

Papers of Martha Washington at Tudor Place, Part I
by Tudor Place Archivist Wendy Kail

“Dear Madam”

After her husband George Washington’s death in 1799, Martha Dandridge Custis Washington (1731-1802) removed to a small attic bedchamber [The District of Columbia Room]. The room she had shared with Washington, located on the second floor of the mansion directly over Washington’s study and part of the 1773 addition to the house, held too many memories. Their original bedroom had offered respite from the busy household where she had read her Bible, taught young enslaved females to sew, and possibly instructed her grandchildren. The small French desk located there she had used as the President’s wife, and later as mistress of Mount Vernon.¹ But she closed their bedroom door firmly and moved to the garret.

George Washington had given his adopted granddaughter Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis (1779-1852) and her husband, his nephew Major Lawrence Lewis (1769-1839), 2,000 acres of his estate as a gift upon their marriage on February 22, 1799. After Washington’s death Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis was her grandmother’s constant companion and helped manage the large household at Mount Vernon to lessen the widow’s burden, while the Lewis’ began to plan their house, Woodlawn, three miles from Mount Vernon, on the land Washington had given them.²

Another constant figure in Martha Washington’s life during this trying time was Tobias Lear (1762-1816). Born in 1762, Lear graduated from Harvard in 1783 and then traveled and studied abroad. Recommended to Washington by the esteemed General Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810), Lear was appointed secretary to Washington and tutor to Martha Washington’s adopted grandchildren Eleanor Parke Custis and George Washington Parke Custis (1781-1857) in 1786.³ Lear was the widower of Martha Washington’s favorite niece, Fanny Bassett Washington, whom he had married in 1795. He retained his position in the household as “. . . relative, friend, secretary, and wise counselor.”⁴ When a huge deluge of condolence letters fell upon Martha Washington’s shoulders, Tobias Lear took up the task of administering to this voluminous correspondence.

Washington died on December 14, 1799. Congress was in session in Philadelphia when it received this stunning news; it would face the new century without benefit of the great leader whom one historian has named the “Foundingest Father of them all.”⁵ John Marshall (1755-1835), then a congressman from Virginia, presented three resolutions prepared by General Henry Lee (1756-1818): the House of Representatives as a body should wait on President Adams to officially express their respect; the Speaker’s chair would be draped in black and the members and officers of the house dressed in black; and a committee be formed to honor Washington’s memory. This committee, composed of representatives from both houses, requested a marble

monument be erected to commemorate Washington, and proposed that the President write a letter of condolence to Martha Washington in the name of Congress.⁶

President John Adams (1735-1826) and his wife Abigail Adams (1744-1818) both sent personal letters of condolence to Martha Washington by way of Adams' secretary, William Smith Shaw (1778-1826), and requested a private audience for Shaw with Martha Washington. Shaw was detained at Mount Vernon two days waiting Martha Washington's summons –which never came. But she did read the Adams' letters, and Lear observed that after this act the bereaved wife finally broke down and cried, for she had remained dry-eyed until this time.⁷ Lear wrote a detailed account of the General's death and the days that followed until his burial; Martha Washington did not attend the internment, for her name does not appear in Lear's description of the event. It is assumed that she remained in seclusion.⁸ In reply to Abigail Adams' letter of December 24, 1799, Martha Washington wrote: "May you long very long enjoy the happiness you now possess and never know affliction like mine."⁹

Martha Washington's granddaughter Martha Parke Custis Peter (1777-1854) inherited condolence letters written to her grandmother and drafts of response letters in the hand of Tobias Lear. While some of these replies might have been dictated by Martha Washington, possibly Lear edited or polished her replies with her approval. It is also possible that Lear answered some letters directly on his own authority. The following are excerpts from several of the condolence letters in the collection of Tudor Place, the home of Martha Custis Peter. Letters not in the Tudor Place collection are noted otherwise. The responses by Tobias Lear that follow were all composed by Lear at Mount Vernon.

