

To Benjamin H. Latrobe

DEAR SIR

Washington Nov. 13. 1802.

Your favor of the 9th. is recieved as that of the 8th. had been the day before. on recieving that of the 8th. I was immediately sensible I had omitted in mine to say any thing on the subject of a just compensation for the preliminary business of a survey, estimate &c. I therefore referred your letter to the Secretary of the Navy (who was now returned, having been absent at the date of my letter) and he yesterday wrote to you to assure you of a proper compensation, and at the same time to mr George Harrison to make you an advance of¹ (I believe) one hundred dollars. the work I propose is to contain the vessels we now possess, but that finished, and answering, as cannot be doubted, another will be proposed for building vessels under, and laying them up as built. so that the two will take some time for construction. the first however we should push as much as possible, to get our present vessels put out of the way of decay. I shall hope to see you here as soon as possible, because our estimate must be ready before the meeting of Congress. Accept assurances of my esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC); at foot of text: "B. H. Latrobe esq."

See Latrobe's letter of 9 Nov. for THAT OF THE 8TH, which has not been found.

On 12 Nov., the SECRETARY OF THE NAVY wrote to Latrobe "that we shall not fail to provide an adequate compensation for the Services you may render." On the same day, Smith asked GEORGE HARRI-

SON, the navy agent at Philadelphia, to call on Latrobe, find out if he needed any funds before he left for Washington, and offer him \$100 as an advance (DNA: RG 45, MLS; NDQW, Dec. 1800-Dec. 1801, 374).

¹ TJ here canceled "what should be necessary."

From Craven Peyton

DEAR SIR

Stumpisland 13th. Nov. 1802

In Answar to yours of 2d inst. I am happy to inform you the payments named is quite sufficient. in consequence of the friendly aid of my Attorney M. Stewart of Richmd. I have reciavd. sufficient time to enable me to make payment without making a sacrafice, which woud. of been more pleasing than for you, to of been put to Any inconvenience, although farthar time was what I had no conception of at the time I write you last. shoud. you wish me to engage some per-

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son for the next year to Occupy the House & cultivate the feald you will please Inclose the widows conveyance with James' Obligation, which will be my authority to Act. John has no idea of the sale & will make use of every shift rather then part with the property. I think the buiseness had bettar be still done in my Own name Untill the purchase can be made of Kee. As there is no person Undar the sun Acquainted with the sale to you there is no probability of Kee raising in price untill the purchase can be made which I am in hopes will be shortly. however Any commands shall be surely¹ attended to.

With Real Respt. Yr. Mst Obt

C PEYTON

RC (ViU); endorsed by TJ as received 19 Nov. and so recorded in SJL.

THE TIME I WRITE YOU LAST: Peyton to TJ, 27 Oct. 1802.

PURCHASE CAN BE MADE OF KEE: probably Joshua Key, one of the twelve children of Martin and Ann Key of Albemarle County. TJ's financial memoranda for 18 Mch. 1803 regarding future land payments due indicated the possibility

that Joshua Key's land might be purchased (Woods, *Albemarle*, 245; MB, 2:1094).

STILL DONE IN MY OWN NAME: for TJ's earlier understanding with Peyton on the covert nature of the Henderson land transactions, see Vol. 33:18 and Vol. 35:343n.

¹ MS: "shully."

From Nicolas Gouin Dufief

[before 14 Nov. 1802]

Mr. Dufief a l'honneur d'observer à Monsieur Jefferson, qu'il n'epargnera ni soins, ni travail pour faire disparaître les Gallicismes & autres fautes qui se trouvent dans son Ouvrage. Il consultera à ce sujet, des personnes qui ont la reputation d'être versées dans la connaissance de la Langue Anglaise—

Il a toujours présent a l'esprit cette Maxime Judicieuse de Boileau—
Sans la Langue en un mot, L'auteur le plus divin,
est toujours, quoi qu'il fasse, un méchant écrivain—

Il se propose aussi de faire quelques legers changemens dans la distribution de chaque Vocabulaire, afin que l'ordre des matieres, peigne autant qu'il est possible les progrès de l'esprit humain & du Langage—

Son Vocabulaire des noms d'objets physiques, sera rangé suivant l'ordre des Besoins de l'homme en Societé—

Il est Son très respectueux Serviteur

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E D I T O R S ' T R A N S L A T I O N

[before 14 Nov. 1802]

Mr. Dufief has the honor of informing Mr. Jefferson that he will spare no care or work to remove the gallicisms and other errors from his work. To this end, he will consult those who are known to be knowledgeable in the English language.

