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Edited by J. Jefferson Looney:

**The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series: Volume 1:
4 March 1809 to 15 November 1809**

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THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON



Account with Joseph Dougherty

	Washington Feb. 17 th 1809	
Thomas Jefferson Esq ^r	[4–10 Mar. 1809]	
To Jo ^s Dougherty		D ^r
		D—cts
To 30 bushels oats a 40 cts per bushel		12—00
To a stable broom		00—14
Mar 1 st To paid the stage office for freight of a box containing bust		00—75
To a roap		00—20
To 6 trunks a 4 Dollars each		24—00
To 2 Do for the girls		8—50
4 To hack hire to a ball		4—00
To paid the stage ¹ office, freight of a small box		0—25
To 2 saddle girths		1—25
To cash paid Shorter going after horse		2—18½
To cash paid for hawling packages		3—62½
To cash paid for a toy		0—25
To 3 groce screws		2—70
To the blacksmith for horshoeing & repairs to the waggon		1—50
		61—35

Washington March 10th 1809

Received payment Jo^s DOUGHERTY

MS (MHi); in Dougherty's hand; date revised based on internal evidence discussed below; endorsed by TJ with the notation: "acc^t pd Mar. 10. 09."

Joseph Dougherty (ca. 1774–1832) was a native of Londonderry, Ireland, who lived in Washington, D.C., and served as TJ's coachman there. He corresponded regularly with TJ on the breed-

ing of dogs and merino sheep. A porter and ale bottling business Dougherty started in 1810 failed three years later, when TJ recommended him for a revenue post, and as late as 1823 his wife was requesting financial aid from TJ. In 1830 Margaret Bayard Smith described him as a "favorite and confidential servant of Mr. Jefferson" possessed of "a degree of elevation and refinement of feelings and views,

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seldom or ever found in his class” (Dougherty to TJ, 6 Dec. 1810, 8 Aug. 1813; TJ to Samuel H. Smith, 15 Aug. 1813; Mary Dougherty to TJ, 25 Oct., 7 Dec. 1823, 27 Jan. 1824; Smith, *Forty Years*, 313–4; Washington *National Intelligencer*, 25 July 1832).

Despite its inscribed date of 17 Feb. 1809, which presumably applies to the

first two entries, Dougherty evidently submitted this account to TJ between 4 Mar. 1809, the date of the last entry, and 10 Mar. 1809, when Dougherty added the receipt for TJ’s payment, also confirmed in *MB*, 2:1243.

¹ Manuscript: “sage.”

From the Students of Jefferson College

SIR,

4th of March 1809

As you now retire from the great theatre of political action, after having spent a number of years in the immediate service of your country—Permit us to hail your retreat from the important office you so lately filled with honor and dignity—to the calm retreats of domestic life. With hearts abounding with gratitude to you as an instrument in the hand of divine Providence, in promoting the peace and prosperity of this nation we humbly present our most sincere thanks. We are well apprised that it does not become youth who are in pursuit of knowledge, to engage in the political contests of the day; yet we trust it will not be disagreeable to you to find that the walls of this college, which bear your name, contain a number of the sons of freedom possessed with political principles congenial to your own. When the enemies of our country boast that they have sown discord among our citizens—When we behold the attempts made to dissolve our union—And alienate the affections of the people from government—And hear the calumnies heaped upon the character of the executive, we cannot be altogether silent.

We have been permitted to hear the thunder of war at a distance, and peacably tread the arduous path of intellectual improvement, unmolested by the awful din of battle, or the more dreadful scenes of devastation that now desolate the nations of the world. Amid scenes of blood and carnage the youthful mind may acquire the more masculine virtues, that render man more alert in shedding the blood of his fellow-man—That steel the human heart against the tender feelings of sympathy and benevolence, and dissolve the finer sensibilities of our nature into those fierce passions that animate the bosom of the warrior. But the delicate hand of peace alone can cultivate and foster the tender plants of science. Though we cannot boast that our fleets and

navies have carried dismay to the most distant regions of the world, yet we may congratulate ourselves on the rapid progress of the arts and sciences from one end of this mighty continent to the other. This might not be a valuable acquisition in a land where the iron hand of despotism crushes liberty in the germ. Where the ignorance of the people forms the principal pillars that support the temple of tyranny, at whose unhallowed shrine the unhappy nations of the world bow with the most profound reverence. But in a land of liberty, where every citizen participates in the general government—is a stone in the great national arch, is the diffusion of knowledge of little or no consequence? While the nations of Europe have been fertilizing their fields with human blood, and committing outrages upon Justice, that are degrading to human nature—that disgrace the page of history, and will sooner or later awake the deep rooted vengeance of exasperated Justice—Industry has found ample reward for her labours in the cultivation of the earth—our territories have been extended, not by lawless and unmerciful conquests, but by rightful purchase—public improvements have been making that cement more firmly the grand chain of national union, which binds these confederated states in one mighty republic—The envy of Europe—The envy of the world. Though your endeavours have been directed to the good of the people, yet you are accused of cowardice in not resenting by force of arms the aggressions of foreign powers. Revenge is pleasant to the haughty mind of man. The anticipation of victory is often fallacious. Happy for the nation whose¹ rulers are parsimonious of its blood and treasures—who view war as it really is, full of hazard, and only to be resorted to, when the voice of humanity is disregarded—When the ears of offenders, are deaf to the calls of justice.—When the arm of the Almighty can be expected to preside in their counsils, and direct the fury of war against their enemies. The Romans once the sovereigns of the world, extended their empire by conquests, untill it fell by its own weight. A martial spirit infused into a nation, Alexander like, seems to stop short of the conquest of the world. Let the nations already buried in the ruins of corroding time. Let England and France teach mankind that war is the bane of religion, the sink of civil liberty, and the greater evil that can befall any people. The present crisis seems to portend that the olive which has so long covered the sons of Columbia with its foliage, is now about to fall. Can even the tongue of malivollence say that you have accelerated the progress of war, or cherished the fire of dissention which now exists between the united states France and England. Even your most inveterate enemies must confess that all has been done that could have been done to preserve our peace, and awake the

tyrants of Europe to a sense of their duty and injustice. If we must engage in battle with our enemies, you may justly exclaim with Cæsar, though with greater purity of intention “They would have it so.” Though you now receive the applause of the greater part of this nation yet you need not expect, that ample justice will be done to your character by your cotemporaries. We believe you enjoy that satisfaction which arises from integrity of heart. This will afford more solid contentment, th[an] the approbation of the world, when the heart is stung with the pangs of conscious guilt.

