The Papers of
Thomas Jefferson

To Elisha Boudinot

Sir


A friend of mine at Hanau in Germany, Baron Geismar, owning some shares (I believe three) in a copper mine in your neighborhood, has desired and authorized me to have them sold. Having applied to the honourable Mr. Stockdon to recommend me to some person whom I might address for this purpose he was kind enough to permit me to use his name in addressing you. Under that sanction I presume to write this letter. I am anxious to know for how much they can be sold, per share? and whether the sale could be made with a reservation to me, till I shall return home & be able to consult a former letter of Baron Geismer's which I left there, to declare the sale then to be off or on? My reason for the latter proposition is that till I can see that letter again, I do not recollect how much these shares cost Baron Geismar, & I should be unwilling to sell them to a loss. I have moreover left at home a blank power of attorney sent me to insert in it the name of the person whom I shall authorize to convey the shares & receive the money. The payment of the purchase money should be made quite easy, provided the principal were secured, and a recurrence to the delays of the law rendered unnecessary. I shall return home in March and could send a decision on the sale in all April. The circumstances of this case and my situation must be my apology for presuming to give you this trouble, and for asking information from you. Accept assurances of the respect with which I am Sir

Your most obedt. servt

Th: Jefferson

RC (NNPM); addressed: “Elisha Boudinot esq. Newark”; franked and postmarked; endorsed.

Elisha Boudinot (1749-1819), younger brother of Elias Boudinot, practiced law in Newark, New Jersey, and was elected to the state supreme court in 1798 (A History of the City of Newark, New Jersey: Embracing Practically Two and a Half Centuries, 1666-1915, 3 vols. [New York, 1915], 2:603-10; General Catalogue of Princeton University, 1746-1906 [Princeton, 1908], 18).
From Aaron Burr

Dear sir,

Albany 3. Feby. 99

Being last fall in Ontario County, I spent a day in examining the records to discover the Situation of R.M.’s property. I find that every acre of his land hath been conveyed between the Months of January & July 98 &, as far as I can learn, for good considerations.

An attachment, for the benefit of all the Creditors, issued in March 98 & if prosecuted must exclude any creditor from a partial benefit. In August last, I obtained a Judgt. agt. R.M. at the Suit of a Creditor in N. York for about 50,000 Dolls. which Judgment I have no doubt the Creditor would sell for 2/ in the pound. When I commenced the suit of Mr. Currie I did not suspect the Conveyances which I have since discovered.

The hope of any recovery now appears to me so very remote as not to be worth the expense of the attempt,—For the present therefore I have suspended the pursuit. The Controversy between the attachment & my Judt. will be decided on the 14 March: if in favor of the Judt., I shall sell by execution, the Conveyances notwithstanding, & if the product should exceed the demand, of which I have no hope, shall endeavor to seize the residue for the benefit of Messs. Currie & Burwell—You shall be advised of the result.

The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions have been laid before our legislature, but have not as yet been acted on, in either house. In our Senate they would be rejected about 32 to 8—& probably with marks of indignation: In the H. of assembly they would also be rejected by a Majority of 4 or 5—Under circumstances so inauspicious, I have not thought it discreet to urge a determination in either house. We have now under Consideration two or three laws which are very important even politically considered & are in a good Way; but all
hope of success in these would Vanish on the revival of a party discussion—

Our Vehement federalists, many of them at least, begin to halt & to doubt & even to enquire—25 million of british debts—6 Million per ann. for a fleet & as much more for an Army, begin to exite examination to which the land tax gives impulse. Considerable changes will probably take place in this State within two Years—Some Symptoms are already obvious even to you at a distance—

Always respectfully & sincerely Your friend and Ob st

A Burr.

I thank you particularly for those parts of your letters which are not on business

RC (DLC); at foot of text: “Hon. Th Jefferson”; endorsed by TJ as received 9 Feb. and so recorded in SJL.


