Record Group (used in designating the location of documents in the Library of Virginia and the National Archives)
SJL	Jefferson's "Summary Journal of Letters" written and received for the period 11 Nov. 1783 to 25 June 1826 (in DLC: TJ Papers). This epistolary record, kept in Jefferson's hand, has been checked against the TJ Editorial Files. It is to be assumed that all outgoing letters are recorded in SJL unless there is a note to the contrary. When the date of receipt of an incoming letter is recorded in SJL, it is incorporated in the notes. Information and discrepancies revealed in SJL but not found in the letter itself are also noted. Missing letters recorded in SJL are accounted for in the notes to documents mentioning them, in related documents, or in an appendix
TJ	Thomas Jefferson
TJ Editorial Files	Photoduplicates and other editorial materials in the office of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, Jefferson Library, Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Charlottesville
d	Penny or denier
f	Florin
£	Pound sterling or livre, depending upon context (in doubtful cases, a clarifying note will be given)
s	Shilling or sou (also expressed as /)
tt	Livre Tournois
⌘	Per (occasionally used for pro, pre)

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

6. SHORT TITLES

The following list includes short titles of works cited frequently in this edition. Since it is impossible to anticipate all the works to be cited in abbreviated form, the list is revised from volume to volume.

Acts of Assembly *Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia* (cited by session; title varies over time)

ANB John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, 1999, 24 vols.

Annals *Annals of the Congress of the United States: The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States . . . Compiled from Authentic Materials*, Washington, D.C., Gales & Seaton, 1834–56, 42 vols. (all editions are undependable and pagination varies from one printing to another. Citations given below are to the edition mounted on the American Memory website of the Library of Congress and give the date of the debate as well as page numbers)

APS American Philosophical Society

ASP *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States*, 1832–61, 38 vols.

Axelson, *Virginia Postmasters* Edith F. Axelson, *Virginia Postmasters and Post Offices, 1789–1832*, 1991

BDSCHR Walter B. Edgar and others, eds., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 1974– , 5 vols.

Betts, *Farm Book* Edwin M. Betts, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Farm Book*, 1953 (in two separately paginated sections; unless otherwise specified, references are to the second section)

Betts, *Garden Book* Edwin M. Betts, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book, 1766–1824*, 1944

Biddle, *Lewis and Clark Expedition* Nicholas Biddle, *History of the Expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Performed during the years 1804–5–6. By order of the Government of the United States*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1814; Sowerby, no. 4168; Poor, *Jefferson's Library*, 7 (no. 370)

Biog. Dir. Cong. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989*, 1989

Biographie universelle *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, new ed., 1843–65, 45 vols.

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

- Black's Law Dictionary* Bryan A. Garner and others, eds., *Black's Law Dictionary*, 7th ed., 1999
- Brant, *Madison* Irving Brant, *James Madison*, 1941–61, 6 vols.
- Brigham, *American Newspapers* Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820*, 1947, 2 vols.
- Bruce, *University* Philip Alexander Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia 1819–1919: The Lengthened Shadow of One Man*, 1920–22, 5 vols.
- Brunck, *Gnomici Poetæ Græci* Richard François Philippe Brunck, ed., *Ἠθικὴ Ποιησις: Sive Gnomici Poetæ Græci*, Strasbourg, 1784; Sowerby, no. 4466; Poor, *Jefferson's Library*, 12 (no. 780); Adams's copy at MBPLi
- Bush, *Life Portraits* Alfred L. Bush, *The Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson*, rev. ed., 1987
- Callahan, *U.S. Navy* Edward W. Callahan, *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and of the Marine Corps from 1775 to 1900*, 1901, repr. 1969
- Chambers, *Poplar Forest* S. Allen Chambers, *Poplar Forest & Thomas Jefferson*, 1993
- Chandler, *Campaigns of Napoleon* David G. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon*, 1966
- Claiborne, *Letter Books* Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801–1816*, 1917, repr. 1972, 6 vols.
- Clay, *Papers* James F. Hopkins and others, eds., *The Papers of Henry Clay*, 1959–1992, 11 vols.
- Connelly, *Napoleonic France* Owen Connelly and others, eds., *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799–1815*, 1985
- DAB Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1928–36, 20 vols.
- DBF *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 1933– , 19 vols.
- Destutt de Tracy, *Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws* Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy, *A Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. prepared for press from the Original Manuscript, in the hands of the Publisher. To which are annexed, Observations on the Thirty-First Book, by the late M. Condorcet; and Two Letters of Helvetius, on the merits of the same work*, Philadelphia, 1811; Sowerby, no. 2327; Poor, *Jefferson's Library*, 10 (no. 623)
- Dexter, *Yale Biographies* Francis Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, 1885–1912, 6 vols.

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

- DNB** Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885–1901, 22 vols.
- Dolley Madison**, *Selected Letters* David B. Mattern and Holly C. Shulman, eds., *The Selected Letters of Dolley Payne Madison*, 2003
- DSB** Charles C. Gillispie, ed., *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 1970–80, 16 vols.
- DVB** John T. Kneebone and others, eds., *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, 1998– , 3 vols.
- EG** Dickinson W. Adams and Ruth W. Lester, eds., *Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels*, 1983, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Second Series
- Fairclough**, *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica* H. Rushton Fairclough, trans., *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, Loeb Classical Library, 1926, repr. 1970
- Fairclough**, *Virgil* H. Rushton Fairclough, trans., *Virgil*, ed. rev. by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, 1999–2000, 2 vols.
- Ford** Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Letterpress Edition, 1892–99, 10 vols.
- Gaines**, *Randolph* William H. Gaines Jr., *Thomas Mann Randolph: Jefferson's Son-in-Law*, 1966
- Gerber**, *Greek Elegiac Poetry* Douglas E. Gerber, trans., *Greek Elegiac Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, Loeb Classical Library, 1999
- Haggard**, “Henderson Heirs” Robert F. Haggard, “Thomas Jefferson v. The Heirs of Bennett Henderson, 1795–1818: A Case Study in Caveat Emptor,” *MACH*, 63 (2005): 1–29
- HAW** Henry A. Washington, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 1853–54, 9 vols.
- Heidler and Heidler**, *War of 1812* David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds., *Encyclopedia of the War of 1812*, 1997
- Heitman**, *Continental Army* Francis B. Heitman, comp., *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783*, rev. ed., 1914
- Heitman**, *U.S. Army* Francis B. Heitman, comp., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 1903, 2 vols.
- Hening** William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia*, Richmond, 1809–23, 13 vols.
- Hortus Third** Liberty Hyde Bailey, Ethel Zoe Bailey, and the staff of the Liberty Hyde Bailey Hortorium, Cornell University,

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

- Hortus Third: A Concise Dictionary of Plants Cultivated in the United States and Canada*, 1976
- Jackson, *Letters of Lewis and Clark* Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783–1854*, 2d ed., 1978, 2 vols.
- Jackson, *Papers* Sam B. Smith, Harold D. Moser, Daniel Feller, and others, eds., *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, 1980– , 7 vols.
- Jefferson Correspondence*, Bixby Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Thomas Jefferson Correspondence Printed from the Originals in the Collections of William K. Bixby*, 1916
- JEP *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States*
- JHD *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia*
- JHR *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*
- JS *Journal of the Senate of the United States*
- JSV *Journal of the Senate of Virginia*
- Kimball, *Jefferson, Architect* Fiske Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*, 1916
- L & B Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert E. Bergh, eds., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Library Edition, 1903–04, 20 vols.
- Latrobe, *Papers* John C. Van Horne and others, eds., *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, 1984–88, 3 vols.
- Lay, *Architecture* K. Edward Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country: Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia*, 2000
- LCB Douglas L. Wilson, ed., *Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book*, 1989, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Second Series
- Leavitt, *Poplar Forest* Messrs. Leavitt, *Catalogue of a Private Library . . . Also, The Remaining Portion of the Library of the Late Thomas Jefferson . . . offered by his grandson, Francis Eppes, of Poplar Forest, Va.*, 1873
- Leonard, *General Assembly* Cynthia Miller Leonard, comp., *The General Assembly of Virginia, July 30, 1619–January 11, 1978: A Bicentennial Register of Members*, 1978
- List of Patents* A *List of Patents granted by the United States from April 10, 1790, to December 31, 1836*, 1872
- Longworth's New York Directory* Longworth's *American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory*. New York, 1796–1842 (title varies; cited by year of publication)
- MACH *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, 1940– (title

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

- varies: issued until 1951 as *Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society*)
- Madison, *Papers* William T. Hutchinson, Robert A. Rutland, John C. A. Stagg, and others, eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, 1962– , 31 vols.
 Congress. Ser., 17 vols.
 Pres. Ser., 6 vols.
 Sec. of State Ser., 8 vols
- Malone, *Jefferson* Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and his Time*, 1948–81, 6 vols.
- Marshall, *Papers* Herbert A. Johnson, Charles T. Cullen, Charles F. Hobson, and others, eds., *The Papers of John Marshall*, 1974–2006, 12 vols.
- Mazzei, *Writings* Margherita Marchione and others, eds., *Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings and Correspondence*, 1983, 3 vols.
- MB James A. Bear Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton, eds., *Jefferson's Memorandum Books: Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany*, 1767–1826, 1997, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Second Series
- McCullough, *Adams* David McCullough, *John Adams*, 2001
- Memorial to Congress on Evans' Patent* *Memorial to Congress of sundry citizens of the United States, praying relief from the oppressive operation of Oliver Evans' Patent*, Baltimore, 1813
- Notes*, ed. Peden Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden, 1955
- OCD* Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2003
- ODNB* H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, 60 vols.
- OED* James A. H. Murray, J. A. Simpson, E. S. C. Weiner, and others, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., 1989, 20 vols.
- Papenfuse, *Maryland Public Officials* Edward C. Papenfuse and others, eds., *An Historical List of Public Officials of Maryland*, 1990– , 1 vol.
- Peale, *Papers* Lillian B. Miller and others, eds., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, 1983– , 5 vols. in 6
- Poor, *Jefferson's Library* Nathaniel P. Poor, *Catalogue. President Jefferson's Library*, 1829
- Priestley, *Heathen Philosophy* Joseph Priestley, *The Doctrines of Heathen Philosophy compared with those of Revelation*, Northumberland, Pa., 1804; Sowerby, no. 1528

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

- Princetonians* James McLachlan and others, eds., *Princetonians: A Biographical Dictionary*, 1976–90, 5 vols.
- PTJ* Julian P. Boyd, Charles T. Cullen, John Catanzariti, Barbara B. Oberg, and others, eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 1950– , 34 vols.
- PW* Wilbur S. Howell, ed., *Jefferson's Parliamentary Writings*, 1988, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Second Series
- Randall, *Life* Henry S. Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, 1858, 3 vols.
- Randolph, *Domestic Life* Sarah N. Randolph, *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson, Compiled from Family Letters and Reminiscences by His Great-Granddaughter*, 1871
- Shackelford, *Descendants* George Green Shackelford, ed., *Collected Papers to Commemorate Fifty Years of the Monticello Association of the Descendants of Thomas Jefferson*, 1965
- Sibley's Harvard Graduates* John L. Sibley and others, eds., *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 1873– , 18 vols.
- Sowerby E. Millicent Sowerby, comp., *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, 1952–59, 5 vols.
- Sprague, *American Pulpit* William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 1857–69, 9 vols.
- Stagg, *Borderlines in Borderlands* John C. A. Stagg, *Borderlines in Borderlands: James Madison and the Spanish-American Frontier, 1776–1821*, 2009
- Stagg, *Madison's War* John C. A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830*, 1983
- Stein, *Worlds* Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 1993
- Terr. Papers* Clarence E. Carter and John Porter Bloom, eds., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 1934–75, 28 vols.
- TJR* Thomas Jefferson Randolph, ed., *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 1829, 4 vols.
- True, “Agricultural Society” Rodney H. True, “Minute Book of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle,” *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918* (1921), 1:261–349
- U.S. Reports* *Cases Argued and Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States*, 1790– (title varies; originally issued in distinct editions of separately numbered volumes with *U.S. Reports*

EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

volume numbers retroactively assigned; original volume numbers here given parenthetically)

U.S. Statutes at Large Richard Peters, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States . . . 1789 to March 3, 1845, 1855–56*, 8 vols.

Va. Reports *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Court of Appeals of Virginia*, 1798– (title varies; originally issued in distinct editions of separately numbered volumes with *Va. Reports* volume numbers retroactively assigned; original volume numbers here given parenthetically)

VMHB *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 1893–

Washington, Papers W. W. Abbot, Dorothy Twohig, Philander D. Chase, Theodore J. Crackel, and others, eds., *The Papers of George Washington*, 1983– , 49 vols.

Colonial Ser., 10 vols.

Confederation Ser., 6 vols.

Pres. Ser., 14 vols.

Retirement Ser., 4 vols.

Rev. War Ser., 18 vols.

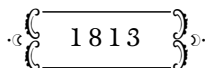
William and Mary Provisional List *A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. From 1693 to 1888*, 1941

WMQ *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1892–

Woods, Albemarle Edgar Woods, *Albemarle County in Virginia*, 1901, repr. 1991

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS	xi
MAPS	xxxix
ILLUSTRATIONS	xliii
JEFFERSON CHRONOLOGY	2



To Alrichs & Dixon, <i>11 March</i>	3
To Lewis Brown, <i>11 March</i>	3
To Patrick Gibson, <i>11 March</i>	4
To Jeremiah A. Goodman, <i>11 March</i>	4
To Samuel J. Harrison, <i>11 March</i>	5
To John L. Thomas, <i>11 March</i>	5
To William Caruthers, <i>12 March</i>	6
From John H. Cocke, <i>12 March</i>	7
To John H. Cocke, <i>12 March</i>	7
From Margaret B. Bonneville, <i>13 March</i>	8
From William A. Burwell, enclosing Instructions for the Use of a Carding Machine, <i>13 March</i>	9
From Dabney Carr, <i>14 March</i>	12
From Sarah Grotjan, <i>15 March</i>	12
From Benjamin Rush, <i>15 March</i>	13
From André Thouiin, <i>15 March</i>	17
Will of Thomas Mann Randolph, <i>16 March</i>	18
From Patrick Gibson, <i>17 March</i>	20
From Charles Rogers, [<i>ca. 17 March</i>]	21
From Alrichs & Dixon, <i>18 March</i>	24
From Samuel J. Harrison, <i>19 March</i>	24
List of 1812 Tobacco Crop Sold to Samuel J. Harrison, with Thomas Jefferson's Notes, [<i>after 19 March</i>]	25
George Poindexter to James Monroe, [<i>before 20 March</i>]	26
From Benjamin Smith Barton, <i>23 March</i>	27
From Thomas Lehré, <i>23 March</i>	28
From Thomas Paine McMahon, <i>24 March</i>	29
From Samuel J. Harrison, <i>25 March</i>	31
From Robert Patterson, <i>25 March</i>	31

