

THE PAPERS OF  
**THOMAS  
JEFFERSON**

RETIREMENT SERIES

J. JEFFERSON LOONEY, EDITOR

SUSAN HOLBROOK PERDUE AND ROBERT F. HAGGARD,  
SENIOR ASSOCIATE EDITORS

JULIE L. LAUTENSCHLAGER, ELLEN C. HICKMAN, AND  
CHRISTINE STERNBERG PATRICK,  
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LISA A. FRANCAVILLA, MANAGING EDITOR

7

November 1813 to September 1814

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Thomas Jefferson

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Volume 7

28 November 1813 to 30 September 1814

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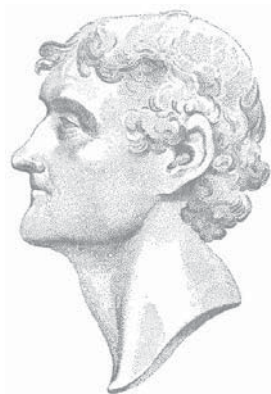
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## FOREWORD

THE 526 DOCUMENTS printed in this volume cover the period from 28 November 1813 to 30 September 1814. The War of 1812 continued its negative impact on the American economy, which was further strained in Jefferson's neighborhood by a poor growing season. In a 23 February 1814 letter to William Short, Jefferson commented that the embargo, the blockade, and drought had caused him to suffer "more than any other individual." He kept abreast of current events through correspondents at home and abroad as well as newspapers that provided regular updates from American battlefronts and from Europe, including accounts of Napoleon's abdication in April 1814. Jefferson initially discounted reports of the destruction late in August 1814 of the public buildings in Washington D.C. When the reality could no longer be denied, he was quick to write his old friend, Samuel H. Smith, now federal commissioner of the revenue, enclosing a catalogue of his library and offering his massive book collection as a replacement for the Library of Congress. Ultimately, in January 1815 Congress bought Jefferson's 6,707 books for \$23,950, an acquisition that has served as the nucleus for one of the world's great libraries.

During the months covered in this volume, Jefferson showed an interest in the documentation of history. In reviewing the extant sources on the 1765 Stamp Act crisis to aid William Wirt in preparing his biography of Patrick Henry, Jefferson observed that "It is truly unfortunate that those engaged in public affairs so rarely make notes of transactions passing within their knolege. hence history becomes fable instead of fact. the great outlines may be true, but the incidents and colouring are according to the faith or fancy of the writer." At the behest of Walter Jones, Jefferson recorded his largely positive impressions of George Washington's character. He also advised Joseph Delaplaine in his preparation of a series of biographies of famous Americans. Delaplaine was particularly anxious to locate suitable portraits of his subjects, and Jefferson went so far as to trace an image of Christopher Columbus for Delaplaine from the preface to a book in his possession, Theodor de Bry's *Americae Pars Quinta*. In response to his friend John Minor's request for a legal reading list, Jefferson transcribed and updated a document he had initially drawn up about 1773 for the namesake son of Bernard Moore. Jefferson's recommendations included Eugene Aram's 1759 defense at his murder trial, a speech printed elsewhere in this volume, which he

## FOREWORD

considered to be a model of logic and style and one of the finest orations in the English language.

Jefferson sometimes claimed during this period that his advancing age was impairing his physical abilities. His activities demonstrate no evidence of weakness. Early in the spring of 1814 Jefferson became a trustee of the Albemarle Academy. He was soon actively involved in planning for the establishment of the school. Jefferson served on a committee to draft rules and regulations for the board of trustees and propose funding options for the institution. His 7 September 1814 letter to Peter Carr laid out an expansive vision for the school's future as an institution of higher learning. Although the Albemarle Academy never opened its doors under that name, it was the earliest direct ancestor of the University of Virginia. Jefferson further displayed his enthusiasm for the cause of education in correspondence and conversations exchanging ideas with such respected scholars as Thomas Cooper and José Corrêa da Serra. He also furnished Richmond educator Louis H. Girardin with his formula and explanation of John Napier's mathematical theorem and continued to help educate his grandson, Francis Eppes.

Jefferson's correspondents engaged him on a wide range of topics, from the arts and sciences to religion and politics. Oliver Evans defended himself against Jefferson's doubts about the validity of his patent. Miles King urged the retired president at great length to reflect on his personal religion, eliciting an eloquent and tolerant rejoinder. Edward Coles, an Albemarle County friend and neighbor, called on Jefferson as the author of the Declaration of Independence to use his prestige to promote the abolition of slavery. In his diplomatic response, Jefferson reiterated his view that slavery was evil, but he discouraged any measures beyond gradual emancipation and expatriation. Ultimately he declined further involvement and left the problem to the next generation: "this enterprise is for the young; for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to it's consummation. it shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man."

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# 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

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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.

CoCCC	Colorado College, Colorado Springs
CsMh	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
	JF      Jefferson File
	JF-BA    Jefferson File, Bixby Acquisition
	JF-SA    Jefferson File, Smith Acquisition
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
DeGH	Hagley Museum and Library, Greenville, Delaware
DeWint-M	Henry Frances DuPont Winterthur Museum, Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, Winterthur, Delaware

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DFo	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.
DGW	George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
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, 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 <i>Index to the Thomas Jefferson Papers</i> [1976])
DNA	National Archives, Washington, D.C., with identifications of series (preceded by record group number) as follows:
	CD      Consular Dispatches
	CS      Census Schedules
	LAR      Letters of Application and Recommendation
	MLR      Miscellaneous Letters Received
	RCIAT      Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee
	RWP      Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois
ICPRCU	Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, Chicago, Illinois
ICU	University of Chicago, Illinois
LNT	Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana
MBat	Boston Athenæum, Boston, Massachusetts
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MiU-C	Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
MoSHi	Missouri History Museum, Saint Louis
	TJC-BC      Thomas Jefferson Collection, text formerly in Bixby Collection

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MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
NcCU	University of North Carolina, Charlotte
NcD	Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
NcU	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
	NPT Southern Historical Collection, Nicholas Philip Trist Papers
NhD	Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York City
NIC	Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, New Jersey
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey
NjVHi	Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, Vineland, New Jersey
NN	New York Public Library, New York City
NNC	Columbia University, New York City
NNGL	Gilder Lehrman Collection, New York City
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City
OCLloyd	Lloyd Library and Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PLF	Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
	VMWCR Visitors Minutes, University of Virginia and its predecessors, copy prepared after 7 October 1826 for William C. Rives
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PPRF	Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PU-L	Biddle Law Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
THi	Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville
TxH	Houston Public Library, Houston, Texas
TxNaSFA	Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas
Vi	Library of Virginia, Richmond
ViCMRL	Thomas Jefferson Library, Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc., Charlottesville, Virginia
ViFreJM	James Monroe Museum and Memorial Library, Fredericksburg, Virginia
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond

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ViLJML	Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg, Virginia
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville
	GT George Tucker transcripts of Thomas Jefferson letters
	TJP Thomas Jefferson Papers
	TJP-CC Thomas Jefferson Papers, text formerly in Carr-Cary Papers
	TJP-Co Thomas Jefferson Papers, text formerly in Cocke Papers
	TJP-ER Thomas Jefferson Papers, text formerly in Edgehill-Randolph Papers
	TJP-LBJM Thomas Jefferson Papers, Thomas Jefferson's Legal Brief in <i>Jefferson v. Michie</i> , 1804–15, deposited by Mrs. Augustina David Carr Mills
	TJP-PC Thomas Jefferson Papers, text formerly in Philip B. Campbell Deposit
	TJP-VMJB Thomas Jefferson Papers, Visitors Minutes, University of Virginia and its predeces- sors, copy prepared after 7 October 1826 for James Breckenridge
	TJP-VMJCC Thomas Jefferson Papers, Visitors Minutes, University of Virginia and its predecessors, copy prepared after 7 October 1826 for Joseph C. Cabell
	TJP-VMJHC Thomas Jefferson Papers, Visitors Minutes, University of Virginia and its predecessors, copy prepared after 7 October 1826 for John H. Cocke
	VMJLC Visitors Minutes, University of Virginia and its predecessors, copy evidently prepared for John Lewis Cochran
ViW	College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia

## EDITORIAL METHOD AND APPARATUS

	TC-JP	Jefferson Papers, Tucker-Coleman Collection
	TJP	Thomas Jefferson Papers
ViWC	Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia	
WHi	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison	

The following symbols represent repositories located outside of the United States:

FrN	Bibliothèque Municipale, Nantes, France
ItF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Italy
PIKMN	Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Poland
StEdNL	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

### 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 /)

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- tt     Livre Tournois  
⌘     Per (occasionally used for pro, pre)

### 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

Bathe and Bathe, *Oliver Evans*     Greville Bathe and Dorothy Bathe, *Oliver Evans: A Chronicle of Early American Engineering*, 1935, repr. 1972

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*

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- 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.
- 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.
- Bush, *Life Portraits*     Alfred L. Bush, *The Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson*, rev. ed., 1987
- Butler, *Virginia Militia*     Stuart Lee Butler, *A Guide to Virginia Militia Units in the War of 1812*, 1988
- Cabell, *University of Virginia*     Nathaniel F. Cabell, ed., *Early History of the University of Virginia as contained in the letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell*, 1856
- 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
- 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.
- Delaplaine's *Repository*     *Delaplaine's Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans*, Philadelphia, 1816–18, 2 vols.; Poor, *Jefferson's Library*, 4 (no. 139)
- 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*

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*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)

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

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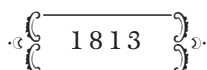
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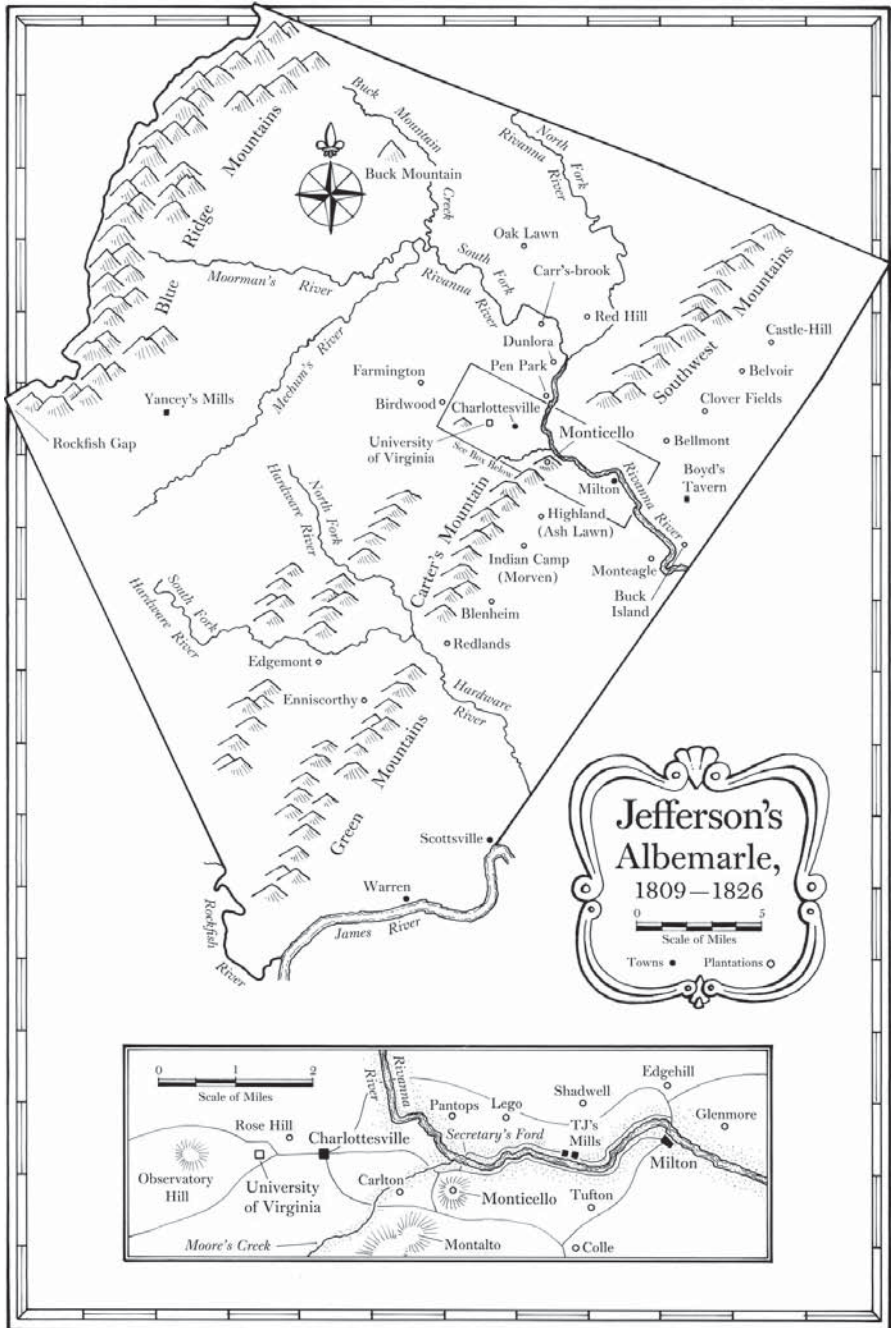
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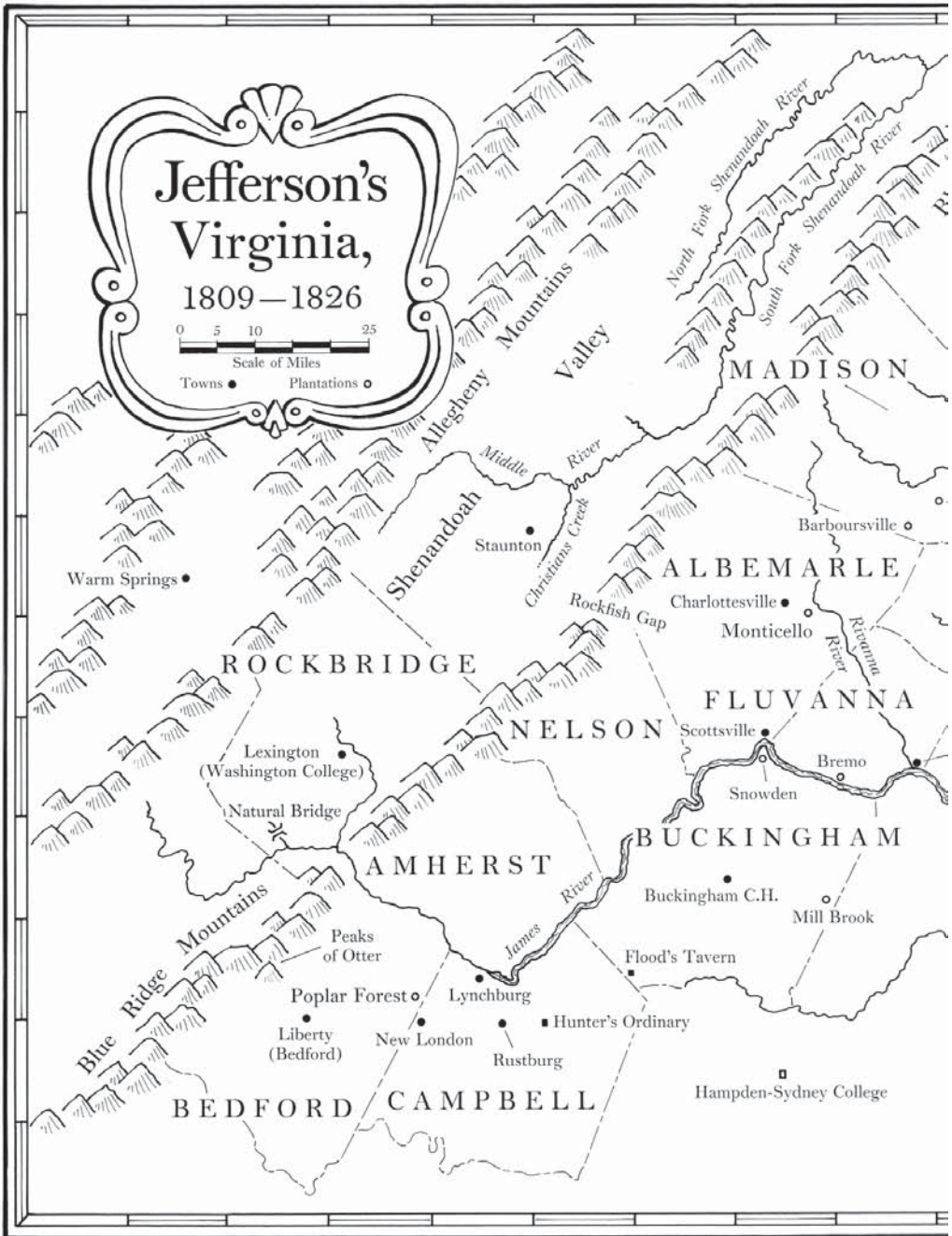
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# MAPS



