



**THE WORKS OF  
THOMAS  
JEFFERSON  
VOLUME 9**

# The Works of Thomas Jefferson

Volume 9

THOMAS JEFFERSON

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## ITINERARY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

1799-1803

1799. —Mar. 1. Leaves Philadelphia.  
8. Arrives at Monticello.  
Sept. 6. Orders payment to  
Callender of \$50.  
Dec. 21. Leaves Monticello.  
28. Arrives at  
Philadelphia.  
1800. Body servant Jupiter  
dies.  
Prints “Appendix”  
to *Notes on Virginia*.  
Jan. 18. Plans University of  
Virginia.  
Feb. Prepares  
Parliamentary Manual.  
March Has conversation with  
11. Adams.  
May Republican Caucus  
Nominates Jefferson  
and Burr.  
15. Leaves Philadelphia.  
21. At Montblanco.  
26. At Eppington.  
29. At Edgehill.  
29. Arrives at Monticello.  
June Capital removed to  
Washington.

	Oct. 22.	Orders payment to Callender of \$50.
	Nov. 24.	Leaves Monticello.
	29.	Arrives at Washington.
	Dec. 14.	Offers Secretaryship of Navy to Livingston.
1801.	—Jan. 22.	Pays visit to Mount Vernon.
	Feb. 11.	Congress begins to ballot for President.
	17.	Jefferson elected President.
	18.	Offers Secretaryship of War to Dearborn.
1801.	—Feb. 24.	Offers French Mission to Livingston.
	28.	Farewell Speech to Senate.
	Mar. 4.	At Washington. Inaugurated as President.
	5.	Nominates Madison, Dearborn, and Lincoln to Cabinet.
		Nominates R. R. Livingston Minister to France.
	8.	Cabinet decide on list of removals.
	9.	Cabinet remit fines under Sedition Law.
	18.	Offers Paine passage

in public vessel.

Apr. 1. Leaves Washington.

5. At Monticello.

26. Leaves Monticello.

29. At Washington.

May 14. Appoints Gallatin  
Secretary of Treasury.

15. Gallatin arrives at  
Washington.

Cabinet discuss  
Barbary War.

Squadron ordered to  
Mediterranean.

Netherland,

16. Portuguese, and  
Prussian Missions  
abolished.

Federalist Marshals  
and Attorneys to be  
removed.

June 30. Leaves Washington.

July 2. At Monticello.

11. At Washington.

12. Replies to New Haven  
remonstrance.

15. Appoints Robert  
Smith Secretary of  
Navy.

30. Leaves Washington.

Aug. 4. At Monticello.

Sept. 28. Leaves Monticello.

Oct. 3. At Washington.

	22.	Reduction of Naval officers.
	Nov. 6.	Outlines method of conducting Executive business.
	12.	Drafts Message on Duane, but suppresses it.
	28.	Appoints Granger Postmaster-General.
	Dec. 8.	Sends first Annual Message.
1802.	—Jan. 6.	Sends list of appointments to Senate.
	11.	Sends Message on Washington City.
	18.	Cabinet Decision <i>in re</i> Tripoli.
	27.	Sends Message on Indians.
	Feb. 2.	Sends Message on Military Affairs.
	Mar. 8.	Approves bill repealing Judiciary Act.
	Apr. 6.	Approves bill to repeal Internal taxes.
1802.	—Apr. 26.	Approves Judiciary Bill.
	May 5.	Leaves Washington.
	8.	At Monticello.
	June 2.	At Washington.
		Attacked by Callender.
	July 21.	Leaves Washington.



- 25. At Monticello.
- Oct. 7. At Washington.
- 16. Right of deposit  
suspended.
- 21. Cabinet Decision on  
Tripoline War.
- Nov. 15. Replies to Connecticut  
Address.
- Dec. 15. Sends second Annual  
Message.
- 22. Sends Special  
Message on  
proceedings at New  
Orleans.
- 1803. —Jan. 11. Nominates Monroe  
Joint Minister to France.
- Sends Message on  
Spanish Spoliations.
- 18. Sends secret Message  
on Lewis and Clark  
Expedition.
- Sends Message on  
Indians.
- Mar. 17. At Monticello.
- Apr. Prepares estimate of  
Christ.
- 9. At Washington.
- 11. Talleyrand offers to  
sell Louisiana.
- May 2. Louisiana Treaty  
signed at Paris.
- June Writes article signed  
"Fair Play."