On 12 Jan. 1799 Governor John Jay sent the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions to the New York Senate with a one-sentence message noting simply that the resolutions had been sent to him for transmittal to the legislature. That same day the senate referred the resolutions to a committee of the whole but took no further immediate action. The assembly, of which Burr was a member, did not receive Jay’s message and the resolves from the senate until 30 Jan. When the legislature did turn its attention to the resolutions in mid-February, Burr attempted to prevent any consideration of them. That effort and an attempt to delay consideration beyond the end of the legislative session both failed, and when Federalists condemned the Virginia and Kentucky measures Burr and others tried without success to include a statement affirming the right of citizens and their representatives to protest acts of the federal government (Kline, Burr, 1:393-5; Journal of the Senate of the State of New York: At their Twenty-Second Session, Second Meeting, Begun and Held at the City of Albany, the Second Day of January, 1799 [Albany, 1799], 15).

The two or three laws that Burr hoped to see passed were probably a large measure for a uniform system of taxation, an abolition act, and a bill for relief of insolvent debtors (Kline, Burr, 1:382-4).

From John Cleves Symmes

Sir/ Cincinnati the 3rd. of February 1799

It becomes my duty, and I hope it may also tend to my Interest, to renew my prayer to the Senate of the United States for their countenance to my claims, and permission for me to proceed with my payments into the treasury of the Nation, in discharge of that balance which I owe the United States on the Miami purchase.

Greatly as I have been embarrassed on that subject, and disappointed in the receipts of Money owing to special causes which I need not here enumerate, I conceive it fully in my power, notwith-
standing, to pay the last shilling due on my contract.—This I humbly
beg leave to do: The assent of Congress to this Measure will put it
immediately in my power to fulfil all the Obligations laid on me by
the contract: The means are within my reach: And would Congress
be pleased to authorise the secretary of the treasury to receive the
Money, I flatter myself that it will soon be paid.

To attempt here an Illustration of the merits of my claim would
seem superfluous: If it yet remains incumbent on me to develope that
subject, I humbly ask for an opportunity of doing it before a tribunal
of law or equity where I may enjoy those privileges which a defen-
dant in a cause of the smallest moment, cannot by the laws of the land
be refused.

It is a painful reflection to me sir, to discover in the Senate the
smallest hessitation on the question of allowing to me and my fellow
settlers the enjoyment of that Country we have so dearly earned, and
fertilized with our blood; were it possible that the Honble. Members
of the Senate could place themselves in our late situation and recall to
their view the once dreary wilds of this Country; the yelling savages
that haunted every corner of that wilderness; the bleeding father or
husband that lay gasping his last breath beneath the barbarous foot,
and ruthless knife of the Indignant Indian; the screaches and moans
of the widow’d wife and orphan children; I am certain, not a voice
would be heard in your honorable house that would not exclaim “let
them keep the land on payment of the contract price.”

Your Honble. house, sir, in 1792. as well as the house of Repre-
sentatives did more than this, in favor of the early settlers at Mus-
kingum—they, with a generous humanity decreed one hundred
thousand acres gratis to the Ohio company as a bounty or reward to
those men at Marietta who had hazarded their lives in the settlement
of that part of the Territory. Sir, we do not ask for a bounty like this,
yet cannot see why we have not equal Merit. but we hope to be suc-
cessful in importuning that favor which we conceive to be a right, ie.
the privilege of paying our debts. but if our money must be still
refused, then we pray the privilege of attempting the establishment of
our claim before a tribunal of law or equity—arbitration or commis-
sioners, if a compromise cannot be effected between agents appointed
for the purpose, by Congress on one part, and myself and associates
on the other, with whom I may plead or confer on an equal floor, and
maintain my pretensions, or make concessions as my claim may
appear on investigation, more or less worthy.