# MAPS



## MAPS



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# ILLUSTRATIONS

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OLIVER EVANS BY BASS OTIS, ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM G. JACKMAN

Jefferson's cordial relationship with the inventor Oliver Evans (1755–1819) was interrupted by a contentious, public debate over the novelty of the milling machinery for which Evans is best known. The publication late in 1813 of Jefferson's letter to Isaac McPherson of 13 Aug. 1813, which cast doubts on the validity of Evans's patent, elicited an impassioned defense of his rights in Evans's letters of 7 and 29 Jan. 1814 to the ex-president. In 1816 Joseph Delaplaine commissioned the artist Bass Otis to paint two dozen portraits of famous Americans, including Evans and Jefferson, for use in *Delaplaine's Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans*. Although an engraving of the Jefferson likeness was the only one of Otis's works ultimately included, Delaplaine exhibited all of them at his Philadelphia gallery the following year. Rubens Peale bought the artworks after Delaplaine's death in 1824, and he later sold the entire collection to the famed showman P. T. Barnum. The portrait of Evans was apparently consumed in one of the two fires that destroyed Barnum's New York City museum during the 1860s. The caption beneath William G. Jackman's nineteenth-century line engraving of the Otis original, which was published by D. Appleton & Company of New York, describes Evans as "The [James] Watt of America" (Roland H. Woodward and others, *Bass Otis: Painter, Portraitist and Engraver* [1976], 14–7; Eugene S. Ferguson, *Oliver Evans: Inventive Genius of the American Industrial Revolution* [1980], 8–9; *DAB*, 1:637).

*Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution Libraries, Washington, D.C.*

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AS ENGRAVED BY JEAN DE BRY

Theodor de Bry included an engraving of the explorer Christopher Columbus by his son, Jean de Bry, in his *Americae Pars Quinta* (Frankfurt am Main, 1595; Sowerby, no. 3977). This representation of the famed explorer seems to have been taken either from a copy of a portrait attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo (Sebastiano Luciani) (ca. 1485–1547), the original of which is owned by New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art, or, less convincingly, from a shared artistic predecessor. Because both the signature and inscription identifying it as a painting of Columbus were apparently added long after its completion, both the artist and its subject are in doubt. Although a young Piombo might have painted Columbus (1451–1506) from life, few contend that he did so. Indeed, no life portrait of Columbus is known to exist. Furthermore, the visage depicted by "Piombo" and de Bry does not match up very well with contemporary written descriptions of Columbus, which most often portray him as long-faced, bright-eyed, and prematurely white-haired. Joseph Delaplaine ultimately chose to use a painting of Columbus by the Spanish artist Mariano Salvador Maella in the first volume of *Delaplaine's Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans* (Philadelphia, 1816–18). It was engraved by Peter Maverick, who would on two occasions during the 1820s perform a similar service for the

## ILLUSTRATIONS

plan of Jefferson's University of Virginia (John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains* [1904], 3:42–52; Paul M. Lester, "Looks Are Deceiving: the Portraits of Christopher Columbus," *Visual Anthropology* 5 [1993]: 211–27; Jane Turner, ed., *Dictionary of Art* [1996], 20:77–8; *DAB*, 6:432; Stein, *Worlds*, 196–7).

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

### ADDRESS COVERS

In 1809 Congress granted Jefferson the right to send and receive his letters and packages free of charge. His signature, or frank, on outgoing correspondence was the customary way of validating these gratis mailings. Autograph seekers have sometimes clipped away these signatures from surviving address covers. The postmarks and franks on incoming mail are either stamped or handwritten, with the former occurring predominantly in letters sent from larger municipalities, such as New York City and Charleston, South Carolina. The postage paid, if any, is generally inserted by hand. Jefferson's address is often given simply as "Monticello, Virginia," but the additional information that he lived in Albemarle County near Charlottesville or Milton is sometimes provided (*U.S. Statutes at Large*, 2:526, 552).

Jefferson to John E. Hall, 1 Jan. 1814, *Courtesy of Straus Autograph Collection, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collection, Princeton University Library.*

Abraham Howard Quincy to Jefferson, 10 May 1814, *Courtesy of the Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.*

John L. E. W. Shecut to Jefferson, 17 Aug. 1814, *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.*

### PETER CARR BY SAINT-MÉMIN

Peter Carr (1770–1815) was a favorite nephew of Jefferson, who supervised his education. Carr was a founding trustee of Albemarle Academy, and early in April 1814 he was elected president of its board. During the months that followed Jefferson joined him in overseeing the important early steps in the transformation of the nascent institution into Central College. Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin (1770–1852), artist, engraver, and museum director, immigrated in 1793 to the United States from France, by way of Switzerland. Within a few years he had established himself as one of America's preeminent miniature portraitists. His usual method was to take an exact profile of his subject with a physiognotrace, use a pantograph to reduce the image down to a little over two inches in diameter, and then make an engraving on a copper plate using a graver and roulette. In the years prior to 1810, Saint-Mémin took likenesses successively in New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, and Charleston, South Carolina. His surviving artistic output, which totals nearly nine-hundred head-and-shoulder profiles, 90 percent of which were engraved, documents the wealthiest, best-connected, and most powerful Americans of the Early National period. The first three presidents are each represented, with Jefferson having sat late in November 1804. The engraving of Peter Carr dates

## ILLUSTRATIONS

from Saint-Mémin's 1807–08 sojourn in Richmond, during which he made more than one-hundred portraits. After Napoleon fell from power in 1814, Saint-Mémin returned to France and served for more than thirty years as a museum director in his native Dijon (*ANB*; *DAB*; Bush, *Life Portraits*, 51–3; Fillmore Norfleet, *Saint-Mémin in Virginia: Portraits and Biographies* [1942], 97, 149).

*Courtesy of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of William Wilson, 75.16.597.*

### JEFFERSON'S TAX RECEIPTS

On 23 Jan. 1814 Jefferson paid the \$14 levied on his four-wheel phaeton and two-wheel gig by the 24 July 1813 federal "Act laying duties on carriages for the conveyance of persons." He made payment to and received signed receipts from the recently confirmed collector of the revenue for Virginia's nineteenth collection district, his son-in-law Thomas Mann Randolph. The vouchers were filled in and countersigned by the deputy collector, Jefferson's grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph, who had been appointed to that post by his father under section 20 of the 22 July 1813 "Act for the assessment and collection of direct taxes and internal duties." The elder Randolph resigned as collector soon thereafter and was succeeded by his son late in March 1814 (*MB*, 2:1296 [24 Jan. 1814]; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 3:23–4, 30, 40–1; *JEP*, 2:456, 461, 511, 515 [18, 21 Jan., 16, 26 Mar. 1814]).

*Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

### THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

On 14 Oct. 1814 George Thompson, a publisher of popular prints in West Smithfield, London, issued his wood engraving of "The Taking of the City of Washington in America." The caption beneath the print reads "THE CITY OF WASHINGTON THE CAPITAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAS TAKEN BY THE BRITISH FORCES UNDER MAJOR GEN<sup>L</sup> ROSS On Aug<sup>t</sup> 24 1814 when we burnt and destroyed their Dock Yard with a Frigate and a Sloop of War Rope-walk Arsenal Senate House Presidents Palace War Office Treasury and the Great Bridge With the Flotilla the public property destroyed amounted to thirty Million of Dollars." The frigate in question was the USS *Columbia*, and the sloop was the second USS *Argus*. The "Great Bridge" across the Potomac River, a mile-long pile structure with draws at both ends, opened in May 1809. It was located at the site of the present-day 14th Street Bridge connecting Virginia to the District of Columbia (Malcomson, *Historical Dictionary*, 10, 110, 596; *Washington National Intelligencer*, 22 May 1809; DeBenneville Randolph Keim, *Keim's Illustrated Hand-Book. Washington and its Environs* [1874], 52; Joseph West Moore, *Picturesque Washington* [1887], 304).

*Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.*

### JEFFERSON OFFERS HIS LIBRARY TO CONGRESS

Jefferson's letter to Samuel H. Smith of 21 Sept. 1814 offered his library to the nation to replace the one lost when the British burned the United States Capitol a month earlier. Surprisingly, it seems to have been published first in

## ILLUSTRATIONS

the Georgetown *Federal Republican*, a newspaper founded by the Federalist congressman Alexander Contee Hanson. This version, which appeared on 18 Oct., is complete and accurate, aside from some regularized punctuation and spelling, four words italicized for emphasis, a bracketed editorial comment, and a few misread words. Immediately following Jefferson's letter the editors included one of a satirical nature supposedly written by a Johannes Vonderpuff to Jefferson on 1 Oct. 1814 from Missouri and proposing to sell his own library to Congress. Although almost certainly apocryphal, Vonderpuff's missive is sufficiently interesting to merit inclusion at its appropriate chronological place in a forthcoming volume (*DAB*, 4:231; Brigham, *American Newspapers*, 1:89–90).

*Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.*

### RANGE OF OFFICES AT POPLAR FOREST

Although Jefferson reported to his son-in-law John Wayles Eppes in April 1813 that he had hired someone to build a range of "offices," or service rooms, at Poplar Forest, work did not begin in earnest for another year. Hugh Chisholm put up the walls of the wing, which stretched for one hundred feet from the main house to the eastern mound, in the spring and early in the summer of 1814. It was apparently roofed and finished during the following year. After its completion the range included a dairy or storage room, a kitchen, the cook's room, and a smokehouse. As at Monticello, it was built into the slope of the land (thus making it visible only from the back of the house) and boasted a covered walkway and a rooftop terrace that was often used by Jefferson and his guests for their evening stroll. The rooms were of various sizes, but through the regular spacing of the doorways the exterior was given a symmetrical appearance. Jefferson is not known to have contemplated the construction of a similar wing to the west of the main house. Demolished during the first half of the nineteenth century, the service rooms were rebuilt in 2008–09 by the Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest (TJ to Eppes, 18 Apr. 1813; Chisholm to TJ, 22 May 1814; TJ to Jeremiah A. Goodman, 4 Oct. 1814; *MB*, 2:1300; Chambers, *Poplar Forest*, 80–4, 191).

*Courtesy of Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, Les Schofer, photographer.*

## Volume 7

28 November 1813 to 30 September 1814

## 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.
- 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 Destutt de Tracy

Nov. 28. 13.