He is always conscious of Boileau's judicious maxim:

Without language, in a word, the most divine author

Is always a bad writer, no matter what he does.

He also proposes to make some minor changes in the distribution of each glossary, so that the order of contents will represent, as closely as possible, the progress of the human mind and of language.

His list of the nouns for physical objects will be arranged to match the order of human needs in society.

He is his most respectful servant.

RC (DLC); undated. Recorded in SJJ as received 14 Nov.

OUVRAGE: see Dufief to TJ, 9 Nov.

MAXIME JUDICIEUSE DE BOILEAU:

Dufief quoted two lines from *L'Art poétique* by Nicolas Boileau, a work first published in 1674 (Jean-Pierre Collinet, ed., *Nicolas Boileau: Satires, Épitres, Art poétique* [Paris, 1985], 25, 231).

From J. P. P. Derieux

MONSIEUR

Richmond ce 14. Nov. 1802.

J'ai reçu par Mr. G. Jefferson la lettre que vous m'avez fait L'honneur de m'écrire Le 28. oct. et j'ose prendre la liberté de vous supplier de vouloir bien agréer mes plus sinceres remerciements du certificat que vous avez eu la bonté dy joindre.

J'ai eu le bonheur il y a quelques jours de me procurer une si bonne recommandation auprès du Capitaine du navire le Triton destiné pour le Hâvre, a present en chargement a City-pointe, qu'il m'a promis de me donner gratuitement mon passage, a condition seulement que je fournirois mes provisions pendant la Traversée; et je suis depuis a essayer de m'employer dans quelque office a Richmond pour tacher de gagner le peu qu'il m'en couteroit pour les acheter, et faire mon voyage du Hâvre a Paris. Mais ici les places pour écrire sont si longtemps sollicitées avant même qu'elles soient vacquantes, que je crains beaucoup de perdre L'occasion si favorable de ce navire qui doit partir du 23. au 25. de ce mois.

J'ai L'honneur d'être dans les Sentiments du plus profond respect Monsieur Votre très humble et très obeisst Serviteur

P. DERIEUX

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EDITORS' TRANSLATION

DEAR SIR,

Richmond 14 Nov. 1802

I received from Mr. G. Jefferson the letter that you did me the honor of writing on October 28. I am taking the liberty of asking you to accept my sincere thanks for the certificate that you were kind enough to enclose.

A few days ago, I had the good fortune of obtaining such a good recommendation to the captain of the *Triton*, a ship bound for Le Havre and currently being loaded at City Point, that he promised me free passage in return for furnishing my own provisions during the crossing. Since then, I have been seeking work in some office in Richmond to try to earn the modest amount needed to buy provisions and pay for the trip from Le Havre to Paris. But here, with positions for clerks sought out before they are even vacant, I greatly fear losing the very favorable opportunity of taking this ship, which must leave between the 23d and 25th of this month.

I have the honor, Sir, of being your most respectful, humble and obedient servant.

P. DERIEUX

RC (DLC); endorsed by TJ as received 19 Nov. and so recorded in SJL.

To the National Institute of France

CITIZENS PRESIDENT

AND SECRETARIES

Washington Nov. 14. 1802.

I have received the letter wherein you have been pleased to announce to me that the National institute of sciences and arts¹ had elected me a foreign associate for the class of moral and political sciences: and I receive it with that sensibility which such an expression of respect from a body of the first order of science, is calculated to inspire.

Without pretensions to those qualifications which might do justice to the appointment, I accept it as an evidence of the brotherly spirit of Science, which unites into one family all its votaries of whatever grade, and however widely dispersed through the different quarters of the globe.