President John Adams, who had written an earlier personal note to Martha Washington, addressed her again on December 27, with a copy of the resolutions passed December 24 by Congress: ". . . I entreat your assent to the interment of the remains of the General under the marble monument to be erected in the Capitol, at the City of Washington to commemorate the great events of his military and political life."¹⁰ [*December 27, 1799, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Collection of Tudor Place*]

It has been firmly established by Washington's early biographer Jared Sparks that if Washington

. . . had one passion more strong than another, it was love of his country. The purity and ardor of his patriotism were commensurate with the greatness of its object. Love of country in him was invested with the sacred obligation of a duty; and from the faithful discharge of this duty he never swerved for a moment . . .¹¹

Many accounts exist that Martha Washington's patriotism and devotion to her husband, and consequently to her country, were unflinching. This time once again she bowed to patriotic duty and followed in the footsteps of her husband and answered President Adams:

. . . as his best services and most anxious wishes were always devoted to the welfare and happiness of his Country . . . Taught by the great Example, which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by Congress . . . And in doing this, I need not – I cannot say what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty.¹² [*December 31, 1799, Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, Lear*]

Evidently this response set off an immediate chain of reaction; on January 3 Thomas Peter (1769-1834), the husband of Martha Washington's granddaughter Martha Parke Custis Peter, called on his friend William Thornton (1759-1828) with a letter from Tobias Lear, “. . . mentioning that Mrs. Washington had consented to give up the Body of her late husband to be placed in a Monument intended to be erected by the Congress in the Capitol.”¹³ But this plan was never realized and Washington remained buried at Mount Vernon.

Requests for locks of Washington's hair were plentiful. On January 11, 1800, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, which “. . . lamented the loss of the Chief who had lead their armies to victory, and their country to glory . . .”, explained to Martha Washington that it had no intention “. . . to interrupt the sacred offices of grief . . .” and came quickly to the object of their desire: “. . . the Grand Lodge have (sic) subjoined an order that a golden Urn be prepared as a deposit for a lock of hair, an invaluable relique of the Hero and the Patriot whom our wishes would immortalize . . .” They assured Martha Washington, “Should this favour be granted, Madam, it will be cherished . . .” This letter was signed by John Warren, Paul Revere, and Josiah Bartlett.¹⁴ [*January 11, 1800, Boston, Massachusetts. Collection of Tudor Place*]

A letter of the same date from Daniel Oliver (ca.1752-1840), Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts 1794-1801, acknowledged that Past Grand Masters John Warren (1753-1815), Paul Revere (1735-1818), and Josiah Bartlett (1759-1821)), had been appointed to a committee to request the lock of Washington's hair “. . . to be preserved in a golden Urn, with the Jewells (sic) and Regalia, of the Grand Lodge.”¹⁵ [*January 11, 1800, Boston, Massachusetts. Collection of Tudor Place*] John Warren (1753-1815) graduated from Harvard in 1771 and studied medicine; he practiced in Salem, Massachusetts. At the Battle of Bunker Hill, where his brother the famed Dr. Joseph Warren was killed on June 17, 1775, he relentlessly aided the wounded, and then continued his efforts on the battlefronts in New York and New Jersey. He was superintending surgeon of military hospitals in Boston, and for forty years known as the foremost surgeon in New England. In 1782 he was appointed professor of anatomy and surgery at the new medical school at Harvard, and served as first president of the Massachusetts Medical Society from 1804 until his death. Paul Revere (1735-1818) learned the trade of goldsmith at an early age, and was soon skillful in drawing and engraving on silver plate. He served as a lieutenant at Fort Edward in the 1756 British expedition to capture Crown Point from the French, but on his return to Boston he took up his occupation as goldsmith and copperplate engraver and made his revolutionary spirit known: he eventually published a print of the Boston massacre and a print of the landing of British troops in Boston. When British troops began to move on April