I will not fatigue you, my dear Sir, with long and labored excuses for having been so tardy in writing to you; but shall briefly mention that the thousand hostile ships which cover the ocean render attempts to pass it now very unfrequent, and these concealing their intentions from all that they may not be known to the enemy are gone before heard of in such inland situations as mine. to this, truth must add the torpidity of age as one of the obstacles to punctual correspondence.

Your letters of Oct. 21. & Nov. 15. 1811. and Aug. 29. 1813. were duly recieved and with that of Nov. 15 came the MS. copy of your work on Oeconomy. the extraordinary merit of the former volume had led me to anticipate great satisfaction and edification from the perusal of this; and I can say with truth and sincerity that these expectations were compleatly fulfilled. new principles developed, former ones corrected, or rendered more perspicuous,<sup>1</sup> present us an interesting science, heretofore voluminous and embarrassed, now happily simplified and brought within a very moderate compass. after an attentive perusal which enabled me to bear testimony to it's worth, I took measures for getting it translated and printed in Philadelphia; the distance of which place prepared me to expect great and unavoidable delays. but notwithstanding my continual urgencies these have gone far beyond my calculations. in a letter of Sep. 26. from the editor in answer to one of mine, after urging in excuse the causes of the delay, he expresses his confidence that it would be ready by the<sup>2</sup> last of October; and that period being now past, I am in daily expectation of hearing from him. as I write the present letter without knowing by what conveyance it may go, I am not without a hope of recieving a copy of the work in time to accompany this. I shall then be anxious to learn that better health and more encouraging circumstances enable you to pursue your plan thro' the two remaining branches of Morals & Legislation, which executed in the same lucid,

logical and condensed style, will present such a whole as the age we live in will not before have recieved. should the same motives operate for their first publication here, I am now offered such means, nearer to me, as promise a more encouraging promptitude in the execution. and certainly no effort should be spared on my part to ensure to the world such an acquisition. the MS. of the first work has been carefully recalled and deposited with me. that of the second, when done with shall be equally taken care of.

If unmerited praise could give pleasure to a candid mind I should have been highly exalted, in my own opinion, on the occasion of the first work. one of the best judges and best men of the age has ascribed it to myself; and has for some time been employed in translating it into French. it would be a gratification to which you are highly entitled, could I transcribe the sheets he has written me in praise, nay in rapture with the work; and were I to name the man, you would be sensible there is not another whose suffrage would be more encouraging. but the casualties which lie between us would render criminal the naming any one. in a letter which I am now writing him, I shall set him right as to myself, and<sup>3</sup> acknowledge my humble station far below the qualifications necessary for that work: and shall discourage his perseverance in retranslating into French a work the original of which is so correct in it's diction that not a word can be altered but for the worse; and from a translation too where the author's meaning has sometimes been illy understood, sometimes mistaken, and often expressed in words not the best chosen. indeed when the work, thro' it's translation becomes more generally known here, the high estimation in which it is held by all who become acquainted with it, encourages me to hope I may get it printed in the original. I sent a copy of it to the late President of W<sup>m</sup> and Mary college of this state, who adopted it at once, as the elementary book of that institution. from these beginnings it will spread and become a political gospel for a nation open to reason, & in a situation to adopt and profit by it's results, without a fear of their leading to wrong.

I sincerely wish you all the health, comfort and leisure necessary to dispose and enable you to persevere in employing yourself so usefully for present & future times: and I pray you to be assured you have not a more grateful votary for your benefactions to mankind nor one of higher sentiments of esteem & affectionate respect

TH: JEFFERSON

PoC (DLC); at foot of first page: "M le Comte De-tutt Tracy." Enclosed in TJ to David Bailie Warden, 29 Dec. 1813, and TJ to John Graham, 6 Jan. 1814.

THE FORMER VOLUME was Destutt de Tracy, *Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws*. The EDITOR of his most recent submission was William Duane. ONE OF THE BEST JUDGES AND BEST MEN OF THE AGE: Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours. The LATE PRESI-

DENT of the College of William and Mary was Bishop James Madison.

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript: "perspcuous."

<sup>2</sup> Preceding twenty-eight words interlined to correct a fault in the polygraph.

<sup>3</sup> TJ here canceled "take."

## From Joseph C. Cabell

DEAR SIR

Williamsburg, 29<sup>th</sup> nov<sup>r</sup> 1813.

Your favor of 7<sup>th</sup> inst covering an abstract of the Bill respecting yourself & the Rivanna River C<sup>o</sup>, did not get to Warminster, till nearly a fortnight after I had left home for the lower country: and it was not untill the 26<sup>th</sup> inst that I received it at this place. This will account for the delay of my answer; as well as for my not calling at Monticello on my way down, agreeably to your obliging invitation.

I am happy to learn that the Bill of the last session as amended in the Senate, is satisfactory to the parties concerned, & that it will pass thro' both houses as a matter of course. To the verbal amendments suggested by yourself in red ink, I presume, there will be no objection from any quarter, as they only remove defects in the wording of the bill, & cause it to express more accurately the real intentions of the parties.

On the subject of the duration of the charter, I can only say that it was made as short as was supposed compatible with the success of the amendments made in the Senate. M<sup>r</sup> Johnson advised me to attempt nothing further. I am extremely sorry that I cannot see your reasoning on the general question of the duration of charters, & the power of one generation to bind another. I should derive great satisfaction & advantage from such a communication; the more especially as it would throw light on the path of my official duties, in which I am desirous to move with all possible care & circumspection during the residue of the time that I have to act as the representative of the district. The ride from my house to monticello would have cheerfully been taken, for this object: had I not already have left home. I beg the favor of you to communicate this production to me, whenever in your opinion a suitable opportunity may occur.

Tho' I shall not be able personally to deliver Say's work to you, I hope you will not be disappointed in receiving it, by the period mentioned in your letter (7<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>) as I shall take all possible care to cause it to be put into your hands by that time. I brought it<sup>1</sup> as far as

Richmond, where I left it;<sup>2</sup> & from which I intended to send it to Monticello at the close of the session. I feel ashamed of the length of time I have kept it from you. Soon after borrowing it, I determined on reading Smith's treatise first; which I did: & then in order to understand him more clearly, I read him a second time: afterwards I read Say twice, with the exception of a small part—During these perusals, I took frequent occasion to refer to small tracts on branches of the science—These readings, with my other studies & avocations, have filled up the long space of time that Say has been in my hands. I am much pleased with this author, & think he well deserves the praises you bestow on him. He is more concise, more methodical, more clear, &, in many passages, more correct than Smith. His work approximates perfection more nearly than Smith's—yet I consider it only as an approximation. On the theory of money my mind is not yet satisfied, and I doubt whether new views of that branch of the science are not to rise upon the Human mind. My studies on the subject of political economy, are, however, in an unfinished state: and things may appear to me obscure, because I do not understand them. This has been often the case in regard to Commentators on Smith, and the remark, I think, at least in some degree applicable to Ganihl, whose work I have partly read. I shall be happy to hear your opinion of this writer at a convenient opportunity.

I am d<sup>r</sup> Sir very respectfully & truly yours

JOSEPH C. CABELL.

RC (ViU: TJP-PC); at foot of text: "Mr Jefferson"; endorsed by TJ as received 13 Dec. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

*Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols. (London, 1776; Sowerby, no. 3546).

<sup>1</sup> Cabell here canceled "along in my carriage."

Adam SMITH'S TREATISE was *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the*

<sup>2</sup> Cabell here canceled "in my trunk at M<sup>rs</sup> Carrington's."

## To Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours

MY VERY DEAR AND ESTIMABLE FRIEND.

Nov. 29. 13.

In answering the several very kind letters I have recieved from you, I owe to yourself, and to the most able and estimable author of the Commentaries on Montesquieu to begin by assuring you that I am not the author of that work, and of my own consciousness that it is far beyond my qualifications. in truth I consider it as the most profound and logical work which has been presented to the present generation. on the subject of government particularly there is a purity and sound-

ness of principle which renders it precious, to our country particularly, where I trust it will become the elementary work for the youth of our academies and Colleges. the paradoxes of Montesquieu have been too long uncorrected. I will not fail to send you a copy of the work if possible to get it thro' the perils of the sea. I am next

to return you thanks for the copy of the works of Turgot, now completed by the receipt of the last volume. in him we know not which most to admire, the comprehensiveness of his mind, or the benevolence and purity of his heart. in his *Distribution of Riches*, and other general works, and in the great principles developed in his smaller works, we admire the gigantic stature of his mind. but when we see that mind thwarted, harrassed, maligned and forced to exert all it's powers in the details of provincial administration, we regret to see a Hercules laying his shoulder to the wheel of an ox-cart. the sound principles which he establishes in his particular as well as general works are a valuable legacy to ill-governed man, and will spread from their provincial limits to the great circle of mankind.

I am indebted to you also for your letter by mr Correa, and the benefit it procured me of his acquaintance. he was so kind as to pay me a visit at Monticello which enabled me to see for myself that he was still beyond all the eulogies with which yourself and other friends had preconised him. learned beyond any one I had before met with, good, modest, and of the simplest manners, the idea of losing him again filled me with regret: and how much did I lament that we could not place him at the head of that great institution which I have so long nourished the hope of seeing established in my country; and towards which you had so kindly contributed your luminous views. but, my friend, that institution is still in embryo as you left it: and from the complexion of our popular legislature, and the narrow and niggardly views of ignorance courting the suffrage of ignorance to obtain a seat in it, I see little prospect of such an establishment until the national government shall be authorised to take it up and form it on the comprehensive basis of all the useful sciences.

The inauspicious commencement of our war had damped at first the hopes of fulfilling your injunctions to add the Floridas and Canada to our confederacy. the former indeed might have been added but for our steady adherence to the sound principles of National integrity, which forbade us to take what was a neighbor's merely because it suited us; and especially from a neighbor under circumstances of peculiar affliction. but seeing now that his afflictions do not prevent him from making those provinces the focus of hostile and savage combinations for the massacre of our women and children by the tomahawk and scalping knife

of the Indian, these scruples must yield to the necessities of self defence: and I trust that the ensuing session of Congress will authorize the incorporation of it with ourselves. their inhabitants universally wish it and they are in truth the only legitimate proprietors of the soil & government. Canada might have been ours in the preceding year but for the treachery of our General who unfortunately commanded on it's border. there could have been no serious resistance to the progress of the force he commanded, in it's march thro' Upper Canada. but he sold and delivered his army fortified and furnished as it was, to an enemy of one fourth his number. this was followed by a series of losses flowing from the same source of unqualified commanders. carelessness, cowardice, foolhardiness & sheer imbecility lost us 4 other successive bodies of men, who under faithful and capable leaders would have saved us from the affliction and the English from the crime of the thousands of men, women & children murdered & scalped by the savages under the procurement & direction of British officers, some on capitulation, some in the field, & some in their houses and beds. the determined bravery of our men, whether regulars or militia, evidenced in every circumstance where the treachery or imbecility of their commanders permitted, still kept up our confidence and sounder and abler men now placed at their head have given us possession of the whole of Upper Canada & the lakes. at the moment I am writing I am in hourly expectation of learning that Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson who about the 10<sup>th</sup> inst. was entering the Lake of S<sup>t</sup> Francis in his descent upon Montreal, has taken possession of it, the force of the enemy there being not such as to give us much apprehension. between that place and Quebec there is nothing to stop us, but the advance of the season. the achievements of our little navy have claimed and obtained the admiration of all, in spite of the Endeavors of the English by lying misrepresentations of the force of the vessels on both sides to conceal the truth. the loss indeed of half a dozen frigates and sloops of war is no sensible diminution of numbers to them; but the loss of the general opinion that they were invincible at sea, the lesson taught to the world that they can be beaten by an equal force, has, by it's moral effect lost them half their physical force. I consider ourselves as now possessed of every thing from Florida point to the walls of Quebec. this last place is not worth the blood it would cost. it may be considered as impregnable to an enemy not possessing the water. I hope therefore we shall not attempt it, but leave it to be voluntarily evacuated by it's inhabitants, cut off from all resources of subsistence by the loss of the upper country.

I will ask you no questions, my friend, about your return to the US.

at your time of life it is scarcely perhaps advisable. an exchange of the society, the urbanity, and the real comforts to which you have been formed by the habits of a long life, would be a great and real sacrifice. whether therefore I shall ever see you again, or not, let me live in your esteem, as you ever will in mine most affectionately and devotedly.

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. Monticello Dec. 14. 13. we have been disappointed in the result of the expedition against Montreal. the 2<sup>d</sup> in command who had been detached ashore with a large portion of the army, failing to join the main body according to orders at the entrance of Lake St Francis, the enterprize was of necessity abandoned at that point, and the inclemency of the winter being already set in, the army was forced to go into winter quarters near that place.—Since the date of my letter I have recieved yours of Sep. 18. & a printed copy of your plan of national education of which I possessed the MS. if I can get this translated and printed it will contribute<sup>1</sup> to advance the public mind to undertake the institution. the persuading those of the value<sup>2</sup> of science who possess none, is a slow operation.

RC (DeGH: Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours Papers, Winterthur Manuscripts); at foot of first page: "M. Dupont de Nemours." PoC (DLC); endorsed by TJ. Enclosed in TJ to David Bailie Warden, 29 Dec. 1813, and TJ to John Graham, 6 Jan. 1814.

Anne Robert Jacques Turgot's piece on the DISTRIBUTION OF RICHES was *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* ([Paris], 1788; Sowerby, no. 2379), a work that Du Pont also included in the fifth volume of his edition of Turgot's *Oeuvres* (Sowerby, no. 2436). Preconized (PRECONISED): "announced; extolled; commended" (*OED*). The

GREAT INSTITUTION that TJ had long hoped to see established would eventually come to fruition as the University of Virginia (Jennings L. Wagoner Jr., *Jefferson and Education* [2004]; TJ to William Short, 9 Nov. 1813). TJ was convinced of the TREACHERY OF OUR GENERAL William Hull. THE LAKES: the Great Lakes. The 2<sup>nd</sup> IN COMMAND during the abortive United States campaign against Montreal was Wade Hampton. Du Pont's letter to TJ was actually dated 8 Sept. 1813, not SEP. 18.