CONTENTS

From William Caruthers, <i>26 March</i>	31
From John B. Colvin, <i>26 March</i>	32
From Louis Philippe Gallot de Lormerie, <i>26 March</i>	33
Will of Anne Scott Marks, <i>26 March</i>	34
Conveyance of Part of Shadwell to Thomas Jefferson Randolph, <i>26 March</i>	35
Conveyance of Slaves to Thomas Jefferson Randolph, <i>26 March</i>	36
From Benjamin Waterhouse, <i>26 March</i>	37
From Samuel & James Leitch, <i>27 March</i>	40
From John Waldo, <i>27 March</i>	40
From Edward Bolling, <i>29 March</i>	42
From Alexander Garrett, <i>29 March</i>	43
To Patrick Gibson, <i>29 March</i>	43
From Rodolphus Dickinson, <i>30 March</i>	44
To Louis H. Girardin, <i>31 March</i>	44
From David Bailie Warden, <i>1 April</i>	45
To Benjamin Smith Barton, <i>3 April</i>	46
To Margaret B. Bonneville, <i>3 April</i>	47
To Sarah Grotjan, <i>3 April</i>	47
To Samuel J. Harrison, <i>3 April</i>	48
To Louis Philippe Gallot de Lormerie, <i>3 April</i>	49
To Thomas Paine McMahon, <i>3 April</i>	49
To Craven Peyton, <i>3 April</i>	50
From Isaac A. Coles, <i>4 April</i>	51
To William Duane, <i>4 April</i>	52
Promissory Note to Edmund Bacon, <i>7 April</i>	54
To Anthony Finley, <i>7 April</i>	55
From Robert Fulton, <i>7 April</i>	55
To John Clarke, <i>8 April</i>	57
To John B. Colvin, <i>8 April</i>	58
To Robert Patterson, <i>8 April</i>	59
To Benjamin Rush, <i>8 April</i>	60
To Thomas Voigt, <i>9 April</i>	61
To John Devereux DeLacy, <i>10 April</i>	62
To William Foushee, <i>10 April</i>	63
To Thomas Lehré, <i>10 April</i>	63
To James Madison, <i>10 April</i>	64
From John Wayles Baker, <i>11 April</i>	64
From Francis Eppes, <i>11 April</i>	65
To Patrick Gibson, <i>16 April</i>	66
To Samuel Brown, <i>17 April</i>	66
To William Cocke, <i>17 April</i>	67

CONTENTS

To Charles Willson Peale, <i>17 April</i>	68
To James Walker, <i>17 April</i>	70
To John Wayles Eppes, <i>18 April</i>	71
From Elijah Griffiths, <i>19 April</i>	73
From John Vaughan, <i>19 April</i>	75
To William DuVal, <i>20 April</i>	75
To David Michie, <i>20 April</i>	76
From Thomas H. Palmer, <i>20 April</i>	77
To Joseph Hornsby, <i>21 April</i>	78
From Thomas Lehré, <i>22 April</i>	80
From Valentín de Foronda, <i>23 April</i>	80
From David Michie, <i>23 April</i>	81
To Samuel Brown, <i>24 April</i>	81
To Rodolphus Dickinson, <i>24 April</i>	82
From Robert Patterson, <i>24 April</i>	82
To John Vaughan, <i>24 April</i>	84
To John Barnes, <i>25 April</i>	84
To John Brown, <i>25 April</i>	85
To Richard Fitzhugh, <i>25 April</i>	86
To William Short, <i>25 April</i>	86
To John Wayles Eppes, <i>26 April</i>	88
From the Seventy-Six Association, <i>26 April</i>	88
From Patrick Gibson, <i>28 April</i>	90
From John Barnes, <i>29 April</i>	91
From John Barnes, <i>29 April</i>	91
From John Mason, <i>30 April</i>	92
To Archibald Robertson, <i>30 April</i>	92
To Charles Clay, <i>1 May</i>	93
From Charles Clay, <i>1 May</i>	94
From Archibald Robertson, <i>1 May</i>	94
From Benjamin Waterhouse, <i>1 May</i>	95
From Louis Philippe Gallot de Lormerie, [<i>ca. 2 May</i>]	102
From Patrick Gibson, <i>4 May</i>	106
To Charles Clay, <i>6 May</i>	106
To Martha Jefferson Randolph, <i>6 May</i>	106
From William DuVal, <i>7 May</i>	107
From Edmund Randolph, <i>8 May</i>	108
From Richard Fitzhugh, <i>9 May</i>	109
To Robert Richardson, <i>10 May</i>	109
To Elizabeth Trist, <i>10 May</i>	110
From John Winn, <i>10 May</i>	111
From Charles Clay, <i>13 May</i>	111

CONTENTS

From William Cocke, <i>15 May</i>	112
From Thomas Lehré, <i>15 May</i>	113
From Patrick Gibson, <i>17 May</i>	113
From Hugh Holmes, <i>17 May</i>	114
To Edmund Randolph, <i>17 May</i>	115
To John Vaughan, <i>17 May</i>	115
From James P. Cocke, <i>18 May</i>	116
To Patrick Gibson, <i>20 May</i>	116
To Thomas Voigt, <i>20 May</i>	117
To John Barnes, <i>21 May</i>	118
To Nicolas G. Dufief, <i>21 May</i>	119
To James Madison, <i>21 May</i>	119
To Samuel Pleasants, <i>21 May</i>	122
To James P. Cocke, <i>22 May</i>	122
From John Eliason, <i>22 May</i>	123
To Elijah Griffiths, <i>22 May</i>	123
To Thomas H. Palmer, <i>22 May</i>	124
To the Seventy-Six Association, <i>22 May</i>	124
To James Walker, <i>22 May</i>	125
From Joseph Delaplaine, <i>23 May</i>	125
From Lucy F. Smith, <i>23 May</i>	126
From Samuel Brown, <i>25 May</i>	127
From John Wayles Eppes, <i>25 May</i>	129
To Randolph Jefferson, <i>25 May</i>	132
From Regnault de Bécourt, <i>26 May</i>	133
From Randolph Jefferson, <i>26 May</i>	134
To Lancelot Minor, <i>26 May</i>	135
To John Adams, <i>27 May</i>	137
To Richard Fitzhugh, <i>27 May</i>	139
To Madame de Staël Holstein, <i>28 May</i>	140
From John Adams, <i>29 May</i>	145
From Patrick Gibson, <i>29 May</i>	147
To John Graham, <i>29 May</i>	147
From John L. Thomas, <i>29 May</i>	148
To Joseph Delaplaine, <i>30 May</i>	148
To John Eliason, <i>30 May</i>	149
From Tadeusz Kosciuszko, <i>30 May</i>	150
To Bernard McMahan, <i>30 May</i>	152
To David Michie, <i>30 May</i>	152
From David Michie, <i>30 May</i>	153
To James Monroe, <i>30 May</i>	154
To William Short, <i>30 May</i>	155

CONTENTS

From Nicolas G. Dufief, enclosing Account for Books, <i>31 May</i>	156
From Tobias Lear, <i>31 May</i>	157
To Richard Rush, <i>31 May</i>	160
To Lucy F. Smith, <i>31 May</i>	161
Account with Reuben Perry for Work on Main House at Poplar Forest, [<i>ca. May</i>]	162
From John Martin Baker, <i>1 June</i>	163
From Thomas Clark, <i>1 June</i>	165
From John Barnes, <i>3 June</i> , enclosing Account with John Barnes, <i>31 May</i>	166
From Mathew Carey, <i>3 June</i>	167
From John Barnes, <i>4 June</i>	168
From Patrick Gibson, <i>5 June</i>	168
From James Madison, <i>6 June</i>	169
From John Taggart, <i>6 June</i>	170
From James Monroe, <i>7 June</i>	171
From John L. E. W. Shecut, <i>8 June</i>	179
From John Adams, <i>10 June</i>	180
To Eli Alexander, <i>10 June</i>	181
From Chapman Johnson, <i>10 June</i>	182
From John Adams, <i>11 June</i>	183
From Elbridge Gerry, <i>11 June</i>	184
To Patrick Gibson, <i>12 June</i>	185
From Richard Rush, <i>12 June</i>	186
From Samuel Brown, <i>13 June</i>	187
From Louis Philippe Gallot de Lormerie, <i>13 June</i>	190
From John Adams, <i>14 June</i>	191
To John Adams, <i>15 June</i>	193
To Bernard McMahon, <i>15 June</i>	195
Bill of Complaint in <i>Jefferson v. Michie</i> , <i>16 June</i>	196
From James Monroe, <i>16 June</i>	201
To Jeremiah A. Goodman, <i>17 June</i>	203
To Richard Rush, <i>17 June</i>	203
To William Short, <i>18 June</i>	204
To Mathew Carey, <i>19 June</i>	206
To Elbridge Gerry, <i>19 June</i>	207
To Tobias Lear, <i>19 June</i>	208
To James Monroe, <i>19 June</i>	209
To John Taggart, <i>19 June</i>	211
From John Barnes, <i>20 June</i>	211
To Regnault de Bécourt, <i>20 June</i>	213
To Joseph Hunter, <i>20 June</i>	213

CONTENTS

From Joseph Hunter, <i>20 June</i>	213
To Randolph Jefferson, <i>20 June</i>	214
From Randolph Jefferson, <i>21 June</i>	215
From Chapman Johnson, <i>21 June</i>	215
To James Madison, <i>21 June</i>	216
From Benjamin Romaine, <i>23 June</i>	218
To Nicolas G. Dufief, <i>24 June</i>	219
To John Wayles Eppes, <i>24 June</i>	220
To James Monroe, <i>24 June</i>	226
From John Adams, <i>25 June</i>	226
From John Strode, <i>25 June</i>	229
From Frank Carr, <i>26 June</i>	230
From John Hopkins, <i>26 June</i>	231
To John Adams, <i>27 June</i>	231
From Richard Rush, <i>27 June</i>	235
From John Adams, <i>28 June</i>	236
To John Barnes, <i>28 June</i>	239
From John Graham, <i>28 June</i>	240
From James Monroe, <i>28 June</i>	241
From Robert Fulton, <i>29 June</i>	243
From Thomas Lehrs, <i>29 June</i>	250
To John L. E. W. Shecut, <i>29 June</i>	251
From Caspar Wistar, <i>29 June</i>	252
From John Adams, <i>30 June</i>	253
From James Monroe, <i>30 June</i>	256
Account with Reuben Perry for Work on Barn at Monticello, <i>1 July</i>	257
From Thomas Voigt, <i>1 July</i>	258
From John Adams, [<i>ca. 3–5</i>] <i>July</i>	258
From Englehart Cruse, enclosing Drawing and Explanation of an Apparatus for Blowing Up Ships, <i>3 July</i>	260
From John Barnes, <i>6 July</i>	262
From Elbridge Gerry, <i>6 July</i>	263
From Elizabeth Trist, <i>7 July</i>	264
From Dabney Carr, <i>8 July</i>	268
From John Devereux DeLacy, <i>8 July</i>	268
From Peter Derieux, <i>8 July</i>	269
From Robert Fulton, <i>8 July</i> , enclosing Stephen Decatur's Opinion of Robert Fulton's Experiments with Underwater Artillery, <i>6 May</i>	272
From William Short, <i>8 July</i>	274
From John Adams, <i>9 July</i>	277

CONTENTS

From Nicolas G. Dufief, <i>10 July</i>	280
To John Graham, <i>11 July</i>	281
From Randolph Jefferson, <i>11 July</i>	282
To Benjamin Romaine, <i>11 July</i>	282
To Richard Rush, <i>11 July</i>	283
From John Adams, <i>12 July</i>	283
To Randolph Jefferson, <i>12 July</i>	285
From John Adams, <i>13 July</i>	286
To James Barbour, <i>13 July</i>	288
From Mathew Carey, <i>13 July</i>	289
To James Madison, <i>13 July</i>	289
From Rembrandt Peale, <i>13 July</i>	291
To John Strode, <i>13 July</i>	292
To Samuel Brown, <i>14 July</i>	292
To Patrick Gibson, <i>14 July</i>	294
From Patrick Gibson, <i>14 July</i>	295
From John Adams, with Postscript from Abigail Adams, <i>15 July</i>	296
From John Adams, <i>16 July</i>	298
From John Strode, <i>17 July</i>	301
From John Adams, <i>18 July</i>	301
Agreement with William Ballard, <i>18 July</i>	304
From John G. Gamble, <i>20 July</i>	304
To Patrick Gibson, <i>20 July</i>	305
To John Barnes, <i>21 July</i>	307
From William A. Burwell, <i>21 July</i>	307
Clothing and Bedding Distribution List for Poplar Forest Slaves, [<i>after 21 July</i>]	308
From John Wayles Eppes, <i>21 July</i>	311
To Robert Fulton, <i>21 July</i>	313
To Hugh Holmes, <i>21 July</i>	314
To Nathaniel H. Hooe, <i>21 July</i>	314
From Thomas Hornsby, <i>21 July</i>	315
From Thomas Lehré, <i>21 July</i>	317
From John Adams, <i>22 July</i>	317
To Englehart Cruse, <i>23 July</i>	319
To John Devereux DeLacy, <i>23 July</i>	319
To Peter Derieux, <i>23 July</i>	320
From Patrick Gibson, <i>24 July</i>	321
From George M. Troup, <i>24 July</i>	321
From Henry M. Brackenridge, <i>25 July</i>	322
From Robert Fulton, <i>25 July</i>	330
To Jeremiah A. Goodman, <i>26 July</i>	331

CONTENTS

To George Hay, <i>26 July</i>	332
From Peter Derieux, <i>27 July</i>	332
From John Tayloe, <i>27 July</i>	333
From Patrick Gibson, <i>29 July</i>	334
From Hugh Holmes, <i>29 July</i>	335
From James Barbour, <i>30 July</i>	336
To Joseph Darmsdatt, <i>30 July</i>	336
To Patrick Gibson, <i>30 July</i>	337
To Thomas Voigt, <i>30 July</i>	338
From Tunis Wortman, <i>30 July</i>	339
From Edward Hansford and John L. Clarke, <i>31 July</i>	340
To Samuel & James Leitch, <i>31 July</i>	341
From Ferdinand R. Hassler, <i>1 August</i>	342
Account with David Higginbotham, <i>1 August</i>	343
To Robert Richardson, <i>1 August</i>	349
To David Ross, <i>1 August</i>	350
To William Wirt, <i>1 August</i>	351
Account with the Mutual Assurance Society, [<i>ca. 2 August</i>]	351
From Horatio G. Spafford, <i>2 August</i>	352
From Isaac McPherson, <i>3 August</i>	353
From John Wilson, <i>3 August</i>	354
From Elbridge Gerry, <i>4 August</i>	355
From Patrick Gibson, <i>4 August</i>	356
To Paul Allen, <i>5 August</i>	357
From Charles L. Lewis, <i>5 August</i>	358
From John Rhea, <i>5 August</i>	358
From Isaac A. Coles, <i>6 August</i>	359
To Josef Yznardy, <i>6 August</i>	359
Account with the Mutual Assurance Society, [<i>ca. 7 August</i>]	360
To Clifton Garland, <i>7 August</i>	361
From John Graham, <i>7 August</i>	362
From Randolph Jefferson, [<i>7 August</i>]	363
From Thomas Newton, <i>7 August</i>	364
From David Ross, <i>7 August</i>	364
From Joseph Dougherty, <i>8 August</i>	365
To David Higginbotham, <i>8 August</i>	365
To Randolph Jefferson, <i>8 August</i>	366
To Craven Peyton, <i>8 August</i>	367
From John Adams, <i>9 August</i>	367
From Regnault de Bécourt, <i>9 August</i>	368
From Harry Innes, <i>9 August</i>	369