20.            Draws instruction for  
Lewis.

              Writes answer to  
Gabriel Jones.

## **CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS**

**1799**

### **TO JAMES MADISON.**

Philadelphia Jan. 3, 99.

I have suffered the post hour to come so nearly on me, that I must huddle over what I have more than appears in the public papers. I arrived here on Christmas day, not a single bill or other article of business having yet been brought into Senate. The P's speech, so unlike himself in point of moderation, is supposed to have been written by the military conclave, & particularly Hamilton. When the Senate gratuitously hint Logan to him, you see him in his reply come out in his genuine colors. The debates on that subject & Logan's declaration you will see in the papers. The republican spirit is supposed to be gaining ground in this State & Massachusetts. The tax gatherer has already excited discontent. Gerry's correspondence with Taleyrand, promised by the Presidt at the opening of the session, is still kept back. It is known to shew France in a very conciliatory attitude, and to contradict some executive assertions. Therefore, it is supposed they will get their war measures well taken before they will produce this damper. Vans Murray writes them, that the French government is sincere in their overtures for reconciliation, & have agreed, if these fail, to admit the mediation offered by the Dutch govnt. In the mean time the raising the army is to go on, & it is said they propose to build twelve 74's. Insurance is now higher in all the commercial towns against British than French capture. The impressment of seamen from one of our armed vessels by a British man of war has occasioned

mr. Pickering to bristle up it is said. But this cannot proceed to any effect. The capture by the French of the *Retaliation* (an armed vessel we had taken from them) will probably be played off to the best advantage. Lyon is re-elected. His majority is great. Reports vary from 600. to 900. Logan was elected into the Pensylva. legislature against F. A. Muhlenburg by 1256 to 769. Livermore has been re-elected in N. Hampshire by a majority of 1. in the lower & 2. in the upper house.

Genl Knox has become bankrupt for 400,000 D, & has resigned his military commission. He took in Genl Lincoln for 150,000 D, which breaks him. Colo Jackson also sunk with him. It seems generally admitted, that several cases of the yellow fever still exist in the city, and the apprehension is, that it will re-appear early in the spring. You promised me a copy of McGee's bill of prices. Be so good as to send it on to me here. Tell mrs. Madison her friend Made d'Yrujo, is as well as one can be so near to a formidable crisis. Present my friendly respects to her, and accept yourself my sincere & affectionate salutations. Adieu.

I omitted to mention that a petition has been presented to the President, signed by several thousand persons in Vermont, praying a remittment of Lyon's fine. He asked the bearer of the petition if Lyon himself had petitioned, and being answered in the negative, said, "penitence must precede pardon."

## **TO JAMES MONROE**

*mon. mss.*

Philadelphia Jan. 3. 99 .

Dear Sir,

— Dr. Bache having determined to remove to our neighborhood, informs me he has written to you to purchase lands for him. A day or two before I left home

mrs. Key sent me a message that the lands on which she lives & her son Walter's were for sale. I therefore inclose you a letter to her, informg. her that I have communicated it to the gentleman here whom I had under contemplation when I spoke to her & that he has authorized me to act for him. The object of this is to prevent her supposing that your application will be in competition with mine. You know that Carter's land adjoining Moore's Creek is for sale. As it is not probable any body will sell & deliver instant possession, so as to enable Dr. Bache at once to seat himself on his own farm, I imagine the first object will be the procuring a house for him. The one in Charlotteville which Chiles is building is the only one which has occurred to me: & as Dr. Bache proposes moving next month, it may be well to leave the ultimate purchase of a farm to be fixed on by himself. If you could get Carter, Catlett & Key to fix each their lowest terms, they might offer in Competition against one another. I wish you could also provide for Baynham. Genl. Knox is broke for 400.000 D. and has resigned his military commission. He has broke also Genl. Lincoln and his friend Colo. Jackson. What has passed on the subject of Logan you see in the newspapers. The county of Philadelphia has chosen him their representative in assembly by 1256. against 769. in favor of Muhlenburg. Lyon is rechosen in Vermont by a vast majority. It seems agreed that the republican sentiment is gaining ground fast in this state & in Massachusetts. My respects to mrs. Monroe. Adieu.