Accept, Citizens President and Secretaries, for yourselves and your associates, the assurance of my high consideration and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

RC (Max Thorek, Chicago, 1946). PrC (DLC). Recorded in SJL as to the National Institute with notation "President & Secretaries." PrC (same); dated 3 Nov.; salutation: "Mr. President," and so worded in final paragraph; with one other variation noted below. Recorded in SJL

as to the National Institute with notation "Vincent Presidt of."

TJ had received four signed copies of the LETTER of 26 Dec. 1801 in which François André Vincent, the president of the organization, and two of its

secretaries, Noël Gabriel Luc de Villar and François Jean Gabriel de La Porte du Theil, informed him of his election to the National Institute (Vol. 36:208-9).

EXPRESSION OF RESPECT: in March 1803, a text of TJ's letter began to appear in American newspapers. Labeled "From a Paris Paper of February 1," the published version was dated "March 14, 1802." The text read: "I have received a letter, in which you have the goodness to announce to me, that the National Institute of the Arts and Sciences have elected me a foreign associate for the class of moral and political sciences. I receive this favor with a degree of sensibility equal to the respect which a body of *savans* of the highest character naturally inspires. Without pretending to any claim to the title of one of their colleagues, I accept it as a proof of the spirit of fraternity, which unites in one family all who cultivate science and letters, whatever part of the world they inhabit. Accept for yourselves, citizens president and secretaries, and for your colleagues, the assurance of my high consideration and respect" (New York *Morning Chronicle*, 28 Mch. 1803). Over the next several weeks, a number of newspapers throughout the country reprinted the text. Many editors published it without comment, but some Federalists used the occasion to mock TJ. The *New-York Herald* of 2 Apr., for example, called attention to the terms "savans" and "spirit of fraternity." On 8 Apr., Samuel Harrison Smith's *National Intelligencer* responded to the criticism of the letter "said to have been written by the President." Suggesting that the false wording was

the result of the translation of the original letter into French, then back into English, and declaring that it was now possible "to give a correct copy of the original," the *Intelligencer* published the letter in the form in which TJ had written it. Other newspapers then began to reprint the corrected wording. Some Republican editors chided their counterparts at "distinguished federal prints" who had tried to turn a few expressions in a faulty text into a political issue. A comment in the New York *American Citizen* of 13 Apr. and in other papers noted that the authentic letter "contains not one of the phrases carped at." On 18 Apr., the editors of the *Gazette of the United States* printed the corrected version but wondered why the president "would be at the pains of furnishing an authenticated copy of this letter," since on other occasions he had refused to confirm or refute letters attributed to his pen (Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, 1 Apr.; Harrisburg, Pa., *Oracle of Dauphin*, 4 Apr.; *Albany Centinel*, 5 Apr.; Worcester, Mass., *National Aegis*, 6 Apr.; *Washington Federalist*, 6 Apr.; New Bedford *Columbian Courier*, 8 Apr.; Elizabethtown *Maryland Herald*, 13 Apr.; Richmond *Virginia Argus*, 13 Apr.; *Providence Gazette*, 16 Apr.; Charleston *City Gazette*, 16 Apr.; New York *Republican Watch-Tower*, 16 Apr.; Hudson, N.Y., *Bee*, 19 Apr.; Amherst, N.H., *Farmer's Cabinet*, 21 Apr.; Portsmouth *New Hampshire Gazette*, 3 May 1803).

¹ Preceding four words lacking in 3 Nov. version.

To Connecticut Republicans

SIR

Washington Nov. 15. 1802.

Expressions of confidence from the respectable description of my fellow citizens, in whose name you have been pleased to address me, are recieved with that cordial satisfaction which kindred principles and sentiments naturally inspire.

The proceedings which they approve were sincerely intended for the general good: and if, as we hope, they should in event produce it,

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they will be indebted for it to the wisdom of our legislative councils, and of those distinguished fellow labourers whom the laws have permitted me to associate in the general administration.

Exercising that discretion which the constitution has confided to me in the choice of public agents, I have been sensible, on the one hand, of the justice due to those who have been systematically excluded from the service of their country, and attentive, on the other, to restore justice in such a way as might least affect the sympathies and the tranquility of the public mind. deaths, resignations, delinquencies, malignant & active opposition to the order of things established by the will of the nation, will, it is believed, within a moderate space of time, make room for a just participation in the management of the public affairs; and that being once effected, future changes at the helm will be viewed with tranquility by those in subordinate stations.