May happiness attend you down the peaceful vale of life untill you drop into the embraces of silent death—lamented by the friends of liberty, and crowned with the applauses of a grateful people.

MS (DLC); slightly torn; between dateline and salutation: “From the Students of Jefferson College of the Borough of Canonsburg Washington County Pa To Thomas Jefferson Esq. President of the United States”; addressed: “Thomas Jefferson Esqr Washing City”; franked; postmarked in Canonsburg 18 Mar. and Washington, D.C., 27 Mar. before forwarding to Milton; endorsed by TJ as “Address Students of Jefferson college Canonsburg P^a.” Recorded in SJL as received 30 Mar. 1809.

Jefferson College was originally chartered as the Canonsburg Academy and Library Company in 1794 and rechartered by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1802 as Jefferson College. Students were

primarily educated to be Presbyterian ministers at the college, which merged in 1865 with nearby Washington College (chartered in 1787), to form Washington and Jefferson College located at Washington, Pennsylvania (Joseph Smith, *History of Jefferson College* [1857], 51–5).

At the conclusion of the battle of Pharsalus on 9 Aug. 48 BC Julius CÆSAR said of his slain enemies: “They would have it so. Even I, Gaius Caesar, after so many great deeds, should have been found guilty, if I had not turned to my army for help” (Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library [1979], 1:43).

¹ Manuscript: “whse.”

Memoranda to James Madison

[ca. 4–11 Mar. 1809]

Memoranda for the President.

Information having been recieved in October last that many intruders had settled on the lands of the Cherokees & Chickasaws; the letter from Gen^l Dearborn to Col^o Meigs was written to have them ordered off, & to inform them they would be removed by military force in the spring if still on the lands. these orders remain still to be given, & they should go to the officer commanding at Highwassee. a very discreet officer should be selected. on the Cherokee lands, Wafford’s settlement should not be disturbed as the Indians themselves expect

o arrange that with us, & the exchange for lands beyond the Misipi will furnish a good opportunity. from the lands of¹ the Chickasaws all should be removed except those who settled on Doublehead's reserve under titles from him; & they should be notified that those lands having been claimed by the Chickasaws as well as the Cherokees, we purchased² the Cherokee right with an exception of Doublehead's reserve, which we did not guarantee to him, but left it as it stood under the claims of both nations; that consequently they are not under our protection. that whenever we purchase the Chickasaw right, all their titles under Doublehead will become void; as our laws do not permit individuals to purchase lands from the Indians: that they should therefore look out for themselves in time.

At Detroit. Gen^l Dearborne & myself had concluded to purchase for the War-departm^t farm, near Detroit, now held by the Treasury office in satisfaction of a delinquency, provided it could be bought at it's real value, supposed about 1000. or 1200. D. to employ the dwelling house and appurtenances for a school for the instruction of the Indian boys & girls in reading E^tc learning English & household & mechanical arts under the care of Pere Richard, to place in the farm house a farmer (a labourer) of proper character to cultivate the farm with the aid of the Indian lads for the support of the institution, and to place on the same land the blacksmith & carpenter, who would have Indian apprentices under them. the advantages of assembling the whole at one place are obvious. father Richard goes to France in the Mentor to procure an aid. if, when he brings him, he could exchange him with Bishop Carroll for an American, it would be infinitely more desirable.

MS (DLC: TJ Papers, 187:33233); in TJ's hand; undated; at foot of first page: "Presid^t US."; docketed "Mach 1809" at foot of text in an unknown hand. Tr (MH*i*); second paragraph only; posthumous copy.

James Madison (1751–1836), president of the United States, 1809–17, was TJ's lifelong friend and confidante. They became acquainted in 1779 when TJ was governor of Virginia and Madison sat on the Virginia Council of State. Madison served as a Virginia delegate to the Continental Congress, 1780–83 and 1787–88, played a key role in drafting the United States Constitution in 1787, enjoyed great

prominence in the United States House of Representatives, 1789–97, and served as secretary of state under TJ throughout the latter's presidency. In addition to their republican ideals and belief in religious toleration, the two men shared interests in science, agriculture, natural history, and the promotion of education. Throughout their long political careers they corresponded frequently and supported each other with mutual respect and admiration (*ANB*; *DAB*; Brant, *Madison*, esp. 1:272–80; Madison, *Papers*).

WAFFORD'S SETTLEMENT was a 135-square-mile tract in Georgia ceded to the United States by the Cherokee in a 24 Oct. 1804 treaty, the first of four such

transactions during TJ's administration by which the federal government gained title to over 15,000 square miles of Cherokee land (Russell Thornton, *The Cherokees: A Population History* [1990], 55).

¹ Word interlined in place of "claimed by:"

² TJ here canceled "only."

Margaret Bayard Smith's Account of Madison's Inauguration and Ball

[4 Mar. 1809]

On the morning of Mr Madison's inauguration, he asked Mr Jefferson to ride in his carriage with him to the Capitol, but this he declined, & in answer to one¹ who enquired of him why he had not accompanied his friend—he smiled & replied, "I wished not to divide with him the honors of the day—it pleased me better to see them all bestowed on him." A large procession of citizens, some in carriages, on horse back, & a still larger on foot, followed Mr Madison along Pennsylvania avenue to the Capitol—Among those on horse-back was Mr Jefferson, unattended by even a servant, undistinguished in any way² from his fellow citizens—Arrived at the Capitol he dismounted & "Oh!³ shocking," as many, even democrats, as well as the british minister M. Foster,⁴ might have exclaimed, he hitched his own horse to a post, & followed the multitude into the Hall of Representatives. Here a seat had been prepared for him near that of the new President—this he declined—& when urged by the Committee of arrangement, he replied, "this day I return to the people & my proper seat is among them." Surely this was carrying democracy⁵ too far, but it was not done, as his opponents said, from a mere desire of popularity; he must have known human nature too well, not to know that the Peo-ple delight to honor, & to see honored their chosen favorite; besides what more popularity could he now desire—his cup was already running over & could have held no more.—No, he wished by his example as well as his often expressed opinions, to establish the principle of political equality.⁶

After the ceremony of Inauguration, Mr Madison followed by the same crowd returned home⁷ to his private house, Where he & Mrs Madison recieved the visits of the foreign ministers & their fellow citizens.