**TO JAMES MADISON**

*mad. mss.*

Philadelphia Jan. 16, 99.

The forgery lately attempted to be plaid off by mr. H. on the house of representatives, of a pretended memorial

presented by Logan to the French government, has been so palpably exposed, as to have thrown ridicule on the whole of the clamors they endeavored to raise as to that transaction. Still, however, their majority will pass the bill. The real views in the importance they have given to Logan's enterprise are mistaken by nobody. Mr. Gerry's communications relative to his transactions after the departure of his colleagues, tho' he has now been returned 5. months, & they have been promised to the house 6. or 7. weeks, are still kept back. In the meantime, the paper of this morning promises them from the Paris papers. It is said, they leave not a possibility to doubt the sincerity & the anxiety of the French government to avoid the spectacle of a war with us. Notwithstanding this is well understood, the army & a great addition to our navy, are steadily intended. A loan of 5. millions is opened at 8. per cent. interest! In a rough way we may state future expences thus annually. Navy  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions (exclusive of it's outfit) army (14,000 men)  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions, interest of national debt (I believe) about 4. millions, interest of the new loan 400,000. Which with the expences of government will make an aggregate of about 18,000,000. All our taxes this year have brought in about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  millions, to which the direct tax will add 2. millions, leaving a deficit of between 5 & 6. millions. Still no addition to the taxes will be ventured on at this session. It is pretty evident from the proceedings to get at the measure & number of windows in our houses that a tax on air & light is meditated, but I suppose not till the next session. The bankrupt bill was yesterday rejected by a majority of three. The determinations of the British commissioners under the treaty (who are 3. against 2. of ours) are so extravagant, that about 3. days ago ours protested & seceded. It was said yesterday they had come together again. The demands which will be allowed on the principles of the British majority will amount to from 15. to 20. millions of Dollars. It is not believed that

our government will submit to it, & consequently that this must again become a subject for negotiation. It is very evident the British are using that part of the treaty merely as a political engine. Notwithstanding the pretensions of the papers of the danger & destruction of Buonaparte, nothing of that is believed. It seems probable that he will establish himself in Egypt, & that that is, at present at least, his ultimate object. Ireland also is considered as more organized in her insurrection and stronger than she has been hitherto. As yet no tobacco has come to this market. At New York the new tobo is at 13. D. Georgia has sent on a greater quantity than had been imagined, & so improved in quality as to take the place of that of Maryland & the Carolines. It is at 11. D. while they are about 10. Immense sums of money now go to Virginia. Every stage is loaded. This is partly to pay for last year's purchases, & partly for the new.

In a society of members, between whom & yourself is great mutual esteem & respect, a most anxious desire is expressed that you would publish your debates of the Convention. That these measures of the army, navy & direct tax will bring about a revulsion of public sentiment is thought certain, & that the constitution will then receive a different explanation. Could those debates be ready to appear critically, their effect would be decisive. I beg of you to turn this subject in your mind. The arguments against it will be personal; those in favor of it moral; and something is required from you as a set off against the sin of your retirement. Your favor of Dec 29 came to hand Jan 5; seal sound. I pray you always to examine the seals of mine to you, & the strength of the impression. The suspicions against the government on this subject are strong. I wrote you Jan 5. Accept for yourself & mrs. Madison my affectionate salutations. & Adieu.

**TO JAMES MONROE**

j. mss.

Jan 23, 99.

Dear Sir.

—The newspapers furnish you with the articles of common news as well as the Congressional. You observe the addition proposed to be made to our navy, and the loan of 5. millions, opened at 8. percent., to equip it The papers say that our agents abroad are purchasing vessels for this purpose. The following is as accurate a statement of our income & expence *annual*, as I can form, after divesting the treasury reports of such articles as are incidental & properly *annual*:

