

# THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON



## To Destutt de Tracy

Nov. 28. 13.

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

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

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

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

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

TH: JEFFERSON

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

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

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

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

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

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

## From Joseph C. Cabell

DEAR SIR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOSEPH C. CABELL.

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

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

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

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

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

## To Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours

MY VERY DEAR AND ESTIMABLE FRIEND.

Nov. 29. 13.

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

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ness of principle which renders it precious, to our country particularly, where I trust it will become the elementary work for the youth of our academies and Colleges. the paradoxes of Montesquieu have been too long uncorrected. I will not fail to send you a copy of the work if possible to get it thro' the perils of the sea. I am next to return you thanks for the copy of the works of Turgot, now completed by the receipt of the last volume. in him we know not which most to admire, the comprehensiveness of his mind, or the benevolence and purity of his heart. in his Distribution of Riches, and other general works, and in the great principles developed in his smaller works, we admire the gigantic stature of his mind. but when we see that mind thwarted, harrassed, maligned and forced to exert all it's powers in the details of provincial administration, we regret to see a Hercules laying his shoulder to the wheel of an ox-cart. the sound principles which he establishes in his particular as well as general works are a valuable legacy to ill-governed man, and will spread from their provincial limits to the great circle of mankind. I am indebted to you also for your letter by mr Correa, and the benefit it procured me of his acquaintance. he was so kind as to pay me a visit at Monticello which enabled me to see for myself that he was still beyond all the eulogies with which yourself and other friends had preconised him. learned beyond any one I had before met with, good, modest, and of the simplest manners, the idea of losing him again filled me with regret: and how much did I lament that we could not place him at the head of that great institution which I have so long nourished the hope of seeing established in my country; and towards which you had so kindly contributed your luminous views. but, my friend, that institution is still in embryo as you left it: and from the complexion of our popular legislature, and the narrow and niggardly views of ignorance courting the suffrage of ignorance to obtain a seat in it, I see little prospect of such an establishment until the national government shall be authorised to take it up and form it on the comprehensive basis of all the useful sciences. The inauspicious commencement of our war had damped at first the hopes of fulfilling your injunctions to add the Floridas and Canada to our confederacy. the former indeed might have been added but for our steady adherence to the sound principles of National integrity, which forbade us to take what was a neighbor's merely because it suited us; and especially from a neighbor under circumstances of peculiar affliction. but seeing now that his afflictions do not prevent him from making those provinces the focus of hostile and savage combinations for the massacre of our women and children by the tomahawk and scalping knife

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

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

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

TH: JEFFERSON

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript: “contibute.”

<sup>2</sup> PoC: “benefit.”

## To Tadeusz Kosciuszko

MY DEAR FRIEND AND GENERAL

Nov. 30. 13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TH: JEFFERSON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## To Lafayette

MY DEAR FRIEND

Nov. 30. 13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TH: JEFFERSON

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Word interlined.

<sup>2</sup> Manuscript: “reexction.”

## From Judith Lomax

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

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

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

JUDITH LOMAX.—

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

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

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

## From John Clarke

DEAR SIR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOHN CLARKE

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

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

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

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

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

## From John Adams

DEAR SIR

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

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

Αθανατους μεν πρωτα θεους νομω, ως διακειται

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

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

Πίσις δ' ἄρα ὁμῶς καὶ ἀπίσιας ὄλεσαν ἄνδρας.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Have you read La Harpe's Course de Litterature, in 15. Volumes? have you read St. Pierre's Studies of Nature?

I am now reading the Controversy between Voltaire and Nonotte.

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

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

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

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

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

I am as ever

JOHN ADAMS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Manuscript: “Westleys.”

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

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

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

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

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

## Appendix

### Supplemental List of Documents Not Found

JEFFERSON'S epistolary record and other sources describe a number of documents for which no text is known to survive. The Editors generally account for such material at documents that mention them or at other relevant places. Exceptions are accounted for below.

From Edward Parker, 18 Dec. 1813. Recorded in SJL as received from Philadelphia on 24 Dec. 1813.

From Samuel McCaleb, 25 Apr. 1814. Recorded in SJL as received from Lovington on 30 Apr. 1814.

From Samuel Overbury, 10 May 1814. Recorded in SJL as received from Franklin, Tennessee, on 26 June 1814.

To Mr. Wright, of Nelson County, 2 Aug. 1814. Recorded in SJL.

To Johnson & Warner, 17 Aug. 1814. Recorded in SJL.

From Johnson & Warner, 26 Aug. 1814. Recorded in SJL as received from Richmond on 29 Aug. 1814.