It was the design, as generally understood, after paying their respects to the new President, that citizens⁸ should go to the President's House

& pay a farewell visit to Mr Jefferson; but to the surprise of every one, he himself, was among the visitors at Mr Madison's. A lady who was on terms of intimacy with the ex-President & could therefore take that liberty, after telling him that the present company & citizens generally, desired to improve this last opportunity of evincing their respect by waiting on him, added her hopes that he would yet be at home in time to⁹ receive them.¹⁰ "This day should be exclusively my friend's," replied he, "& I am too happy in being here, to remain at home." "But indeed Sir you must receive us, you would not let all these ladies—all your friends find an empty house, for at any rate we are determined to go, & to express¹¹ even on this glad occasion, the regret we feel on losing you."

His countenance discovered some¹² emotion—he made no reply, but bowed expressively. The lady had no positive information to give those who had requested her to enquire whether Mr Jefferson would receive company, but watching his motions, found that after a little while he had silently slipped through the crowd & left the room. This she communicated to the company, who with one accord determined to follow him to the President's house—It was evident that he had not expected this attention from his friends & fellow citizens, as his whole household had gone forth to witness the ceremonies of the day—He was alone—But not therefore the less happy, for not one of the eager crowd that followed Mr Madison, was as anxious as himself, to shew every possible mark of respect to the new President.

How mournful was this last interview!—Every one present seemed to feel it so, & as each in turn shook hands with him, their countenances expressed more forcibly than their words the regret they felt on losing one who had been the uniform friend of the city, & of the citizens, with whom [he]¹³ had lived on terms of hospitality & kindness—

In the evening there was an Inauguration Ball. Mr Jefferson was among the first that entered the Ballroom; he came before the President's arrival—"Am I too early?" said he to a friend—"You must tell me how to behave for it is more than forty years since I have been to a ball."

In the course of the evening, some one remarked to him, "you look so happy & satisfied Mr Jefferson, & Mr Madison looks so serious not to say, sad, that a spectator might imagine that you were the one coming in, & he the one going out of office."

"There's good reason for my happy & his serious looks," replied Mr Jefferson, "I have got the burthen off my shoulders, while he has now got it on his."

MS (DLC: Margaret Bayard Smith Papers, Commonplace Books); entirely in Smith's hand; undated, excerpted from an essay entitled "The President's House Forty years ago" filed in book dated 1826–31, but evidently composed about 1841. Printed in Smith, *Forty Years*, 410–2.

Margaret Bayard Smith (1778–1844), a shrewdly observant leader of Washington society, was also an accomplished novelist and essayist. Born in rural Pennsylvania, she was educated at a Moravian boarding school in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and read widely in the classics, sciences, and literature while living with a married sister in New Brunswick, New Jersey. In 1800 Smith married her second cousin Samuel Harrison Smith and resided thereafter in Washington and at a farm retreat called Sidney. Her publications included *The Diversions of Sidney* (Washington, 1805); *A Winter in Washington: or, Memoirs of the Seymour Family*, 3 vols. (New York, 1824); *What is Gentility?: A Moral Tale* (Washington, 1828); a short biography of Dolley Madison; and numerous articles for periodicals. Smith also supported such civic causes as the Washington Female Orphan Asylum (ANB; DAB; Smith, *Forty Years*; James G. Wilson, "Col. John Bayard and the Bayard Family of America," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 16 [1885]: 49–72).

About the time Smith composed this memoir, Augustus John FOSTER, secretary to the British legation, 1804–08, and chargé d'affaires, 1811–12, angered her with the publication of his notes on the United States, in which he criticized T.J.'s democratic lifestyle as insincere posturing (DNB; *Quarterly Review* 68 [1841]: 12–32). T.J. reportedly arrived about noon at the HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES, which was filled to "overflowing" several hours earlier. The INAUGURATION BALL,

held at Long's Hotel, was attended by more than four hundred people and described as "the most brilliant and crowded ever known in Washington" (*Washington National Intelligencer*, 6 Mar. 1809).

Smith published an account of the same events in a novel, stating that T.J. "stole unperceived away" from the ball, at which he "did not stay above two hours, and no one had ever before seen him in such high spirits; his countenance beamed with a benevolent joy. Certainly father never loved son more than he loves Mr. M—n; and it was observed, that every demonstration of regard or respect shewn to him, gave him more evident satisfaction than those paid to himself" (Smith, *Winter in Washington*, 3:281–7).

¹ Word interlined in place of "a friend."

² Preceding three words interlined.

³ Smith here canceled "barbar."

⁴ Preceding two words interlined.

⁵ Reworked from "democratic equality."

⁶ Reworked from "of equality in that high office."

⁷ Word interlined and next two words, mistakenly canceled but present in Smith, *Forty Years*, here restored.

⁸ Word interlined in place of "every one."

⁹ Reworked from "would be at home to."

¹⁰ Smith here canceled "& expressed her surprise at seeing him ['I am here too happy, in paying my respects to my friend,' replied he, 'to lose this opportunity of joining with my fellow citizens in their demonstration.]"

¹¹ Word interlined in place of "shew that."

¹² Preceding two words interlined in place of "expressed."

¹³ Omitted word editorially supplied. Smith, *Forty Years*: "they."

From the Citizens of Washington, D.C.

SIR.