	D.	C.
1798—Imports.....	7,405,420	86.
Excise, Auctions, Licences, Car- riages.....	585,879	67.
Postage.....	57,000	
Patents.....	1,050	
Coinage.....	10,242	
dividends of bank stock.....	79,920	
finer.....	8	
	8,139,520	53.
1799—Direct Tax, } Clear of expense..	2,000,000	
Stamp Tax, }		
	10,139,520	53
Int & reimbursmt of domestic debt ..	2,987,145	48
Int on domestic loans.....	238,637	50
Dutch debt.....	586,829	58
		3,812,612 56
Carried forward.....		3,812,612 56
Brought forward.....		3,812,612 56
Civil list.....		524,206 83
loan offices.....		13,000
Mint.....		13,300
light-houses.....		44,281 08
annuities and Grants.....		1,603 33
military Pensions.....		93,400
miscellaneous expenses.....		19,000
Contingent expenses of Govt.....		20,000
amt of civil government property....	728,791	24
Indians.....		110,000
Foreign intercourse.....	93,000	
Treaties with Gr Br, Spain & Meditern.	187,500	
annual expense of existing navy.....	2,434,261	10
Do. of Army (5,038 offic & priv).....	1,461,175	
Do. of Officers of additl Army (actually commnd).....	217,375	4,112,811 10
		9,044,714 90
Do. of privates of do. (about 9000)....	2,523,455	
Do. of additional Navy (exclus. outfit)...	2,949,278	96
8 pr ct. int on 5. millions new loan.....		400,000
		14,917,448 86



By this you will perceive that our income for 1799, being 10. millions, and expences 9. millions, we have a surplus of 1. million, which, with the 5. millions to be borrowed, it is expected, will build the navy & raise the army. When they are complete, we shall have to raise by new taxes about 5. millions more, making in the whole 15. millions, which if our population be 5. millions, will be 3. dollars a head. But these additional taxes will not be wanting, till the session after next. The majority in Congress being as in the last session matters will go on now as then. I shall send you Gerry's correspondence and Pickering's report on it, by which you will perceive the unwillingness of France to break with us, and our determination not to believe it, & therefore to go to war with them. For in this light must be viewed our surrounding their islands with our armed vessels instead of their cruising on our coasts as the law directs.

According to information, there is real reason to believe that the X. Y. Z. delusion is wearing off, and the public mind beginning to take the same direction it was getting into before that manœuvre. Gerry's dispatches will tend strongly to open the eyes of the people. Besides this several other impressive circumstances will all be bearing on the public mind. The alien & sedition laws as before, the direct tax, the additional army & navy, an usurious loan to set those follies on foot, a prospect of heavy additional taxes as soon as they are completed, still heavier taxes if the government forces on the war, recruiting officers lounging at every court-house and decoying the laborer from his plough. A clause in a bill now under debate for opening commerce with Toussaint & his black subjects now in open rebellion against France, will be a circumstance of high aggravation to that country, and in addition to our cruising round their islands will put their patience to a great proof. One fortunate circumstance is that, annihilated as they are on the ocean, they cannot get at us for some time, and this will

give room for the popular sentiment to correct the imprudence. Nothing is believed of the stories about Buonaparte. Those about Ireland have a more serious aspect. I delivered the letter from you of which I was the bearer. No use was made of the paper, because that poor creature had already fallen too low even for contempt. It seems that the representative of our district is attached to his seat. Mr. Beckley tells me you have the collection of a sum of money for him, which is destined for me. What is the prospect of getting it, & how much. I do not know whether I have before informed you that Mr. Madison paid to Mr. Barnes 240. or 250. D in your name to be placed to your credit with Mr. Short, I consequently squared that account, & debited you to myself for the balance. This with another article or two of account between us, stands therefore against the books for which I am indebted to you, & of which I know not the cost. A very important measure is under contemplation here, which, if adopted, will require a considerable sum of money *on loan*. The thing being beyond the abilities of those present, they will possibly be obliged to assess their friends also. I may perhaps be forced to score you for 50. or 100. D, to be paid at convenience, but as yet it is only talked of. I shall rest my justification on the importance of the measure, and the sentiments I know you entertain on such subjects. We consider the elections on the whole as rather in our favor, & particularly believe those of N Carolina will immediately come right. J. Nicholas & Brent, both offer again. My friendly respects to Mrs. Monroe, & to yourself affectionate salutations & adieu.

P. S. I shall seldom write to you, on account of the strong suspicions of infidelity in the post offices. Always examine the seal before you open my letters, & note whether the impression is distinct.

**TO JOHN TAYLOR**

*j. mss.*

Philadelphia Jan. 24. 99.