18, 1774, he was sent to Lexington to warn Samuel Adams and John Hancock of the advance; he reached Lexington and delivered his warning cry. He roused the people of Concord, and his midnight ride became a legend. After the war he returned to his work as a gold and silversmith. As Grand-Master of the masonic fraternity, he laid the corner-stone of the Boston state house in 1795. Dr. Josiah Bartlett (1759-1820), the son of a sea captain, served as a surgeon's mate in the Revolution. After the war he practiced medicine in his hometown of Charlestown, where he was elected Representative and then Senator to the State Legislature, and a member of the Executive Council. He delivered an oration on the death of George Washington before the inhabitants of Charlestown on Saturday, February 22, 1800, "Being the day set apart by the Congress of the United States to testify the grief of the citizens, on that melancholy event." He was an active member of the Massachusetts Medical Society.¹⁶

Martha Washington granted this request in a letter written by Tobias Lear to the gentlemen of The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts on January 27, 1800. Lear stated, ". . . by sending the lock of hair, which you will find enclosed, Mrs. Washington begs me to assure you, that she views with gratitude, the tributes of respect and affection paid to the memory of her dear deceased husband . . ." ¹⁷ [*January 27, 1800, Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, signed by Lear*] Washington's lock of hair remains to this day enclosed in a golden urn designed and crafted by Paul Revere at the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.¹⁸

And yet another request for hair came from Providence, Rhode Island, on February 14, 1800. Four women assured Martha Washington, ". . . while we sympathize we respect your sorrows: Pardon however this intrusion on them . . ." They declared their admiration for Washington, for their fathers had fought with him and he had defended their mothers. For these very reasons they asked: "Could we Madam receive from you a lock, (however small) of his invaluable hair . . . we would wear it as a charm to deter us from ill . . ." ¹⁹ According to the custom of the times, only genealogical information has been recorded on behalf of these women: Julia Bowen (1795-1805) was the daughter of Ephraim Bowen of Pawtuxent, Rhode Island, and married John D. Martin; Mary B. Howell (ND) married Mason Shaw in 1806; Sarah Halsey (1779-1864), aunt of Julia Bowen, was the daughter of Thomas Lloyd Halsey; Abby[a] Chace (ND-1834), the daughter of Amos Chace, married Philip Peck of Providence, Rhode Island.²⁰ In a Post Script to this letter the ladies also asked for a lock of Martha Washington's hair; it is not known if Martha Washington complied. However, she did send a lock of Washington's hair that the Rhode Island Historical Society still holds. She granted the request contained in their ". . . sympathetic letter" and hoped "That your Virtues may be exemplary – that your passage through life may be marked with the Blessings of Heaven and that happiness hereafter may be your portion . . ." ²¹ [*March 12, 1800, Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, Lear*] On April 2, 1800, the aforementioned women acknowledged receipt of ". . . your respected letter, and its invaluable contents. Our hearts are bursting with gratitude, while our pen is unable to express our feelings."²² [*April 2, 1800, Providence, Rhode Island. Collection of Tudor Place*]

Aside from requests for hair, friends as well as strangers wrote consoling letters to Martha Washington. Elizabeth Washington Spotswood (1750-1814) was Washington's niece, the eldest daughter of his half-brother Augustine Washington. She was the wife of Alexander Spotswood (1751-1818), who had served under Washington in the Revolutionary army as a colonel in the 2nd Virginia regiment, and brigadier-general of State troops. Washington's diary noted that he breakfasted at General Spotswood's home on April 10, 1791, and records several visits from Alexander Spotswood and wife and two younger daughters in 1797 and 1798.²³ In a letter of January 2, 1800, Elizabeth Spotswood assured Martha Washington that Washington's ". . . memory will be revered all over the world, yet his Goodness has left you still many Comforts-which Comforts, I hope you will Live to Enjoy many, many, years in Health." She promised to visit her aunt ". . . so soon as the spring sets in" with her husband and daughters ". . . & spend a week with you alone."²⁴ [*January 2, 1800, New Post, Spotsylvania County, Virginia. Collection of Tudor Place*]