The Citizens of Washington cannot forego the last opportunity, which may, perhaps ever occur, to bid you a respectful and affectionate farewell. As members of the great and flourishing nation, over which you have so illustriously presided, your virtues, talents, and services command their esteem, admiration and gratitude. Embarked in the fate of this solitary republic of the world, they have in common with their fellow-citizens, rejoiced in its prosperous and sympathised in its adverse fortunes as involving every thing dear to freemen. They have marked with exultation, the firm column of its glory, laid on imperishable foundations, rising as a monument of the reign of principle in this quarter of the globe. To you they have been instructed to ascribe the memorable Act, which by declaring a gallant people free and independent, in a tone that appalled tyranny, instilled those sentiments and principles, which, inspiring every virtue, and urging every sacrifice, led them to triumph and empire.

We have since beheld you, with parental solicitude, and with a vigilance that never sleeps, watching over the fairest offspring of liberty, and by your unremitting labors, in upholding, explaining and vindicating our system of government, rendering it the object of love at home, and respect abroad.

It would be a pleasing task for us, as Citizens of the U. S. to fill up and extend the outlines we have sketched. But it is as Citizens of the National metropolis that we now appear before you. In addition to every patriotic feeling that can warm our breasts, we have still further inducements to open our hearts to you on this proud yet painful occasion.

The world knows you as a philosopher and philanthropist; the American people know you as a patriot and statesman;—we know you, in addition to all this as a Man. And, however your talents have extorted our respect, there is not one among us, whose predominant feeling at this moment is not that of affection for the mild and endearing virtues, that have made everyone here your friend, and you his. We should be lost to gratitude, did we not acknowledge that it is to you we owe much, very much of that harmony of intercourse and tolerance of opinion, which characterises our State of society,—of that improvement which amidst unpropitious circumstances, has progressed with sure and steady steps, and above all, of that spirit of

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enterprise, which your beneficence and liberality have invariably aided, and which promises in a few years to render this place the fairest seat of wealth and science.

Deeply as we feel your retirement, we approve, nay applaud it. Personal considerations aside, it was to be expected from the friend and protector of republican institutions, that he would follow, and by his co-operation strengthen the example of the illustrious hero of the revolution.

May you in the retirement, to which you go, be happy! As Your fellow Citizens will still look towards you with interest, and pray for your felicity, so will you find it impossible to lose sight of the arduous scenes through which we have passed as well as those in store for our Country. Your heart will still beat with patriotism, and the energies of your mind continue to be engaged on national objects. In your retreat, may every anxious thought be softened by the mild and tender occupations of private life! Happy, thrice happy retreat! where patriotism and philosophy, friendship and affection will animate, direct and soften the purest feelings of the heart! With a grateful nation, we pray that you may be happy, and if the just Being, that presides over the Universe insure to you but a portion of that felicity you have conferred on others our prayers will be fulfilled.

ROBERT BRENT—Chairman.
NICH^s KING. Sec^y

City of Washington
March 4th 1809

MS (DLC); in King's hand, signed by Brent and King, dateline in Brent's hand; at head of text: "To Thomas Jefferson"; endorsed by TJ as an "Address citizens of Wash^m" received 4 Mar. 1809 and so recorded in SJL. Printed in Washington *National Intelligencer*, 6 Mar. 1809. Enclosed in a brief covering letter of 4 Mar. 1809 from Brent, Samuel H. Smith, and James H. Blake (RC in DLC; in Smith's hand, signed by Brent, Smith, and Blake; dateline adjacent to first signature; endorsed by TJ as received 4 Mar. 1809 and so recorded in SJL).

Robert Brent (1764–1819) served as mayor of Washington from 1802 to 1812, an unpaid post that he tried to relinquish in 1809. His paid positions included justice of the peace and judge of the orphans'

court for the District of Columbia's Washington County and paymaster general of the army (*JEP*, 1:388, 423, 2:110 [2 Mar. 1801, 28 Apr. 1802, 17 Feb. 1809]; Madison, *Papers, Pres. Ser.*, 1:193; Bryan, *National Capital*, 1:411; Washington *National Intelligencer*, 9 Sept. 1819).

Nicholas King (1771–1812) was an English-born surveyor who arrived in Washington in 1796. He worked on his own until TJ appointed him surveyor of the city in 1803, a position he held until his death (Ralph E. Ehrenberg, "Nicholas King: First Surveyor of the City of Washington, 1803–1812," *RCHS* 69/70 [1969/70]: 31–65; Washington *National Intelligencer*, 23 May 1812).

MEMORABLE ACT: the Declaration of Independence. ILLUSTRIOUS HERO OF THE REVOLUTION: George Washington.

To the Citizens of Washington, D.C.

I receive with peculiar gratification the affectionate address of the citizens of Washington, and in the patriotic sentiments it expresses, I see the true character of the National Metropolis. the station which we occupy among the nations of the earth is honourable, but awful. trusted with the destinies of this solitary republic of the world, the only monument of human rights, & the sole depository of the sacred fire of freedom & self-government from hence it is to be lighted up in other regions, of the earth, if other regions of the earth shall ever become susceptible of its benign influence. all mankind ought then, with us, to rejoice in its prosperous, & sympathize in its adverse fortunes, as involving every thing dear to man. and to what sacrifices of interest, or convenience ought not these considerations to animate us & to what compromises of opinion & inclination, to maintain harmony & union among ourselves, & to preserve from all danger this hallowed ark of human hope & happiness. that differences of opinion should arise among men, on politics, on religion, & on every other topic of human enquiry, & that these should be freely expressed in a country where all our faculties are free, is to be expected. but these valuable privileges are much perverted when permitted to disturb the harmony of social intercourse, and to lessen the tolerance of opinion. to the honour of society here, it has been characterised by a just & generous liberality, and an indulgence of those affections which, without regard to political creeds, constitute the happiness of life. That the improvement of this city must proceed with sure & steady steps, follows from its many obvious advantages, & from the enterprising spirit of its inhabitants, which promises to render it the fairest seat of wealth & science.