Every wish of my heart will be compleatly gratified when that portion of my fellow citizens which has been misled as to the character of our measures and principles, shall, by their salutary effects, be corrected in their opinions, and joining with good will the great mass of their fellow citizens, consolidate an union which cannot be too much cherished.

I pray you, Sir, to accept for yourself, and for the general meeting of the Republicans of the state of Connecticut at New Haven whose sentiments you have been so good as to convey to me, assurances of my high consideration and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC); at foot of text: "William Judd esquire, Chairman." Tr (NcD: Ephraim Kirby Papers); in Judd's hand. Recorded in SJL "Connecticut Republicans. Judd Wm."

YOU HAVE BEEN PLEASED TO ADDRESS ME: see Connecticut Republicans to TJ, 27 Oct. 1802.

To Nicolas Gouin Dufief

SIR

Washington Nov. 15. 1802.

I have duly recieved two rolls of the work on language you propose to publish, and it is with regret, but with truth, I am obliged to assure you that so unremitting are the duties of my office, the things which I am bound to do, that I scarcely ever can command one moment to read any thing but official papers. piles of these are always lying till I can read and dispatch them. not therefore to retard your publication, which you expressed a desire to commence, I was about

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returning the rolls unread with my apology, when last night I accidentally got an hour which I could dispose of. I gave a cursory perusal to your preliminary discourse, and run over some of the phrases, yet not so as to be able to form a judgment of the merit of the work. the proposition to teach a language by phrases is new *as a method*; altho', besides infants learning their native tongue, we have seen persons learn a foreign language in that way: and I have observed they are less apt to run into barbarisms, as *Je suis froid*, for I am cold, &c. than those who learn single words, & put them together of themselves. I have observed that to understand modern latin, you must understand the native language of the writer, & to find the meaning of a phrase must retranslate it into his language. that the genders in French must be learnt by memory I am convinced, since there are few rules where the exceptions are not as numerous as the words it embraces. the position of the adjective before or after the substantive, when to use the active & when the reflective verb, which of the auxiliaries *etre*, & *avoir*, is proper to each verb, are difficulties which your method may conquer: I am sure the common one has not done it. your pupils will doubtless understand their subject the better for learning also the common principles of grammar. for the higher, they must ascend into the highest regions of metaphysics. I can see by what you have done that your work will be eminently useful, and ask permission to subscribe for half a dozen copies for the different members of my family. Accept my salutations & best wishes.

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC); at foot of text: "Mr. Dufief."

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE: the introduction to Dufief's *Nature Displayed* (see Dufief to TJ, 9 Nov.).

I CAN SEE BY WHAT YOU HAVE DONE: Dufief quoted this sentence from TJ's

letter in advertisements for subscriptions to his book. When the book appeared in 1804, TJ's name topped the list of subscribers (*Gazette of the United States*, 21 Dec. 1803; Nicolas Gouin Dufief, *Nature Displayed, in her Mode of Teaching Language to Man*, 2 vols. [Philadelphia, 1804], 2:[435]).

From Benjamin H. Latrobe

DEAR SIR

Philadelphia, Novr. 16th. 1802.

The Post came in so late to-day, that I cannot prepare to leave Philadelphia in compliance with your favor of the 13th. before Thursday morning (the day after tomorrow). I shall then come on by the Mail, and by using my utmost exertion to accomplish the object, in

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which you have pleased to engage me, prove how gratefully sensible I am of the honor you have done me by your confidence.

I am with true respect Yr. faithful hble Servt

B HENRY LATROBE

RC (DLC); at foot of text: "The President of the U.S."; endorsed by TJ as received 19 Nov. and so recorded in SJL.

To Samuel Harrison Smith

Nov. 16. 1802.

Th: Jefferson returns his thanks to mr Smith for the volume sent him. he incloses the account of a lifeboat which he thinks may be interesting to the seaports of the US. should mr Smith think proper to publish it at any time, and should he believe it would attract more attention to publish the first paragraph of the letter from mr Tatham to Th:J. (which alone relates to the subject) he is free to do it.