CONTENTS

To John G. Gamble, <i>10 August</i>	371
To Craven Peyton, <i>10 August</i>	372
From Alexander H. Stevens, <i>10 August</i>	372
To John Hopkins, <i>11 August</i>	373
To Rembrandt Peale, <i>11 August</i>	373
To Samuel Pleasants, <i>11 August</i>	374
From Richard Rush, <i>12 August</i>	375
From John L. E. W. Shecut, <i>12 August</i>	376
From Francis Smith, <i>12 August</i>	378
To Isaac McPherson, <i>13 August</i>	379
From John Adams, [<i>ca. 14</i>] <i>August</i>	386
From William C. C. Claiborne, <i>14 August</i> , enclosing Decrees of the New Orleans City Council, <i>7 August</i> and <i>9 August</i> , and Claiborne's Address to the New Orleans City Council, <i>9 August</i>	388
From Patrick Gibson, <i>14 August</i>	396
To Joseph Dougherty, <i>15 August</i>	396
To James Madison, <i>15 August</i>	397
To Peter Minor, <i>15 August</i>	398
To Samuel H. Smith, <i>15 August</i>	399
To Horatio G. Spafford, <i>15 August</i>	400
To Tunis Wortman, <i>15 August</i>	400
From Peter Minor, <i>16 August</i>	401
To John Waldo, <i>16 August</i>	402
From Augustus B. Woodward, <i>16 August</i>	407
To George Divers, <i>17 August</i>	411
From George Divers, <i>17 August</i>	412
From Samuel Pleasants, <i>17 August</i>	412
To Francis Smith, <i>17 August</i>	413
To John Wilson, <i>17 August</i>	413
To Caspar Wistar, <i>17 August</i>	415
Biography of Meriwether Lewis	417
I. Thomas Jefferson to Paul Allen, <i>18 August</i>	418
II. Unidentified Author's Short Biography of Meriwether Lewis, [<i>before 18 August</i>]	426
III. Paul Allen to Thomas Jefferson, <i>18 August</i>	427
From Lucy Cooley, <i>18 August</i>	428
From Samuel H. Smith, <i>18 August</i>	428
To Paul Allen, <i>20 August</i>	429
To Nicholas Biddle, <i>20 August</i>	430
To Youen Carden, <i>20 August</i>	430
From James Leitch, <i>20 August</i>	431

CONTENTS

From James Martin (of New York), <i>20 August</i>	431
From William C. C. Claiborne, <i>21 August</i> , enclosing François Xavier Martin's Motion for an Injunction against Edward Livingston, <i>14 August</i>	433
To Abigail Adams, <i>22 August</i>	437
To John Adams, <i>22 August</i>	438
To Nicolas G. Dufief, <i>22 August</i>	441
To Peter Derieux, <i>23 August</i>	442
From James McKinney, <i>23 August</i>	442
To James Madison, <i>23 August</i>	442
To Richard Rush, <i>23 August</i>	443
To Samuel H. Smith, <i>23 August</i>	444
To Alexander H. Stevens, <i>23 August</i>	445
To Augustus B. Woodward, <i>24 August</i>	445
From Josiah Meigs, <i>25 August</i>	445
From William Canby, <i>27 August</i>	447
To Archibald Robertson, <i>27 August</i>	448
From Horatio G. Spafford, <i>27 August</i>	449
From Brown & Robertson, <i>28 August</i>	450
To Francis Eppes, <i>28 August</i>	451
To Thomas A. Holcombe, <i>28 August</i>	451
James McKinney's Description of a Hemp Brake, [<i>ca.</i> <i>28 August</i>]	452
From Isaac McPherson, <i>28 August</i> , enclosing Extract of a Letter from Jonathan Ellicott to Thomas Worthington, [<i>ca.</i> <i>January–February?</i>]	453
From Destutt de Tracy, <i>29 August</i>	458
From William P. DuVal, <i>29 August</i>	460
From Samuel H. Smith, <i>29 August</i>	461
Judith Lomax's Poem: "Monticello," [<i>ca.</i> <i>August</i>]	463
Deposition of Martin Dawson in <i>Jefferson v. Michie</i> , <i>1 September</i>	464
From John Adams, <i>2 September</i>	465
From Thomas Voigt, <i>3 September</i>	467
From José Corrêa da Serra, <i>6 September</i> , enclosing Georges Cuvier to Corrêa da Serra, [<i>before 6 September</i>]	468
From Nicolas G. Dufief, <i>6 September</i>	471
From Nathaniel H. Hooe, <i>6 September</i>	471
David Michie's Plea and Answer in <i>Jefferson v. Michie</i> , [<i>by 6 September</i>]	472
To Charles Johnston, <i>7 September</i>	482
From John Sen Trescot, <i>7 September</i>	483
From Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, <i>8 September</i>	484
To Henry Flood, <i>8 September</i>	486

CONTENTS

Memorandum to Jeremiah A. Goodman, 8 <i>September</i>	486
To Randolph Jefferson, 8 <i>September</i>	487
To Joseph Slaughter, 8 <i>September</i>	488
From Isaac Doolittle, 11 <i>September</i>	489
To John Wayles Eppes, 11 <i>September</i>	490
From John Adams, 14 <i>September</i>	499
From "A Man of Years & A Citizen," [<i>received 14 September</i>]	503
From John Adams, 15 <i>September</i>	503
From Gales & Seaton, enclosing Account with the <i>National Intelligencer</i> , 15 <i>September</i>	505
To William D. Meriwether, 17 <i>September</i>	507
To John Barnes, 18 <i>September</i>	507
To William Canby, 18 <i>September</i>	508
To Isaac Doolittle, 18 <i>September</i>	509
To William Duane, 18 <i>September</i>	509
To Nicolas G. Dufief, [18] <i>September</i>	510
To Harry Innes, 18 <i>September</i>	511
From George Logan, 18 <i>September</i>	512
To Isaac McPherson, 18 <i>September</i>	514
To Josiah Meigs, 18 <i>September</i>	515
To Thomas Ritchie, 19 <i>September</i>	515
To Caspar Wistar, 19 <i>September</i>	516
From Abigail Adams, 20 <i>September</i>	516
From Charles L. Bankhead, [20 <i>September</i>]	517
To Henry M. Brackenridge, 20 <i>September</i>	518
To James Martin (of New York), 20 <i>September</i>	518
From John Adams, [22] <i>September</i>	520
To William Champe Carter, 23 <i>September</i>	522
To James Monroe, 23 <i>September</i>	524
From James Monroe, 23 <i>September</i>	524
From James Monroe, [23 <i>September</i>]	525
From Donald Fraser, 24 <i>September</i>	525
From William Duane, 26 <i>September</i>	526
From John Wayles Eppes, 26 <i>September</i>	530
From Nicholas Biddle, 28 <i>September</i>	531
To James Monroe, 28 <i>September</i>	532
From Nicolas G. Dufief, 29 <i>September</i>	533
From Thomas Law, 1 <i>October</i>	534
From James Monroe, 1 <i>October</i>	534
From Edmund M. Blunt, 2 <i>October</i>	535
To Andrew Moore, 2 <i>October</i>	536
To George Logan, 3 <i>October</i>	538

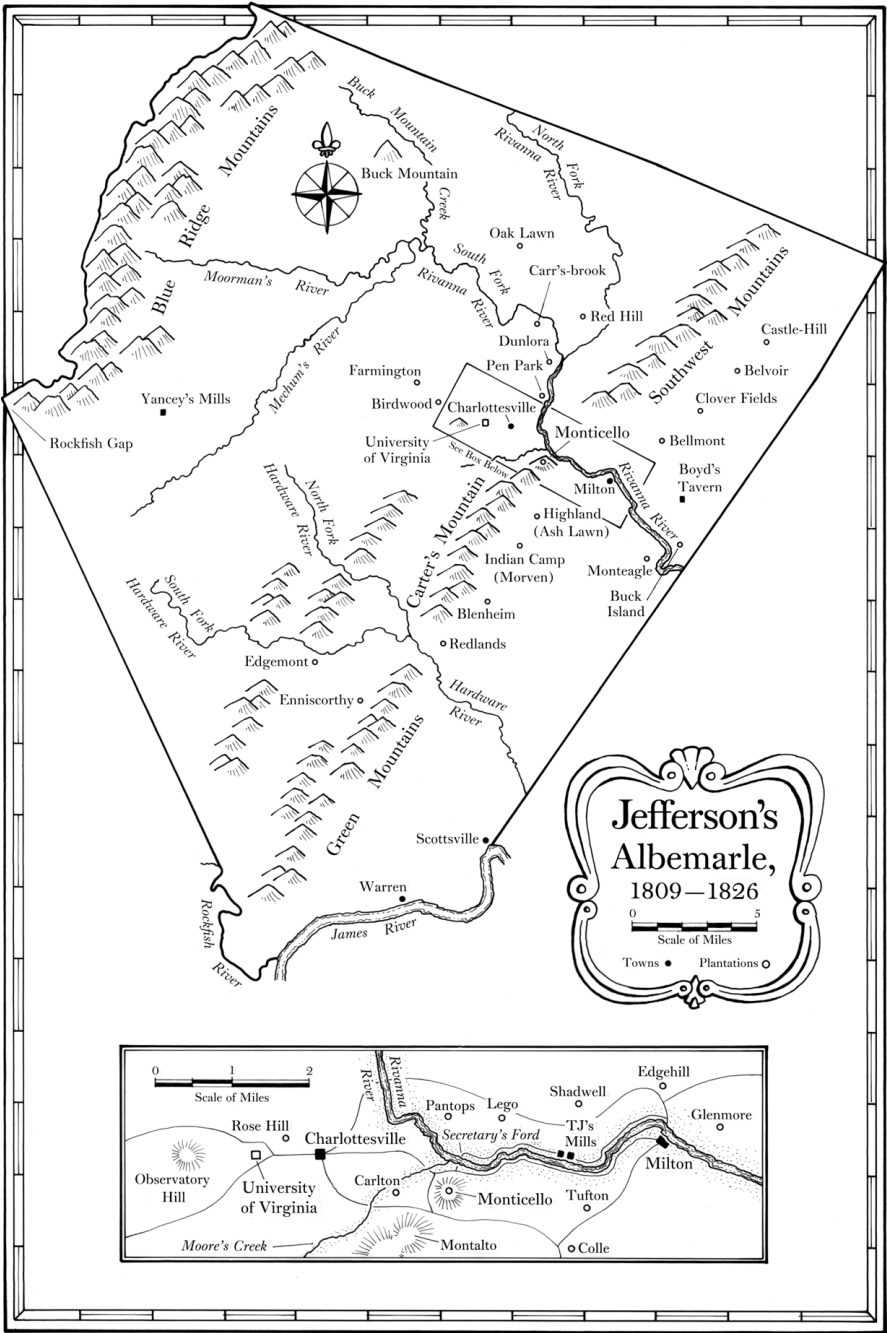
CONTENTS

From John Adams, [<i>ca. 4 October</i>]	540
From Charles Yancey, <i>4 October</i>	543
To Patrick Gibson, <i>6 October</i>	543
From Andrew Moore, <i>8 October</i>	545
From John Barnes, <i>10 October</i>	546
From Frederick Jordy, <i>11 October</i>	546
To John Adams, <i>12 October</i>	548
From Patrick Gibson, <i>13 October</i>	552
Contract to Purchase Corn from Craven Peyton, <i>13 October</i> , with Subsequent Receipts	553
Robert B. Sthreshly to Edmund Bacon, <i>13 October</i>	554
From William F. Gordon, <i>15 October</i>	554
Archibald Stuart's Decision in <i>Jefferson v. Michie</i> , [<i>15 October</i>]	555
To William McClure, <i>16 October</i>	556
From John Jacob Astor, <i>18 October</i>	556
From John Barnes, <i>19 October</i>	558
To Edmund M. Blunt, <i>19 October</i>	559
To Burgess Allison, <i>20 October</i>	559
To Gales & Seaton, <i>20 October</i>	560
To John Sen Trescot, <i>20 October</i>	561
From Thomas Voigt, <i>20 October</i>	561
To Patrick Gibson, <i>21 October</i>	561
To John Adams, <i>28 October</i>	562
From Horatio Turpin, <i>28 October</i>	568
To Thomas Voigt, <i>29 October</i>	569
From Samuel K. Jennings, <i>30 October</i>	569
From James Cutbush, <i>31 October</i>	571
From Joseph Graham, <i>1 November</i>	572
To George Hay, <i>2 November</i>	572
From Burgess Allison, [<i>3 November</i>]	574
From James Monroe, <i>3 November</i>	575
Albemarle County Court Decision in <i>Jefferson v. Michie</i> , <i>4 November</i>	576
From Josiah Meigs, <i>5 November</i>	576
To John Barnes, <i>6 November</i>	577
To John Wayles Eppes, <i>6 November</i>	578
To Thomas Law, <i>6 November</i>	594
To Wilson Cary Nicholas, <i>6 November</i>	594
To Joseph C. Cabell, enclosing Abstract of the Rivanna Company Bill, <i>7 November</i>	595
To Nicolas G. Dufief, <i>7 November</i>	597
To Chapman Johnson, <i>7 November</i>	597
From Thomas Cooper, <i>8 November</i>	598

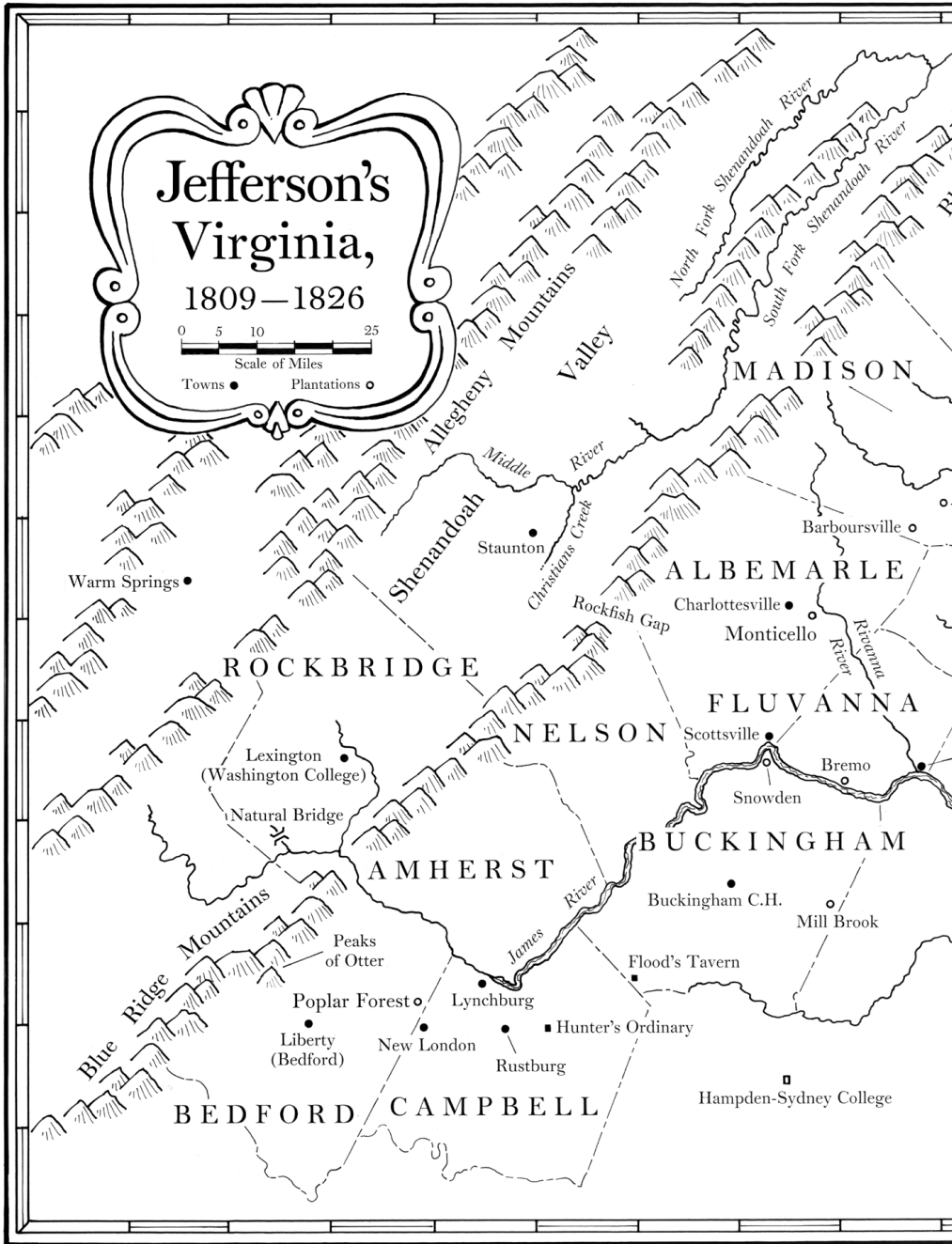
CONTENTS

From Wilson Cary Nicholas, <i>8 November</i>	600
To John Jacob Astor, <i>9 November</i>	603
To William Champe Carter, <i>9 November</i>	604
To William Short, <i>9 November</i>	604
From John Barnes, <i>10 November</i>	606
From Samuel Greenhow, <i>11 November</i>	607
To Thomas Hornsby, <i>11 November</i>	608
From Thomas Lehrs, <i>11 November</i>	611
From John Adams, <i>12 November</i>	612
To Samuel Brown, <i>13 November</i>	614
From Patrick Gibson, <i>13 November</i>	615
From John Adams, <i>14 November</i>	616
To Thomas Mann Randolph, <i>14 November</i>	619
From John Adams, <i>15 November</i>	621
From John E. Hall, <i>15 November</i>	627
From Peter Minor, <i>15 November</i>	628
To William F. Gordon, <i>16 November</i>	629
From Chapman Johnson, <i>16 November</i>	630
From Hugh Holmes, <i>17 November</i>	631
From James Martin (of New York), <i>17 November</i>	632
To Peter Minor, <i>18 November</i>	633
From Lieutenants Fawcett and Dickonson, <i>19 November</i>	636
From Thomas Lehrs, <i>23 November</i>	636
From James Monroe, <i>23 November</i>	636
From William Cooper, enclosing Drawing of a Floating Battery, <i>24 November</i>	637
From William F. Gray, <i>25 November</i>	643
From Walter Jones, <i>25 November</i>	643
To Elizabeth Trist, <i>25 November</i>	644
To Ellen W. Randolph (Coolidge), <i>26 November</i>	646
From Nicolas G. Dufief, <i>26 November</i>	647
To Francis Eppes, <i>26 November</i>	648
From Gales & Seaton, <i>26 November</i>	648
To Thomas A. Holcombe, <i>26 November</i>	649
From Thomas Law, enclosing Petition to the Pennsylvania Legislature, <i>26 November</i>	649
From Nathaniel Ellicott, <i>27 November</i>	651
APPENDIX: Supplemental List of Documents Not Found	653
INDEX	655