Surely sir, it will be admitted, that I had some agency in the origin
of the contract: may I not then, with propriety plead my right to be
heard on the question of its dissolution?—to Urge that contracts made in good faith shall not be arbitrarily annulled,—that the right of trial by jury is inalienable and cannot be denied—that a defendant has a right to be heard by counsel when his property is impleaded—that no intendment can be set up of my having relinquished the contract, unless a deed by which I have abandoned it can be shewn equally solemn and valid with that by which it was created—that a third party, when rights are severed, cannot be committed by the act of the other two.—how much less then shall two of the parties to a deed tripartite be concluded by the act of the third. It is with reluctance sir, I can be persuaded that my prayer for the establishment of my claim, will not be attended to by your honorable house, and that I shall not be yet allowed to pay for the residue of the Miami purchase at the contract price.

It is a mortifying truth sir, that at the time when I entered into contract with the United States in 1788. the price then stipulated to be paid per acre for the land was considered by the sellers as well as the buyers, as a very high price. and several years afterwards a price much below was proposed by the secretary of the treasury as adequate to the value of the unappropriated land in this country; nor did he err in his report—neither was the house of representatives precipitate in their approbation of his report, and passing a bill for the purpose of carrying it into effect.

The propriety of Mr. Hamiltons report and consequent bill in the house of Representatives, appears from many incontestable facts,—was not the whole country of Genesee about the same time sold at a much smaller price. and have not uninhabited lands been ever at Market from 1788 to the present time at a price much below that which I am willing to pay the United States? are not Military lands now selling in the Metropolis at one half that price? May not new lands be had much cheaper at this moment at the Wabash; Illinois; Natchez, Georgia; Tenessee and Cumberland as well as in the Military district? Why then sir, should two thirds of a dollar be thought a price too small for the lands bordering on the great Miami River; surely sir, it can be for no other reason, than, because purchasers under the contract, have rendered it a cultivated country—have by their hazard and toil given to it an increased value—but, for our enterprize and industry, these very lands might be at this Moment an unnoticed article in the Markets of the United States, at half the Contract price

I have the honor to be most respectfully Sir Yours &c.

JOHN C SYMMES

3 FEBRUARY 1799
From James Wood

Sir.

I have had the honor of your Letter of the 24th. Ultimo with the inclosure, notifying Mr. Tazewell. I delayed answering your letter until this time, in expectation that a temporary Appointment would be made by the Executive—I am now inclined to think that none will take place, before a permanent One is made by the Legislature; the Board were equally divided as to two Gentlemen
who were Nominated, and my Own Opinion being that I had no power to give a Credential to either, under the Law prescribing the form to be Observed where a temporary Appointment shou'd be made by the Executive. I have the honor to be with due Consideration.

Sir Yr. Mo. Obt. Servt. 

James Wood.


To James Madison

Feb. 5. 99.