Jonathan Trumbull, [Jr.,] (1740-1809) had been a sincere friend of the General's.²⁵ Trumbull graduated from Harvard and was a member of the state legislature and speaker of the house. He entered the army as paymaster, but served as aide-de-camp to Washington from 1781 until the end of the war. He was a staunch Federalist member of Congress 1789-1895, a United States senator, and governor of Connecticut from 1797-1809.²⁶ On January 14, 1790, Washington recorded the presence of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., United States representative from Connecticut, accompanied by his son John Trumbull (1756-1843), whose "taste for drawing began to dawn early."²⁷ Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., wrote to Martha Washington from Lebanon, Connecticut, on December 30, 1799, that Washington was ". . . A second Father, as he has been, in many respects to me . . ." ²⁸ Martha Washington's reply to Trumbull acknowledged, ". . . we find some alleviation to our grief in the sympathy of sincere friends.- And I should not do justice to my sensibility, was I not to acknowledge that your kind letter of condolence, of the 30th of December, was grateful to my feelings . . . The loss is ours! - the gain is his!-"²⁹ [*January 15, 1800, Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, Lear*]

Another friend, Catherine Livingston Garretson (1752-1849), was the wife of Reverend Freeborn Garretson (1752-1849), a minister in the Methodist Episcopal church and a volunteer missionary in Nova Scotia. In 1788 he continued his work as a missionary in eastern New York and western New England. After his marriage to Catherine Livingston of Rhinebeck in 1791, he confined his missionary efforts to New York City.³⁰ Catherine Garretson advised her friend, "Your late Afflictive loss, calls for every exercise of Friendship to console you under the presence of so trying a Calamity . . . Religion Pure, and undefiled Religion Holds out to you a happiness far beyond any thing (sic) this vain World can either give or refuse."³¹ [*February 17, 1800, Rhinebeck, New York. Collection of Tudor Place*] On March 15, 1800, Martha Washington agreed and replied in kind: ". . . the sympathy of friends, and the evidences of universal respect paid to the memory of the deceased, -are truly grateful. - But while these alleviate (sic) our grief,

we find that the only source of comfort is from above.”³² [March 15, 1800, *Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, Lear*]

Many orations, eulogies, and addresses poured in. Theodore Sedgwick (1746-1813), a graduate of Yale College, was a lawyer and ardent revolutionary. He had represented Sheffield, Massachusetts, in the state legislature before and after the Revolution. He was a member of the Continental Congress 1785-1786, and participated in the state convention that ratified the constitution. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1796, he was a member of the House of Representatives and in 1799 was chosen Speaker. Washington noted dining with Theodore Sedgwick on January 29, 1790.³³ On February 4, 1800, Sedgwick presented Martha Washington with an oration in memory of her husband at the request of the Common Council of the city of New York.³⁴ [February 4, 1800, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Collection of Tudor Place*] Tobias Lear acknowledged the oration on February 15, 1800, and relayed to Sedgwick Martha Washington’s thanks for his condolence.³⁵ [February 15, 1800, *Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, Lear*] It has been suggested that this oration was: *An Oration upon the Death of General Washington, by Gouverneur Morris. Delivered at the request of the Corporation of the City of New York, on the 31st day of December, 1799 and published by their Request.* (New York, 1800).³⁶