It is very gratifying to me that the general course of my administration is approved by my fellow citizens, & particularly that the motives of my retirement are satisfactory. I part with the powers entrusted to me by my country, as with a burthen of heavy bearing: but it is with sincere regret that I part with the society in which I have lived here. it has been the source of much happiness to me during my residence at the seat of government, and I owe it much for its kind dispositions. I shall ever feel a high interest in the prosperity of the city, and an affectionate attachment to its inhabitants.

TH: JEFFERSON
March 4. 1809.

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PoC (DLC); at head of text: "To the Citizens of Washington." Tr (MHi); posthumous copy. Printed in Washington *National Intelligencer*, 6 Mar. 1809. Recorded in SJL as "answer to citizens of Washⁿ."

To John Benson

SIR

Washington Mar. 5. 09.

I recieved last night your favor of the 3^d and am very sensible of the kind wishes of my friends at Fredericksbg that I should pass a day with them on my return home. at any other season I should have done this with great pleasure; but we have such terrible information of the impassable state of the roads that I dare not attempt it. the route I go is by cross roads altogether, not cut by waggons, & 20. miles nearer than by Fredericksburg. I shall have a Caravan also on the road, ahead of me, which, in case of any casualty I might overtake & relieve. I must pray you therefore to make my thanks acceptable to my friends, and to tender them and accept for yourself the assurances of my esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

PoC (DLC); at foot of text: "Mr Benson"; mistakenly endorsed by TJ as a letter to former New York congressman Egbert Benson and so recorded in SJL.

John Benson (d. ca. 1815) served as postmaster at Fredericksburg, 1802–15, and kept a tavern in that town at which

TJ had stayed previously (Axelson, *Virginia Postmasters*, 177; *MB*, 2:903; Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald*, 27 Sept. 1815). In his FAVOR Benson invited TJ to spend a day with his Fredericksburg friends on his way to Monticello (Benson to TJ, 3 Mar. 1809 [MHi]).

From John Norvell

VENERABLE SIR,

Washington City, March 5. [1809]

Your liberality and goodness will pardon the liberty I take in addressing this note to you.

Believing that if you can be satisfied of my reputation and real character as a moral and honest young man, and of my competency to fill the situation of a clerk in one of the departments, you will be kind enough to interest yourself in my favor, I beg leave to solicit your patronage, in procuring a clerkship for me in the navy, war, treasury, or state department. One of a common or inferior nature would be acceptable: because I think that my conduct in a short time would insure promotion.

The honorable Mr. Boyle, from Kentucky, was so obliging last

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evening as to mention this subject to me, and to offer me any aid in his power to forward my interest. He will leave the city on Tuesday morning: and I should be very thankful, if you should deem it right o give an immediate answer, in order that I may be enabled to give any satisfaction as to my conduct character or qualifications, which may be desired. The honorable gentleman is well acquainted, not only with myself, but with my father and all his family.

I can give additional satisfaction as to my moral character and rec-
titude from some of the most respectable gentleman of this city; par-
ticularly from captain Davidson.

Be pleased to accept, venerable patriot and fellow citizen, the as-
surances of my profound regard.

JOHN NORVELL

RC (DNA: RG 59, LAR, 1809–17); partially dated; in left-hand margin: “Thomas Jefferson, Esq.”; endorsed by State Department clerk Daniel Brent: John Norvell asks for a clerkship.” Recorded in SJL as received 6 Mar. 1809 with the notation: “emplom^t.”

John Norvell (1789–1850), printer, was a native of Kentucky who later edited the *Baltimore Whig* (1813–14), *Baltimore Patriot* (1815–17), *Lexington Kentucky*

Gazette (1817–19), *Philadelphia Franklin Gazette* (1819–28; from 1824 as *Aurora and Franklin Gazette*), and *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Inquirer* (1829–31). Admitted to the Maryland bar in 1814, in 1831 he became the postmaster of Detroit, and he served as one of Michigan’s first United States senators, 1837–41 (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*; Brigham, *American Newspapers*, 1:245, 251–2, 2:907; *Washington National Intelligencer*, 27 Sept. 1832).

From James Ronaldson

SIR

Philadelphia March 5 1809

I was favored with your’s accompanying the wool, on the 21st ult; and have delayed answering untill I could make my-self sufficiently acquainted with the subject and communicate such facts as would enable you to form some oppinion on it yourself—

I find non of the wool you alude as sold so high in N York, has been employed by our hatters;—and M^r Tybout says when wool is much disposed to full it becomes impossible to bow it, and is unfit for their business, he also observes when very long in the staple, it won’t bow and this applies to the sample you sent, it is some times cut, but this he considers a bad practice—As it would be very difficult to express in words the peculiar properties of each particular wool, I have taken the liberty of sending a few specimens; by a comparison of them you will be able to form a judgement of their respective merits and an op-
pinion which of them are most deserving the attention of carefull farmers, some of the Specimens are rather small, but it was not in my

power to procure such as I wished, however they will serve our purpose in the meantime

- N^o 1 Full blood marino from Col Humphrey's stock
 " 2 half do do "
 " 3 Three fourth do do "
 " 4 do do from Duponts Ram that specimen is
 off a lamb now in D^r Logans possession
 " 5 Lamb wool from N Hampshire, much used by hatters value
 about .50 ⌘ lb—
 " 6 Called by M^r Tybout /hatter/ Camils hair preferred by
 hatters to all wool value two dollars ⌘ lb—
 I am inclined to think this is from goats and not camils—
 " 7 Third cross from a Spanish ram imported by D^r Mease
 " 8 Wool from W^m Davy, of Penn^y production

M^r Whittle the stocking manufacturer remarks on the sample you sent—It is of long staple but not fine—and would sell at about .45 ⌘ lb—it is understood that marinos produce a light fleece and being very usefull to the clothier he can give a higher price for it than the stocking maker otherwise it would be employed in that business, as M^r W uses non of it he cannot give the price of marino¹ wool indeed there is non at this market which puts it out of my power to quot its price, he says M^r Wilson clothier at the Head of Elk Maryland is a person who is likely to give the best information being a judicious practical manufacturer and now in business.