Dear Sir,

—Mr. Tazewell died about noon this day after an illness of about 36. hours. On this event, so melancholy for his family and friends, the loss to the public of so faithful and able a servant no reflections can be adequate.

The object of this letter (and which I beseech you to mention as from me to no mortal) is the replacement of him *by the legislature*. Many points in Monro's character would render him the most valuable acquisition the republican interest in this legislature could make. There is no chance of bringing him into the other house as some had wished, because the present representative of his district will not retire. I salute you affectionately.

## **TO JOHN PAGE**

*j. mss.*

Philadelphia Jan. 24. 99.

My dear friend,

—I enclose you a copy of Gerry's correspondence after his companions left him, and of Mr. Pickering's commentary on it. You will see reason to suspect (especially after what the papers say of a British alliance) that the Executive has taken some step on the presumption that France would declare war. To support which it is necessary to have it believed she will still make war. Yesterday they voted in the H. of R. by a majority of 20. to retain a clause in a bill opening commerce with Toussaint, now in rebellion against France. This circumstance with the stationing our armed vessels round the French islands will probably be more than the Directory will bear. In the meantime you

observe that the raising the additional army, and building a great additional navy are steadily proposed; and as these will require a great immediate supply of money, a loan of 5. millions is opened at the usurious interest of 8. per cent for fear that an immediate addition of that to our taxes should blow up the whole object. The following is a statement (in round numbers) of our *annual* income & expenditure divested of those articles of the Treasury report which are accidentals.

1798	Income	
	Impost.....	7½ millions
	Excises, carriages &c ....	½ of a million
		<hr/>
		8½
1799	Stamp & direct tax clear.	2
		<hr/>
		10½
	Expenses	
	Civil list.....	½ million
	foreign intercourse.....	½
	int. on public debt.....	4.
	existing navy.....	2½
	existing army (5,000).....	1½
		<hr/>
		4.
		<hr/>
		9½
	addnl army (9,000).....	2½
	addnl navy (exclus. outfit). 3	
	int. of new loan.....	1½
		<hr/>
		5½
		<hr/>
		15½

It is said however that the deficit of 5. millions, need not be added to our annual taxes for a year or two. These subjects compared with Gerry's explicit assurance that France is sincere in wishing to avoid war with us, that she does not desire a breach of the British treaty but only to be put on an equal foot, and that a *liberal* treaty might have been had, I leave to your own reflections. I am told that if you will exert yourself you may be elected to the next Congress. Pray my dear Sir, leave nothing undone to effect it. We gain on the whole by the new elections, & if those of Virginia are uniform we shall have a majority. Two years more of such measures as we have had lately will ruin us beyond recovery. Never did so important a public duty rest

on you before. For even a single vote will decide the majority. It is truly a case of moral duty, and I know your conscience will not be insensible to it, if you will indulge its suggestions. I write my friends seldom because of the suspected infidelity of the post office. Present me respectfully to mrs. Page & accept assurances of great and unaltered affection from dear Sir Yours sincerely.

## **TO ELBRIDGE GERRY**

*j. mss.*

Philadelphia Jan 26. 1799.

My Dear Sir,

—Your favor of Nov. 12 was safely delivered to me by mr. Binney, but not till Dec. 28, as I arrived here only three days before that date. It was received with great satisfaction. Our very long intimacy as fellow-laborers in the same cause, the recent expressions of mutual confidence which had preceded your mission, the interesting course which that had taken, & particularly & personally as it regarded yourself, made me anxious to hear from you on your return. I was the more so too, as I had myself during the whole of your absence, as well as since your return, been a constant butt for every shaft of calumny which malice & falsehood could form, & the presses, public speakers, or private letters disseminate. One of these, too, was of a nature to touch yourself; as if, wanting confidence in your efforts, I had been capable of usurping powers committed to you, & authorizing negotiations private & collateral to yours. The real truth is, that though Dr Logan, the pretended missionary, about 4. or 5. days before he sailed for Hamburgh, told me he was going there, & thence to Paris, & asked & received from me a certificate of his citizenship, character, & circumstances of life, merely as a protection, should he be