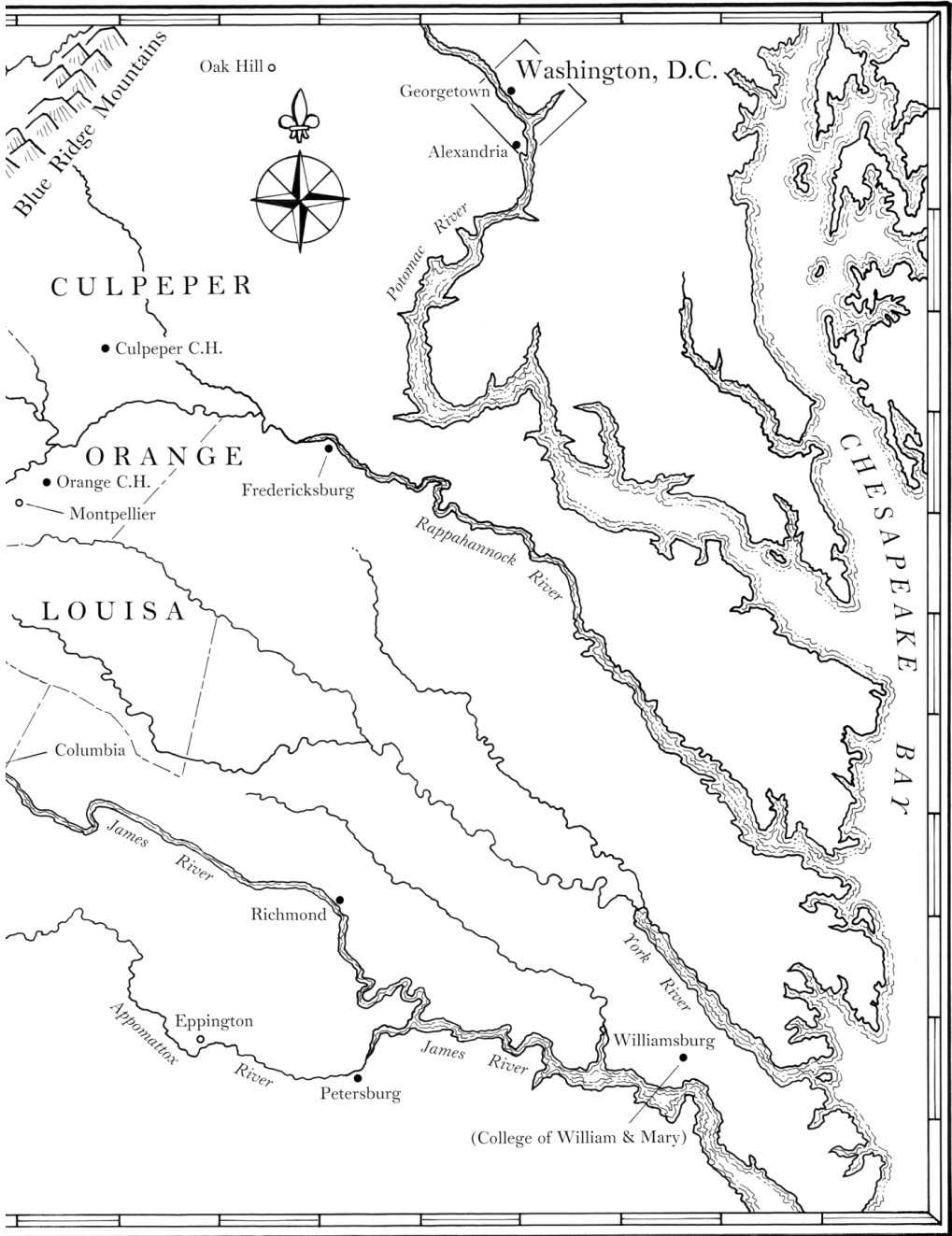
MAPS



MAPS



MAPS



ILLUSTRATIONS

Following page 386

BIRD PEPPER (*Capsicum annuum glabriusculum*)

Dr. Samuel Brown, of Natchez, sent Jefferson the seed of the bird pepper in both October 1812 and May 1813. According to Brown, it proliferated “in very great abundance in the prairies west of the Sabine” River and was “with the Spaniards & Savages, an article in as great use as common salt is” among the people of the United States. The inhabitants of what is now Texas supposedly used the pepper both to spice up their dishes and for medicinal purposes. Jefferson forwarded some of the seeds to the Philadelphia horticulturist and nurseryman Bernard McMahon in June 1813 and planted others in his kitchen garden late the following March. Large numbers of small, red peppers grow on each compact, mound-like plant (Brown to TJ, 1 Oct. 1812, 25 May 1813; TJ to McMahon, 15 June 1813; Peter J. Hatch, “McMahon’s Texas Bird Pepper: A Pretty Little Plant,” *Twinleaf* [Jan. 1996]; Betts, *Garden Book*, 522).

Courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc.

JEFFERSON’S MILLS

FLOUR MILL

Jefferson’s flour mill at Shadwell began operation in 1807. Jefferson initially leased it out to Jonathan and Isaac Shoemaker, but he replaced them with his son-in-law Thomas Mann Randolph and James McKinney four years later after the Shoemakers proved to be both incompetent and unable to keep up with their rent payments. McKinney retired, and Thomas Eston Randolph joined in the management of the concern in 1814. Thomas Mann Randolph stepped down soon thereafter, and Thomas Eston Randolph continued to direct the venture, both alone and in conjunction with Daniel Colclaser, until Jefferson’s death. The combination of indifferent management and escalating repair and maintenance costs severely limited the return on Jefferson’s initial investment of \$10,000. In 1829 Thomas Jefferson Randolph and Martha Randolph sold the entire Shadwell mill complex and a small adjacent tract to James Magruder, John B. Magruder, and John Timberlake for \$10,000. The photograph depicted was taken about 1870, not long before the building disappeared. An engraving of the mill was given in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in July 1853 (Betts, *Farm Book*, 342–3; *MB*, 2:1099, 1310 [engraving of 1853 reproduced opp. p. 1242]; K. Edward Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country* [CD-ROM, 2000]; TJ to Charles L. Bankhead, 10 June 1811; TJ to Thomas Eston Randolph, 20 Jan. 1815; Albemarle Co. Deed Book, 28:116–7).

Courtesy of K. Edward Lay, photograph on deposit at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

SAWMILL

Jefferson’s sawmill was located roughly half a mile upriver from the Shadwell mills, on the opposite, or Monticello, side of the Rivanna River.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Completed by John Brown in 1813, it ultimately included a hominy beater and a hemp brake. Unfortunately, its operations were significantly hindered by an inadequate supply of water to power its machinery. To rectify this problem, Jefferson was forced to cut another canal from the river to the sawmill, which he completed in 1819. Jefferson's undated drawing shows the component parts of the sawmill, the canals and "tail race" that provided it with water, and its proximity to the Rivanna (Betts, *Farm Book*, 411; *MB*, 2:1285, 1291; TJ to Brown, 25 Apr. 1813; TJ to John H. Peyton, 17 Dec. 1819).

Courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

OLIVER EVANS'S PATENT MACHINERY

Oliver Evans's book, *The Young Mill-wright & Miller's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1795, and many other editions; Sowerby, no. 1180), includes an illustration of his millworks in action among the plates printed at the end of the fourth part of the work. The engraving depicts his grain elevator (nos. 4–5 and elsewhere); his conveyor (nos. 15–6 and elsewhere); and his hopper-boy, a rake used to push meal over a hole in the floor (no. 25). Although he had received a federal patent for his machinery in 1790 and renewed it in 1808, questions were increasingly raised as to whether he was entitled to such protections. Jefferson, for his part, expressed strong doubts that the Evans elevator justified a patent. The lengthy letter that he wrote Isaac McPherson on the subject on 13 Aug. 1813 examines both Evans's pretensions and the importance of keeping frivolous patents in check (*List of Patents*, 4, 62).

Courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

ROBERT FULTON

The engineer and inventor Robert Fulton (1765–1815) had never hesitated to bring his ideas to Jefferson's attention in the past, and 1813 proved to be no exception. His detailed examination of the possibility of using submarine weaponry to offset Britain's enormous naval advantage, which he sent to the ex-president in the early summer of 1813, is, like so many of his past productions, both thoughtful and thought-provoking. In addition to his other accomplishments, Fulton was no mean artist. The self-portrait he executed during the last decade of his life in Conté crayon, gray wash, black, white, and pink chalk, and white gouache on brown paper was inscribed by him as a gift to Henry Eckford, a prominent marine architect and shipbuilder (Cynthia Owen Philip, *Robert Fulton: a Biography* [1985], 313; *ODNB*).

Collection of the New-York Historical Society (negative #47765).

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP DIPLOMA

Jefferson joined the American Philosophical Society in 1780, and he served as one of its vice-presidents, 1791–94, and president, 1797–1814. During his seventeen years in the presidential chair, he affixed his signature to dozens of membership diplomas. The example reproduced here was dated 16 Apr. 1813 and awarded to Nicholas Biddle, a Philadelphia attorney, editor,

ILLUSTRATIONS

politician, and future president of the Bank of the United States. After leaving Philadelphia for good in 1800, Jefferson presumably signed batches of blank certificates from time to time and sent them to the Society to be completed as needed (APS, Minutes [MS in PPAmP]; *PTJ*, 4:545–6n, 29:254; Biddle to TJ, 12 Dec. 1809, note; TJ to John Vaughan, 17 May 1813; TJ to Robert Patterson, 23 Nov. 1814; Silvio A. Bedini, *Jefferson and Science* [2002], 41).

Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.

GREEK HANDWRITING OF JEFFERSON AND OF JOHN ADAMS

Thomas Jefferson and John Adams each received classical educations, which necessarily included intensive study of Greek language and literature, but an examination of their Greek script reveals a number of eccentricities. Both frequently omit accents and breathing marks. Adams occasionally replaces Greek letters—such as the iota, nu, and upsilon—with their Roman analog. Jefferson, for his part, routinely employs the terminal form of the sigma wherever it appears. Whatever the imperfections of their orthography, each man held Greek in high regard. Adams considered it the supreme language, while Jefferson wrote Joseph Priestley on 27 Jan. 1800 that to read “Greek authors in their original is a sublime luxury,” and he thanked on his “knees him who directed my early education for having put into my possession this rich source of delight” (McCullough, *Adams*, 19; *PTJ*, 31:340).

Jefferson to Adams, 27 June 1813, *Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society*.

Adams to Jefferson, [ca. 14] Aug. 1813, *Courtesy of the Library of Congress*.

THE HOUSE OF JOHN AND ABIGAIL ADAMS

The house in Quincy, Massachusetts, built by Major Leonard Vassall in about 1731 was purchased by John and Abigail Adams in 1787. It remained in the family’s possession well into the twentieth century and was variously known as Peacefield, Montezillo, and the Old House. Eliza Susan Quincy (1798–1884), a distant relative of the Adams’s and the daughter of Josiah Quincy, a mayor of Boston and president of Harvard University, included this watercolor in her two-volume unpublished memoir, which she donated to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1870. Her depiction of the Adams home dates from 1822. It is painted en grisaille, or entirely in shades of gray, and employs dark washes for the foreground and light washes for the city of Boston, which is six miles distant (Eliza S. Quincy, *A Portfolio of Nine Watercolor Views, Relating to Certain Members of the Adams and Quincy Families and Their Quincy Houses and Environment Done in the Year 1822* [1975]; Lyman H. Butterfield, Richard Alan Ryerson, C. James Taylor, and others, eds., *Adams Family Correspondence* [1963–], 8:ix–x, xxv).

Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

LETTER FROM JEFFERSON’S BROTHER RANDOLPH

Randolph Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson’s younger brother, lived at Snowden in Buckingham County, just across the James River from Albemarle County. Although a dozen years and vastly different life experiences and

ILLUSTRATIONS

personal interests separated the two men, they maintained a cordial relationship punctuated by occasional visits to each other's homes. Only thirty-two of the fifty or more letters that passed between them survive, nine of which appear in this volume. More than enough remain, however, to compare their orthography. Despite the fact that both men had received uncommonly good educations for their day, Randolph's limited vocabulary, somewhat phonetic spelling, lack of punctuation, and erratic hyphenation contrast strongly with that of his highly literate brother.

Courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

Volume 6

11 March to 27 November 1813

JEFFERSON CHRONOLOGY

1743 • 1826

- 1743 Born at Shadwell, 13 April (New Style).
- 1760–1762 Studies at the College of William and Mary.
- 1762–1767 Self-education and preparation for law.
- 1769–1774 Albemarle delegate to House of Burgesses.
- 1772 Marries Martha Wayles Skelton, 1 January.
- 1775–1776 In Continental Congress.
- 1776 Drafts Declaration of Independence.
- 1776–1779 In Virginia House of Delegates.
- 1779 Submits Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom.
- 1779–1781 Governor of Virginia.
- 1782 Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson dies, 6 September.
- 1783–1784 In Continental Congress.
- 1784–1789 In France on commission to negotiate commercial treaties and then as minister plenipotentiary at Versailles.
- 1790–1793 Secretary of State of the United States.
- 1797–1801 Vice President of the United States.
- 1801–1809 President of the United States.