RC (DLC: J. Henley Smith Papers); address torn; addressed: "Mr Sam[uel] [...]." Enclosure not found, but see below.

OF A LIFEBOAT invented by Henry Greathead as well as the FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE LETTER from William Tatham to TJ, 1 July 1802, as the lead story of the *National Intelligencer*, 26 and 29 Nov. 1802.

Smith published an abridged ACCOUNT

To Dabney Carr

DEAR SIR

Washington Nov. 17. 1802.

I inclose you a letter from Colo. Newton of Norfolk. will you be so good the first time you pass Monticello to call there, look for the act which he desires, and get it copied by some of the young men in Charlottesville for which trouble I will have payment made the Copyer, and then inclose the copy to me and I will inclose it to¹ Colo. Newton. your friends here are all well, tho Sam and his wife have both had very severe bilious attacks, from which they are just recovered. my love to my sister and respects to mrs Carr. affectionate salutations to yourself.

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (MHi); at foot of text: "Mr. Dabney Carr"; endorsed by TJ in ink on verso. Enclosure: Thomas Newton to TJ, 6 Oct.

found. On 1 Jan. 1803, TJ recorded paying Carr \$1 for a COPY of the "act concerning Norfolk" (MB, 2:1089).

A letter of 30 Nov. from Carr, recorded in SJL as received 7 Dec., has not been

¹ Preceding seven words interlined.

To Nicolas Gouin Dufief

SIR

Washington Nov. 17. 1802.

There has been a book written lately by DuMousnier in answer to Barruel, and to the diatribes of the Anti-philosophers, which from my knolege of the man I am sure must be good. should a copy of it come to your hands I shall be happy to obtain it. in the original, I mean, for it has been translated into English, but I never read translations. Accept my salutations & best wishes. TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC); at foot of text: "M. Dufief"; endorsed by TJ in ink on verso.

The BOOK that TJ sought was Jean Joseph Mounier's *De l'influence attribuée aux philosophes aux franc-maçons et aux illuminés sur la révolution de France*, published at Tübingen and in other cities in 1801. The work was a refutation of the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme* of Augustin BARRUEL, who blamed the French Revolution on a conspiracy of freemasons and Illuminati against religion and monarchy. TJ in January 1800, writing to Bishop James Madison, deemed Barruel's argument "the ravings of a Bedlamite" (Vol. 31:349-52).

MY KNOLEGE OF THE MAN: in August 1789, Mounier was one of eight French political leaders who attended a dinner at TJ's residence in Paris organized by the Marquis de Lafayette to negotiate a compromise on critical constitutional issues and avert, in Lafayette's words, "a civil war" (Vol. 15:354-5, 390-1, 548, 551n; Vol. 25:58).

The Scottish Episcopal bishop James Walker TRANSLATED Mounier's book into English as *On the Influence Attributed to Philosophers, Free-Masons, and to the Illuminati, on the Revolution of France* (London, 1801).

From Robert Hewes

SR

Boston Novmr. 17th. 1802

I make free to do myself the Honour to present your Exelency by the hand of my Frind Doctr. Eustis one of my Books of the Horse Sabre Exercise—made by the French and Austrians—which is a Compleat defence for man and horse—if you Should see fitt in a General order to make it the Exercise of our Cavalry—I have a Large Number of the Books on hand and will also Teach one man of Each Company if they Apply to me—at present—our Cavalry are truely Millitary Monsters haveing no Sistem of Exercise. I have also sent one Book to the war Office to General Dearborn—who you will please to Converse with upon the Subject. as to Myself—my Frind Doctr. Eustis has known me from a Child and will Give you all the Nesesary Information. Sir, Being Like Other Citisens, one of the Great Majority of the Nation, who are frinds to the present

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Administration I take the Liberty to Subscribe myself your Frind
and humb. Serv. ROBT. HEWES

RC (DLC); endorsed by TJ as received 8 Jan. 1803 and so recorded in SJL. Enclosure: *Rules and Regulations for the Sword Exercise of the Cavalry*, revised and corrected by Robert Hewes (Boston, 1802; Shaw-Shoemaker, No. 3028).