molested on his journey, in the present turbulent & suspicious state of Europe, yet I had been led to consider his object as relative to his private affairs; and tho', from an intimacy of some standing, he knew well my wishes for peace and my political sentiments in general, he nevertheless received then no particular declaration of them, no authority to communicate them to any mortal, nor to speak to any one in my name, or in anybody's name, on that, or on any other subject whatever; nor did I write by him a scrip of a pen to any person whatever. This he has himself honestly & publicly declared since his return; & from his well-known character & every other circumstance, every candid man must perceive that his enterprise was dictated by his own enthusiasm, without consultation or communication with any one; that he acted in Paris on his own ground, & made his own way. Yet to give some color to his proceedings, which might implicate the republicans in general, & myself particularly, they have not been ashamed to bring forward a suppositious paper, drawn by one of their own party in the name of Logan, and falsely pretended to have been presented by him to the government of France; counting that the bare mention of my name therein, would connect that in the eye of the public with this transaction. In confutation of these and all future calumnies, by way of anticipation, I shall make to you a profession of my political faith; in confidence that you will consider every future imputation on me of a contrary complexion, as bearing on its front the mark of falsehood & calumny.

I do then, with sincere zeal, wish an inviolable preservation of our present federal constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States, that in which it was advocated by it's friends, & not that which it's enemies apprehended, who therefore became it's enemies; and I am opposed to the monarchising it's features by the forms of it's administration, with a view to

conciliate a first transition to a President & Senate for life, & from that to a hereditary tenure of these offices, & thus to worm out the elective principle. I am for preserving to the States the powers not yielded by them to the Union, & to the legislature of the Union it's constitutional share in the division of powers; and I am not for transferring all the powers of the States to the general government, & all those of that government to the Executive branch. I am for a government rigorously frugal & simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not for a multiplication of officers & salaries merely to make partisans, & for increasing, by every device, the public debt, on the principle of it's being a public blessing. I am for relying, for internal defence, on our militia solely, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may protect our coasts and harbors from such depredations as we have experienced; and not for a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe the public sentiment; nor for a navy, which, by it's own expenses and the eternal wars in which it will implicate us, grind us with public burthens, & sink us under them. I am for free commerce with all nations; political connection with none; & little or no diplomatic establishment. And I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe; entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty. I am for freedom of religion, & against all manœuvres to bring about a legal ascendancy of one sect over another: for freedom of the press, & against all violations of the constitution to silence by force & not by reason the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents. And I am for encouraging the progress of science in all it's branches; and not for raising a hue and cry against the sacred name of philosophy; for awing the human mind by stories of raw-head & bloody bones to a distrust of its

own vision, & to repose implicitly on that of others; to go backwards instead of forwards to look for improvement; to believe that government, religion, morality, & every other science were in the highest perfection in ages of the darkest ignorance, and that nothing can ever be devised more perfect than what was established by our forefathers. To these I will add, that I was a sincere well-wisher to the success of the French revolution, and still wish it may end in the establishment of a free & well-ordered republic; but I have not been insensible under the atrocious depredations they have committed on our commerce. The first object of my heart is my own country. In that is embarked my family, my fortune, & my own existence. I have not one farthing of interest, nor one fibre of attachment out of it, nor a single motive of preference of any one nation to another, but in proportion as they are more or less friendly to us. But though deeply feeling the injuries of France, I did not think war the surest means of redressing them. I did believe, that a mission sincerely disposed to preserve peace, would obtain for us a peaceable & honorable settlement & retribution; and I appeal to you to say, whether this might not have been obtained, if either of your colleagues had been of the same sentiment with yourself.

These, my friend, are my principles; they are unquestionably the principles of the great body of our fellow citizens, and I know there is not one of them which is not yours also. In truth, we never differed but on one ground, the funding system; and as, from the moment of it's being adopted by the constituted authorities, I became religiously principled in the sacred discharge of it to the uttermost farthing, we are united now even on that single ground of difference.