RETIREMENT

- 1809 Attends James Madison's inauguration, 4 March.
Arrives at Monticello, 15 March.
- 1810 Completes legal brief on New Orleans batture case, 31 July.
- 1811 Batture case dismissed, 5 December.
- 1812 Correspondence with John Adams resumed, 1 January.
Batture pamphlet preface completed, 25 February;
printed by 21 March.
- 1814 Named a trustee of Albemarle Academy, 25 March.
Resigns presidency of American Philosophical Society, 23 November.
- 1815 Sells personal library to Congress, 29 April.
- 1816 Writes introduction and revises translation of Destutt de Tracy,
A Treatise on Political Economy [1818].
Named a visitor of Central College, 18 October.
- 1818 Attends Rockfish Gap conference to choose location of proposed University of Virginia, 1–4 August.
Visits Warm Springs, 7–27 August.
- 1819 University of Virginia chartered, 25 January; named to Board of Visitors, 13 February; elected rector, 29 March.
Debts greatly increased by bankruptcy of Wilson Cary Nicholas.
- 1820 Likens debate over slavery and Missouri statehood to “a fire bell in the night,” 22 April.
- 1821 Writes memoirs, 6 January–29 July.
- 1823 Visits Poplar Forest for last time, 16–25 May.
- 1824 Lafayette visits Monticello, 4–15 November.
- 1825 University of Virginia opens, 7 March.
- 1826 Writes will, 16–17 March.
Last recorded letter, 25 June.
Dies at Monticello, 4 July.

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON



To Alrichs & Dixon

MESS^{RS} ALRICHS & DIXON

Monticello Mar. 11. 13.

I was much concerned to learn by a letter from Mess^{rs} Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond that they found difficulty in procuring a bill for the remittance I desired to be made to you. I immediately wrote to them to inclose you a hundred dollar bank bill of Richmond, which I doubted not you could have exchanged. the difference between this & the amount of your bill would be no more than a just compensation for the delay.

I am in expectation of recieving instructions from you as to the carding machine. I am the more encouraged to hope they will enable me to use it, by recieving information from mr Burwell that with that which you furnished him with he recieved from you such minute directions that he was able to set his to work himself without any difficulty. we are much retarded in our spinning for want of it. Accept my best wishes & respects.

TH: JEFFERSON

PoC (DLC); endorsed by TJ.

ter, Alrichs & Dixon wrote him from Delaware acknowledging receipt of the

The day before TJ composed this let-

BILL FOR THE REMITTANCE.

To Lewis Brown

SIR

Monticello Mar. 11. 13.

Your letter of Feb. 25. never got to my hands till last night. the purchase of the horse from you by mr Darnell was on my account, and the debt as much acknoleged as if a bond had been given. I had desired my merchant in Richmond, as soon as he could sell my flour from the Poplar Forest (which got down but lately) to remit a sum of money to mr Goodman, sufficient to pay your's and other debts there. but finding that the blockade of the Chesapeake has prevented the sale of my flour, I have this day authorised mr Goodman to recieve

11 MARCH 1813

the money from a fund in Lynchburg which will become due on the 7th of the next month. you may count therefore on receiving what is due as¹ soon after that day, as mr Goodman can go to Lynchburg.

Accept my best wishes & respects.

TH: JEFFERSON

PoC (MHi); at foot of text: "Mr Lewis Brown"; endorsed by TJ.

¹ Word interlined in place of "very."

To Patrick Gibson

DEAR SIR

Monticello Mar. 11. 13.

In my answer of the 7th to yours of the 3^d of Mar. I omitted to note what you had stated as to the bargain for Mazzei's lot, to wit that the payments were to be made within so many days after a sufficient title shall be made. I now expect daily an answer from mr Randolph after which there will be no delay in making what I deem a good title. but if mr Taylor should deem it otherwise, I take for granted, the bargain is relinquished on his part, & that we shall be free to sell to others. I have thought it necessary to say this much, until I receive mr Randolph's answer that there may be no misunderstanding or disappointment on either side.

The objects of the remittance of 250.D. to Bedford, not admitting the delay of the sale of my flour, I have desired mr Harrison to pay that sum out of the fund in his hands, which supercedes the necessity of your remitting it out of the sales of the flour when that shall take place. Accept my friendly salutations.

TH: JEFFERSON

PoC (MHi); at foot of text: "Mr Gibson"; endorsed by TJ as a letter to Gibson & Jefferson and so recorded in SJL.

To Jeremiah A. Goodman

D^R SIR

Monticello Mar. 11. 13.

The blockade of the Chesapeake having sunk the price of flour to 7. Dollars,¹ for which I am not disposed to sacrifice mine, and being desirous that my debts in your neighborhood therefore should not be put off for that sale, I have this day written to mr Harrison of Lynchburg to pay you 250.D. on the 7th of April, and I have countermanded the directions to mr Gibson which I had formerly given. Accept my best wishes.

TH: JEFFERSON

11 MARCH 1813

RC (PPRF); addressed: "M^r Jeremiah A. Goodman Poplar Forest near Lynchburg"; franked; postmarked Milton, 12

Mar. PoC (DeHi: Morse Autograph Collection); endorsed by TJ.

¹ Reworked from "Bar."

To Samuel J. Harrison

DEAR SIR

Mar. 11. 13

I wrote you on the 7th a request that the money for my tob^o might be paid in Richmond. it now occurs that I have about 250.D. of debts to pay in the neighborhood of Poplar Forest which would be more conveniently done by what is in your hands, than by drawing it back again from Richm^d. you will oblige me therefore by paying that sum, when due, to Jeremiah A. Goodman, and having paiment made of the balance only at the counting house of Gibson & Jefferson in Richmond. Accept the assurance of my esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

PoC (MHi); at foot of text: "M^r Sam^l J. Harrison"; endorsed by TJ.

To John L. Thomas

SIR

Monticello Mar. 11. 13.

Your favor of the 1st has been recieved, and altho' it was incomprehensible to me what certificate the clerk of Henrico could want as to the deed to which you were a witness, yet I sent it to the clerk of Albemarle, who might know better. I reinclose you the deed with his answer. it is certain that the clerk of Henrico has taken a mistaken view of the subject, which I hope he will correct, and that you will be so good as to prove it at the next court day & return it to me by the post. the clerk may have been misled by observing that there are three instruments for the same land on the same paper. you are a witness to only one of them, and it is only your proof of that one, we ask to be recieved & certified by the court of Henrico. Accept the assurance of my esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

PoC (MHi); at foot of text: "M^r J. L. Thomas"; endorsed by TJ.

the 10 Mar. 1813 answer from Alexander Garrett, the deputy CLERK OF ALBEMARLE, not found, but recorded in SJL as received 10 Mar. 1813 from Charlottesville.

For the enclosed DEED, see TJ to Thomas, 23 Feb. 1813. TJ also enclosed

To William Caruthers

SIR

Monticello Mar. 12. 13.

Your letter of Feb. 3. has been recieved, and in answer to your enquiries respecting sheep, I will state that I have three distinct races which I keep at different places. 1. Merinos; of these I have but 2. ewes, and of course none to spare. President Madison has been more succesful, and sells some ram lambs, but not ewes. the Merino is a diminutive tender sheep, yielding very little wool, but that of extraordinary fineness, fit only for the finest broadcloths, but not at all for country use. I do not know mr Madison's prices, but in general the price of these rams is fallen to from 50. to 100.D. a piece. the wool sells high to the Northward to the hatters, but our hatters do not know how to use it.

2. I have the bigtail, or Barbary sheep. I raise it chiefly for the table, the meat being higher flavored than that of any other sheep, and easily kept fat. the tail is large, I have seen one 12.I. square & weighing 14.lb. they encumber the animal in getting out of the way of dogs, and are an obstacle to propagation without attentions which we do not pay to them. they are well sized, & well fleeced but the wool is apt to be coarse & hairy.

3. I have a Spanish race, the ram of which I recieved from Spain in 1794. I bred from him 7. years in and in, suffering no other ram on the place, and after his death I still selected the finest of his race to succeed him, so that the race may now be considered as pure as the original. they are above common size, finely formed, the hardest race we have ever known, scarcely ever losing a lamb fully fleeced, the belly & legs down to the hoof covered with wool, & the wool of fine quality, some of it as fine as the half blood Merino. we consider it the finest race of¹ sheep ever known in this country. having never cut or killed a ram lamb of them, but given them out to those who wished them this part of the country is well stocked with them, and they sell at the public sales 50. per cent higher than the country sheep. I sent my flock of them to a place I have in Bedford, where they are beginning to be known & in great demand. if you should wish to get into this breed, and will accept of a pair of lambs the ensuing summer, you shall be welcome to them. my place is 3. miles from New London, on the road to Lynchburg. on your signifying your wish on this subject I will give directions to my manager there to deliver a pair to your order, and from my knolege of the country over the mountain I have no hesitation in pronouncing them the fittest sheep in the world for that country. if it should be more convenient to you to take them from here, mr Randolph, my son in law,

12 MARCH 1813

who has raised them for a dozen years past, can furnish them. Accept the assurance of my esteem & respect. TH: JEFFERSON

PoC (DLC); at foot of first page: "Mr Caruthers"; endorsed by TJ.

to William Thornton, 27 [June] 1810. IN AND IN: to breed always with near relatives (*OED*).

On the ram TJ RECIEVED FROM SPAIN, see *PTJ*, 28:267–8, 375–6, and TJ

¹ Manuscript: "of of."

From John H. Cocke

SIR,

Bremo—March 12th 1813

I have taken the liberty to order my Servant to call at Monticello and get (by your permission) a few plants of the scotch broom.—
Yours respectfully JN^o H. COCKE

RC (CSmH: JF); at foot of text: "Mr Jefferson"; endorsed by TJ as received 12 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

To John H. Cocke

Monticello Mar. 12. 13.

Th: Jefferson presents his compliments to mr Cocke, whose servant is desired to take as many Broom plants as he pleases, but having never found them to succeed by transplantation, he sends him some seed, which generally succeeds, altho sometimes it does not come up till the second spring.—he sends him also a little seed of the Sprout Kale, a plant he recieved from The National garden of France about 3. years ago, never before in this country. it is to be sown & managed as the Cabbage, but to stand in it's place thro' the winter uncovered. it's only use is to furnish sprouts, of which it will yield 2. or 3. crops of 6. or 8 I. long, in a winter, beginning in December & continuing thro' the whole winter, till the plant goes to seed in the spring. it is a tender & delicious winter vegetable. he salutes mr Cocke with esteem & respect.

RC (ViU: TJP); dateline at foot of text; addressed: "John H. Cocke esq."; endorsed by Cocke. Not recorded in SJL.

On 20 Mar. 1812 TJ recorded planting Scotch BROOM that had been sent to him from Edinburgh by James Ronaldson (Betts, *Garden Book*, 475).

From Margaret B. Bonneville

SIR

New York March 13. 1813 Barclay St^{rt} N^o 8

From the time I inherited of T. Paine's manuscripts, papers &c. &c. my intention was to have the honor to write to you concerning your most valuable letters to him. The troublesome and disagreeable affairs which have been suscited to me since his death: If not an excuse to negligence was the cause of my delay.

Family affairs require my presance in France I am waiting only¹ for a good opportunity.

Though the honor of M^r Paine has² heirs & executor is near to me, your letters are incontestably yours, and at your disposal; and as soon [as]³ you will be pleased to let me know your intention, I will punctually execute cheerfully your orders.

Permit me Sir to renew here my thanks for your favourable lettre to my friend Mercier concerning me, and my regret of not having had personally the advantage of presenting my respect to you

I am with high consideration & respect

Sir Your obd^{nt} Sv^{nt}

B. BONNEVILLE

RC (DLC); dateline at foot of text; at head of text: "To the Honorable Thomas Jefferson"; endorsed by TJ as received 20 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

Margaret B. Bonneville (ca. 1767–1846) was the wife of the French printer and revolutionary Nicolas de Bonneville. From 1797 until 1802 Thomas Paine lived with the Bonneville family in Paris. Shortly after Paine's return to the United States, Bonneville and her three sons joined him on his farm at New Rochelle, New York. Her husband having run afoul of Napoleon and being prevented from leaving France, Paine helped to support Bonneville and provided educational opportunities for her sons. She periodically resided with him, cared for him late in his life, inherited much of his estate, saw that his wishes for burial on his farm were carried out, and arranged for the posthumous publication of his work *On the Origin of Free-Masonry* [New York, 1810]. After Paine's death in 1809, New York journalist James Cheetham asserted in a biography that Paine had had an illicit relationship with Bonneville and fathered one of her sons. She promptly sued

Cheetham and won a \$150 libel judgment. Bonneville settled in Saint Louis about 1830 and lived there for the rest of her life (Bonneville to TJ, 12 Jan. 1809 [DLC]; Madison, *Papers, Sec. of State Ser.*, 4:151–2; David Freeman Hawke, *Paine* [1974], esp. 395–7, 399–401; Jack Fruchtman Jr., *Thomas Paine Apostle of Freedom* [1994], esp. 36, 275, 395, 411, 420; James Cheetham, *The Life of Thomas Paine* [New York, 1809]; New York *Public Advertiser*, 21 June 1810; John F. Darby, *Personal Recollections of Many Prominent People Whom I Have Known, and of Events—Especially of Those Relating to the History of St. Louis—During the First Half of the Present Century* [1880], 233–7).

SUSCITED: "raised from the dead" or "resuscitated," from a similar French term (*OED*). TJ included expressions FAVOURABLE to Bonneville in a 6 Feb. 1803 letter to Louis Sébastien Mercier (DLC).

¹ Word interlined.

² Thus in manuscript.

³ Omitted word editorially supplied.

From William A. Burwell

D^R SIR,

March 13. 1813.

the only difficulty I can imagine with the aid of these directions is the want of correspondent marks or letters on the different parts of your machine, you may however without them soon discover them when the machine is put in motion; I have added directions for the Drawing & Roving head, because it adds so much to the value of the Carding Engine, that you should lose no time in procuring one; the Roves are made as fast as you can Card the cotton, they [are]¹ of uniform Size, and will spin incomparably better than Roves made with hand Cards, they are also made without any additional labor to that employed in Carding—I find new reason to be pleased with my machine, with its aid all my people large & small have been clothed this winter by one² woman, & 2 Girls—they have moreover made considerable progress in the summer clothing—this is effected without trouble, & if you find one Intelligent [&?] faithful Industrious woman, among your people every thing [can be?] accomplishd in the spinning Department—If you had such a one in reach of me, I would take great pleasure to instruct her—I should be very glad to get a spinning machine like the one you shewd me at your house, more for the benefit of my neighbours than myself—there are men here who could make them; could you have one made for me and sent to Bedford the first [time]³ a boat passes with articles for you? I found my wife a little indisposed, but she is mending⁴ & I hope will soon recover, please to remember us kindly to M^{rs} R. & the family, & believe me dr sir most truly your friend

W. A BURWELL

RC (DLC); torn at seal; addressed: “M^r Thomas Jefferson Milton Virginia via Lynchburg”; stamped; postmarked Brown’s Store, Franklin County, 12 Mar. 1813, and Lynchburg, 21 Mar. 1813; endorsed by TJ as received 24 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

M^{RS} R.: Martha Jefferson Randolph.

¹ Omitted word editorially supplied.

² Manuscript: “1 one.”

³ Omitted word editorially supplied.



⁴ Manuscript: “minding.”