The son of a prosperous Boston tallow chandler, Robert Hewes (ca. 1751-1830) established a variety of business enterprises during his life, including a glue factory, a soapworks, and one of the pioneering glass manufacturing establish-

ments in the United States. He was also well known as a fencing instructor, especially in the use of the cavalry sword. Besides his edition of *Rules and Regulations*, Hewes also published a revised and corrected edition of *An Elucidation of Regulations for the Formations and Movements of Cavalry* in 1804 (DAB; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, 27 Oct. 1798, 16 Mch. 1803; Boston *Constitutional Telegraphe*, 23 Dec. 1801; Shaw-Shoemaker, No. 6240).

From Peter S. Marks

SIR

Sweet Springs 17th November 1802

Seventeen months since I recieved a letter from your secretary covering the proceedings of the Court Martial by which I was Tried, in which letter your sentiments respecting the Trial was Contained. Mr. Lewis says that you directed him to inform me that you thought my Case a hard one, but that no remedy Could be applied in a millitary point of View but when ever an opportunity offered Suted to my wishes I should be thought of. I have waited patiently during the above mentioned time, have never thought otherways but that you would think of me when an opportunity should offer—you declared to Mr. Lewis that you did not think that I had forfeited the Confidence of the executive. if I have not I cant help thinking but I ought to calculate on your doeing me the justice that Could not formerly be obtained. I hope sir you will not think me impertinent when I ask what I have to depend on, it is time for me to get into some way of obtaining a subsistance, at present I have none. If you should think it improper for me to hold an appointment under the General Government, I must in Justice to my self publish the whole of the proceedings of the Court, together with the opinions of a number of Gentlemen on that Subject which I have in writing.

I am Sir with Respect

PETER MARKS

RC (DNA: RG 59, LAR); endorsed by TJ as received 26 Nov. and “employment” and so recorded in SJL.

For the LETTER from Meriwether Lewis and the PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT MARTIAL, see Marks to TJ, 20 May 1801.

To Thomas Newton

DEAR SIR

Washington Nov. 17. 1802.

Your favor of the 6th. is recieved. I have no doubt the act you desire is in my printed collection. I have written to mr Dabney Carr my nephew, & an attorney, to desire he will, in passing Monticello, call there, find the act, and have it copied & forwarded to me, and I shall on receipt of it send it on to you. I am happy in this & every other occasion of being useful to you, and of rendering some reciprocity for the many commissions I trouble you with. Accept my friendly salutations and great respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (MHi); at foot of text: "Colo. Thomas Newton"; endorsed by TJ in ink on verso.

Because he did not receive Newton's FAVOR of 6 Oct. until 10 Nov., TJ assumed that Newton had misdated it. HAVE WRITTEN: TJ to Dabney Carr, 17 Nov.

Drafting the Annual Message to Congress

- I. REFERRAL OF THE DRAFT TO JAMES MADISON, 18 NOV. 1802
- II. REFERRAL OF THE DRAFT TO ALBERT GALLATIN, 19 NOV. 1802
- III. GALLATIN'S REMARKS ON THE DRAFT, [19-21 NOV. 1802]
- IV. STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES,
[ON OR BEFORE 21 NOV. 1802]
- V. REFERRAL OF THE DRAFT TO HENRY DEARBORN, 22 NOV. 1802
- VI. DEARBORN'S REMARKS ON THE DRAFT, [23 NOV. 1802]
- VII. ROBERT SMITH'S REMARKS ON THE DRAFT,
[ON OR BEFORE 25 NOV. 1802]
- VIII. REFERRAL OF THE DRAFT TO LEVI LINCOLN, [25 NOV. 1802]
- IX. LINCOLN'S REMARKS ON THE DRAFT, 25 NOV. 1802

E D I T O R I A L N O T E

At the close of the first session of the Seventh Congress in May 1802, the House of Representatives and the Senate adjourned to the first Monday in December, which would fall on the 6th (*Annals*, 11:306, 1296). Jefferson had a partial draft of his annual message ready by 18 Nov., the day on which he asked James Madison to look it over (see Document 1). The drafts of the second annual message have not been found, however. The earliest version that survives is a final version in Jefferson's hand, printed in this volume at 15 Dec.