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript: "contibute."

<sup>2</sup> PoC: "benefit."

## To Tadeusz Kosciuszko

MY DEAR FRIEND AND GENERAL

Nov. 30. 13.

I have to acknolege the reciept of yours of Dec. 1. 12. and it's duplicate of May 30. 13. and am pleased that our arrangement with mr Morton proves satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> I believed it would be so, and that a substantial & friendly house there might sometimes be a convenience, when, from the dangers of the sea, difficulty of finding good bills, or

other casualties, mr Barnes's remittances might incur unavoidable delay. he is at this time making arrangements with mr Williams the correspondent of mr Morton for the usual remittance, having for some time past been unable to get a good bill.

You have heard without doubt of the inauspicious commencement of our war by land. our old officers of high command were all withdrawn by death or age. Scott closed the list of the dead a few weeks ago: and happy for us would it have been could we have followed your advice in appointing new generals; and could we have been directed in our choice to those only who were good. but this is a lottery in which are few prizes, and our first draught fell among the blanks. the first called into action, delivered his army and fort up to one fourth of his own numbers of the English. he might have taken possession of all upper Canada, almost without resistance. this was followed by cases of surprise, of cowardice, of fool hardiness and of sheer imbecility, by which bodies of men were successively lost as fast as they could be raised; and thus the first year of the war was lost. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson, whom you knew in the late war, has at length been called from the Southern department; Gen<sup>l</sup> Hampton also: and they are doing what their predecessors ought to have done the last year. we have taken all the posts and country on lakes Erie & Ontario; and Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson on the 10<sup>th</sup> inst. was about entering the lake St Francis in his descent to Montreal, and would in 3. or 4. days reach Montreal, where the British force is such as not to give uneasiness for the result. I trust he is now in possession of it, and there being neither a post nor a man between that & Quebec, we may consider ourselves as commanding the whole country to the walls of that city. the season however will probably oblige us to make Montreal our winter quarters. Kingston at the East end of Lake Ontario has been left unmolested, because being of some strength, and well garrisoned, it would have required a seige, and the advance of the season would have disappointed us as to all below. insulated as it is from succours and subsistence, it must capitulate at our leisure. this, my friend is the present state of things by land; and as I know not yet how or when this letter is to go, I may by a P.S. be able to add what shall have actually taken place at Montreal. it is a duty however to add here that in every instance our men, militia as well as regulars, have acted with an intrepidity which would have honored veteran legions, and have proved that had their officers understood their duty as well as those of our little navy, they would have shewn themselves equally superior to an enemy who had dared to despise us. on the ocean we have taught a lesson of value to all mankind, that they can be beaten there

with equal force. we have corrected the idea of their invincibility, which by it's moral effect annihilates half their physical force. I do not believe the naval history of the world has furnished a more splendid achievement of skill and bravery than that of Perry on L. Erie. they threaten now to hang our prisoners, reclaimed by them altho' naturalised with us, and, if we retaliate, to burn our cities. we shall certainly retaliate, and, if they burn N. York, Norfolk, Charleston, we must burn London, Portsmouth, Plymouth: not with our ships, but by our money; not with our own hands, but by those of their own incendiaries. they have in their streets thousands of famished wretches who, for a loaf of bread to keep off death one day longer, and more eagerly for a million of dollars will spread to them the flames which they shall kindle in New York. it is not for those who live in glass houses to set the example of throwing stones. what is atrocious as an example becomes a duty to repress by retaliation. if we have taken, as I expect, the residue of their troops above Quebec, we have as many of their troops taken by honorable fighting, as they have of ours purchased or surprised.

I have less fear now for our war than for the peace which is to conclude it. your idea that our line of future demarcation should be from some point in Lake Champlain is a good one: because that would shut up all their scalp-markets. but that of their entire removal from the continent is a better one. while they hold a single spot on it it will be a station from which they will send forth their Henrys upon us to debauch traitors, nourish conspiracies, smuggle in their manufactures, and defeat our commercial laws. unfortunately our peace-commissioners left us while our affairs were still under the depression of Hull's treason, and it's consequences, and they would as soon learn their revival in the moon as in St Petersburg. the English newspapers will still fill their ears, as those of all Europe with lies, and induce them to offer terms of peace under these erroneous impressions: and a peace which does not leave us the Canadas will be but a truce. as for the Floridas they are giving themselves to us. I hope therefore no peace will be made which does not yield us this indemnification for the thousand ships they took during peace, the thousands of our citizens impressed, their machinations for dissevering our Union, the insults they have heaped upon us, the inhuman war they have waged with the tomahawk & scalping knife of the savage, the suffocation of our prisoners in pestiferous jails and prison ships, and other atrocities against national and individual morality, which have degraded them from the rank of civilised nations. the longer the peace is delayed the more firm will become the establishment of our manufactures. the

growth and extent of these can be conceived by none who does not see them. of coarse and midling fabrics we never again shall import. the manufacture of the fine cottons is carried also to great extent & perfection. a million of cotton spindles nearly being, I think, now employed in the US. this single advancement in oeconomy, begun by our embargo law, continued by that of non-importation, and confirmed by the present total cessation of commercial intercourse was worth, alone, all the war will cost us.

I have thus, my dear friend, given you the present state of things<sup>2</sup> with us, which I have done with the more minuteness because I know that no native among us takes a livelier interest in them than you do. the tree which you had so zealously assisted in planting, you cannot but delight in seeing watered and flourishing. happy for us would it have been if a valour fidelity and skill like yours<sup>3</sup> had directed those early efforts which were so unfortunately confided to unworthy hands. we should have been a twelvemonth ago where we now are, and now, where we shall be a twelvemonth hence. however from one man we can have but one life; and you gave us the most valuable and active part of yours, and we are now enjoying and improving it's effects. every sound American, every sincere votary of freedom loves and honors you, and it was it's enemies only, and the votaries of England who saw with cold indifference, and even secret displeasure your short-lived return to us. they love none who do not love kings, and the kings of England above all others. god bless you under every circumstance, whether still reserved for the good of your native country, or destined to leave us in the fulness of time with the consciousness of successful efforts for the establishment of freedom in one country, and of all which man could have done for it's success in another. the lively sense I entertain of all you have done & deserved from both countries can be extinguished only with the lamp of life, during which I shall ever be affectionately & devotedly yours

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. Monticello Dec. 14. We have been disappointed in the result of the expedition against Montreal, and again by the fault of a general who refused, with his large detachment ashore, to meet the main body according to orders at the entrance of Lake St Francis. the expedition was of necessity suspended at that point, and the army obliged by the severity of the season to go into winter quarters near that place.

PoC (DLC); at foot of first page: "Gen<sup>l</sup> Kosciusko"; endorsed by TJ. Enclosed in TJ to David Bailie Warden, 29 Dec. 1813, and TJ to John Graham, 6 Jan. 1814.

The FIRST CALLED INTO ACTION was General William Hull. Twenty-three American soldiers captured on 13 Oct. 1812 at Queenston, Canada, had been sent to England to be tried for treason in

consequence of Great Britain's refusal to recognize that they had been or could be NATURALISED by the United States. Under the British doctrine of indelible citizenship, natives who took up citizenship elsewhere could still be executed for taking up arms against king and country. Secretary of War John Armstrong responded on 15 May 1813 by ordering General Henry Dearborn to put twenty-three British prisoners into close confinement and hold them as hostages "for the safe keeping and restoration (on exchange)" of the abovementioned American servicemen. Lieutenant General George Prevost reacted by confining forty-six more prisoners of war and informing his American counterpart on 17 Oct. 1813 that if any British captives were put to death, the war would be prosecuted "with unmitigated severity against all cities, towns, and villages belonging to the United States." Undeterred by such

threats, General James Wilkinson replied to Prevost on 3 Dec. 1813 that he had placed forty-six additional British soldiers under arrest. The issue continued to generate controversy thereafter, but in the end none of those sent to England were tried, and the twenty-one survivors (two of the detainees having died in captivity) returned to America shortly after the conclusion of hostilities (*ASP, Foreign Relations*, 3:630–2, 635, 637; Ralph Robinson, "Retaliation for the Treatment of Prisoners in the War of 1812," *American Historical Review* 49 [1943]: 65–70). General Wade Hampton refused, according to TJ, TO MEET THE MAIN BODY of the American army advancing on Montreal (Stagg, *Madison's War*, 345–6).

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript: "satisfactory."

<sup>2</sup> Manuscript: "thing."

<sup>3</sup> Reworked from "if your valour fidelity and skill."

## To Lafayette

MY DEAR FRIEND

Nov. 30. 13.

The last letters I have recieved from you were of Apr. 22. May 20. July 4. of the preceding year. they gave me information of your health, always welcome to the feelings of antient and constant friendship. I hope this continues & will continue until you tire of that and life together.—the Sheperd dogs mentioned in yours of May 20. arrived safely, have been carefully multiplied, and are spreading in this and the neighboring states where the increase of our sheep is greatly attended to. of these we have already enough to clothe all our inhabitants, and the Merino race is wonderfully extended, & improved in size. our manufactures of fine cloths are equal to the best English, and those of cotton by their abundance and superior quality will compleatly exclude the English from the market. our progress in manufactures is far beyond the calculations of the most sanguine. every private house is getting spinning machines. I have four in operation in my own family for our own use, and carding machines are growing up in every neighborhood. insomuch that were peace restored tomorrow, we should not<sup>1</sup> return to the importation from England of either coarse or midling fabrics of any material, nor even of the finer woolen cloths. putting honor & right out of

the question therefore, this revolution in our domestic economy was well worth a war.

You have heard how inauspiciously our war began by land. the treachery of Hull who, furnished with an army which might have taken Upper Canada with little resistance, sold it to an enemy of one fourth his strength was the cause of all our subsequent misfortunes. a second army was by surprise submitted to massacre by the Indians, under the eye and countenance of British officers to whom they had surrendered on capitulation. other losses followed these from cowardice, from foolhardiness and from sheer imbecillity in the commanders. in every instance the men, militia as well as regulars displayed an intrepidity which shewed it only wanted capable direction. these misfortunes however, instead of disheartening, only sunk deeper into our hearts the necessity of reexertion,<sup>2</sup> as in old times was the effect of the retreat across the Delaware. this has happily been crowned with success. every thing above the Eastern end of L. Ontario is already in our possession, and I might venture to say to the walls of Quebec: because on the 10<sup>th</sup> inst. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson was entering the Lake St Francis on his passage down to Montreal where he would land within 3. or 4. days and not meet a resistance which gives us any apprehensions. between that place and Quebec there is neither post nor armed man. Kingston was wisely left to fall of itself. the St Laurence to the walls of Quebec being ours whenever the season will open it to us, this last place will never be worth the blood it would cost. cut off from subsistence by the loss of the upper country, it must be evacuated by it's inhabitants. our quarters for this winter will probably be in Montreal.

Of the glories of our little navy you will of course have heard. those on the ocean are no otherwise of value than as they have proved the British can be beaten there by an equal force. they correct the idea of their invincibility, and by this moral effect destroy one half their physical force on that element. but Perry's victory on L. Erie had the most important effects, and is truly the parent of all the subsequent successes. nor do I know that the naval history of the world furnishes an example of a more splendid action.

I join you sincerely, my friend in wishes for the emancipation of South America. that they will be liberated from foreign subjection I have little doubt. but the result of my enquiries does not authorise me to hope they are capable of maintaining a free government. their people are immersed in the darkest ignorance, and brutalised by bigotry & superstition. their priests make of them what they please: and tho'

they may have some capable leaders yet nothing but intelligence in the people themselves can keep these faithful to their charge. their efforts I fear therefore will end in establishing military despotisms in the several provinces. among these there can be no confederacy. a republic of kings is impossible. but their future wars & quarrels among themselves will oblige them to bring the people into action, & into the exertion of their understandings. light will at length beam in on their minds and the standing example we shall hold up, serving as an excitement as well as a model for their direction may in the long run qualify them for self-government. this is the most I am able to hope for them; for I lay it down as one of the impossibilities of nature that ignorance should maintain itself free against cunning, where any government has been once admitted.

I thank you for making mr Correa known to me. I found him deserving every thing which his and my friends had said of him, and only lamented that our possession of him was to be so short-lived.

I will certainly send you another copy of the book you desire if it can possibly escape the perils of the sea. I say nothing about your affairs here because being in the best hands I can say nothing important. I am happy you have been able to turn the just retribution of our country to some account in easing your mind from some of it's concerns. on our part it was a just attention to sacrifices you had made to make us what we are. I only lament it was not what it should have been. I write to M<sup>de</sup> de Tessé, M. de Tracy E<sup>c</sup>. and conclude with the assurance of my affectionate and unalterable friendship and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. Monticello Dec. 14. I have kept my letter open that I might state with certainty the issue of the expedition against Montreal. our just expectations have been disappointed by another failure of a General commanding a large portion of the army ashore, and refusing to meet, the main body, according to orders at the entrance of Lake S<sup>t</sup> Francis. the expedition was of necessity abandoned at that point at which it was known to have arrived at the date of my letter: and the commencement of severe weather forced the army into winter quarters near that place. in the President's message at the meeting of Congress you will see a succinct & correct history of the transactions of the year.

RC (DLC: Kislak Collection). PoC (DLC); endorsed by TJ: "Fayette M. de la. Nov. 30. 13." Enclosed in TJ to David Bailie Warden, 29 Dec. 1813, and TJ to John Graham, 6 Jan. 1814.