ENCLOSURE

Instructions for the Use of a Carding Machine

Directions for using the Carding Engine

Make the feeding frame fast in front of the Engine, by means of the \angle irons and screw rod, and so placed that the cards on the main Cylinder will just pass the fluted Rollers without touching them.—The upper fluted Roller

is kept down on the under one by two wires () hooked over the pivots of it at the ends, & under two small iron levers () one end of which is put into a small wire staple in the frame of the Engine, and a weight hung on the other end. The small roller that has cards on it, and attached to the feeding, frame, is for keeping the fluted rollers clean, and must be so placed that it will pass as near as possible to the upper one, and to the cards on the main Cylinder without touching either. move the feeding rollers by a \times band from pully **B** on the doffer to pully **A** on¹ the under one. move the cleaning roller by an open band from pully **K** on the other end of the² doffer to pully **I** on it. Take out the funnel and board and the callender roller. **G** and the Engine ready for work. (all the other parts and bands being left in order by the maker) Begin by weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz of clean cotton and spreading a part of it on³ the feeding cloth as even as possible and within about two inches of the sides, (if the cotton is spread too wide on the feeding cloth it will cause the fleece to be so wide, that it will not go in between the sides of the frame, when it is to be carded again.) Set the Engine in motion And as soon as the comb begins to take any cotton off the Doffer, guide it between the callender roller & the Drum, & it adhere to the Drum and wrap round it; continue to feed on the $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz in about the time the Drum will turn round 10 times, when it is all fed on, leave a space of about 8 inches without cotton, then go on with the other $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. and when that space is nearly out of sight tear the fleece on the drum straight across from one end of the drum to the other, roll it up carefully as the drum turns on, like a piece of cloth, untill it is all off, and lay to one side, for finishing; by this time the other $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz will begin to come through, guide it on the drum as before & guide it on thus till there is as much broke as convenient, Unhook the band that turns the board and put it on without crossing; replace the funnel and the board and callender roller **G** Turn down the arms **HH** and put the conveying⁴ roller **F** into them, turn by an open band from a groove near the end of the callender roller **E** to the groove near the end of it; clean all the cotton out of the cards, both off the flats and main Cylinder. Open and Spread one end of fleece, carefully on the feeding cloth, & set the Engine in motion, take away the first cotton that the comb begins to take off the Doffer. till the sliver: begins to⁵ come off the full thickness, then convey it through the funnel, between callender rollers, over the conveying roller **F** & into a large tin can. As the work goes on unroll the fleeces, carefully joining one to another on the cloth so that the place where⁶ they are joined will be of the same thickness as other parts When the cards get loaded with dirty cotton & seeds, they must be cleaned, the flats must be cleaned often and may be done as the Engine turns round by taking off⁷ one at a time. When the card teeth get dull they must be ground up sharp again, by the Emery boards, as follows, take off all the bands & flats & slip the doffer back, put the Emery board **R** in place of the flat marked **II** & **III** & regulate by means of the screw nuts so that the points of the teeth will just touch the emery from one end of the boards to the other, turn the Cylinder the contrary way from carding; screwing the emery board closer as the teeth are ground, off till they are all sharp again. The doffer may be ground by holding the emery board **S** carefully on it with the hands (but is better to fix it between the screw nuts on the goose-necks) turning the same way as when carding, but much faster, by an open band from pully **M** on the main cylinder to pully **K** on the doffer.

The flats are ground by the large Emery Roller fixed in the place of the Drum and turned by a band from pulley **M**, out of the main cylinder to agree near the end of it (or if convenient in a turning leath) Hold them on lightly and carefully till sharp in fixing the Engine for carding again place the flat nearest the feeding rollers so that a cent would pass between it and the cards on the main cylinder, the next one⁸ a little closer & so on & so on so that the last one will be just so close as not to touch; The doffer as close as possible not to touch, the Comb just so as to touch the doffer See that all the screws are tight and band not so tight as to cause engine to work hard, nor so slack as to slip.—When the Emery is worn off⁹ the boards and roller it may be renewed by putting on a good coat of glue, and while wet, as much coarse Emery as will cover it completely, let it dry and brush off all the loose Emery & will be fit for use—

For the drawing and roving.¹⁰

See that all the weights, Levers, and Saddles, press fairly on the upper rollers, so as to keep them well down on the fluted ones (in the same manner that the spinning machine is fixed) Take two cans full of slivers from the carding Engine, put an end of each between the guide tins behind¹¹ the back roller, & between the fluted & covered rollers (one sliver to each boss nearest the end where the pulleys are) turn the rollers so as to bring the ends through unite them and put them through the tin funnel, between the small callender roller & so into one of the smaller tin cans; drawing goes on, be carefull not to let one sliver go on without another and see that the cotton does not break or wrap round the rollers, instead of running through into the can, if it is intended for very coarse¹² yarn this one drawing may do, but if for fine it must be draawn 2 3 or 4¹³ in proportion to the quality wanted, uniting 2 3 or 4 of the first into one as convenient, taking it now to the roving boss, proceed as with the drawing, only running it into the twisting lanthorn instead of the can uniting 2 3 or 4 into one at pleasure, so as in some measure proportion the size of the rove to the size of the yarn wanted, being carefull to put the band that turns the lanthorn into proper groove so that the twist in the rove may suit its size, If the cotton,¹⁴ is apt to wrap round the rollers (as it will sometimes in damp weather) a little very fine powderd Chalk may be used on them to advantage.

when the leather covering on the upper rollers gets loose or dirty it must be coverd anew with the same kind of leather or good Buckskin; the Drawing and Roving is drove by a Band from Pulley **O** at the main Cylinder shaft of the Carding Engine to Pulley **P**. on it—

MS (DLC: TJ Papers, 197:35161–3); in an unidentified hand; undated. The related drawing has not been found.

DOFFER: a comb or revolving cylinder in a carding machine that strips cotton or wool from cards. LEATH (lathe): a stand or supporting framework (*OED*).

¹ Manuscript: “one.”

² Manuscript: “of the of the.”

³ Manuscript: “or.”

⁴ Manuscript: “coveying.”

⁵ Manuscript: “to to.”

⁶ Manuscript: “wher.”

⁷ Manuscript: “of,” here and in the next sentence.

⁸ Manuscript: “nex on.”

⁹ Manuscript: “of,” here and further on in this sentence.

¹⁰ Manuscript: “and roving and roving.”

13 MARCH 1813

¹¹ Manuscript: "behing."

¹² Manuscript: "coare."

¹³ Here "times" is canceled.

¹⁴ Manuscript: "If the cotton, If the cotton."

From Dabney Carr

DEAR SIR.

Winchester. March 14th 1813

your letter of Feb. 27 was received by the last mail. Mr Randolph, was in this place, when I came to it last fall, & had resided here for some time previous; but soon after that, he left it, & has been since, as I am to be, with his son in law, Mr B. Taylor in Jefferson County, not far from the little village of Charleston: Being informed this morning, that Doctr Grayson, of this Town, was going immediately to Charleston, I have confided the letter to him; telling him, that it was on business of importance; & requesting that he would give it the speediest conveyance to Mr Randolph. I have no doubt he will attend to it—I enclosed the letter, in one from myself to Mr R. in which, without intimating that I was acquainted with the contents of your's I mentioned to him, your anxiety to hear from him, & my confidence, that he would not delay a reply.

I have heard that his mind is considerably strengthened of late; & I have very little doubt, that he will be quite well enough, to attend to your request.

Be pleased Sir, to mention me affectionately to your daughter & her family; & believe me truly & sincerely

yours &C

D CARR

RC (ViU: TJP-CC); endorsed by TJ as received 31 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

From Sarah Grotjan

HONOURED SIR!

Philadelphia March 15th 1813.

Convinced that You will pardon an entire Stranger for intruding on Your time for a few minutes, when You become acquainted with the motives by which she is actuated, I solicit the favour of a few Lines in answer to the following Inquiry.

Accident has thrown in my way an unfortunate person by the name of Julia Bradley, whose maiden name as she informed me was Julia Webb, of Richmond Virginia. The distress in which she is at present,

15 MARCH 1813

and her engaging manners have interested me powerfully in her behalf. During a Conversation which I lately held with her she accidentally informed me, that she had the honour to be known to You and Your family.

Should this be really so, and her relations, perhaps from a false pride on her part be unacquainted with her present distress, I should feel the greatest Comfort of having been instrumental to promote her relief.

I take this Step without her knowlledge, or that of her husbands, who lives with her in this place, in a miserable abode, almost deprived of the absolute necessities of Life.

An Answer addressed to M^r Peter A. Grotjan in Philadelphia, will reach

Your Obedient humble Servant

SARAH GROTJAN

RC (DLC); at head of text: "Thomas Jefferson Esq."; endorsed by TJ as received 20 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

Sarah Fenimore Grotjan (ca. 1788–1830) married Peter A. Grotjan, a Philadelphia newspaper publisher, in 1809. She later named one of her children after TJ and obtained a letter of advice from

him to the young boy (Peter A. Grotjan, "Memoirs of an Early American," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 172 [1936]: 168–9; Brigham, *American Newspapers*, 2:917; Grotjan to TJ, 1 Jan. 1824; TJ to Grotjan and to Thomas Jefferson Grotjan, both 10 Jan. 1824; Philadelphia *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, 29 July 1830).

From Benjamin Rush

MY DEAR SIR

Philadelphia march 15th 1813

soon After I became the Advocate of domestic Animals as far as related to thier diseases, in the lecture of which I sent you a copy, mr Carver applied to me to become his advocate with our Citizens for the purpose he has mentioned in his letter to you. His proposition at first struck me as humane & praise worthy, but in a short time Afterwards it appeared to me in the same light that it does to you. I gave him a trifle to assist in paying¹ for his passage, & obtained for him a passport from m^r monroe. Here my Services to him ended.—After this information your line of Conduct will be an obvious One.—He is an Englishman & has parents in England whom he has not seen for many years. All this is inter nos.—

Alas! for the divided state of our citizens, and the distracted state of the Councils of our country!—while I have uniformly considered the War we are engaged in as just, I have lamented the manner

in which it has been conducted. The Attack upon Canada appears to involve in it too much of the conquering Spirit of the old world, and is contrary to the professions and interests of Republicans. Admit that we have conquered it,—shall We hold it as a province? or give it a representation in our national legislature?—If the latter,—by what means shall we eliminate British principles and habits from the representatives that will be sent by that British state to our Congress? Have we not evils eno^r to contend with already from those principles and habits?—why then should we encrease them? But further,—is not the perpetuity of our Union and of our republican institutions intimately connected with our being constantly under the pressure of circumambient monarchical states?

In favor of defending our rights of Sovereignty upon the Ocean² exclusively, I have thought that as the outrages committed upon our national interests were upon the ocean, they ought to be vindicated there only,—that on the Ocean the resentments of our Citizens had arisen to the war point, but no where else; that our citizens, from the number of our bays, rivers & Creeks, and thier habits of living by Arts that render them familiar with the means of managing the waters, and by thier general knowledge of swimming, and Climbing, were better³ prepared for a Sea, than a land war—that our ships could be manned by Volunteers only, and never by drafts from the farmers & mechanics of our Country, nor by Soldiers enlisted in a fit of intoxication,—that our inability to meet the force of Britain upon the Ocean would lessen every year, & that every Ship we built would require two or three ships of equal force to watch her, and that in this manner we might weaken the naval strength of Britain in the European and East India seas, without giving her an opportunity to lessen ours;—that in the winter months we could convoy our trade to and from our shores in spite of the whole navy of Britain, and that even this transient protection to our imports would supply our treasury with the means of defraying the expenses of our navy—and lastly that a navy would never be dangerous to liberty, & that it would transfer the Vices of war from our farmers and prevent women and Children from sharing directly in its calamities.

Our naval Victories are presages of what may be done by a free and incensed nation contending for the gift of god to all the inhabitants of the globe. The year 1812 will be memorable in the history of the world for having witnessed the first checks that have been given to the overgrown pride and power of France on land, & of Britain on the Ocean. many of the Crimes of Great Britain that remain yet “un-whipt by justice” to use the words of Shakespear, were perpetrated in

America. Our Country was settled by them. The jails and prison ships of new york, which were the theatres of⁴ others of her Crimes,⁵ during the revolutionary war have cried, for more than thirty years, to Heaven for retribution.⁶ Those Cries have been echoed over & over by the Sailors who have been dragged from our merchantmen and compelled to shed thier blood in fighting against nations against whom they felt no hostility,⁷ & in some instances against thier own Countrymen. Perhaps the time for punishing all those Crimes is now come, and as the Navy of Britain⁸ has been the principal instrument of those Crimes, perhaps the long and much injured United states may be the means employed by a just Providence⁹ setting bounds to the power of that navy, and the[re]by of rendering the ocean the safe & common high way of all nations.—Such an event would create a jubilee in all the maritime nations in the world.—Humanity & justice would for ever triumph in it.—

But whither has an attempt to reply to the latter part of your letter carried me? as an apology for it, I shall only add, that I am now in my 69th year,—that I seldom read any thing in a news paper but Articles of intelligence & that I loath political controversies above all things. From these declarations you have a right to infer that I have filled my paper with Nothing but the “babblings of a second Childhood.”

I have lately published a volume of inquiries upon the diseases of the mind. They have been well received by the public. If you wish to look into them, I shall do myself the pleasure of sending you a copy of them.

The few Sands that remain [in]¹⁰ my glass urge me constantly to quicken my labors. my next work will be entitled “Hygiene, or Rules for the preservation of health accommodated to the climate, diet, manners & habits of the people of the United states.”—all the imperfections of both these publications must be ascribed to a Conviction that my time in this world must necessarily be short. Had they been kept to the “novum annum,” they would have had fewer faults.—

I enclosed in my last letter to you, a small book written by Bishop Porteus, as a present to m^{rs} Randolph’s Children. As you have not acknowledged the receipt of it in your letter, I fear it has not been received by you.

M^r Adams still does me the honor of favouring me now and then with a letter. In his last, he mentions your name with kindness, and speaks with surprise of the correctness of your Stile—of the Steadiness of your hand evidenced in your writing, and of your exploits on horseback, at your advanced stage of life.

From Dear Sir your sincere old friend of 1775. BENJ^N RUSH

PS: From the present Complexion of Affairs in our country Are you not disposed at times to repent of your Solitude, and labors & Sacrifices¹¹ during our revolutionary strugg[le] for liberty and independance? Have you not been disappointed in the Conduct of both Tories & Whigs? Have not the former encreased in number not only by population, but by the accession of Englishmen, and the apostasy of many revolutionary Whigs? are not the sons of Tories, Nero Nero-nior? Have not our funding System, and its offspring, Banks like so many Delilahs robbed the Whigs of thier revolutionary strength & virtue? War has its evils; so has a long peace. A field of battle covered with dead bodies putrefying in the open air, is an awful and distressing Spectacle, but a nation debased by the love of money, and exhibiting all the Vices and Crimes usually connected with that passion is a Spectacle far more awful, distressing and Offensive. Hince—hinc lacrymæ rerum!

RC (DLC); edge chipped; between signature and postscript: "Tho^s Jefferson Esquire"; endorsed by TJ as received 24 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

Rush published his lecture on ANIMALS as "An Introductory Lecture to a Course of Lectures, upon the Institutes and Practice of Medicine, delivered in the University of Pennsylvania, on the 2nd of November, 1807; upon the duty and advantages of studying the Diseases of Domestic Animals, and the Remedies proper to remove them," *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* 1 (1808): xlix–lxv. In William Shakespeare's *King Lear*, act 3, scene 2, the title character speaks of "undivulged crimes" UNWHIPT BY JUSTICE. Rush had LATELY PUBLISHED *Medical Inquiries and Observations, upon the Diseases of the Mind* (Philadelphia, 1812). He died before his NEXT WORK was completed. NOVUM ANNUM: "new year." John ADAMS had written to Rush on 3 Feb. 1813 that "Jefferson is as tough as a lignum Vitæ Knot. He rides Journeys on Horseback. I have, within a few days a Letter from him, a very obliging one, written with all the

precision of his best years. Not one Symptom of decay or decline can I discern in it" (RC in ViU: Albert H. Small Declaration of Independence Collection; FC in Lb in MHi: Adams Papers). NERONE NERONIOR: "more Nero-like than Nero himself." HINCE—HINC LACRYMÆ RERUM: "Here—here are tears for misfortune" alludes to Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.462 (Fairclough, *Virgil*, 1:294–5).

¹ Preceding three words interlined in place of "pay."

² Manuscript: "Ocean."

³ Preceding two words interlined in place of "more."

⁴ Manuscript: "of Of."

⁵ Preceding nine words interlined.