I wrote you last on the 30th. Jan. since which yours of the 25th. is received. at the date of my letter I had only heard the bill for the eventual army read once. I concieved it additional to the Provisional army &c. I must correct the error. the bill for the Provisional army (about 10,000. men) expires this session without having been carried into execution. the eventual army (about 30,000) is a substitute. I say about 30,000 because some calculate the new establishment of a regiment we are now passing to a little over, & some a little under 1000. officers & privates. the whole land army contemplated is the existing army 5000. the additional army 9000. the eventual army 30000. and the volunteer army, the amount of which is not known. but besides that it is 44,000. men, and nobody pretends to say that there is from any quarter the least real danger of invasion. these may surely be set down at 500. dollars per annum a man, though they pretend that the existing army costs but 300. the reason of that is that there are not actually above 3000. of them, the 5000 being merely on paper. the bill for continuing the suspension of intercourse with France & her dependencies is still before the Senate, but will pass by a very great vote. an attack is made on what is called Toussaint's clause, the object of which, as is charged by the one party and admitted by the other, is to facilitate the separation of the island from France, the clause will pass however by about 19. to 8. or perhaps 18. to 9. Rigaud at the head of the people of colour maintains his allegiance. but they are only 25,000 souls, against 500,000. the number of the blacks. the treaty made with them by Maitland is (if they are to be separated from France) the best thing for us. they must get their provisions from us. it will indeed be in English bottoms, so that we shall lose the carriage. but the English will probably forbid them
the ocean, confine them to their island, & thus prevent their becoming an American Algiers. it must be admitted too that they may play them off on us when they please. against this there is no remedy but timely measures on our part to clear ourselves by degrees of the matter on which that leaven can work.—the opposition to Livermore was not republican. I have however seen letters from New Hampshire from which it appears that the public sentiment there is no longer progressive in any direction, but that at present it is dead water. that during the whole of their late session not a word has been heard of Jacobinism, disorganization &c no reproach of any kind cast on the republicans. that there has been a general complaint among the members that they could hear but one side of the question, and a great anxiety to obtain a paper or papers which would put them in possession of both sides. from Massachusetts & R.I. I have no information. Connecticut remains rivetted in her political & religious bigotry.—Baldwin is elected by the legislature of Georgia a Senator for 6. years in the room of Tatnal, whose want of firmness had produced the effect of a change of sides.—we have had no report of Yard’s being dead. he is certainly living.—a piece published in Bache’s paper on foreign influence, has had the greatest currency & effect. to an extraordinary first impression, they have been obliged to make a second, & of an extraordinary number. it is such things as these the public want. they say so from all quarters, and that they wish to hear reason instead of disgusting blackguardism. the public sentiment being now on the creen and many heavy circumstances about to fall into the republican scale, we are sensible that this summer is the season for systematic energies & sacrifices. the engine is the press. every man must lay his purse & his pen under contribution. as to the former it is possible I may be obliged to assume something for you. as to the latter, let me pray & beseech you to set apart a certain portion of every post-day to write what may be proper for the public. send it to me while here, & when I go away I will let you know to whom you may send so that your name shall be sacredly secret. you can render such incalculable services in this way as to lessen the effect of our loss of your presence here. I shall see you on the 5th. or 6th. of March. affectionate salutations to mrs Madison & yourself. Adieu.

5 FEBRUARY 1799

RC (DLC: Madison Papers); addressed: “James Madison junr. near Orange court house”; franked and postmarked. PrC (DLC).

For passage of the legislation continuing the suspension of intercourse with France, see TJ to Monroe, 23 Jan. On 5 Feb. the Senate defeated, by a 10 to 17 vote, a motion to expunge Toussaint’s clause. The next day the bill was approved, 18 to 10 (JS, 2:578, 580). André Rigaud controlled the southern part of Saint-Domingue until he was
To Martha Jefferson Randolph

My dear Martha

Philadelphia Feb. 5. 99.

I wrote to mr Randolph on the 30th. of Jan. having just then received his of the 19th. it was not till yesterday that I learned from the Post office that our post now departs on Wednesday morning from this place. my letters hitherto have been written for Thursday morning, so that you will have received them a week later. tell mr Randolph that the day on which I wrote to him, but after I had sealed my letter, a bill was brought in to raise 30. regiments of infantry cavalry & artillery, on the event of an invasion or in case of imminent danger of invasion in the opinion of the President. regiments are now proposed to be about 1000. our land army will then be the existing army 5000. the additional army 9000, this eventual army 30,000. (instead of the Provisional one of 10,000 the act for which is expired) and the volunteer army, which is now to be formed into brigades & divisions & to be exercised. we have no particular information as to the price of tobo. but generally that as well as all other produce is higher in England than ever known. the immense quantities of paper which their circumstances have forced them to create are now sensibly felt in the enlivening effect which always takes place in the first moment in the delusive shape of prosperity. they are accordingly now singing Hosannas for the unparalleled rise of their finances, & manufactures. we shall catch a little of the benefit in the beginning as their paper money price for tobo. will be hard money to us. but it will soon be fetched up as their paper money price for manufactures will be a hard money price to us. we ought to prepare against being involved in their embarrasments by setting in by times to domestic manufacture.—Jupiter with my horses must be at Fredericksburg on Tuesday evening the 5th. of March. I shall leave this place on the 1st. or 2d. you will recieve this
To John Wayles Eppes