On 23 Jan. 1813 a group of American prisoners of war captured at the recently concluded Battle of Frenchtown were subjected to a MASSACRE BY THE INDIANS, an event that excited outrage

throughout the Northwest (Stagg, *Madison's War*, 225). General George Washington's retreat across the DELAWARE River early in December 1776 set the stage for his later triumphs at the battles of Trenton and Princeton (Edward G. Lengel, *General George Washington: A Military Life* [2005], 170–1). The BOOK TJ promised to procure for Lafayette was Destutt de Tracy, *Commentary and Re-*

*view of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws*. The GENERAL who refused to join the American forces advancing on Montreal was Wade Hampton (Stagg, *Madison's War*, 345–6). For President James Madison's 7 Dec. 1813 annual MESSAGE to Congress, see *JHR*, 9:162–6.

<sup>1</sup> Word interlined.

<sup>2</sup> Manuscript: “reextion.”

## From Judith Lomax

(Port-Tobago.—Nov<sup>ber</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> /1813.

I send you my dear Sir, the promised Acacia Seed, together with a few of the Flowers, knowing you to be an admirer of the perfume.—The Filbert scions you will get, whenever an opportunity shall occur at the proper season for removing them.—My best wish's await M<sup>rs</sup> Randolph, and M<sup>rs</sup> C. Bankhead, I will send M<sup>rs</sup> Randolph the flower seed I promised, so soon as I can make a collection worth offering.

I am Sir most respectfully Y<sup>rs</sup>

JUDITH LOMAX.—

RC (MHi); dateline at foot of text; endorsed by TJ as received 13 Dec. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

At Monticello on 16 Feb. 1814, TJ planted “56 seeds of the ACACIA Nilotica”

that he had received from Lomax. They descended from “the plant at Greenspring,” the estate of colonial governor Sir William Berkeley, near Williamsburg (Betts, *Garden Book*, 83, 524).

## From John Clarke

DEAR SIR

near Richmond Dec<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1813.

In addressing the first man of an enlightened nation, upon a political subject; I feel that diffidence which a consciousness of the great disparity between our respective intellects, naturally inspires.—The sun cannot borrow light from a twinkling star, nor can the brilliancy of your mind, receive additional lustre from the weak and obscure reflections of mine. But as the most able Generals sometimes receive salutary hints from the lowest subaltern, and even from the humble soldier; And as the most unenlightened citizen, may suggest ideas, which abler minds may improve into real benefits; I am tempted again to address you.

As we cannot subdue our enemy on the ocean, for want of a sufficient navy; And as the war on our part must therefore be carried on

chiefly by land forces; it is a matter of the first importance, that we should adopt effectual measures for raising a strong and efficient Army. The efforts of our Marine force in the present war, have been crowned with the most brilliant success, and have filled the public mind with exultation; Whilst those of the Military, have, in several instances been so unsuccessful; as to fall far short of the public expectation. But as the success of Armies, as well as of Navies, depend upon the skill, as well as the courage, of the individuals who compose them; we should not expect that the success of our Military force, will equal that of the Marine; until the Army shall be composed of troops, voluntarily enlisted for regular service, and skilled in the arts of war. Until that object shall be accomplished; we must continue to employ the Militia, in our Armies. And notwithstanding they sometimes object, to passing beyond the limits of the United States; they must guard our frontiers. And although they are undisciplined, they must contend against a veteran enemy, until regular troops can be provided. It is true, that, during the period of life, in which our citizens are militia, they necessarily bear a greater portion of the burthens of war, than other members of the community; since they like others, meet the expenses of war, with the purse; And moreover, meet the enemy with the bayonet. But the militia of the present day, merely stand in the predicament in which others have stood, whom old age has exempted from militia duty; and the same in which, our male infants must stand, when they shall arrive at the proper age, to perform that duty. Our militia citizens are brave and patriotic, but they are unacquainted with military operations. A considerable portion of them, are married men, who follow the occupations of agriculture; And although they perform their respective tour's of military duty without complaint, and are anxiously disposed to support a vigorous prosecution of the war; yet the performance of that duty, is generally attended with much disadvantage and inconvenience to themselves. Moreover, the reluctance with which they leave their wives & children, and cease to cultivate the fields that yield them bread,—the consciousness, when in service, that their want of military skill, will render them unequal to the enemy in battle;—and their anxiety to return to the bosom of domestic enjoyment; Are considerations which operate on the minds of the married militia-men with such force, as to prevent them from receiving, even the rudiments of a military education; and disqualify them for the performance of their duty with the intrepidity and manly spirit of soldiers. But notwithstanding the militia is a mass too heterogeneous for an Army, if taken indiscriminately; yet the materials for gallant armies, are to be found amongst

that class of our citizens. Let us then, separate the metal from the dross; by enlisting from amongst the militia, the unmarried men, who feel the influence of military pride & valour, and are anxious to become the avengers of their country's wrongs. Men who possess those feelings, and are free from the cares & uninfluenced by the considerations above mentioned, are the materials, of which, our military columns should be composed. But in this country, the temptations are great, which agriculture, and the mechanic, arts; hold out to enterprise and industry; We should not therefore, expect that such men; should encounter the hardships & perils of war, for a smaller reward than their domestic labours would produce. And I may add, that it is owing more to the want of a liberal bounty, than perhaps to any other cause, that so few recruits are enlisted for regular service.

I now come to the object of this communication, which is; to suggest for your consideration, a method, not yet resorted to; for the enlistment of regular troops.—The project simply is; That the militia of the United States, shall be legally authorised or allowed, to furnish from time to time, such numbers of regular troops raised among themselves by their own voluntary contributions in money or other property, as may be sufficient for all the purposes of war; instead of performing military services themselves.

I may perhaps be mistaken in the effect of this project, but I am induced to believe it would succeed; not merely from my own reflections on the subject, but by the opinions of many militia officers of high rank, as well as of privates, of good judgment; to whom I have mentioned it.

If all the troops required for our armies were regulars, there would be no necessity for calling out the militia; but whilst there is not a sufficient number of regular troops, the militia are continually subject to be called into service: And the circumstances under which they perform military duty are such; that there is scarcely a man among them who, would not much rather contribute a small sum, for the enlistment of regulars, than perform that duty himself. It could not be deemed a hardship on the militia, that they should apply their own funds to the enlistment of regulars; because they would have the option, of doing so, or not; and if they should choose to enlist regulars, it would be for their own accommodation. Let us now consider, whether the pecuniary interest as well as the convenience of the militia, would not be promoted by their contributing money for the enlistment of regular troops, instead of performing military duty themselves.—Every militia-man who is possessed of health & strength, sufficient for the performance of military duty, has it in his

power to earn (even by the most common occupations of husbandry) an hundred dollars per annum, But when he is called into service, one tour of duty for the usual term of six months, will deprive him of the profits of half a year's labour; which is equal to fifty dollars: and as he loses fifty dollars by the performance of a tour of duty; it may be presumed that he would rather pay that sum, and continue his attention to his own affairs at home; than, go into the army, even for the term of one tour. But for want of regular troops in the army, he may be made to perform many tour's; It would therefore be greatly to his interest, to contribute fifty dollars (which one tour of duty would cost him) for the enlistment of regular troops, who, by continuing in the army, would perhaps exonerate the militia-man from military service, during the whole war. I have endeavoured to shew, that the pecuniary interest, as well as the convenience, of the militia generally, would be promoted by their contributing fifty dollars each, for the enlistment of regular troops. But a contribution of only half that sum (to wit twenty five dollars) by each militia-man; would perhaps raise as many regulars, as the army now requires to make it so strong, as to render the service of the militia unnecessary. Although every militia-man, may by labour earn, an hundred dollars per annum; yet if a bounty of an hundred dollars should be offered for each citizen who would enlist to serve in the regular army during the war; I think it probable that the requisite number would soon be raised. Because the present war is not expected to be of long continuance; Because the occupation of a soldier, although, sometimes attended with hardship & danger; is not so laborious as the business of the Farm or the Work-shop: And because enterprising unmarried men, when the country is involved in war; are prompted to engage in it, by a natural impulse; and that impulse would be increased by a bounty of one hundred dollars. But suppose the bounty should be even greater than the annual amount of a man's labour while domesticated among the militia;—let it be an hundred and twenty five dollars:—It only requires five militia-men to contribute twenty five dollars each, and that bounty for a regular soldier is immediately made up. Twenty five dollars, is indeed a small sum to contribute to so important an object; especially when we consider, that every militia-man who is sufficiently able-bodied to perform military duty, may earn it, at any kind of business; in the course of two or three months,—in half the time that one tour of militia duty would require of him. As the burthen of war, falls more heavily on the militia, than any other class of citizens; every militia-man in the United States, should bear his portion of it; and when that shall be the case; the burthen will in reality be a light one.

If five militia-men by a contribution of Twenty five dollars each, can enlist a regular soldier for the war; every militia regiment of a thousand men, may in like manner enlist Two hundred; And the whole militia of the Union (by apportioning the proper number to each regiment,) might raise an army of regular troops, so strong; as, to render the military service of the Militia, unnecessary.

I merely suggest this outline of a project, in the hope; that, it may be so improved; as to add strength and vigour to the military force upon which we chiefly depend, in the present war.

The present belligerent state of the nations of Europe & America, and their respective relations to each other; furnish matter for deep & interesting speculation; but we cannot foretel the consequences that may result from such a state of things. It is pleasing however, to reflect; that, 'tho' robbed of commerce, and involved in war; yet happy is the condition of free, self-governed America, contrasted with that of miserable Europe, still smarting under the lash of Tyrants; still convulsed; and bleeding at every pore. But we should not depend for our happiness & prosperity, upon the Justice of foreign nations; We must rely upon the exertion of our own strength, and prudence. The ambition and pride, of kings and emperors; which inflames all Europe and sends forth its sparks to America; is sufficient to awaken us to a sense of our assailable & unprepared situation for war. It should stimulate our energies and call into action our resources; by means of which; we should be able to repel the most formidable efforts of our enemy. The anxious hope for peace, which we still cherish; is attributed, by our enemy, to our inability, and unwillingness to carry on the war. And whilst we trust to that hope, and rely on negotiation, as we now do upon the mediation of Russia; whilst public opinion wavers upon points that require the most prompt decision; we shall probably continue at war, without being prepared for it. As great Britain (with her european allies,) is now contending against the greatest military nation on earth; we should strike the blow, that would give us complete possession of her american provinces; And banish from the Florida's, her spanish allies; who make war upon us, through the instrumentality of the southern Indians;—those savages whose happiness, your philanthropy has long laboured to promote, by introducing among them, the blessings of peace and civilization. Should the present campaign, in Europe, terminate in favor of the allies; perhaps Britain; already elated with success in Spain; may be induced to send a considerable number of troops from thence to america.—That is an event that may happen, and one which we should be prepared to meet. The future

happiness of our country, and the stand which we shall hereafter occupy in the scale of nations; may perhaps depend upon the character, which the present war will stamp upon us. Our love of peace, and confidence in the Justice and moderation, with which our government has long endeavoured to prevent encroachments upon our rights; have been considered, by the nations of Europe, as a base submission to wrongs, which we had not sufficient energy to counteract: But since we have buckled on<sup>1</sup> "the armour and taken the attitude of war;" Since we have been compelled to lay aside the olive branch and draw the sword; we ought ere it is sheathed; to engrave with its point, the character of our nation. We ought to prove to piratical Britain; that we are as brave and generous, as we have been moderate and Just; And convince imperial Europe, that republican America, though in peace like the lamb is, in war like the lion. By a courageous & determined spirit, and by improvements in the science of war; France has acquired a weight of character, which she could not otherwise attain. She is now not only able to combat the most powerful of her enemies, but to meet in battle, their whole united force. And although we do not Justify the acts of her present ruler; we may profit by the examples she has furnished, of bravery, activity and perseverance.

But I fear, that any attempt to establish such a reputation as our nation deserves, will be ineffectual; whilst the salutary measures of the national Executive, are trammelled & thwarted by the national Legislature. The honor and the interests of the nation are confided to its agents; but they cannot be supported in war; without unanimity and energy in our councils; aided by skill, and bravery, in our Army, and navy. That the federalists or british partisans; should act in opposition to the administration of our government; is neither new nor unexpected. But that men who, by professing a devotion to the principles of our government; were elected to represent a republican people, in the national legislature; should in time of war assist the enemy, by counteracting the patriotic measures of the Executive branch of the government; is a circumstance which could not have been expected by their constituents. It is a species of treachery that has the effect of studied treason; and excites the warmest indignation of the people. It is, perhaps, owing to the ambition and envy, of men of that stamp; that we are now involved in war. Their hostility to the Executive; manifested to the british government; that beside the federal party, there were republicans of high standing, in Congress; who were equally inimical to the Administration;—that in the event of a war; its measures would probably be cramped and paralyzed by

a republican, as well as a federal, opposition; And that war, could not therefore be carried on with great effect. And if such were the predictions of the british government; they have been most fully verified. For the President, since the commencement of the war; has scarcely appointed any citizen to an office of importance, either civil or military; or adopted any important measure relative to carrying on the war with vigour; or for making peace on honourable terms: but his appointments and his measures, have been invariably condemned by those pretended republicans, as well as the federalists; And all the means in their power exerted, to prevent any beneficial result from them.

yet not content with the opposition made while on the floor of Congress, nor with the opprobrious invectives uttered in private circles, against the Executive; We have recently seen, that the ambition & envy of a certain senator who professes to be a republican; has lately prompted him to attack our patriotic President, through the medium of the public prints; Under the pretence of Justifying his own conduct. But he is mistaken in the estimate he has formed of the public discernment. The veil of sophistry with which he attempts to shroud his designs, is not impervious to the public eye. The american people behold him, as a public servant, who has abused their confidence; and as a statesman, who would sacrifice the interests of the nation, and the well-merited fame of our best patriots; at the shrine of his ambition. It is much to be regretted, that, the public voice, cannot now reduce this envious, ostentatious man, to the obscurity to which (at the last congressional election) it consigned a late celebrated demagogue of opposition, in the lower house, for a similar dereliction of political principles.