M^r Davy has been so obliging as comit his oppinion to paper—I shall beg leave to refer to his note,—M^r D having been bred to the woolen manufacture, and spent some years in Spain as an agent for buying wool, I am inclined to respect his oppinion as equal to any that can be got in this country; he has lately erected a wool carding mill, and carries on the spinning by machinery, He has produced some very superior stockings—some handsom fancy vests &^{ca} and now has a stock of upwards of 10000 lbs of wool, it is likely he will soon be an extensive woolen-manufacturer—he is very much disposed to communicate any information, and desires me to mention he will with pleasure attend to any enquiries you may address to him—I have for some years imagined, I perceived a sensible improvment in the quality of our mutton, particularly as respects its flavr but as 'tis now 16 years since I tasted the Scots, it sometimes occured it might be an alteration in my pallate, I asked M^r D if he observed any alterations on the sheep of this country—his observations go much farther and, are more accurate than mine—in general he mentions, that the sheep are greatly improvden, both in wool and flesh, that 14 years ago he pro-

cured specimens of the wools which are much inferior to what is now produced—This fact is very flattering, and is an earnest of the future perfection we are likely to arrive at in breeding sheep—The dealers in wool wish samples, to be sent just as it is taken from the sheep

Our proper business is Type making, but Binny & I cannot help stepping out of the 5  Cent calculation now and then, and some five years ago we bought a farm,—farming we must observe even in this farming country is not so shure a way of making money as manufacturing—however we think sheep grazing will be the most profitable way of employing it, this has been our oppinion for years past, and have only been detered from going into it by the mischief sustained from Dogs, we could neither reconcile ourselves to hazard the loss or mortification we should be exposed to from this source, but the Legistlature has given the county our land is in, a law taxing dogs, the proceeds of which tax is to form a fund to indemnify those who suffer from the deperdations of these animals.—This has given us courage and we engaged with Col Humphreys for one Ram & one Ewe of full blood and a ewe of the half blood marino the first one to cost \$150 each the half blood 10 or 15 now if we can rear lambs that will sell for 10 dollars this must be more profitable than grazing large cattle or cultivating grain—We have also another idea, that is, to let out the ram on shares for half the produce when the lambs are fit to wean, for various reasons this is preferable to charging money,—Cash is allways scarce with people who make few transactions on their capital, and this is generaly the case where farmers & consumers are not mixed together—on this account they part reluctantly with money, and readily pay in produce from this plan it is probable more ewes will be offered, than if the price was two dollars, and it is very evident we will be abundantly paid, the idea is borrowed from Col Humphreys. Without both ewe & ram we never could possess the pure race and not a neigh aproximation for several generations—In the variety of ewes our plan will meet, it affords chances to produce accidental valuable results. The random or natural fruit trees of this country are certainly good in a much greater proportion, than stated I think by Forsyeth to occur in Britain, may we not infer a Similar result among the animals; the observations of M^r Davy gos to establish the improvment of sheep

The management of Sheep in Europe is a Special business; with us it will be only an accessary one, and that with little knowledge, you must therefore be sensible we have great difficulties to encounter, and shall be guilty of considerable blunders,—There is one point in which the cultivating of sheep may be view'd—When peice is restored

in Europe and her inhabitants return to the avocations of trade and agriculture, our grain will from want of market find but an indifferent sale and little price. But the market for wool is not likely to be overstocked while society continues to improve

In a letter we received from Coll Humphreys he tells us he has about 10 Rams and as many ewes for sale, and has wrote some friends here to know if the Penn^y Legislature are to purchase any of them; this I presume is in consequence of some conversations he had with some of our citizens when here. my own oppinion is the Legislature will leave the business with the citizens, and M^r Humphreys will sell his stock—to private individuals—I cannot help sugesting the getting some of them for your neighborhood, they might produce a good result in crossing with your long wool'd—which I think is not esteem'd by any of my friends—M^r Humphreys proposes to forward ours about the middle of June—D^r Mease observes that Duponts Ram is larger than Col Humphreys' the former will be most desirable for farmers who understand² the business, have good pasture and winter food & lodging—probably the latter will suit beginners best.

I beg you will make no appology for writing me on any subject it is likely I can serve you in, or promote the interests of the country. I am sorry so little is in my power the only thing I have to offer is some industry and good intentions

I had almost forgot to mention an observation of D^r Mease—he thinks the specimen of wool sent for the oppinions of the trade here is from a race of sheep called “Churros” of which notice is taken in the Domestic encyclopedia Birch & Smalls edition but I have not been able to find the article it is a race cultivated only for the flesh—he farther observes that 14 years ago—it was not permitted to take from Spain a Marino³ sheep

With sentiments of respect and esteem—I am your well wisher—
JAMES RONALDSON

P.S we have not yet been able to find antimony in the United States and consequently our business is almost at a stand, Could no plan be devised in the present state of our foreign relations whereby a supply might be obtained from France or Spain?

RC (DLC); endorsed by TJ as received 7 Mar. 1809 and so recorded in SJL. Enclosures not found.

James Ronaldson (1769–1841) was born in Edinburgh and immigrated about 1794 to Philadelphia, where he opened a

biscuit bakery. In 1796 he formed a printing partnership with Archibald BINNY (ca. 1762–1838) under the name Binny & Ronaldson. Binny, a fellow native of Edinburgh, brought his typefounding equipment to Philadelphia when he arrived there in 1795. During the 1790s

customers for the partnership's type included firms in Baltimore, New Haven, and New York. Binny & Ronaldson was the first permanent type foundry in the United States and the first to print specimen books. Binny and Ronaldson retired in 1815 and 1823, respectively (Jennifer B. Lee, "Our Infant Manufactures: Early Typefounding in Philadelphia," *Printing History* 11 [1989]: 31–9).