Yours of Jan. 20. & 24. are duly received. in the former you mention the receipt of £40. for me, and Maria's of the next day says that Mr Eppes expected to receive £30. more for me at the ensuing Cumberland court. not having heard from Mr Randolph on the subject of the hire of your negroes, I was in the moment of receiving your letter, just about to inclose you a draught on George Je_serson for £100. on account. instead of this I have now written to him to answer your draught for one or two hundred dollars which with the £40. you have, & either with or without the £30. as the case may be, will make you up the hundred pounds. whatever this may be less than the valuation shall be paid up on my return. I shall offer your lands to my correspondent at £6000. they ought not to sell for less, and I have hopes you will get it. a bill is passing the Senate for an eventual army of 30,000 men (instead of the provisional one of 10,000 which had not been raised) and in addition to the existing army of 5000, the additional one of 9000. & the volunteer one, of we do not know how many. 2. millions of dollars more are to be borrowed to carry the act into execution. a bill is also brought into the Senate to retaliate on any French citizens who are or may fall into our hands, if the French should put to death or imprison any of ours impressed on board the vessels of their enemies & which may be taken by them. no trial of any kind is provided. the President alone is to judge & execute. though the measures of the government are still measures of provocation, yet a depression of spirits in that party is evident. they are much less insolent & abusive than at the last session. the public mind is evidently & rapidly turning against them, & they are sensible of it.—I inclose you a copy of Mr Nicholas's pamphlet. let Mr Eppes have the reading of it. Adieu.

Yours affectionately

Th: Jefferson
7 FEBRUARY 1799

To Mary Jefferson Eppes


Your letter, my dear Maria, of Jan. 21. was received two days ago. it was, as Ossian says, or would say, like the bright beams of the moon on the desolate heath. environed here in scenes of constant torment, malice & obloquy, worn down in a station where no effort to render service can avail anything, I feel not that existence is a blessing but when something recalls my mind to my family or farm. this was the effect of your letter, and it’s affectionate expressions kindled up all those feelings of love for you and our dear connections which now constitute the only real happiness of my life. I am now feeding on the idea of my departure for Monticello which is but three weeks distant. the roads will then be so dreadful, that, as to visit you even by the direct route of Fredsbeg & Richmond, would add 100. miles to passed by a 22 to 2 margin a week later, although the debate revealed that France had rescinded the edict against which the bill was aimed. In response to a 14 Feb. request by the House for any information he had received on a suspension of the arrêté, Adams sent the House an extract of a letter from Rufus King to Pickering of 28 Nov. 1798, which reported that a second arrêté had postponed the execution of the first. In his message, however, Adams reminded the House that even if the edict of 29 Oct. were rescinded, the arrêté of 2 Mch. 1797, which directed that American seamen be treated as pirates if found on board ships of the enemies of France, was still in effect (Message from the President of the United States, Communicating to the House Such Information as He Has Received Touching a Suspension of the Arrete of the French Republic [Philadelphia, 1799]; see Evans, No. 35569). On 2 Mch. 1799, the day before adjournment, the House passed the bill by a 56 to 30 vote. The president signed it the next day (Js, 2:574, 578, 583; JHR, 3:476, 478-9, 515; ASP, Foreign Relations, 2:238-9; Duvergier, Lois, 11:10-11, 47; U.S. Statutes at Large, 1:743; TJ to Madison, 12 Feb.).

1 Preceding three words interlined in place of “differ from.”
7 February 1799

the length of my journey, I must defer it in the hope that about the last of March or first of April, I may be able to take a trip express to see you. the roads will then be fine, perhaps your sister may join in a flying trip, as it can only be for a few days. in the mean time let me hear from you. letters which leave Richmond after the 21st. inst. should be directed to me at Monticello. I suppose you to be now at Montblanco and therefore do not charge you with the delivery of those sentiments of esteem which I always feel for the family at Eppington. I write to Mr Eppes. continue always to love me, & to be assured that there is no object on earth so dear to my heart as your health & happiness, and that my tenderest affections always hang on you. Adieu my ever dear Maria.