EDITORIAL NOTE

No written comments by Madison about the draft message are extant (nor are there any for the first annual message; see Vol. 35:614). The draft that Jefferson asked Madison to review was incomplete—lacking, Jefferson noted, a conclusion and the parts “respecting the treasury department.” Jefferson must have completed the sections pertaining to the Treasury while Madison looked over the rest of the document, for Albert Gallatin received the draft on the 19th, and, as his remarks on the text make clear, by that time it included the paragraphs on finances (Documents I-III below). After Gallatin saw the draft, the president sent it to Henry Dearborn, then to Robert Smith, and finally to Levi Lincoln. They perhaps all reviewed the same copy: Lincoln, for one, certainly saw pages that someone else had scrutinized before him, for he mentioned a spot “already marked” with a question (Document IX). Jefferson had used a similar process in drafting his first annual message in 1801, sending it to his advisers in succession. His plan in November 1802, as he stated at the outset, was to let the members of the cabinet see the draft individually, then meet with them as a group (Vol. 35:611-52; Documents I-II, V, and VIII). There is no record of that meeting.

In preparing his first annual message, Jefferson gave each section a heading in the margin. Those section titles were in place through the drafting process, then Jefferson had Meriwether Lewis omit them from the final version received by Congress (Vol. 36:53). The headings served a purpose as he constructed the annual message, but he did not consider them part of the finished state of the document. He employed a similar process in November 1802. The final copy in his hand contains marginal headings, which did not appear in the versions seen by the House and Senate (see 15 Dec.). And, as he had done with the 1801 message, he assigned the section headings in the early stages of drafting. When Gallatin reviewed the text on 21 Nov., he called some portions of it by the titles they had in Jefferson’s later fair copy, such as “Naval estimates” and “Dry dock” (see Document III below and the message at 15 Dec.).

Gallatin’s comments, read in conjunction with Jefferson’s fair copy, reveal something of the contents of the early stage of the document. Jefferson put marks in the margin of Gallatin’s suggestions according to the action he took on each item: “qu” for topics to be queried; “+” for suggestions he accepted, and “-” for one rejected suggestion (Gallatin’s request that he eliminate or scale back the proposal for a dry dock at the Washington navy yard). Sections seen by Gallatin that remained in the finished version include the introduction and the paragraphs on countervailing duties, naval estimates, the dry dock, American seamen discharged in foreign ports, Mississippi Territory and the agreement with the Choctaws, the militia, Louisiana, Native Americans in the northwestern territories, finance, and estimates. Topics that Jefferson modified according to Gallatin’s suggestions (and perhaps those of other advisers) included the addition of a separate paragraph on the Georgia boundaries; shrinking the part on naval estimates, language about the authority to act; modification of the discussion of the dry dock, including the excision of the phrase “singular advantage” mentioned by Gallatin; and the addition of language Gallatin suggested regarding Louisiana (Document III).

In his comments on the portion of the message relating to finances, Gallatin underlined a passage at the beginning of each of the items he numbered

DRAFTING THE ANNUAL MESSAGE

1 and 4-8. Those underlined phrases were quotations from Jefferson's draft. An examination of the finished message indicates that the president eliminated, modified, or augmented his language in those passages in accordance with Gallatin's comments. Jefferson did not take up Gallatin's suggestions of adding something to the message about the admission of Ohio as a new state and omitting the Wabash salt spring. Nor did he mention the expiration of the law regarding trading houses as Gallatin suggested. He followed the Treasury secretary's advice to remove a section on "Missouri"—which introduced the idea of "an expedition out of our own territory" in Gallatin's words (Document III)—and put that topic in a message to Congress on 18 Jan. in which he also brought up the trading houses. Whereas Jefferson and Gallatin exchanged several communications about finances during the drafting phase of the first annual message in 1801 (see Vol. 35:624-30, 632, 636-8), in November 1802 there was only one document of that sort from Gallatin, an accounting of receipts and expenditures for the 12 months that ended 30 Sep. 1802 (Document IV below).