I turn now to your inquiries. The enclosed paper <sup>Ref.</sup>  
<sup>001</sup> will answer one of them. But you also ask for such political information as may be possessed by me, &



interesting to yourself in regard to your embassy. As a proof of my entire confidence in you, I shall give it fully & candidly. When Pinckney, Marshall, and Dana, were nominated to settle our differences with France, it was suspected by many, from what was understood of their dispositions, that their mission would not result in a settlement of differences, but would produce circumstances tending to widen the breach, and to provoke our citizens to consent to a war with that nation, & union with England. Dana's resignation & your appointment gave the first gleam of hope of a peaceable issue to the mission. For it was believed that you were sincerely disposed to accommodation; & it was not long after your arrival there, before symptoms were observed of that difference of views which had been suspected to exist. In the meantime, however, the aspect of our government towards the French republic had become so ardent, that the people of America generally took the alarm. To the southward their apprehensions were early excited. In the Eastern States also, they at length began to break out. Meetings were held in many of your towns, & addresses to the government agreed on in opposition to war. The example was spreading like a wildfire. Other meetings were called in other places, & a general concurrence of sentiment against the apparent inclinations of the government was imminent; when, most critically for the government, the despatches of Octr 22, prepared by your colleague Marshall, with a view to their being made public, dropped into their laps. It was truly a God-send to them, & they made the most of it. Many thousands of copies were printed & dispersed gratis, at the public expence; & the zealots for war co-operated so heartily, that there were instances of single individuals who printed & dispersed 10. or 12,000 copies at their own expence. The odiousness of the corruption supposed in those papers excited a general & high indignation among the people. Unexperienced in such manœuvres, they did not

permit themselves even to suspect that the turpitude of private swindlers might mingle itself unobserved, & give it's own hue to the communications of the French government, of whose participation there was neither proof nor probability. It served, however, for a time, the purpose intended. The people, in many places, gave a loose to the expressions of their warm indignation, & of their honest preference of war to dishonor. The fever was long & successfully kept up, and in the meantime, war measures as ardently crowded. Still, however, as it was known that your colleagues were coming away, and yourself to stay, though disclaiming a separate power to conclude a treaty, it was hoped by the lovers of peace, that a project of treaty would have been prepared, *ad referendum*, on principles which would have satisfied our citizens, & overawed any bias of the government towards a different policy. But the expedition of the *Sophia*, and, as was supposed, the suggestions of the person charged with your despatches, & his probable misrepresentations of the real wishes of the American people, prevented these hopes. They had then only to look forward to your return for such information. either through the Executive, or from yourself, as might present to our view the other side of the medal. The despatches of Oct 22, 97, had presented one face. That information, to a certain degree, is now received, & the public will see from your correspondence with Taleyrand, that France, as you testify, "was sincere and anxious to obtain a reconciliation, not wishing us to break the British treaty, but only to give her equivalent stipulations; and in general was disposed to a liberal treaty." And they will judge whether mr. Pickering's report shews an inflexible determination to believe no declarations the French government can make, nor any opinion which you, judging on the spot & from actual view, can give of their sincerity, and to meet their designs of peace with operations of war. The alien & sedition acts have already operated in the

South as powerful sedatives of the X. Y. Z. inflammation. In your quarter, where violations of principle are either less regarded or more concealed, the direct tax is likely to have the same effect, & to excite inquiries into the object of the enormous expences & taxes we are bringing on. And your information supervening, that we might have a liberal accommodation if we would, there can be little doubt of the reproduction of that general movement, by the despatches of Oct. 22. And tho' small checks & stops, like Logan's pretended embassy, may be thrown in the way from time to time, & may a little retard it's motion, yet the tide is already turned, and will sweep before it all the feeble obstacles of art. The unquestionable republicanism of the American mind will break through the mist under which it has been clouded, and will oblige it's agents to reform the principles & practices of their administration.

You suppose that you have been abused by both parties. As far as has come to my knowledge, you are misinformed. I have never seen or heard a sentence of blame uttered against you by the republicans; unless we were so to construe their wishes that you had more boldly co-operated in a project of a treaty, and would more explicitly state, whether there was in your colleagues that flexibility, which persons earnest after peace would have practised? Whether, on the contrary, their demeanor was not cold, reserved, and distant, at least, if not backward? And whether, if they had yielded to those informal conferences which Taleyrand seems to have courted, the liberal accommodation you suppose might not have been effected, even with their agency? Your fellow-citizens think they have a right to full information, in a case of such great concern to them. It is their sweat which is to earn all the expences of the war, and their blood which is to flow in expiation of the causes of it. It may be in your power to save them from these miseries by full communications and unrestrained details, postponing motives of delicacy to those of duty. It