⁶ Word interlined in place of "<Venge> the punishment of those crimes."

⁷ Manuscript: "hosity." ⁸ Preceding two words interlined.

⁹ Preceding five words interlined in place of "of restraining and."

¹⁰ Omitted word editorially supplied.

¹¹ Rush here canceled "in the cause of Liberty and justice."

From André Thoüin

MONSIEUR ET VÉNÉRABLE COLLEAGUE, a Paris le 15 Mars 1813.

J'ai remis le 11 fevrier dernier, a M. Warden, Consul des États unis a Paris, mon tribut annuel, que cet homme estimable S'est chargé avec empressement de vous faire passer par une voie Sure et prompte. Il est composé cette année de 270 Especies de graines d'arbres et de Plantes de toutes les divisions economiques et de fleurs d'ornemens pour les parterres & le Jardins de plaisance. Je Souhaitte que cet assortiment vous parvienne bientôt et qu'il vous Soit agréable et utile.

Si ce n'était pas abuser de vos bontés, Je vous prierais, Monsieur, de vous interesser auprès de vos voyageurs pour me faire obtenir des Semences des végétaux indigènes entre les monts Aleghani et la mer du Sud. Ce Serait un grand bienfait dont je vous Serais infiniment reconnoissant.

Il vient de paraître la Traduction d'un ouvrage Allement d'un grand intérêt pour les grands propriétaires de biens ruraux. Ce Sont les Principes raisonnés d'agriculture de A. Thaer, Par E.V.B. Crud. Cet ouvrage est remarquable en ce que toutes Ses propositions Sont Soumises a l'analyse et au calcul le plus exacte. fort différent des ouvrages qui L'ont précédé dans la plupart des quels on ne rencontre que des axiomes vagues et Supperficies. Ce livre merite d'etre connu et repandu en Amerique. Je vous le Signale a cet Effet.

Je vous renouvel toujours avec empressement

Monsieur et Venerable Collegue L'Expression de mon hommage
tres respectueux

THOÛIN

nous désirerions bien voir dans nos annales quelques observations de vous, Monsieur?

E D I T O R S ' T R A N S L A T I O N

SIR AND VENERABLE COLLEAGUE,

Paris 15 March 1813.

On 11 February I delivered my annual tribute to Mr. Warden, United States consul at Paris, and this estimable man willingly took charge of delivering it safely and promptly to you. This year it consists of 270 varieties of tree seeds, plants of every economic type, and ornamental flowers for parterres and pleasure gardens. I hope that this assortment reaches you soon and proves useful and pleasing to you.

Were it not an abuse of your good nature, I would ask you, Sir, to interest your explorers in procuring for me vegetable seeds indigenous to the region between the Allegheny Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. I would be infinitely grateful for this great kindness.

A recently published translation of a German work is of great interest to owners of large tracts of land. It is the *Principes raisonnés d'agriculture* of A. Thaer by E.V.B. Crud. This work is remarkable in that all of its propositions are submitted to analysis and the most accurate calculations. It varies greatly from works preceding it that, for the most part, contain only vague and superficial axioms. This book deserves to be known in America. I mention it to you for that reason.

As always, I renew with great eagerness

Sir and venerable colleague, the expression of my profound respect

THOÛIN

We would love to see some of your observations in our annals, Sir?

RC (DLC: TJ Papers, 197:35155); on printed letterhead of the "Muséum D'Histoire Naturelle," with Thoüin's handwritten identification of himself as "l'un des Professeurs-Administrateurs" ("one of the professors-administrators"); endorsed by TJ as a letter of 11 Mar. 1813 received 28 May 1813 and so recorded in SJL. Translation by Dr. Genevieve Moene. Enclosed in David Bailie Warden to TJ, 1 Apr. 1813.

Albrecht Daniel Thaer's *OUVRAGE ALLEMENT* was *Grundsätze der rationalen Landwirtschaft*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1809–12). The French translation by Élie Victor Benjamin CRUD was *Principes raisonnés d'agriculture*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1811–16). An American edition did not appear until 1846.

Will of Thomas Mann Randolph

I Thomas Mann Randolph the elder of the county of Albemarle in the state of Virginia upon mature reflection and in the most deliberate manner do publish and declare this writing to be my last Will and Testament: Having from the experience of twenty three years full confidence in the understanding, judgement, honour and impartial Maternal feeling of my beloved Wife Martha and considering that her time of life precludes all reasonable apprehension of her contracting another marriage which I might nevertheless¹ have felt if I had not received from her frequently very solemn assurances to the contrary I give and bequeath to her my said Wife my whole estate real and personal to distribute among her children and retain for her own use as she may think fit after paying all my just debts according to such principles of settlement as I may have agreed to in my life time with the different parties as they will shew.

I recommend to her to sell the Varina estate to pay the debts but I advise her at the same time to reclaim all the tide land first by continuing the artificial Bank along the river from where I have stoped down to the lower corner on the river, and turning it across to the hill, then digging wide ditches with sufficient slope from the little rapid in the

roundabout creek near the Fairhill gate of Varina to the river below Bollings orchard on the river bank; and if an agreement can be made for the purpose with Mess^{rs} Miller and Mosby, from the next little rapid in the same creek near where the line of the tract I got from Bullington crosses it around the foot of fair-hill and across the Back gate to the river immediately below the dam; the estate will by that operation be made worth 80 or 100.000\$. and the work will be permanent if the creeks be stoped in the manner Wharves are made, with logs and alternate layers of gravel and mud, and the cost ought not to be over 1500\$., with what work can be done from the farm without loss of the crop. Again I recommend to her to divide Edgehill as I have done into three separate farms after giving Jefferson the part allotted to him viz. from the mouth of the Chapel Branch to the mouth of that branch which runs into it at Chisholms Tobacco House, up the said Branch to the head spring of it, up the gulley to the line run along the back of the Chapel ridge by William Page and myself, by Martin Bakers Tobacco House to the back fence, along the back fence and along a line continuing its course to the great drain, up the great drain to the Lego line; and all the Wood land of M^cKenzie's entry lying above a level line to be run from the narrow neck which joins the chapel ridge to the mountain around by the flat on the top of the piny spur to a very deep valley making down the mountain side by the said piny spur on the N.E. side thereof.² The first of the said three farms to be bounded by the chapel branch from Jeffersons line to the old three notched road where the said road departed from the branch toward where the Barn now stands, along the said road to the corner of the stable, from the corner of the stable across to the spring branch, from that junction up the spring branch leaving the spring close on the right, then up the branch runing down the valley by Nats house to the new fence which I laid off with M^r German and M^r Gooch, along that fence to the head of a certain valley shewn by me to M^r Gooch, down that valley to the dry branch and up the dry branch taking the Westernmost fork untill the East line of M^cKenzie's entry when continued Southward, shall join the said Branch. The other two of the said 3. farms to contain all the remainder of the tract and to be separated by a line along an old path leading out of the Hammocks gap road in the direction toward an old Tobacco house in the Wallnut field used by German for a stable untill the said path joins the branch on the east side of the Wallnut field, down the said branch to the fish dam, up the other branch leaving Brits-spring to the right untill a line runing from the road through Edgehill by the Wallnut tree and Ray's flat rock with as gentle a

slope as can be without too great a Curve shall meet the said Branch and along the road through to the junction of the new fence dividing Gooches from Germans place.

signed sealed published and declared before

BRICE HARLOW

MARTIN FIDDLER

TH: M. RANDOLPH

March 16. 1813,

MS (DLC: Randolph Family Miscellany); in Randolph's hand, signed by Randolph, Harlow, and Fiddler; endorsed by Randolph: "David Higinbotham Sept. 1813. Inclosure from"; with additional note by Randolph: "M^r Higinbotham is very particularly requested by his sincere friend Thomas Mann Randolph to take charge of this paper and put it into the hand of M^r Jefferson himself when they may first happen to be alone together."

This will was apparently never recorded in the Albemarle County Court, probably because at the time of his death in 1828, Randolph was no longer in posses-

sion either of VARINA, his property along the James River in Henrico County, or EDGEHILL, his Albemarle County farm. He gave control of both to his son Thomas Jefferson Randolph in a deed of trust dated 1 Apr. 1824. Over the next two years the younger Randolph sold both properties for the benefit of his father's creditors. In one of these sales Thomas Jefferson Randolph purchased Edgehill for himself (Gaines, *Randolph*, 148, 155–6, 161–2; Albemarle Co. Deed Book, 24:268–70).

¹ Word interlined.

² Preceding ten words interlined.

From Patrick Gibson

SIR

Richmond 17th March 1813

I have received your favors of the 7th & 11th with your note for \$4300. and John Harvie's for \$176.90 which Jn^o Brockenbrough has promised to pay to day—I remitted on the day I last wrote to you the \$97 to Alricks and the \$250 to J: A: Goodman, it was respecting the first sum only I apprehended any difficulty—no money has been paid by m^r Randolph since the 10th Nov^r last—m^r Darmsdatt requested me to say that if you want any fish this season, you would do well to speak for them immediately, as they will be very scarce, and no probability of procuring them from the Potomac so long as the present blockade continues, which I cannot agree with you in thinking is only as a shelter for their ships—every preparation seems to be making for an attack upon Norfolk, and no doubt an attempt will at the same time be made to destroy the Constellation, I am inform'd by major Preston that they have a disposable land force of upwards of 3000 men, which have been removed from the different ships on board

such, as are lying in the Roads—they are said to be waiting a reinforcement of eight ships of the line, which are daily expected—there is literally nothing doing here flour is nominally 6\$—I show'd your letter of the 11th to Mr Taylor who is anxious that the papers relative to mazzei's lot may be sent down he is of opinion the title is still in Foster Webb's heir, if so, he will undertake to get young Webb, who is just now of age to make the conveyance—

Respectfully I
am Your ob^t Serv^t PATRICK GIBSON

THE ROADS: Hampton Roads.

VENERABLE SIR,

[ca. 17 Mar. 1813]

I am a man of no property—or hardly any name in society—I seek not the honors—nor pleasures of the world—I could wish to be rich tho', for I could thereby have an opportunity of extending my usefulness—yet I don't know what I might do if I were rich, for I don't know myself, tho' I've been trying to study myself this twenty years—still I do believe I should be the happiest man in the world if I could only afford relief to the many needy objects I see & hear around me—I might, by this means, multiply my existence, as it were, & live in the life of every individual I had oblig'd—O! it would be the luxury of life the very Soul of living to purpose!—But, it is time to let you into the meaning of this strange note—If I have any design, Rever'd Sir, it is to draw money from you—to Crave Alms—to beg in short—not for myself—for I deserve nothing but destruction without mercy, having for 35 years devoted my life to mere self-pleasing—but about six years ago by the grace of God, starting from my loose reverie & long—long night of dozing—I found I had no right to do as I pleas'd unless I pleas'd to do right—& whereas I had before made Self the supreme object thenceforth I have sought my happiness in the love of God & in doing good to my fellow mortals—& may you too, most excellent Sir, obtain like precious faith—& believe it very possible with God to assume our Nature & become man in order to reconcile man to himself—In what, says Bourdaloue, a great French Divine of the last century, 'In what consisted the offence against God?' In this that man forgetting himself, proudly affected to be like God—"ye shall be as Gods" & I says God-made-man, who am not only like to God,

but equal & consubstantial with him, thro' a very different kind of forgetfulness of myself will become the outcast of men "a worm & no man"—Is it possible, continues this eloquent & pious Divine, Is it possible to conceive a more effectual reparation!—Man, by revolting against God had shaken off the yoke of obedience, & violated the Commands of his Sovereign; & I says God-made-man, quite independent as I am of myself, will freely submit to the most painful humiliation

I will be obedient unto Death!—the Death of the Cross!!! But, to return—that benevolence which has heretofore been a prominent feature in your illustrious Character not doubting it remains the same with those other qualities with which God has so nobly distinguish'd You—unimpaired & independant & only wants a just occasion to exert itself, to be respected—to be honor'd—to be lov'd as well as ever—has induced the writer to solicit your Aid in behalf of suffering Virtue—A young Lady (Sarah Rogers) born in the interior of New-Hampshire, of poor & simple parentage is now in the City philadelphia brought¹ thither by an affectionate Bro. whose discernment & feelings would not allow him to let her remain in obscurity & want &c.—but doom'd to part from her by indispensable obligations (his Father being at the point of Death) she now lies at the mercy of Strangers, with only a single relative, who can do little else than condole & participate in her penury—& what adds poignancy to the distressing scene—She owes money & must pay it—tho' without the use of hands or Feet!! & yet a kind Providence has made up the deficiency, by enabling her to perform with her mouth, the art of painting (which has hitherto been Consider'd as a property peculier to the hands)—a specimen of which accompanies this:—But tho' she has supported herself in this very wonderful² manner about six years—, & is still improving—still pressing with stubborn industry, thro' every obstacle—She is now in arrears for board to the Amount of 150 Doll^s & what makes it doubly painful, she owes it to a worthy widow, very poor, very clever, & very industrious;—& at the same time she is so sensible of her own consequence that She will not apply to any one for relief,—nor is this so much owing to rank pride, as to a certain native delicacy which delights more in self-suffering than in troubling others,—&, is less wounded in feeling actual distress, than it would be in exposing itself to severe animadversion.—Now, Sir, tho' the moon, from its being so Commonly seen, is beheld without emotion is still an admirable object in itself—so, this Young Lady from being so often seen in this City for four years past, is beheld without incouragement—tho' she continues the same deserving—the same ad-

mirable object She ever has, & perhaps far more so:—The writer therefore, independantly of any person or thing, save only a simple wish to be obliged to You, Honor'd Sir, in preference to any other being on earth, presumes, in this way, to excite your attention towards one of the most extraordinary subjects of misfortune that ever God made use of to try the Charity of the Children of men Tho' the writer is aware that this simple statement requires a degree of faith & discernment, of which, the midling-sized soul, form'd upon & fitted to the customs & maxims of a suspicious world—untaught in the knowledge of genuine character, & unsusceptible of the simple marks of truth, can frame no ideas—yet he flatters himself that you, Rever'd Sir, will give Credence to it:—But, if after all, he should be disappointed in his expectations from other reasons (for he can't persuade himself he will be discredited)—it will be at least, a failure in 'noble daring'³—

—in the mean time, let the event turn as it may, he cannot be divested of the Consolation of being disappointed by Thomas Jefferson, who can never act, nor forbear to act without reason—From an Old, yet unknown Frd.
CHA. ROGERS

P.S.

Any Communication, under whatsoever restrictions,
directed to Sarah Rogers or Charles Rogers
philadelphia,
will be receiv'd with becoming gratitude
& observ'd with the most mark'd attention

RC (MHi); undated; addressed: "Thomas Jefferson Esqr^e Monticello, Virginia"; stamp canceled; franked; post-marked Belleville, 17 Mar.; endorsed by TJ as received 24 Mar. 1813 from Philadelphia and so recorded in SJL. Enclosure not found.

Rogers paraphrases from a sermon of Louis BOURDALOUE (Denis O'Mahony, *Great French Sermons from Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon* [1917], 17; Sowerby, no. 1570). YE SHALL BE AS GODS and A WORM & NO MAN are biblical quotations, from Genesis 3.5 and Psalms 22.6, respectively.

SARAH ROGERS (ca. 1788–1813) was born limbless. By 1807 she was staying at or near the Shakespeare Hotel in Philadelphia where, for an admission fee of twenty-five cents, onlookers could

watch her as she "draws with a pencil, with delicacy and ease, paints landscapes and flowers, &c. She uses scissors, threads a needle and writes with facility." Rogers sold her works, including "Large Flowers fit for framing, and Gentleman's Watch Papers," and also traveled through the South, displaying her talents in Charleston, South Carolina, before her death in Philadelphia on 30 Oct. 1813 (*A Real Object of Charity* [Walpole, N.H., 1806]; *Philadelphia Aurora General Advertiser*, 11 Dec. 1807; *Philadelphia Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, 26 July, 4 Nov. 1809, 2 Nov. 1813).