February 22, 1800, Washington’s Birthday, occasioned a new onslaught of prayers, addresses, and discourses. On March 18, 1800, Theodore Foster (1752-1828), a United States senator from Rhode Island, sent an eulogy to Martha Washington. A graduate of Rhode Island College [Brown University] in 1770, Foster studied law and was admitted to the bar ca. 1771. He rose to become town clerk of Providence, a member of the State house of representatives, and judge of the court of admiralty in 1785. He was Naval Officer of Customs until appointed to the United States Senate in June 1790. Washington’s diary recorded the presence of Theodore Foster at dinner on July 1, 1790, and that on July 3 the Senate nominated “. . . a person as Naval Officer in the District of Providence, in the place of Mr. Foster, who was sent by the State as one of their Senators . . .” Foster served in the Senate until 1803; afterwards he was a member of the state house of representatives 1812-1816.³⁷ He sent Martha Washington the eulogy, although he professed to believe that “Silence . . . on this very mournful Occasion, would have best become Me, had not my Friend Doct. (sic) William Rogers (1751-1824) requested Me to forward the inclosed (sic) Pamphlet . . .”: *A Prayer, delivered on Saturday the 22nd of February 1800, in the German Reformed Church, in Philadelphia, before the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. By William Rogers, D.D., one of the Members of said Society, and Professor of English and Belles Lettres in the University of Pennsylvania. Published by particular request.* (Philadelphia: printed by John Ormrod, 1800).³⁸ [March 18, 1800, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Collection of Tudor Place*] Tobias Lear on March 28, 1800, assured Foster that Mrs. Washington thanked him: “Your prayers for her health and happiness are received with gratitude, and reciprocated with sincerity.”³⁹ [March 28, 1800, *Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, signed by Lear*]

From Williamsburg, Virginia, on March 24, 1800, Bishop James Madison (1749-1812) forwarded a discourse “. . . as a small Testimony of the Sincerity of his Condolence.” Madison graduated from William and Mary College in 1792; he originally studied law and was admitted to the bar. He was appointed professor of natural philosophy and mathematics, but turned to theology and was ordained in England in 1775. He returned to Virginia and was president of William and Mary College from 1777 until 1812 and kept the college open except when endangered during the Revolution. Valiant in his efforts to raise the Episcopal Church from a deep malaise, his duties as president of the college consumed his time and energy.⁴⁰ His gift to Martha Washington was *A Discourse, on the Death of General Washington; delivered on the 22nd of February, 1800, in the Church in Williamsburg. By James Madison, D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, and President of William and Mary College.* (Richmond: printed by T. Nicolson, 1800.)⁴¹ [March 24, 1800, Williamsburg, Virginia. *Collection of Tudor Place*] Lear told the Bishop on April 5, 1800, that Mrs. Washington accepted the discourse, “. . . which she receives as a valuable Testimony of his sincere condolence in her late afflictive Loss.”⁴² [April 5, 1800, *Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, Lear*]

On April 16, 1800, a tribute came from Cambridge, Massachusetts, from Joseph Willard (1738-1804), who had supported the patriot cause strongly during the Revolution. A founder of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1780, he became president of Harvard in 1781. The university, which had been devastated during the war, was repaired and saved under his direction and he enlarged the fields of study. Willard and Washington had been well acquainted. On a tour of Boston on October 27, 1789, Washington received addresses from the Governor and Council of the Town of Boston, the President of Harvard College, and the Cincinnati of the State; on the 29th of October Washington proceeded “. . . to the College at Cambridge . . . At this place I was shown by Mr. Willard, the President, the Philosophical apparatus . . .” On December 21, 1789, Washington recorded that he “Sat from ten to one o’clock for a Mr. [Edward] Savage, to draw my portrait for the University of Cambridge . . . at the request of the President and the Governors of the said University.”⁴³