rests for you to come forward independently; to take your stand on the high ground of your own character; to disregard calumny, and to be borne above it on the shoulders of your grateful fellow citizens; or to sink into the humble oblivion, to which the Federalists (self-called) have secretly condemned you; and even to be happy if they will indulge you with oblivion, while they have beamed on your colleagues meridian splendor. Pardon me, my dear Sir, if my expressions are strong. My feelings are so much more so, that it is with difficulty I reduce them even to the tone I use. If you doubt the dispositions towards you, look into the papers, on both sides, for the toasts which were given throughout the States on the 4th of July. You will there see whose hearts were with you, and whose were ulcerated against you. Indeed, as soon as it was known that you had consented to stay in Paris, there was no measure observed in the execrations of the war party. They openly wished you might be guillotined, or sent to Cayenne, or anything else. And these expressions were finally stifled from a principle of policy only, & to prevent you from being urged to a justification of yourself. From this principle alone proceed the silence and cold respect they observe towards you. Still, they cannot prevent at times the flames bursting from under the embers, as Mr. Pickering's letters, report, & conversations testify, as well as the indecent expressions respecting you, indulged by some of them in the debate on these despatches. These sufficiently show that you are never more to be honored or trusted by them, and that they await to crush you for ever, only till they can do it without danger to themselves.

When I sat down to answer your letter, but two courses presented themselves, either to say nothing or everything; for half confidences are not in my character. I could not hesitate which was due to you. I have unbosomed myself fully; & it will certainly be highly gratifying if I receive like confidence from you. For even if we differ in principle more

than I believe we do, you & I know too well the texture of the human mind, & the slipperiness of human reason, to consider differences of opinion otherwise than differences of form or feature. Integrity of views more than their soundness, is the basis of esteem. I shall follow your direction in conveying this by a private hand; tho' I know not as yet when one worthy of confidence will occur. And my trust in you leaves me without a fear that this letter, meant as a confidential communication of my impressions, will ever go out of your hand, or be suffered in anywise to commit my name. Indeed, besides the accidents which might happen to it even under your care, considering the accident of death to which you are liable, I think it safest to pray you, after reading it as often as you please, to destroy at least the 2d & 3d leaves. The 1st contains principles only, which I fear not to avow; but the 2d & 3d contain facts stated for your information, and which, though sacredly conformable to my firm belief, yet would be galling to some, & expose me to illiberal attacks. I therefore repeat my prayer to burn the 2d & 3d leaves. And did we ever expect to see the day, when, breathing nothing but sentiments of love to our country & it's freedom & happiness, our correspondence must be as secret as if we were hatching it's destruction! Adieu, my friend, and accept my sincere & affectionate salutations. I need not add my signature.

## **TO EDMUND PENDLETON**

*j. mss.*

Philadelphia Jan. 29, 99.

Dear Sir,

—Your patriarchal address to your county is running through all the republican papers, and has a very great effect on the people. It is short, simple, and presents things

in a view they readily comprehend. The character & circumstances too of the writer leave them without doubts of his motives. If, like the patriarch of old, you had but one blessing to give us, I should have wished it directed to a particular object. But I hope you have one for this also. You know what a wicked use has been made of the French negociation; and particularly the X. Y. Z. dish cooked up by Marshall, where the swindlers are made to appear as the French government. Art and industry combined, have certainly wrought out of this business a wonderful effect on the people. Yet they have been astonished more than they have understood it, and now that Gerry's comes out, clearing the French government of that turpitude, & shewing them "sincere in their dispositions for peace, not wishing us to break the British treaty, and willing to arrange a liberal one with us," the people will be disposed to suspect they have been duped. But these communications are too voluminous for them, and beyond their reach. A recapitulation is now wanting of the whole story, stating every thing according to what we may now suppose to have been the truth, short, simple, & levelled to every capacity. Nobody in America can do it so well as yourself, in the same character of the father of your county, or any form you like better, and so concise, as omitting nothing material, may yet be printed in hand bills, of which we could print & disperse 10. or 20,000. copies under letter covers, through all the U. S, by the members of Congress when they return home. If the understanding of the people could be rallied to the truth on this subject, by exposing the dupery practised on them, there are so many other things about to bear on them favorably for the resurrection of their republican spirit, that a reduction of the administration to constitutional principles cannot fail to be the effect. These are the Alien & Sedition laws, the vexations of the stamp act, the disgusting particularities of the direct tax, the additional army without an enemy, &