¹ Reworked from "this City brought."

² Manuscript: "wonderful."

³ Omitted closing quotation mark editorially supplied.

From Alrichs & Dixon

HIGHLY ESTEEMD FRIEND

Wilmington 18th 3 M^o 1813

we have to acknowledge thy¹ favour 11th current—; in our reply to thine, of 3rd Ins^t; (which we hope thou hast receivd;) we stated, what we supposd must be the cause of thy Carder not performing to satisfaction; and the way, we hoped, to remedy it.—we regret, exceeding, that thou has found so much difficulty; with thy machine;—we had tried it before we sent it on; and fully believed it would answer well—

the reduceing, and simplifying: of the Cotton Machinery; so as to introduce it into common domestic use; has been a subject, of much, and earnest, solicitude with us, we had a hope: that if they: could be so made; as to be used in private families; they might become so general, as to counteract; in this country: the groth of those large Manufacturing Establishments; which: we see are: in Europe: so destructive to all that ought, to be: Valuable to man—

If thy Machine should still not answer on trial of our last direction, we would be obliged if thou would write us perticularly how it is feed &c, we think it must and will perform well, and will most cheerfully do what is reasonable in our power toward making it

we are with much Respect

ALRICHS & DIXON

RC (DLC); in Alrichs's hand; endorsed by TJ as received 24 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

Dixon was dated 10 Mar. 1813, not the 3RD INS^T.

¹ Manuscript: "thy thy."

The earlier letter to TJ from Alrichs &

From Samuel J. Harrison

DEAR SIR

Lynchbg mar 19—1813

I rec^d your Letter of the 7 Ins^t in due Course. I fear your Ideas as to the Intention of the Blockading Squadron will not be Realized—my opinion is that, it is intended, & will be permanant; except as to Bread Stuffs—and even as to that, unless they Should be necessitated abroad—which we have no right to believe will Shortly be the Case, as Various accounts from the Peninsula State the Quantity there to be great, & prices low—Besides we may now, expect Considerable Shipments will be made to them from the Baltick.

M^r Goodman has only Sent in 5 Hhds Tob^o which being too high in Orders, has thrown him Considerably back, as he was obliged to

19 MARCH 1813

Exchange¹ a good deal, before it would be fit for prizing—He was with me yesterday, and Says he thinks there will be Rather over 20,000—but that I may Count Certainly upon that much—I have directed him to be Very particular about the order of the Balance; which may put off the last till perhaps, the middle of may—But wishing to Serve you—I here enclose you a Dft on my Friends Gibson & Jefferson for \$1,000. at Ten Days Sight—which I Suspect will be about as much as the Crop will amount to, as the Hhds that are Rec^d are much lighter than M^r Goodman expected.

please acknowledge the Rec^t of thro'

Y^r M^o ob Hb st

S J HARRISON

RC (MHi); endorsed by TJ as received 24 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL. Enclosure not found.

THE PENINSULA: the Iberian Peninsula. HIGH IN ORDERS: tobacco in high order is too damp (*OED*).

TJ sent the enclosed draft for \$1,000 to Patrick Gibson in a letter dated 25 Mar. 1813, not found but recorded in SJL (as a

letter to Gibson & Jefferson) and extracted in the catalog for Sotheby Parke Bernet auction, New York City, 3 May 1977, item 68: "My tobacco in Bedford, being partly delivered to Mr. Harrison, he has enclosed me the within order for 1000D on account which I hasten to forward to you."

¹ Manuscript: "Echang."

List of 1812 Tobacco Crop Sold to Samuel J. Harrison, with Thomas Jefferson's Notes

Thomas Jefferson

N^o 701 –170–1340

702 –170–1344

703 –170–1404

788¹–170–1354

789 –170–1330

705 –170–1050

706 –170–1300

985 –170–1412

986 –170–1212

987 –170–1276

988 –170–1358 stemmed²

989 –170–1051

990³–170–1397

16818⁴

Blackwater

19 MARCH 1813

[*Note by TJ in left margin:*]

16818		
1358	stemmed	
15460	leaf @ 6.D	927.60
1358	}	
1500		
944		
3802.	stemmed @ 5.D	190.10
		1117.70

[*Note by TJ on verso:*]

Tobacco of 1812. sold to Sam¹ J. Harrison
to wit 13. hhds leaf 15,542. @ 7.D = 932.52 D
3. hhds stemm^d @ 5 D

MS (ViU: TJP-ER); written on a scrap in an unidentified hand, with additions in TJ's hand as indicated; undated, but evidently compiled after Harrison reported to TJ on 19 Mar. 1813 that Jeremiah A. Goodman had thus far sent in only five hogsheads of TJ's 1812 tobacco crop; endorsed by TJ: "Harrison Sam¹ J."

George Cabell's BLACKWATER tobacco warehouse was located in Lynchburg.

The earlier negotiations for the sale of the 1812 Poplar Forest tobacco crop are documented in Harrison to TJ, 25 Dec. 1812, 17 Jan., 14 Feb. 1813; TJ to Harrison, 7, 31 Jan., 7 Mar. 1813; TJ to Goodman, 5 Feb. 1813; *MB*, 2:1287.

¹ Reworked from "704."

² Word added by TJ.

³ Reworked from "980."

⁴ The correct sum is 16,828.

George Poindexter to James Monroe

[before 20 Mar. 1813]

M^r Poindexter with his respects to M^r monroe asks the favor of him to convey the Guinea grass seed, sent herewith, to m^r Jefferson. M^r Poindexter regrets that through the carelessness of his servant the grass seed were mixed with some of another kind, and a quantity of them lost, by being loose in the Portmanteau. m^r P. however hopes that enough of them remain to make an experiment, of the utility of this discription of grass, in the Latitude of monticello. The Letter from Doct. Brown was also much worn, & the seal broken in the portmanteau, it having, been thrown by the boy among some silver. m^r P. hopes m^r Jefferson will have the goodness to excuse these accidents; they frequently occur in so long a journey, as that from Natchez to Washington.

RC (DLC: TJ Papers, 198:35222); monroe." Enclosure: Samuel Brown to undated; addressed: "The Honble James TJ, 1 Oct. 1812. Receipt by TJ on 20

Mar. 1813 acknowledged in TJ to Brown, 17 Apr. 1813.

George Poindexter (ca. 1779–1853), attorney and public official, was a native of Louisa County. He lacked formal schooling but read law with local attorneys and was admitted in 1798 to the Albemarle County bar. His early clients included Elizabeth Henderson, Bennett Henderson's widow. Poindexter moved to Mississippi Territory in 1802 and soon rose to prominence, serving as attorney general, as a member of the territorial legislature, and from 1807–13 as territorial delegate to the United States Congress. From 1813–17 he was federal district judge for the territory, and in the latter year he made important contributions to the drafting of the state's first constitution. Poindexter served from 1817–19 as the first Mississippi state member of the

United States House of Representatives. He was governor from 1820–21, and during his tenure he began his codification of state law, which was completed in 1822 and adopted and published shortly thereafter as the *Revised Code of the Laws of Mississippi* (Natchez, 1824). Poindexter lost a race for a Congressional seat in 1822 but served in the United States Senate, 1830–35. Initially a supporter of Andrew Jackson, he soon broke with the president and ran unsuccessfully as a states'-rights Whig for reelection to the Senate. Poindexter first retired to Kentucky but later returned to Mississippi and practiced law there until his death (ANB; DAB; Woods, *Albemarle*, 77, 110, 380; Poindexter to TJ, 7 Mar. 1808 [DLC]; *Terr. Papers*, vols. 5–6; Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, 10 Sept. 1853).

From Benjamin Smith Barton

DEAR SIR,

March 23^d 1813.

I find there is to be a “physician” general of the arm. of the U. States—I have the vanity to think, that I am not entirely unqualified for that important place, by my age, my experience in practise, & my long experience as a teacher of a “practical” branch of medicine. Perhaps, I have some claim upon the government, as a steady supporter, so far as I can go, of the measures of the executive. I add, I flatter myself, my appointment to the place would not be deemed an unpopular one: because, among other reasons, I have contributed essentially to the education of a very great number of the young physicians in the present army & navy of the U. States. For a considerable time past, my health has been good & firm: and I could go through many¹ of the fatigues² of the station which I solicit. I have written, on this subject, to the President: but I have not received any answer. I am confident that you could effect somewhat for me, if your opinion of my qualifications be favourable; & the views of the President be not quite fixed in another quarter. The place of physician general, & not of surgeon general, is what I ask.

I am, Sir, with very great respect Your obedient servant & affect. friend, &c., &c.,

BENJAMIN SMITH BARTON.

RC (DLC); dateline at foot of text; endorsed by TJ as received 31 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

A provision in a 3 Mar. 1813 "Act for the better organization of the general staff of the Army of the United States" called for the appointment of both an apothecary general and a physician and surgeon GENERAL, "whose respective duties and powers shall be prescribed by the President of the United States," in order to insure the "better superintendence and management of the hospital and medical establishment of the army of the United States" (*U.S. Statutes at Large*,

2:819–20). The Senate subsequently confirmed President James Madison's nomination of James Tilton as "Physician and Surgeon General" and Francis Le Baron as apothecary general (*JEP*, 2:352, 353 [10, 11 June 1813]). No letter from Barton to THE PRESIDENT promoting his candidacy has been found. On 20 Apr. 1813 Barton asked Madison to consider appointing him treasurer of the United States Mint, a post left vacant by the death of Benjamin Rush (Madison, *Papers*, *Pres. Ser.*, 6:224).

¹ Word interlined in place of "some."

² Manuscript: "fatigus."

From Thomas Lehré

DEAR SIR

Charleston (S^o C^a) Mar: 23^d 1813

Presuming upon your goodness I have taken the liberty to mention to you the nature of an application I lately made to the President.

owing to the great sacrifices I have made for a number of years past to support the Republican cause in this State—The great increase of my family, and the pressure of the times, I have been induced, with the advice of my friends here, to offer my Services to the President, as a Candidate for any Civil office (within my capacity) that may be vacant.

It was currently reported a few days past, that the Federal Marshal of this District, is to be removed—as that is an office which I conceive myself, from my long experience in the Sheriffs office of this District, to be as competent to discharge the duties thereof, as any man in this State, I wrote a letter to the President respecting it—the enclosed is a true Copy of the same, since which I have not had the pleasure to hear from him.

It is well known here, from the Seaboard up to the mountains, that no man took a more firm, decisive, and active part throughout¹ this State, and in our Legislature, than I did, in the years 1796, 1800, and 1804, to promote your Election as President of the United States—and also, in the years 1808, and 1812, to promote M^r Madisons election (with which he is fully acquainted) to the same office, for which, I am well persuaded, your Political enemies, as well as the enemies of the present administration, have not, and will never² forgive me.

I should not have troubled you upon the present occasion

had I not been well informed, that whenever the secret enemies of our Country, hear of any of your active, and particular friends, becoming a Candidate for any office under the United States, however well qualified they may be to fill the same, they (our secret enemies) instantly use every base art, means and intrigue in their power to prevent their getting into office to serve their Country. Therefore, as I am not personally known to the President, permit me Sir, to solicit the very great favor of you to drop him a line on my behalf, which will ever³ be remembered by me with a lively sense of gratitude. Should the President think proper to appoint me to the above office, it will be highly gratifying to me, and to our Republican friends here, and he may be assured I shall (as I have always done in every office I have had the honor to fill in this State) discharge the duties thereof faithfully, and that he shall never have cause to say, he has served an ingrate.

I remain with the highest consideration

Dear Sir, Your very obedient and very humble Servant

THOMAS LEHRÉ

P.S. as the mails have been very irregular of late, can I with propriety request the favor of you to acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

RC (DLC: James Madison Papers); addressed: "Thomas Jefferson Late President of the U. States Monticello Virginia—Mail"; endorsed by TJ as received 3 Apr. 1813 and so recorded in SJL. Enclosure: Lehré to Madison, 16 Mar. 1813, requesting appointment as federal marshal for the South Carolina district, reporting that he has served twice as sheriff for this district, indicating that the state's congressional delegation and federal judges William Johnson and John Drayton will vouch for him, arguing that his exertions on behalf of the Republican party entitle him to consideration, and

suggesting that during wartime the office needs to be filled by someone acquainted with the law and committed to enforcing it (RC in DLC: Madison Papers; Tr in DLC; in Lehré's hand; at head of text: "(Copy)"; printed in Madison, *Papers, Pres. Ser.*, 6:127–8). Enclosed in TJ to Madison, 10 Apr. 1813.

The FEDERAL MARSHAL for South Carolina was Robert E. Cochran.

¹ Word interlined in place of "in."

² Manuscript: "vever."

³ Word interlined.

From Thomas Paine McMahon

SIR,

Phil^a March 24th 1813.

I take the liberty [of]¹ addressing you on a request which I hope you will be kind enough to comply with.

I am [the?]² son of Bernard M^cMahon of this city and Wish to get an appointment in the Navy or Army of the United States.

Knowing that you were good enough to corresspond With my father, I thought you would be so good as to give me a few lines of reccommendation to the secratary of the department you think I had better apply to.

I would prefer the Navy as I have been in the seafaring line before and have been to the East and West Inidies and several places in³ south America. But I have been informed by Sam¹ Carswell Esq^r of this place that he thought it would be useless to apply to the Navy Department, as there were so many applicants that there would be no probability of success: If so I would wish to get an appointment in the Army, and would prefer the peace Establishment, if there were any Vacancies.

Now is the time for those who are for their Country to come forward and support it; and I wish to be enrolled among the deffenders of their country and their Countries rights. I trust Sir, you will beleive me to be a republican in principal and practice, and rest assured that if you should think proper to grant my request, that I will neglect nothing on my part to prove myself deserving of your kindness. I am a young man about 22 years of age 6 feet high and I believe my Education is such as to quallify me for either the Army or Navy.

I hope Sir, you will be so good as to do me the honor of Writing to me at My fathers N^o 39 South second st. As soon as it may be convenient to you, and you will much Oblige Sir Yours &c.

With the greatest respect

TH: PAINE McMAHON.

RC (MoSHi: TJC-BC); at foot of text: "Th: Jefferson Esq^r"; endorsed by TJ as received 31 Mar. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

Thomas Paine McMahon (ca. 1791–1831) was born in Ireland before his father, the plant nurseryman Bernard McMahon, immigrated to Philadelphia in 1796. He was commissioned a third lieutenant in the 16th Infantry Regiment, United States Army, on 19 Apr. 1813. Promoted to second and first lieutenant effective 19 May 1813 and 1 Jan. 1814, respectively, he served as regimental quartermaster from May 1814 until his honorable discharge on 15 June 1815. McMahon was reinstated on 17 May 1816 as a second lieutenant with brevet rank of first lieutenant and resigned on 18 Apr. 1818. In 1819 and 1820 he published new

editions of his father's book, *The American Gardener's Calendar*. McMahon was admitted to the Philadelphia bar on 29 July 1825 and was a notary public by 1827 (Heitman, *U.S. Army*, 1:676; *JEP*, 2:364, 380, 410, 435, 488, 503, 3:55, 62, 136 [18 June, 1, 28 July, 1 Aug. 1813, 17 Feb., 4 Mar. 1814, 10, 17 Dec. 1816, 17 Apr. 1818]; *Baltimore American Farmer*, 31 Dec. 1819; John Hill Martin, *Martin's Bench and Bar of Philadelphia* [1883], 291; McMahon to Stephen Girard, 13 July 1827 [PPGi: Girard Papers; PPAmp microfilm]; *Philadelphia Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, 30 Aug. 1831).

¹ Omitted word editorially supplied.

² Omitted word editorially supplied.

³ Preceding three words interlined in place of "North and."