Willard explained that the university took public notice of Washington’s death, and “A part of the performance has been printed; and the College begs your acceptance of one Copy for yourself . . .” He also enclosed two more copies and requested Martha Washington to present one to the Academy in Alexandria and one to the National University, for both institutions had been favorably supported by Washington: *An Address in Latin, by Joseph Willard . . . and a discourse in English by David Tappan . . . and delivered before the University in Cambridge, Feb. 21, 1800, in solemn commemoration of Gen. George Washington.* (Charlestown, Massachusetts: E. Samuel Etheridge, 1800).⁴⁴ [April 16, 1800, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *Collection of Tudor Place*] Receipt of these Latin addresses must have been answered willingly and happily by Tobias Lear, who had graduated from the university in 1783 under Willard’s tenure as president. Lear thanked Willard for, “This tribute of respectful veneration paid to the memory of the Partner of her Heart, Mrs. Washington receives with grateful sensibility . . .” And then he added

a personal note: “. . . permit me, Revd. Sir, to express the profound Respect which I have for the Character who so honorably presides over my Alma Mater.”⁴⁵ [*June 6, 1800, Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, Lear*]

News of the large volume of mail descending on the widow of Washington reached Congress, and on April 7, 1800, from Colonel Timothy Pickering (1745-1829), Secretary of State, notified Martha Washington that an act of Congress was passed on April 3 extending to her the privilege of franking letters and packages:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That all letters and packages, to and from Martha Washington relict of the late General George Washington, shall be received and conveyed by post free of postage for and during her life.

Theodore Sedgwick Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Th. Jefferson Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

Approved April 3d 1800.

John Adams⁴⁶

[*April 7, 1800, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Collection of Tudor Place*]

Tobias Lear noted receipt of the copy of the act to Colonel Pickering on April 20, 1800, and relayed the wish of Mrs. Washington, “. . . to beg your acceptance of her best thanks for your politeness in transmitting the same.”⁴⁷ [*April 20, 1800, Collection of Tudor Place. Draft, signed by Lear*]

Despite Washington’s death, visitors continued to flow to Mount Vernon, where they always had been and still were welcomed; a few of these visitors left descriptions of the widow at this time. Anna Maria Thornton (ca. 1775-1865) and her husband Dr. William Thornton (1759-1828) started for Mount Vernon from the Federal City on Saturday, August 2, 1801, but first stopped at Tudor Place, the home of their friends Thomas (1769-1834) and Martha Parke Custis Peter, “. . . to ask if they had any commands . . .”. At Mount Vernon Mrs. Thornton observed: “Mrs. Washington is much broke (sic) since I saw her last. Her grandson Washington Custis, in whom she seems quite wrapt (sic) up, was indisposed, and she seemed very anxious on his account. –She is a very polite & amiable old Lady. The same order & regularity is observed as when the Genl. was living.”⁴⁸

A few months later another visitor to Mount Vernon, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill (1764-1831), representative and a Senator from New York, wrote to his wife on December 7, 1801:

I rode this morning from Gadsby’s Hotel, in Alexandria, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, on a visit to the celebrated estate of Mount Vernon, lately the property and residence of General Washington . . . My companions on this visit were Mr. Van Ness and Major Holmes . . . On our arrival we were received by Mr. Lewis, a gentleman who married one of the Misses Custis, a granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, and who, with his wife, now resides here. Presently Mrs. Washington and her other granddaughter, the

celebrated Mrs. Law, now here on a visit, entered. The old lady was habited in black, and wore a plain cap with a black ribbon; she was affable and polite, and made us welcome in that hospitable though unceremonious manner that without hesitation we agreed to stay and dine . . . Mrs. Washington presided like a lady of hospitality and good sense, tempered by much acquaintance with company. Everything was neat and well-ordered, bespeaking her to be quite the mistress of her household, and regulating all its concerns.⁴⁹

But the Reverend Manasseh Cutler (1742-1823), a congressman from Massachusetts, added this account on January 2, 1802, about two years after Washington's death:

Mrs. Washington appears much older than when I saw her at Philadelphia, but her countenance very little wrinkled and remarkably fair for a person of her years. She conversed with great ease and familiarity, and appeared as much rejoiced at receiving our visit as if we had been of her nearest connections. She regretted that we had not arrived sooner, for she always breakfasts at seven, but our breakfast would be ready in a few minutes . . . At the head of the table was the tea and coffee equipage, where she seated herself, and sent the tea and coffee to the company. We were all Federalists, which evidently gave her particular pleasure. Her remarks were frequently pointed and sometimes sarcastic, on the new order of things, and the present administration . . . She appeared in good health, but like one who has sustained a loss that will always remain fresh in her mind.⁵⁰