TJ's letter ACCOMPANYING THE WOOL had enclosed a sample of what he thought to be merino wool and requested an opinion on its quality and value as determined by hatters, whose judgment TJ respected. Ronaldson accordingly consulted Andrew TYBOUT, a Philadelphia hatter, and James Mease, both of whom supplied some of the wool enclosed here. Mease also responded directly to TJ that the latter's sample wool was of the CHURROS rather than merino breed and fit only for blankets and worsted stuffs, with the two breeds not to be crossed with each other (Robinson, *Philadelphia Directory for 1809*; TJ to Ronaldson, 13 Feb. 1809, and Mease to TJ, 27 Feb. 1809 [DLC]).

David Humphreys, American minister to Spain from 1796 until 1802, provided samples from his STOCK of merino sheep raised at his farm in Connecticut. DUPONTS RAM, Don Pedro, was a cele-

brated merino imported to America in 1801 and purchased by Éleuthère Irénée du Pont de Nemours in 1805 (*Agricultural History* 33 [1959]: 86–8).

As the editor of an American edition of Anthony F. M. Willich, *The Domestic encyclopædia: or, a dictionary of facts and useful knowledge, comprehending a concise view of the latest discoveries, inventions, improvements, chiefly applicable to rural and domestic economy*, published by BIRCH and Small in five volumes (Philadelphia, 1803–04), Mease quoted Humphreys (4:487) on the "two distinct species" of sheep found in Spain, the Merinos and Churros, with the former "famous for their short and fine wool, peculiarly fit for carding," and the latter "distinguished for their long and coarse wool, more suitable for combing."

Binny & Ronaldson frequently faced a shortage of ANTIMONY, an element used in the casting of type. It allowed the hot metal, which sometimes contained lead, tin, and copper, to expand when it cooled and thereby take the shape of a mold (Lee, "Our Infant Manufactures," 39n).

¹ Manuscript: "mario."

² Manuscript: "undersand."

³ Manuscript: "Mario."

To John Armstrong

DEAR SIR

Washington Mar. 6. 09.

This will be handed you by mr Coles, the bearer of public dispatches, by an Aviso. he has lived with me as Secretary, is my wealthy neighbor at Monticello, & worthy of all confidence. his intimate knowledge of our situation has induced us to send him, because he will be a full supplement as to all those things which cannot be detailed in writing. he can possess you of our present situation much more intimately than you can understand it from letters. the belligerent edicts rendered our embargo necessary to call home our ships, our seamen, & property. we expected some effect too from the coercion of interest. some it has had; but much less on account of evasions & domestic opposition to it. after 15. months continuance it is now discontinued, because, losing 50 millions of D. of exports annually by it, it costs more than war, which might be carried on for a third of that, besides what

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might be got by reprisal. war therefore must follow if the edicts are not repealed before the meeting of Congress in May. you have thought it advisable sooner to take possession of adjacent territories. but we know that they are ours the first moment that any war is forced upon us for other causes, that we are at hand to anticipate their possession, if attempted by any other power, and, in the meantime, we are lengthening the term of our prosperity, liberating our revenues, & increasing our power.

I suppose Napoleon will get possession of Spain: but her colonies will deliver themselves to any member of the Bourbon family. perhaps Mexico will chuse it's sovereign within itself. he will find them much more difficult to subdue than Austria or Prussia; because an enemy (even in peace an enemy) possesses the element over which he is to pass to get at them; & a more powerful enemy (climate) will soon mow down his armies after arrival. this will be, without any doubt, the most difficult enterprise the emperor has ever undertaken. he may subdue the small colonies; he never can the old & strong: & the former will break off from him the first war he has again with a naval power.

I thank you for having procured for me the Dynamometer which I have safely recieved, as well as the plough. mr Coles will reimburse what you were so kind as to advance for me on that account.

The letters which will be written you by the new Secretary of State (mr Smith) will say to you what is meant to be official. for altho' I too have written on politics, it is merely as a private individual, which I am now happily become. within two or three days I retire from scenes of difficulty, anxiety & of contending passions to the elysium of domestic affections & the irresponsible direction of my own affairs. safe in port myself, I shall look anxiously at my friends still buffeting the storm, and wish you all safe in port also. with my prayers for your happiness & prosperity, Accept the assurances of my sincere friendship & great respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

RC (NN: Thomas Jefferson Papers); at foot of first page: "Gen' Armstrong"; endorsed by Armstrong. PoC (DLC). Tr (MHi); posthumous copy.

John Armstrong (1758–1843), a native of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, attended the College of New Jersey and served as a Continental army staff officer during the Revolutionary War. After representing New York in the United States Senate, 1800–02 and 1803–04, he was appointed minister to France by TJ in June 1804,

replacing his brother-in-law Robert R. Livingston. Armstrong held this appointment until 1810. He was commissioned a brigadier general during the War of 1812 and became James Madison's secretary of war in February 1813, resigning in September 1814 shortly after the British capture of Washington, for which he was widely blamed (*ANB*; *DAB*; *Princetonians*, 1776–83, pp. 4–14; *JEP*, 1:471, 473 [12, 20 Nov. 1804]; C. Edward Skeen, *John Armstrong, Jr., 1758–1843: A Biography* [1981]).

An AVISO is a ship commissioned to carry dispatches (*OED*). The BELLIGERENT EDICTS were Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees (1806 and 1807, respectively) allowing French ships to capture neutral vessels that visited British ports, and the British Orders in Council (November 1807), which established an economic blockade of European ports. On 1 Mar. 1809, shortly before its final adjournment, the Tenth Congress repealed the EMBARGO by enacting the Non-Inter-course Act, which opened trade with other countries but prohibited it with Great Britain and France. The Embargo Act of December 1807 had prohibited all ships in United States ports from sailing

abroad. An early session of the Eleventh Congress was called for 22 MAY 1809 in order to review foreign policy.

TJ had wanted a DYNAMOMETER since 1796, although he did not then know what it was called. In May of that year William Strickland attempted to get him one in London. A spring-operated instrument for measuring the amount of energy exerted by an animal or any mechanical force, the dynamometer was used in testing a plough's resistance. TJ received a Guillaume PLOUGH from the Société d'agriculture du département de la Seine sometime in the spring of 1808 (*PTJ*, 29:115–6; Betts, *Farm Book*, 58; Betts, *Garden Book*, 372, 374, 376).