TH: Jefferson

To George Jefferson


I wrote you last on the 31st. ult. since which yours of the 29th. is come to hand, as also a letter from Mr B. Clarke my manager at Poplar Forest giving me a statement of the weights of my tobacco there, of which I inclose you a copy. there are 20. hhds. averaging 1509½ lb making in the whole 30,190. I rely on Clarke’s diligence that it will be down with you by the first opportunity.—I shall desire Mr Eppes, my son in law, to draw on you for from one to two hundred dollars, which be pleased to honour. having occasion for 5. bushels of clover seed, half white & half red, I have enquired the price here, & find that red is at 11. D. the bushel & white 16. be so good as to enquire if they are to be had at Richmond & on better terms, and if they are, send up that quantity for me. I shall be here till the last day of this month, therefore have time to hear from you on the last subject, which, if I am to send the seed from hence, should be known to me immediately. be so good as to send me a copy of the pamphlet Curtius, printed at Richmond. I am with great esteem Dear Sir

Your friend & servt

TH: Jefferson

P.S. from Albemarle there will be about 20,000 lb tobo. and pretty certainly of a better quality than the Bedford.

{14}
7 FEBRUARY 1799

The letter from Bowling Clarke of 20 Jan., recorded in SJL as received by TJ on 6 Feb., has not been found.

Pamphlet Curtius: on 30 Nov. 1798 the Virginia Argus published the first of five essays addressed to congressional candidate John Marshall by John Thomson, a young Republican lawyer from Petersburg, using the pen name “Curtius.” In late 1798 Richmond newspaper editor Samuel Pleasants published the essays as The Letters of Curtius, Addressed to General Marshall. In the missives, Thomson described Marshall as the leader of the Federalist Party in Virginia, a party which was attempting “to erect a monarchy or aristocracy upon the ruins of our free constitution” through pro-British, anti-French policies. For the role of this pamphlet in Marshall’s congressional campaign, see Marshall, Papers, 3:497-8. Thomson died in early 1799 at the age of 21. In 1804 Pleasants reprinted the pamphlet and added a biographical sketch of Thomson (Virginia Argus, 18 Jan. 1799). For the 1804 pamphlet, see Sowerby, No. 3526.

ENCLOSURE

Tobacco Statement

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20. hhds. average 1509 ½

PrC (MHi); letterpressed perpendicularly below postscript and signature of covering letter above.

{ 15 }
From John C. Ogden

SIR. Litchfield Connecticut Feby 7th 1799

I knew that you would pardon a liberty I take in sending this, with its Contents—Since my arrival in this Town I have found the Superior Court in session, and a large number of my old acquaintance. I am a lodger in an inn, which is the home also of Gideon Granger Esqr. of Suffield in this State, who is attending the court as a lawyer.

My acquaintances all agree that the rancor of party against those called republicans has cooled, since the eight per-cent. premium for the loan. The people are more moderate, and susceptible of proper impressions.

Many publications in the Aurora have reached Connecticut, within four weeks, which have opened the eyes of the dispassionate. My friends in Philadelphia furnished me with many publications upon our affairs as a nation, in particular with Mr Gallatins book upon foreign intercourse. These have been already put into such hands by me, as will circulate them into various parts of the State. It is to be lamented that Mr Nicholas’s pamphlet was not finished by Mr James Carey before I left the city, as I should have brought a number for my countrymen here. If the gentlemen of my acquaintance accord with me in opinion, they will pass immediately to me whatever they think to be useful. They may depend that nothing shall be lost. My residence will be here until the rising of Congress in March. It will confer a favor, if they will honor me with their communications without hesitation or reserve.

The register is sent, that as large catalogues, of our citizens as possible may be appealed to, in order to find such persons as may be proper from their offices or principles to receive information, by letters or otherwise—As the press is shackled, there can be no immorality, in putting the party who are thus unjust and arbitrary, to the expence of receiving information, by letters for which they must pay postage—A repetition of such addresses, will lead to the opening of the presses sooner than argumentation, upon the liberty, & privilege, of a free press.