A section relating to extradition of foreign seamen who deserted from their ships in the United States was in the draft when Gallatin saw it and as late as Smith's review a few days after that (Documents III and VII). All we know about that passage is what can be inferred from the two advisers' comments about it. Both questioned its appropriateness for the message, and it was gone by the time Jefferson made his clean copy of the final state of the manuscript.

Dearborn received the draft from the president on 22 Nov. and replied the following day (Documents V and VI). He made only two comments. Jefferson was apparently following Dearborn's advice when he stated, in the final message, that success with the dry dock at Washington could lead to the construction of similar facilities elsewhere. Jefferson did not incorporate Dearborn's other suggestion, about a magazine and armory in South Carolina.

No note from Jefferson asking Smith to read the draft has survived, but the secretary of the navy probably received the pages about 24 Nov. Jefferson received Smith's remarks, which like Dearborn's were brief, on the 25th (Document VII). On that day also, Jefferson asked Lincoln to give the message "scrupulous" but prompt attention (Document VIII).

Lincoln's response (Document IX) was more extensive than Dearborn's or Smith's. Jefferson marked Lincoln's comments as he had Gallatin's, using "+" or "-" in the margin to signify acceptance or rejection of a suggestion. The text of the finished message shows that Jefferson did not incorporate Lincoln's advice about the introductory section. Jefferson did alter the end of the second paragraph of the message (on discriminating duties) to follow the attorney general's phrasing. The final wording of the message implies that Jefferson did use phrasing from Lincoln's third paragraph (for the section on discriminating duties) and perhaps from Lincoln's third paragraph, about the Mississippi Territory. (In the latter case, it is difficult to know if Lincoln was providing new wording, which Jefferson then followed with some modification, or if Lincoln was urging a modification of existing language that Jefferson chose to leave unaltered.) Lincoln advised changing "a measure of urgency" to "a desirable measure" in the section on the Mississippi Territory, but Jefferson ultimately used neither phrase in his final version.

Gallatin and Smith both acknowledged the significance of the paragraph

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on the Louisiana cession to diplomatic relations, and they used almost the same expression to characterize its importance. According to Gallatin, that passage was “the most delicate part” of the address, and Smith praised Jefferson’s skillful handling of “the delicacy of the Case” (Documents III and VII). In terms of domestic politics, Gallatin argued that “political enemies,” as well as opponents of Washington as the capital city, would attack the plan for the dry dock. But only Lincoln directly addressed the broader political context in which Jefferson’s communication to Congress would be received. Several times in his remarks, the attorney general speculated about how “the opposition” or “the minority” would react to portions of the message (Document IX).

The serial examinations of the draft message by the advisers took one week, from Jefferson’s referral of the document to Madison on 18 Nov. to his receipt of Lincoln’s comments on the 25th. That was less than half the time the same process had taken in November 1801. Gallatin’s comment to Jefferson in Document III that the “things you want to be done” in the 1802 message “are very few” acknowledged that this communication to Congress was less complex than the one of the previous year. Jefferson and his cabinet had also worked out a procedure in 1801 that made for an efficient vetting of the draft of the second annual message.

Although Gallatin, in his remarks on the draft, referred to the message as “the speech,” there is no evidence that Jefferson considered breaking the precedent he had established in 1801 and delivering the message as an oration rather than a written communication. Probably well before the anticipated convening of Congress, he made his fair copy, revised it with a few changes, and had Lewis write out the copies for the houses of Congress. After Lewis had done so, Jefferson made a late addition to the end of the paragraph on the dry dock, which he inserted in the margin of his retained copy and Lewis squeezed in as an interlineation on the versions for the House and Senate (see note 12 to the message at 15 Dec.). Jefferson reviewed Lewis’s work and signed the three documents—his own copy and the two he would send to Congress. His final act in the composition of the message was to write the date of its submission, 15 Dec., on each of those manuscripts.

I. Referral of the Draft to James Madison

Nov. 18. 1802.

Will you give the inclosed a serious perusal, and make such corrections, in matter & manner as it needs, & that without reserve, & with as little delay as possible, as I mean to submit it in like manner to the other gentlemen, singly first, & then together. the part respecting the treasury department is not yet prepared. a concluding paragraph is also to be added, when we see if any other matter is to be inserted.