But the war, I trust; will be prosecuted with vigour, notwithstanding the opposition of monarchists, federalists, and pretended republicans. And if we can succeed in filling the ranks of our armies with regular troops; we may smile at the contemptible opposition made to it; by the tory governors of some of the eastern States; as we shall not then require the militia, to fight our battles.

I take this opportunity, to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 8<sup>th</sup> April, in reply to my letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> march last; And to tender you the assurance of my veneration and Cordial esteem.

JOHN CLARKE

RC (DLC: James Madison Papers); at head of text: "The hon'ble Thomas Jefferson, late President of the United States"; endorsed by TJ as a letter "relat-

ing to war" received 13 Dec. 1813 and recorded under that date of receipt in SJL. Enclosed in TJ to James Monroe, 27 Jan. 1814.

The 1813 campaigns of Great Britain and her continental allies against France, the GREATEST MILITARY NATION ON EARTH, achieved such success that by the end of the year French forces had been driven out of both central Europe and SPAIN (Chandler, *Campaigns of Napoleon*, 945). THE ARMOUR AND TAKEN THE ATTITUDE OF WAR references President James Madison's 5 Nov. 1811 annual message to Congress, in which he urged the legislature to put the nation "into an armour, and an attitude demanded by the crisis" (Madison, *Papers, Pres. Ser.*, 4:3). France's PRESENT RULER was Napoleon. William B. Giles, a United States senator from Virginia, repeatedly attacked Presi-

dent James Madison's policies THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE PUBLIC PRINTS. His letters "To the People of Virginia," dated between 20 Oct. and 25 Nov. 1813, were printed in newspapers across the country and also published separately (Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, 16 Nov., 1, 13 Dec. 1813; *Address of the Honorable William B. Giles, to the People of Virginia* [n.d.]). The CELEBRATED DEMAGOGUE who lost his seat in the United States House of Representatives in the 1812 election was John Randolph of Roanoke (DAB).

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript: "on on."

## From John Adams

DEAR SIR

Quincy Dec<sup>r</sup> 3. 13

The Proverbs of the old greek Poets, are as Short and pithy as any of Solomon or Franklin. Hesiod has Several. His

Αθανατους μεν πρωτα θεους νομω, ως διακειται

Τιμα. Honour the Gods established by Law. I know not how We can escape Martyrdom, without a discreet Attention to this præcept. you have Suffered, and I have Suffered more than you,<sup>1</sup> for want of a Strict if not a due observance of this Rule.

There is another Oracle of this Hesiod, which requires a kind of dance upon a tight rope, and a Slack rope too, in Philosophy and Theology

Πίσις δ' ἄρα ὁμῶς καὶ ἀπίσιας ὄλεσαν ἄνδρας.

If believing too little or too much, is So fatal to Mankind what will become of Us all?

In Studying the Perfectability of human Nature and its progress towards perfection, in this World, on this Earth, (remember that) I have met many curious things, and interesting Characters.

About three hundred years ago, There appeared a number of Men of Letters, who appeared to endeavour to believe neither too little, nor too much. They laboured to imitate the Hebrew Archers who could Shoot to an hairs breadth. The Pope and his Church believed too much: Luther and his Church believed too little. This little band was headed by three great Scholars, Erasmus, Vives, and Budeus. This Triumvirate is Said to have been at the head of the Republick of Letters, in that Age. Had Condorcet been Master of his Subject, I

fancy he would have taken more Notice in his History of the progress of Mind, of these Characters. Have you their Writings? I wish I had. I Shall confine myself at present to Vives. He wrote Commentaries on the City of God of St. Augustine, Some parts of which were censured by the Doctors of the Louvain as too bold and too free. I know not, whether the following passage of the learned Spaniard was among the Sentiments condemned, or not.

"I have been much afflicted," Says Vives, "when I have Seriously considered, how diligently, and with what exact care, the Actions of Alexander, Hannibal, Scipio Pompey, Cæsar and other Commanders: and the Lives of Socrates Plato Aristotle, and other Phylosophers, have been written and fixed in an everlasting Remembrance, So that there is not the least danger they can ever be lost: but then the Acts of the Apostles and Martyrs and Saints of our religion and of the Affairs of the rising and established Church, being involved in much darkness, are almost totally unknown, though they are of so much greater Advantage, than the Lives of the Phylosophers, or great Generals, both as to the improvement of our knowledge and Practice. For, what is written of these holy men, except a very few things is very much corrupted and defaced, with the mixture of many fables; while the Writer, indulging his own humour, doth not tell Us what the Saint did, but what the Historian would have had him done: and the fancy of the Writer dictates the Life and not the truth of things." And again, Vives Says

"There have been men, who have thought it a great piece of Piety, to invent Lies for the sake of religion."

The great Cardinal Barronius too, confesses "There is nothing, which Seems So much neglected to this day, as a true and certain Account of the Affairs of the Church, collected with an exact diligence. And that I may Speak of the more Ancient, it is very difficult to find any of them, who have published Commentaries on this Subject which have hit the truth in all points."

Canus, too another Spanish Prelate of great name Says "I Speak it with grief, and not by way of reproach, Laertius has written the lives of the Philosophers, with more care and industry, than the Christians have those of the Saints; Suetonius has represented the Lives of the Cæsars with much more truth and Sincerity, than the Catholicks have the Affairs, I will not Say of the Emperors, but even those of the Martyrs, holy Virgins and Confessors. For they have not concealed the Vices nor the very Suspicions of Vice, in good and commendable Philosophers or Princes, and in the worst of them, they discover the very colours or Appearances of Virtue. But the greatest part of our

Writers, either follow the Conduct of their Affections, or industriously fain many things; So that I, for my part am very often both weary and ashamed of them; because I know they have thereby brought nothing of Advantage to the Church of Christ, but very much inconvenience."

Vives and Canus are Moderns, but Arnobius the Converter of Lactantius was ancient. He Says "But neither could all that was done be written or arrive at the knowledge of all men. Many of our great Actions being done by obscure Men, and those who had no knowledge of Letters: and if Some of them are committed to Letters and Writings; yet even here, by the malice of the Devils, and of men like them, whose great design and Study it is to intercept and ruin this truth, by interpolating, or adding Some things to them, or by changing or taking out Words, Syllables, or Letters, they have put a Stop to the Faith of wise Men, and corrupted the truth of things."

Indeed, Mr Jefferson, what could be invented to debase the ancient Christianity, which Greeks Romans, Hebrews, and Christian Factions, above all the Catholicks, have not fraudulently imposed upon the Publick? Miracles after Miracles have rolled down in Torrents, Wave Succeeding Wave, in the Catholic Church from the Council of Nice, and long before, to this day.

Aristotle, no doubt, thought his "Οὔτε πᾶσα πιστεύοντες, Οὔτε πᾶσιν ἀπιστοῦντες," very wise and very profound: but what is its Worth? What Man, Woman or Child, ever believed, every Thing, or nothing?

Oh! that Priestley could live again! and have leisure and means. An Enquirer after Truth, who had neither time nor means might request him to search and research for answers to a few Questions.

1. Have We more than two Witnesses of the Life of Jesus? Mathew and John?
2. Have We one Witness to the Existence of Mathews Gospel in the first Century?
3. Have We one Witness of the Existence of John's Gospell in the first Century?
4. Have We one Witness of the Existence of Marks Gospell in the first Century?
- 5 Have We one Witness of the Existence of Lukes Gospell in the first Century?
6. Have We any Witness of the existence of St. Thomas's Gospell, that is the Gospell of the Infancy in the first Century?
7. Have We any Evidence of the Existence of the Acts of the Apostles in the first Century?

8. Have We any Evidence of the Existence of the Supplement to the Acts of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, or Paul and Tecle, in the first Century?

Here I was interrupted, by a new book, Chateaubriands Travels in Greece Palestine and Egypt<sup>2</sup> and by a Lung Fever, with which the amiable Companion [of]<sup>3</sup> my Life has been violently And dangerously attacked.

December 13. I have fifty more questions to put to Priestley: but must adjourn them to a future opportunity.

I have read Chateaubriand, with as much delight, as I ever read Bunyan Pilgrims Progress, Robinson Crusoes Travels or Gullivers; or Whitefields; or Wesleys<sup>4</sup> Life; or the Life of St. Francis, St Anthony or St Ignatius Loyaula. A Work of infinite Learning, perfectly well written, a Magazine of Information: but an enthusiastic, biggotted, Superstitious Roman Catholic throughout. If I were to indulge in jealous criticism and Conjecture, I Should Suspect, that there had been an Ecumenical Counsel of Pope Cardinals and Bishops, and that this Traveller has been employed at their expence, to make this tour, to lay a foundation for the resurrection of the Catholic Hierarchy in Europe.

Have you read La Harpes Course de Litterature, in 15. Volumes? have you read St. Pierres Studies of Nature?

I am now reading the Controversy between Voltaire and Nonotte.

Our Friend Rush has given Us for his last Legacy, an Analysis of Some of the diseases of the Mind. Johnson Said We are all more or less mad; and who is or has been more mad than Johnson?

I know of no Philosopher, or Theologian, or Moralist ancient or modern more profound; more infallible than Whitefield, if the Anecdote that I have heard be true.

He began; "Father Abraham"! with his hands and Eyes gracefully directed to the Heavens as I have more than once Seen him; "Father Abraham," "who have you there with you"? "have you Catholics"?<sup>5</sup> No. "Have you Protestants." No. "Have you Churchmen." No. "Have you Dissenters."<sup>6</sup> No. "Have you Presbyterians"? No. "Quakers"? No. "Anabaptists"?<sup>7</sup> No. "Who have you then? Are<sup>8</sup> you alone"? No.

"My Brethren,! you have the Answer to all these questions in the Words of my Text, He<sup>9</sup> who feareth God and worketh Righteousness, Shall be accepted of him."

Allegiance to the Creator and Governor of the Milky Way and the Nebulæ, and Benevolence to all his Creatures, is my Religion. Si quid novisti rectius istis, Candidus imperti.—

I am as ever

JOHN ADAMS

RC (DLC); at foot of text: "President Jefferson"; endorsed by TJ as received 24 Dec. 1813 and so recorded in SJL. FC (Lb in MHi: Adams Papers).

Αθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς νομῶ, ὡς διακεῖται τίμα ("Honor the immortal gods first, in the order appointed by custom") is from the first line of the *Carmen aureum*, which was not composed by Hesiod (Johan C. Thom, ed., *The Pythagorean Golden Verses: With Introduction and Commentary* [1995], ix, 15, 31–3, 57–8, 94–5). Πίσις δ' ἄρα ὁμῶς καὶ ἀπίστιας ὤλεσαν ἄνδρας: "for both trust and distrust have destroyed men" (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 372, in *Hesiod*, trans. Glenn W. Most, Loeb Classical Library [2006], 1:116–7). Hebrew stone-throwers, not archers, were said to be able to hit AN HAIRS BREADTH in the Bible, Judges 20.16.

The two quotations by Juan Luis VIVES are from *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, book 5, chap. 2 (Foster Watson, ed., *Vives: On Education* [1913], 248–9). That ostensibly from Cesare Baronio (BARRONIUS) is in a preface added to a posthumous edition of his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Antwerp, 1670–77), vol. 1. That by Melchor (Melchior) Cano (CANUS) is from *De Locis Theologicis*, book 11, chap. 6 (Salamanca, 1563). ARNOBIUS's quotation is from *The Seven Books of Arnobius Adversus Gentes*, book 1, chap. 56 (Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* [1871], 19:46–7). In 325 A.D. the ecumenical COUNCIL OF NICE (Nicaea; present-day Iznik, Turkey) condemned Arianism and established the Nicene Creed.

Οὔτε πᾶσα πισεύοντες, οὔτε πᾶσιν ἀπιστοῦντες: "neither trusting nor distrusting all" (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 2.14, in *Aristotle with an English translation: The "Art" of Rhetoric*, trans. John Henry Freese, Loeb Classical Library [1926], 254–5). The Acts of PETER AND PAUL and of PAUL AND TECLE (Thecla) are apocryphal works of the New Testament (James K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New*

*Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* [1993], 364–74, 428–9). The NEW BOOK was François René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, *Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, during the years 1806 and 1807*, trans. Frederic Shoberl (Philadelphia, 1813). LUNG FEVER: "pneumonia" (*OED*). STUDIES OF NATURE: Jacques Bernardin Henri de Saint-Pierre, *Études de la Nature*, new ed., 5 vols. (Paris, 1804). The French Jesuit Claude Adrien Nonnotte (NONOTTE) engaged in an extended polemical debate with Voltaire over the latter's writings against religion.

WE ARE ALL MORE OR LESS MAD: Samuel Johnson wrote that "Disorders of intellect . . . happen much more often than superficial observers will easily believe. Perhaps, if we speak with rigorous exactness, no human mind is in its right state" (*The Prince of Abissinia. A Tale* [London, 1759], 2:116). The ANECDOTE about George Whitefield is substantially confirmed in Joseph B. Wakeley, *Anecdotes of the Rev. George Whitefield* (1872), 134–5. HE WHO FEARETH GOD AND WORKETH RIGHTEOUSNESS, SHALL BE ACCEPTED OF HIM is from the Bible, Acts 10.35. SI QUID NOVISTI RECTIUS ISTIS, CANDIDUS IMPERTI: "If you know something better than these precepts, pass it on, my good fellow," from Horace, *Epistles*, 1.6.67 (Fairclough, *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, 290–1).