The dot in the list of representatives is for firm republicans and the -m, for moderate men. Communications to such ought to be franked—When my acquaintance arrives from the cell he would gladly devote a large part of his time to enlightening the people of Connecticut.

Mr Granger is possessed of a large estate, but owes the State for
some lands purchased not long since—After he began his numbers, he saw that the party would seek to destroy his family and property if he persisted, and as there was not so immediate a demand for his strictures, he postponed the design, but it is not abandoned.—

My request is, that you would not answer this letter. If any thing worthy our attention as a family has offered itself, and you would condescend to send it by your letter in such form as I might shew to my mother in law and her friends, we shall be honored indeed.

My interview afforded the clue to our wishes and we have no doubt of your readiness to communicate whatever will convince this State or nation of your readiness to serve so venerable a Lady as Mrs Wooster, or do honor to so distinguished a soldier & patriot as General Wooster.

The honor of this is reserved for you, and the good disposition already exhibited, or any future services shall never be forgotten.

I am Dr Sir Your devoted servant

John C. Ogden—

RC (DLC). Recorded in SJL as received 15 Feb. Enclosure: see below.

After graduating from the College of New Jersey, John Cosens Ogden (1751-1800) removed to New Haven, Connecticut. A convert from Presbyterianism, in 1788 he was ordained a priest of the Protestant Episcopal church. Unable to find permanent employment as an Episcopal minister, in the 1790s he traveled and preached through much of Vermont and in the adjacent states and Canada. Never shirking confrontation, he criticized the religious, political, and educational establishment of his former state of residence in a tract, An Appeal to the Candid upon the Present State of Religion and Politics in Connecticut (New Haven, 1797). Following the arrest of Matthew Lyon, Ogden took petitions from Lyon's Vermont supporters to Philadelphia for presentation to John Adams. Beginning in January 1799 Ogden wrote anonymously for the Aurora. He turned one of the catchwords of his opponents, who likened Republicans to secretive and dangerous “illuminati,” against the Federalists by writing A View of the New-England Illuminati; Who are Ineffably Engaged in Destroying the Religion and Government of the United States (Philadelphia, 1799). Ogden died in Maryland in September 1800 (ANB; Smith, Freedom's Fetters, 242-3).

Mr Gallatins Book upon Foreign Intercourse: The Speech of Albert Gallatin, Delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the First of March 1798, Upon the Foreign Intercourse Bill (Philadelphia, 1798). Mr Nicholas’s pamphlet: Letter from George Nicholas.

The enclosed register was likely a marked copy of Green’s Almanack and Register, for the State of Connecticut; for the Year of Our Lord, 1799 (New London, n.d.), which contained a list of representatives in the state legislature (pp. 38-40) as well as rosters of attorneys, ministers, militia officers, bank directors, town clerks, and others. When my acquaintance arrives from the cell: Matthew Lyon was released from imprisonment on 9 Feb. (Smith, Freedom’s Fetters, 244).

Began his numbers: in the spring of 1798 Gideon Granger wrote a numbered series of articles that first appeared in the Impartial Herald, a relatively short-lived newspaper in Suffield, Connecticut, Granger’s hometown. The articles related to his own involvement in politics but dealt primarily with broader themes, including relations with Great Britain and a critical view of the Jay
Treaty (Hartford American Mercury, 26 Apr., 3, 10, 17 May 1798; Brigham, American Newspapers, 1:73).