From the Republicans of Georgetown

SIR

George Town March 6th 1809

The republicans and friends of the late administration, of George Town, animated by the purest sentiments of gratitude and affection, beg leave to express to you those emotions inspired by the interesting crisis of your departure from public life.

Devoted as you have been for so long a period of time, to the service of your country, endeared by your unceasing cares for our national prosperity, can we reflect on your retirement from public duty without feelings of the liveliest nature! But Sir, your country can demand no more. You have contributed your share to the public weal. At the shrine of patriotism, long have you¹ sacrificed domestic ease and quiet.

When we reflect on the various & trying scenes thro which you have passed, from the dawn of our national existence to the present period; your unremitting exertions to promote the happiness of your country, and the signal success with which your labors have been crowned, we feel a reverential gratitude to that providence, who has conferred on us such an instrument of his favor:

In reviewing your long political career, from its commencement to the concluding scene, in the many and high departments you have filled, in times of war, and in times of peace, it is a matter of triumph to your fellow citizens, that you have ever pursued one undeviating course; in no instance, have you departed from those sublime princi-

ples, proclaimed by that charter, which declared our independence as a nation. Justice, moderation, and philanthropy have been the distinguishing characteristics of your public conduct, and in your late arduous and exalted station, your talents and virtues have shone with undiminished splendor:

To preserve peace, to promote agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, to diminish public burthens, to cement the union, and to perpetuate the rights and liberties of your country, these have been the grand objects of your unwearied efforts; Nor can we forget the enlargement of our empire, by the acquisition of territory incalculable in value.

Such has been your administration; May your successors profit by the illustrious example!

While we regret that your just and liberal policy has not exempted us from the rapacity of foreign nations, actuated solely by interest and ambition, we feel assured that no American² will hesitate to rally round the standard of his insulted country in defence of that freedom and independence, achieved by the wisdom of sages, and consecrated by the blood of heroes.

With proud exultation we reflect that our country has produced patriots, whose memories will be inscribed in the temple of fame, among those immortal benefactors of man, who have delighted to employ their lives in mitigating the evils, and advancing the happiness of the human race: In this number Sir, Your name will stand eminently conspicuous.

In contimplating your domestic virtues and social qualities, the picture tho less dazzling is equally pleasing. Benevolence, generosity, and charity, those amiable ornaments of the human character, have been displayed by you in their fullest lustre, and those best acquainted with your private walks, are your most ardent and sincere admirers.

The applause of a grateful people, that brightest of rewards, will follow you to the shades of retirement, while the recollection of the past, and the prospect of the future will enliven your declining days.

Before we conclude the valedictory tribute, accept the genuine effusions of our hearts; May many years of health and happiness be yet in store for you! May you long enjoy that exalted felicity resulting from conscious rectitude, and may the evening of your life be as serene and tranquil, as its meridian has been resplendent & glorious.

J: MASON Chairman

DAN^L REINTZEL Secretary

MS (DLC); in Reintzel's hand, signed by Mason and Reintzel; at foot of text: "To Thomas Jefferson Esquire"; endorsed by TJ as an "Address repub. Geo.T." received 7 Mar. 1809 and so recorded in SJL. Printed with proceedings of meeting in Washington *National Intelligencer*, 13 Mar. 1809.

This address resulted from a public meeting at Semme's Tavern in Georgetown on this date. A committee consisting of Mason, Reintzel, Joseph Nourse, Alexander Scott, and Richard Parrott drafted it, after which the meeting unanimously approved it; ordered that it be presented to TJ by Mason, Mayor Thomas Corcoran, Scott, Parrott, and Tench Ringold; and voted that the address and TJ's reply be published.

John Mason (1766–1849), son of Virginia statesman George Mason, lived on Mason's Island (also known as Analostan or Barbadoes Island), in the Potomac River. Mason was a merchant and banker

who served as brigadier general of the Washington militia after 1802 and commissary general of prisoners during the War of 1812. A member of the Columbian Agricultural Society for the Promotion of Rural and Domestic Economy, he was also involved in breeding merino sheep (Robert Rutland, ed., *The Papers of George Mason, 1725–1792* [1970], 1:lxvii; Mary E. Curry, "Theodore Roosevelt Island: A Broken Link to Early Washington D.C. History," *RCHS* 48 [1971/72]: 20–1; Washington *National Intelligencer*, 21 Mar. 1849). Daniel Reintzel (ca. 1754–1828) served as mayor of Georgetown in 1796, 1799–1804, and 1806–07. In 1812 James Madison appointed him justice of the peace for Washington County, District of Columbia (*JEP*, 2:303, 306 [12, 23 Nov. 1812]; Washington *National Intelligencer*, 22 Nov. 1828).

¹ Reintzel here canceled "laboured."

² Manuscript: "Amecan."

From Thomas Gimbrede

Union tavern George.—March the 6th 1809.

M^r Gimbrede has the honor to offer to M^r Jefferson a Little Sketch in Cameo, which if he should deem it worthy of his acceptance, he will please to receive it, as an evidence of my Esteem & high consideration, with an unfeigned wish that in your retirement—you may experience that tranquility & happiness that your usefulness in public Life has so Eminently entitled you to.

RC (DLC); dateline at foot of text; addressed "M^r Jefferson"; endorsed by TJ as received 6 Mar. 1809 from Georgetown and so recorded in SJL.

Thomas Gimbrede (1781–1832), engraver and miniature painter, immigrated to the United States from France in 1802. He was appointed instructor of drawing at the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1819 and held the position

until his death (Mantle Fielding and Glenn B. Opitz, *Mantle Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors & Engravers*, 2d ed. [1986], 327; Washington *National Intelligencer*, 4 Jan. 1833).

The enclosed LITTLE SKETCH IN CAMEO, Gimbrede's engraving of *Tho: Jefferson the Pride of America* (New York, 1809), is reproduced elsewhere in this volume.