<sup>1</sup> Remainder of sentence interlined.

<sup>2</sup> Preceding three words interlined.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted word editorially supplied. FC: "partner of."

<sup>4</sup> Manuscript: "Westleys."

<sup>5</sup> Omitted opening quotation mark editorially supplied.

<sup>6</sup> Omitted opening quotation mark editorially supplied.

<sup>7</sup> Omitted opening quotation mark editorially supplied.

<sup>8</sup> Superfluous opening quotation mark in front of this word editorially omitted.

<sup>9</sup> Superfluous opening quotation mark in front of this word editorially omitted.

# From David Ramsay

DEAR SIR,

Charleston Dec<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1813

The bearer Sir Egerton Leigh is the nephew of my father in law Henry Laurens. Though nominally an Alien he is a native of South Carolina from which he was taken by his father to England when in his infancy & before the revolution. You will find him a Gentleman & well informed on the subjects on which you delight to converse. He is a citizen of the world & his Philanthropy embraces the whole human family. His fortune rank & education entitle him to notice in every place but being an unknown Alien I have taken the liberty of informing you who he is & requesting your civilities to him. With my best wishes for your health & happiness I am with great respect sincerely yours

DAVID RAMSAY.

RC (MHi); addressed: "Thomas Jefferson late President of the United States"; endorsed by TJ as received 5 Jan. 1814 and so recorded in SJL. Enclosed in Sir Egerton Leigh to TJ, 19 Dec. 1813.

David Ramsay (1749–1815), physician, public official, and historian, was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He received an A.B. degree from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) in 1765 and an M.B. degree from the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania) in 1773. After moving by 1774 to Charleston, South Carolina, Ramsay established a flourishing medical practice and entered politics. He served in the South Carolina House of Representatives, 1776–80 and 1782–90, sat in the Confederation Congress, 1782–83 and 1785–86, and was president of the South Carolina Senate, 1791–97. In 1787 he married Martha Laurens, the daughter of Continental Congress president Henry Laurens. In politics Ramsay proved to be a moderate Federalist. He backed the new United States Constitution at the 1788 state ratification convention and supported a stronger central government and John Adams's presidential aspirations, but he opposed the Jay Treaty. Ramsay achieved his greatest fame through his

widely disseminated historical writings, which included a *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina*, 2 vols. (Trenton, N.J., 1785; Sowerby, no. 488; Poor, *Jefferson's Library*, 4 [no. 135]), *The History of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1789; Sowerby, no. 490), *The Life of George Washington* (New York, 1807; Sowerby, no. 511), *History of the United States*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1816–17), and *Universal History Americanised*, 9 vols. (Philadelphia, 1819). At Ramsay's request, TJ arranged during his diplomatic service in France for the translation and publication of a French edition (Sowerby, no. 489) of the *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina*. Ramsay was fatally shot by a deranged former patient (ANB; DAB; *Princetonians*, 1748–68, pp. 517–21; N. Louise Bailey and others, eds., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina Senate, 1776–1985* [1986], 2:1330–4; Robert L. Brunhouse, ed., "David Ramsay, 1749–1815: Selections From His Writings," APS, *Transactions*, n.s., 55, pt. 4 [1965]; Arthur H. Shaffer, *To Be an American: David Ramsay and the Making of the American Consciousness* [1991]; PTJ, 8:210–1; Sowerby, no. 3474; *Charleston City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 9 May 1815).

## From George Hay

SIR,

Richmond. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 6. 1813

You must have the goodness to excuse my failure, to answer your late letter on the Subject of Michie's motion in the general Court. I have been entirely occupied by various concerns, professional, political, & domestic.—I have now only to inform you that the intended motion was not made, nor did any person appear as far as I could learn, with a view to make it.—

I am with great respect y<sup>r</sup> mo: ob. St.

GEO HAY—

RC (DLC); endorsed by TJ as received 17 Dec. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

## To Alexander von Humboldt

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BARON

Dec. 6. 13.

I have to acknolege your two letters of Dec. 20. & 26. 1811. by mr Correa, and am first to thank you for making me acquainted with that most excellent character. he was so kind as to visit me at Monticello, and I found him one of the most learned and amiable of men. it was a subject of deep regret to separate from so much worth in the moment of it's becoming known to us. the livraison of your Astronomical observations, and the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> on the subject of New Spain, with the corresponding Atlases are duly recieved, as had been the preceding Cahiers. for these treasures of a learning so interesting to us, accept my sincere thanks. I think it most fortunate that your travels in those countries were so timed as to make them known to the world in the moment they were about to become actors on it's stage. that they will throw off their European dependance I have no doubt; but in what kind of government their revolution will end is not so certain. history, I believe furnishes no example of a priest-ridden people maintaining a free civil government. this marks the lowest grade of ignorance, of which their civil as well as religious leaders will always avail themselves for their own purposes. the vicinity of New Spain to the US. and their consequent intercourse may furnish schools for the higher, and example for the lower classes of their citizens. and Mexico, where we learn from you that men of science are not wanting, may revolutionise itself under better auspices than the Southern provinces. these last, I fear, must end in military despotisms. the different casts of their inhabitants, their mutual hatreds and jealousies, their profound ignorance & bigotry, will be plaid

off by cunning leaders, and each be made the instrument of enslaving the others. but of all this you can best judge, for in truth we have little knolege of them, to be depended on, but through you. but in whatever governments they end, they will be American governments, no longer to be involved in the never-ceasing broils of Europe. the European nations constitute a separate division of the globe; their localities make them part of a distinct system; they have a set of interesters of their own in which it is our business never to engage ourselves. America has a hemisphere to itself: it must have it's separate system of interests, which must not be subordinated to those of Europe. the insulated state in which nature has placed the American<sup>1</sup> continent should so far avail it that no spark of war kindled in the other quarters of the globe should be wafted across the wide oceans which separate us from them. and it will be so. in 50. years more the US. alone will contain 50. millions of inhabitants; and 50. years are soon gone over. the peace of 1763. is within that period. I was then 20. years old, and of course remember well all the transactions of the war preceding it. and you will live to see the epoch now equally ahead of us, and the numbers which will then be spread over the other parts of the American hemisphere, catching long before that the principles of our portion of it, and concurring with us in the maintenance of the same system.—you see how readily we run into ages beyond the grave, and even those of us to whom that grave is already opening it's quiet bosom. I am anticipating events of which you will be the bearer to me in the Elysian fields 50. years hence. You know, my friend, the benevolent plan we were pursuing here for the happiness of the Aboriginal inhabitants in our vicinities. we spared nothing to keep them at peace with one another, to teach them agriculture and the rudiments of the most necessary arts, and to encourage industry by establishing among them separate property. in this way they would have been enabled to<sup>2</sup> subsist and multiply on a moderate scale of landed possession; they would have mixed their blood with ours and been amalgamated and identified with us within no distant period of time. on the commencement of our present war, we pressed on them the observance of peace and neutrality. but the interested and unprincipled policy of England has defeated all our labors for the salvation of these unfortunate people. they have seduced the greater part of the tribes, within our neighborhood, to take up the hatchet against us, and the cruel massacres they have committed on the women and children of our frontiers taken by surprise, will oblige us now to pursue them to extermination, or drive them to new seats beyond our reach. already we have driven their patrons & seducers into

Montreal, and the opening season will force them<sup>3</sup> to their last refuge, the walls of Quebec, we have cut off all possibility of intercourse and of mutual aid, and may pursue at our leisure whatever plan we find necessary to secure ourselves against the future effects of their savage and ruthless warfare. the confirmed brutalisation, if not the extermination of this race in our America is therefore to form an additional chapter in the English history of the same colored man in Asia, and of the brethren of their own colour in Ireland and wherever else Anglo-mercantile cupidity can find a two-penny interest in deluging the earth with human blood.—but let us turn from the loathsome contemplation of the degrading effects of commercial avarice.

That their Arrowsmith should have stolen your map of Mexico, was in the pyratyical spirit of his country. but I should be sincerely sorry if our Pike has made an ungenerous use of your candid communications here; and the more so as he died in the arms of victory gained over the enemies of his country. whatever he did was on a principle of enlarging knolege, and not for filthy shillings and pence of which he made none from that book. if what he has borrowed has any effect it will be to excite an appeal in his readers from his defective information to the copious volumes of it with which you have enriched the world. I am sorry he omitted even<sup>4</sup> to acknowledge the source of his information. it has been an oversight, and not at all in the spirit of his generous nature. let me solicit your forgiveness then of a deceased hero, of an honest and zealous patriot, who lived and died for his country.

You will find it inconcievable that Lewis's journey to the Pacific should not yet have appeared; nor is it in my power to tell you the reason. the measures taken by his surviving companion Clarke, for the publication, have not answered our wishes in point of dispatch. I think however, from what I have heard, that the mere journal will be out within a few weeks in 2. vols 8<sup>vo</sup>. these I will take care to send you with the tobacco seed you desired, if it be possible for them to escape the thousand ships of our enemies spread over the ocean. the botanical & zoological discoveries of Lewis will probably experience greater delay, and become known to the world thro' other channels before that volume will be ready. the Atlas, I believe, waits on the leisure of the engraver.

Altho' I do not know whether you are now at Paris, or ranging the regions of Asia to acquire more knolege for the use of man, I cannot deny myself the gratification of an endeavor to recall myself to your recollection of assuring you of my constant attachment, and of renewing to you the just tribute of my affectionate esteem & high respect and consideration.

TH: JEFFERSON

RC (NNPM: Heineman Collection). PoC (DLC); at foot of first page: "Baron de Humboldt." Enclosed in TJ to David Bailie Warden, 29 Dec. 1813, and TJ to John Graham, 6 Jan. 1814.

Zebulon Montgomery PIKE was killed on 27 Apr. 1813 while leading a successful American assault on York (now Toronto), Canada (ANB; *New-York Weekly Museum*, 15 May 1813).

LIVRAISON: a part of a work published in installments (*OED*). The PEACE OF 1763 refers to the Treaty of Paris of that year, which ended the Seven Years' War.

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript: "Amecan."

<sup>2</sup> TJ here canceled "main."

<sup>3</sup> Preceding nine words interlined.

<sup>4</sup> Word interlined.

## From Edward Ross

RESPECTED SIR.

Mount Ida the 6<sup>th</sup> Decr. 1813.

In hopes that this letter may find you in good health, I take the liberty of addressing you a few lines upon a subject, which is at present of some importance to me and on which I wish, you may be pleased to favor me with your kind advice.—I have been very busy, ever since my return from your place of Residence, with the construction of a Saw Mill and it is now my intention to erect several other Mills and Machineries, such as a fulling Mill, flour & grist Mill &c—in especial however a Slitting Mill to manufacture Nails and other articles of a like nature which will cost a large Sum of Money and I therefore should be very happy, if you would be pleased to communicate to me your ideas on the subject as soon as convenient to you and whether you expect that such kind of machinery will answer well and will prove usefull to the Country, as well as profitable for the owner. Your long earned Experience will only and entirely guide me in my future operations, respecting this business, I therefore hope you will favor me with your best advice and should you know of any other Sort of Mill or Machinery, which by establishing might bring some Profit, I should be very happy, if you would let me know.

I pray you will please remember me kindly to M<sup>rs</sup> Randolph and all the rest of your amiable family and thanking you once more for the very friendly and hospitable Reception you have been good enough to give me, I remain with Sentiments of the highest Respect & Regard

Respected Sir Your most ob<sup>d</sup> hbl Servant

EDWARD ROSS.

New Canton

Buckingham County

RC (MHi); at foot of text: "Thomas Jefferson Esquire &c &c &c Monticello"; endorsed by TJ as received 17 Dec. 1813 and so recorded in SJL.

## From Joseph C. Cabell

DEAR SIR,

Richmond. Dec<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1813.

I expected when I wrote you from Williamsburg, that my Servant would have come up with me from that place on the 5<sup>th</sup> inst; but one of my horses being unavoidably detained, I was compelled to leave him behind; & was consequently disappointed, for the moment, in sending him on with your books. I was only waiting for his arrival, when to-day, I fell in with Gen<sup>l</sup> Moore, who told me he should set out in the Charlottesville stage, in the morning, for the place of his residence, & politely consented to take charge of the packet, & to deliver it to Doct: Carr on his way thro' that place. I hope it will reach you in a few days. I return you my grateful acknowledgements for the use of the book for so great a length of time.

We have just formed the two houses, & are proceeding to business. I think Governor Barber will be reelected without opposition: notwithstanding the great discontents which have prevailed in many parts of the state.

I shall seek the earliest opportunity of conferring with Doct Everett & m<sup>r</sup> Garth relative to the petition of the Rivanna River company. As yet we are scarcely placed in our respective lodgings. I expect to see them in the morning.

I am, d<sup>r</sup> Sir, with high esteem & respect

y<sup>r</sup> mo: ob<sup>t</sup>

JOSEPH C. CABELL.

RC (ViU: TJP-PC); endorsed by TJ.  
Recorded in SJL as received 13 Dec.  
1813.

The TWO HOUSES of the Virginia Gen-

eral Assembly came to order on 6  
Dec. 1813, with Charles Everette and  
Jesse Winston GARTH representing Alber-  
marle County in the House of Delegates  
(Leonard, *General Assembly*, 273).

## To Madame de Tessedé

Dec. 8. 13.