Ogden may have called on TJ at Monticello in November 1798, but they may also have had an interview in Philadelphia sometime between TJ’s arrival on Christmas Day and the first couple of days of January, since TJ knew by 3 Jan., perhaps directly from Ogden, that Adams had rejected the petitions on Lyons’s behalf with the comment that “penitence must precede pardon” (note to Stevens Thomson Mason to TJ, 23 Nov. 1798; TJ to Madison, 3 Jan. 1799). Ogden’s mother-in-law was Mary Clap wooster, the widow of David Wooster, who was widely criticized for his command of American forces in Quebec in 1775-76 and died in battle at Danbury, Connecticut, in 1777. Before the Revolution David Wooster had been a merchant and the collector of customs at New Haven. Ogden had worked for Wooster and married the Woosters’ daughter. At least a portion of Ogden’s resentment of entrenched political power in Connecticut originated in his failure to attain the collectorship previously held by his father-in-law. Ogden used the pages of the Aurora in 1799 to argue that by giving the collector’s office to their cronies, the Trumbull and Wolcott families had deprived General Wooster’s family of an important and rightful source of income (Alan V. Briceland, “The Philadelphia Aurora, the New England Illuminati, and the Election of 1800,” pmhb, 100 [1976], 9-11, 16-17; anb, 16:634; 23:868).

7 FEBRUARY 1799

From James Madison

Dear Sir

Feby. 8. 1799

I did not receive your last favor of the 16th. Ulto. till the Mail after it was due, with the further delay of its coming by the way of Charlottesville. The last Mail brought me not a single Newspaper, tho’ it was before in arrears. That there is foul play with them I have no doubt. When it really happens that the entire mass cannot be conveyed, I suspect that the favorite papers are selected, and the others laid by; and that when there is no real difficulty the pretext makes room for the same partiality. The idea of publishing the Debates of the Convention ought to be well weighed before the expediency of it, in a public as well as personal view be decided on. Besides the intimate connection between them, the whole volume ought to be examined with an eye to the use of which every part is susceptible. In the Despotism at present exercised over the rules of construction, and the Counter reports of the proceedings that would perhaps be made out & mustered for the occasion, it is a problem what turn might be given to the impression on the public mind. But I shall be better able to form & explain my opinion by the time, which now approaches when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you. And you will find the advantage of looking into the Sheets attentively before you finally make up your own. I have had a glance at Gerry’s comunications & P’s Report on it. It is impossible for any man of candor not to see in the former,
an anxious desire on the part of France for accommodation, mixed with the feelings which Gerry satisfactorily explains. The latter displays a narrow understanding and a most malignant heart. Taken however in combination with preceding transactions it is a link that fits the chain. The P. could not do less in his Speech than allow France an option of peace, nor his Minister do more than to insult & exasperate her if possible into a refusal of it.

Inclosed is a letter to Barnes with two orders which I hope will suffice both for you & him. Should there be any deficit I can now make it up here on your return where possibly it may be more convenient for you to receive it. I inclose also a few more observations which are submitted to your discretion, under the usual reservation. They were sketched prior to the arrival of P.'s Report, to which they may appear to have reference; or they might have assumed still more of that aspect. The impression of your Seals have not been very distinct, but there has been no other suspicious circumstance attending them. I put into the letter to Barnes, the last of them that you may judge yourself of the appearance—If you find it not inconvenient in your Strolls to buy me a cheap diamond & bring it with you, I shall be obliged to you to take that trouble. An indifferent one which I borrowed was lost, and I wish to replace it.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers); endorsed by TJ as received 19 Feb. and so recorded in S.J.L. Enclosed letter to John Barnes with orders not found; for other enclosure, see note below.

For the publication of Elbridge Gerry's communications with Talleyrand, written after the departure of envoys John Marshall and Charles C. Pinckney, and Timothy Pickering's report, delivered as a critical response to it, see TJ to Monroe, 23 Jan. 1799.

The observations enclosed by Madison were printed in the Philadelphia Aurora as "Political Reflections" under the signature "A Citizen of the United States" on 23 Feb. In the essay Madison cautioned that it was difficult to obtain authentic news from France because it usually came through England or Germany and was "consequently adulterated with all the exaggerations & perversions which the most raging hostility can infuse." He warned of dangers that war, or the threat of war, posed to all representative governments, the United States as well as France, and observed "that there never was a people whose liberties long survived a standing army." Madison noted that the division of power between the federal and state governments in the United States was one safeguard to liberty which the consolidated French government did not possess (Madison, Papers, 17:237-43).