While at war, my dear madam and friend, with the Leviathan of the ocean, there is little hope of a letter's escaping his thousand ships; yet I cannot permit myself longer to withhold the acknowledgement of your letter of June 28. of the last year, with which came the Memoirs of the Margrave of Bareuth. I am much indebted to you for this singular morsel of history which has given us a curtain view of kings, queens & princes disrobed of their formalities. it is a peep into the stable of the Egyptian god Apis. it would not be easy to find grosser manners,

coarser vices, or more meanness in the poorest huts of our peasantry. the princess shews herself the legitimate sister of Frederic, cynical, selfish, and without a heart.

notwithstanding your wars with England, I presume you get the publications of that country. the Memoirs of mrs Clarke and of her Darling prince, and the Book, emphatically so called, because it is the *Biblia Sacra Deorum et Dearum sub-caelestium*, the Prince regent, his Princess and the minor deities of his sphere,<sup>1</sup> form a worthy sequel to the memoirs of Bareuth; instead of the vulgarity and penury of the court of Berlin giving us the vulgarity & profusion of that of London, and the gross stupidity and profligacy of the latter, in lieu of the genius and misanthropism of the former. the whole might be published as a Supplement to M. de Buffon, under the title of the 'Natural history of kings & Princes,' or as a separate work & called 'Medecine for Monarchists.' the 'Intercepted letters' a later English publication of great wit and humor, has put them to their proper use by holding them up as butts for the ridicule and contempt of mankind. yet by such worthless beings is a great nation to be governed, & even made to deify their old king because he is only a fool and a maniac, and to forgive and forget his having lost to them a great & flourishing empire, added 900. Millions sterling to their debt, for which the fee simple of the whole island would not sell, if offered farm by farm at public auction, and increased their annual taxes from 8. to 70 millions sterling, more than the whole rent-roll of the island. what must be the dreary prospect from the son when such a father is deplored as a national loss. but let us drop these odious beings and pass to those of an higher order the plants of the field. I am afraid I have given you a great deal more trouble than I intended by my enquiries for the Maronnier or *Castanea Sativa*, of which I wished to possess my own country, without knowing how rare it's culture was even in yours. the two plants which your researches have placed in your own garden, it will be all but impossible to remove hither. the war renders their safe passage across the Atlantic extremely precarious, and, if landed any where but in the Chesapeake, the risk of the additional voyage along the coast to Virginia is still greater. under these circumstances it is better they should retain their present station, and compensate to you the trouble they have cost you.

I learn with great pleasure the success of<sup>2</sup> your new gardens at Aulnay. no occupation can be more delightful or useful. they will have the merit of inducing you to forget those of Chaville. with the botanical riches which you mention to have been derived to England from New Holland, we are as yet unacquainted. Lewis's journey across our continent to the Pacific has added a number of new

plants to our former stock, some of them are curious, some ornamental, some useful, and some may by culture be made acceptable on our tables. I have growing, which I destine for you, a very handsome little shrub, of the size of a currant bush. its beauty consists in a great produce of berries, of the size of currants, and literally as white as snow, which remain on the bush thro' the winter after it's leaves have fallen, and make it an object as singular as it is beautiful. we call it the Snow-berry bush, no botanical name being yet given to it, but I do not know why we might not call it *Chionicoccus*, or *Kallicoccus*. all Lewis's plants are growing in the garden of mr McMahon a gardener<sup>3</sup> of Philadelphia to whom I consigned them, and from whom I shall have great pleasure, when peace is restored, in ordering for you any of these, or of our other indigenous plants. the port of Philadelphia has great intercourse with Bordeaux and Nantes, and some little perhaps with Havre. I was mortified not long since by recieving a letter from a merchant in Bordeaux, apologising for having suffered a box of plants addressed by me to you, to get accidentally covered in his warehouse by other objects, and to remain three years undiscovered when every thing in it was found to be rotten. I have learnt occasionally that others rotted in the warehouses of the English pyrates. we are now settling that account with them. we have taken their Upper Canada, and shall add the Lower to it when the season will admit; and hope to remove them fully and finally from our continent. and what they will feel more, for they value their colonies only for the bales of cloth they take from them, we have established manufactures, not only sufficient to supercede our demand from them, but to rivalise them in foreign markets. but for the course of our war I will refer you to M. de la Fayette to whom I state it more particularly. our friend mr Short is well. he makes Philadelphia his winter quarters and New york, or the country, those of the summer. in his fortune he is perfectly independant and at ease, and does not trouble himself with the party politics of our country. will you permit me to place here for M. de Tessé the testimony of my high<sup>4</sup> esteem and respect, and accept for yourself an assurance of the warm recollections I retain of your many civilities & courtesies to me, and the homage of my constant and affectionate attachment and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

RC (NNPM). PoC (DLC); at foot of first page: "M<sup>de</sup> de Tessé." Enclosed in TJ to David Bailie Warden, 29 Dec. 1813, and TJ to John Graham, 6 Jan. 1814.

The LEVIATHAN OF THE OCEAN WAS

Great Britain. When a new bull was selected as the manifestation of the EGYPTIAN GOD APIS, during the first forty days when only women were permitted to see him, they lifted their garments and exposed themselves to him (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 1.85, in *Diodorus*

of *Sicily*, trans. Charles H. Oldfather and others, Loeb Classical Library [1933–67; repr. 1989], 1:290–1; for editions of this author owned by TJ, see Sowerby, nos. 37–8). The memoirs of Mary Anne CLARKE, the mistress of HER DARLING PRINCE, Frederick, duke of York, were contained in *Evidence and Proceedings upon the Charges preferred against the Duke of York, in 1809* (London, 1809; Sowerby, no. 409). For THE BOOK, see TJ to Samuel Pleasants, 11 Aug. 1813, and note. BIBLIA SACRA DEORUM ET DEARUM SUB-CAELESTIUM: “holy

book of the gods and goddesses under Heaven.” PRINCE REGENT George was married to Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, PRINCESS of Wales, while the OLD KING was his father, George III. SJL does not record receipt in 1813 of a single LETTER FROM A MERCHANT IN BORDEAUX, and none has been found.

<sup>1</sup> Word interlined in place of “court and government.”

<sup>2</sup> TJ here canceled “our.”

<sup>3</sup> Preceding two words interlined.

<sup>4</sup> Word interlined.

## From Thomas Leiper

MY DEAR SIR

Philad<sup>a</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1813—

Enclosed in my opinion is a very extraordinary letter which appeared in Poulson’s Paper of the 6<sup>th</sup>—The History of the letter from the information I have received The contents was wrote by you to Doctor Logan and by him handed to Poulson’s Press—I trust it is a forgery—I have but one opinion and I am not singular in my opinion (for Twenty years) that every Battle obtained by the French was a Battle in favor of the Americans and I will add in favor of the Revelation of God which appears clear to me from the 7 Chapter<sup>1</sup> of Daniel and the 17 Chapter<sup>2</sup> of the Revelation of Saint John—How could this fisherman I would ask get his information that their would be Ten Kings or Kingdoms<sup>3</sup> formed out of the Western Empire which absolutly came to pass and that they should remain a certain period and should be cut off which at this day<sup>4</sup> comming to pass at the very time too the authors on the subject had pointed out—From your Answer to me on your receipt of Towers illustration of Prophecy it appeared to me the Book was in no great estimation with you—I sent the Book to M<sup>r</sup> Madison he did not Vouchsafe to acknowledge the receipt<sup>5</sup> but at the same time I sent the Book to Judge Duvall and received for answer he had read the Book with great pleasure and satisfaction and would read it again and again Do read the Book for certain I am after you have read it you would not be at a Loss to know how the thing would wind up—Since I have read Towers I have seen Thomas Scott’s Bible he was Rector of Aston Bucks he mentions he was Twenty years in finishing his notes—on<sup>6</sup> the 7 Chapter of Daniel he mentions<sup>7</sup> the Ten Kingdoms by name that were to be formed and to be destroyed and should Scott’s Bible not

be at hand give me leave to mention them 1<sup>st</sup> Senate of Rome 2<sup>d</sup> The Greeks of Ravina 3<sup>d</sup> The Lombards in Lombardy. 4<sup>th</sup> The Huns<sup>8</sup> in Hungary. 5<sup>th</sup> The Alemanes in Germany<sup>9</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> The Franks in France 7<sup>th</sup> The Burgundians in Burgundy<sup>10</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> The Goths in Spain 9<sup>th</sup> The Britons 10<sup>th</sup> Saxon in Britain—Now Sir abstracted from the Above what is Bonaparte contending for the freedom of the Seas we have certainly the same thing in View by our War What has Great Britain in view by Bribing all the Crown'd Heads in Europe the Trade of the whole World and if she had it in her power I verily believe she would not suffer a Cock Boat of any other nation to swim the Ocean<sup>11</sup>—Bonaparte has drawn his Sword and has Declared it shall not return into the Scabbard untill the Ocean shall be a public high way for all nations and as I believe no permanent peace will take place 'till this thing is effected I hope and Trust he will keep his word as Providence has<sup>12</sup> put the means in his power—And as there are many of these Kingdoms are already down we have every reason to infer from the same Document the rest will follow and as Britain is one of them the sooner she goes the better it will be for the whole World With respect and esteem I am Your most obedient S<sup>t</sup>

THOMAS LEIPER

RC (DLC); addressed: "Thomas Jefferson Late President of the United States Monticello Virginia"; endorsed by TJ. Recorded in SJL as received 24 Dec. 1813. FC (Lb in Leiper Papers, Friends of Thomas Leiper House, on deposit PPL). Enclosure: extract from TJ to George Logan, 3 Oct. 1813, printed in Philadelphia *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, 6 Dec. 1813.

Thomas Leiper (1745–1825), merchant, was a native of Scotland who immigrated to Maryland in 1763. He relocated two years later to Philadelphia, where he became a leading tobacco merchant and the owner of quarries and snuff mills. During the Revolutionary War, Leiper supported the American cause both financially and through service as a sergeant in an elite volunteer unit, the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry. TJ rented a house in Philadelphia from him during his tenure as secretary of state, 1790–93, and sold him tobacco on a number of occasions thereafter. Leiper strongly opposed the imposition of excise taxes on snuff and other tobacco products

in petitions to Congress and to President George Washington in 1794. To transport stone from his quarries, he constructed a short, horse-drawn railroad in 1809–10 that is now thought to have been Pennsylvania's first. In addition, Leiper served regularly as president of the Philadelphia Common Council and as a director of the Bank of Pennsylvania, was a director of the Bank of the United States toward the end of his life, and helped found the Franklin Institute (*DAB*; *MB*; *PTJ*, esp. 17:267–9, 24:714, 25:529, 32:209–10; Gibson & Jefferson to TJ, [before 12 Apr. 1812]; James T. Callender, *A Short History of the Nature and Consequences of Excise Laws* [Philadelphia, 1795], 56–74, 78–9, 86–7; *Journal of the First Session of the Eleventh House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* [Lancaster, 1800], 246; *Philadelphia Gazette of the United States*, 15 Oct. 1802; *Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register*, 22 Oct. 1803; *Albany Advertiser*, 18 Jan. 1817; *Philadelphia Franklin Gazette*, 20 Jan. 1820; *Philadelphia Aurora & Franklin Gazette*, 8 July 1825).

Leiper alluded to the WESTERN Roman Empire. He thought that TJ did not hold Joseph Lomas Towers's *Illustrations of Prophecy*, 2 vols. (London, 1796; repr. Philadelphia, 1808; Sowerby, no. 1548) in GREAT ESTIMATION because TJ contrasted it with "some other late writer (the name I forget) who has undertaken to prove contrary events from the same sources; and particularly that England is not to be put down" (TJ to Leiper, 21 Jan. 1809 [DLC]). ASTON BUCKS: Aston Sandford, Buckinghamshire, England.

<sup>1</sup> RC: "Chaper." FC: "chapter."

<sup>2</sup> RC: "Chaper." FC: "chapter."

<sup>3</sup> RC: "Kingdom." FC: "Kingdoms."

<sup>4</sup> FC: "Time."

<sup>5</sup> RC: "rceipt." FC: "receipt."

<sup>6</sup> RC: "finishing his notes—His notes on." FC: "finishing his notes—On."

<sup>7</sup> RC: "mention." FC: "mentions."

<sup>8</sup> RC: "Hunds." FC: "huns."

<sup>9</sup> RC: "Garmany." FC: "Germany."

<sup>10</sup> RC: "Burguny." FC: "Burgundy."

<sup>11</sup> FC ends here.

<sup>12</sup> RC: "his."

## From George Logan

DEAR SIR

Stenton Decb<sup>r</sup> 9th: 1813

Accept my thanks for your late friendly and interesting Letter. Your approbation of my visit to France in 1798 is highly satisfactory. Influenced by similar motives, I visited England in 1810. To a person so perfectly acquainted with the spirit of the constitution of the United States, as you are; it is not necessary for me to say any thing in justification of the acts of any private citizen, to promote the prosperity and happiness of his country.

During a residence of five months in England<sup>1</sup> I travelled one thousand miles thro' that country. I visited the principal commercial, and manufacturing cities; and became acquainted with the agricultural interest. I had a fair opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of men in every situation of life, respecting the unhappy contest between the United States and Great Britain. I found a general anxiety to prevail; that harmony and peace should be restored, equally honorable and<sup>2</sup> beneficial to both countries.

An erroneous opinion is entertained by some few men in the United States; of the decline and fall of the British empire. That country at no period of its history, was more free, powerful and respectable, than at this moment. The successful stand she has made, against the tyrant of Europe has occasioned the continental Powers to regard her with veneration. Knowing that the liberty of their country depends on the correct habits and information of the people. The princes, nobility, and patriotic citizens of every religious and political opinion; are uniting in distinct societies, for the purpose of educating, and<sup>3</sup> giving moral instruction to the destitute part of the community—This is the most honorable and beneficial measure, ever adopted by the citizens of that nation; and will secure its liberty and prosperity.