¹ *The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union Annual Report 1982*, "The Upper Floor in Restored State" (Mount Vernon, Virginia: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1982), 37. This desk was eventually bequeathed by Martha Washington to her granddaughter Martha Parke Custis Peter (1777-1854) and at one time stood proudly at Tudor Place, Martha Parke Custis Peter's home in Georgetown. See John C. Fitzpatrick, ed. The Last Will and Testament of George Washington and Schedule of his Property to which is appended the Last Will and Testament of Martha Washington (Mount Vernon, Virginia: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1939, reprint, 1992), 57. The will specifically states: "Item I give and bequeath to my grand daughter (sic) Martha Peter my writing table and the seat to it standing in my bedchamber, also the print of Genl. Washington that hangs in the passage." The French desk, purchased for Martha Washington in 1790 by her husband from the Comte de Moustier, was returned to Mount Vernon in 1938.

² Worthington C. Ford, ed., "Prefatory note to Thornton Diary/ Diary of Mrs. William Thornton," Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C. Volume 10 (Washington, D.C.: Published by the Society, 1907), 174-175. Anna Maria Thornton and her husband Dr. William Thornton visited Mount Vernon in August 1800. Anna Maria Thornton's diary entry for August 4 notes: "After breakfast -Mrs. Lewis, the young Ladies & I went in Mrs. Washington's Carriage . . . and Mr. Lewis & Dr. T. in ours, to see Mr. Lewis's Hill where he is going to build- and his farm & mill and distillery. Dr. T. has given him a plan for his house. -He has a fine situation, all in woods, from which he will have an extensive & beautiful view."

³ *The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union Annul Report 1958*, "A Lear Letter" (Mount Vernon, Virginia: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1958), 19. For a history of the Lear family see Tudor Place Historic House & Garden Archive, Washington, D.C.

Papers of Armistead Peter, Jr., MS 14, Box 141, Folder 20: Thomas L. Tullock, "Colonel Tobias Lear." *The Granite Monthly, A New Hampshire Magazine Devoted to History, Biography, Literature and State Progress* (Dover, New Hampshire: J.N. McClintock, 1883), 5-14.

⁴ Patricia Brady, Martha Washington: An American Life (New York: Viking Press, 2005), 223.

⁵ Joseph J. Ellis, The Quartet: Orchestrating the Second American Revolution, 1783-1789 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015), 216.

⁶ Jared Sparks, Life of George Washington Abridged by the Author Volume II (Boston: Ferdinand Andrews, 1840), 337-338.

⁷ Brady, 223-224.

⁸ *The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union Annul Report 1967*. "Without Parade" (Mount Vernon, Virginia: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1967), 30.

⁹ The Morgan Library and Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Literature and Historical Manuscripts, New York, New York. Accession No.: MA 1000; Record ID: 136816. Martha Washington to Abigail Adams, Mount Vernon, January 1, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.

¹⁰ Tudor Place Archive, Washington, D.C. Papers of Martha Washington, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 6. John Adams to Martha Washington, Philadelphia, [Pennsylvania], December 27, 1799. Autograph Letter Signed.

¹¹ Sparks, 343.

¹² Tudor Place Archive, Papers of Martha Washington, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 7. Martha Washington to John Adams, Mount Vernon, December 31, 1799. Draft, Tobias Lear. Three other copies of this letter exist; for a brief history of the copies see Joseph E. Fields, "Worthy Partner" The Papers of Martha Washington (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994), 333, FN 1.

¹³ Ford, 90.

¹⁴ Tudor Place Archive, Papers of Martha Washington, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 9. John Warren, Paul Revere, Josiah Bartlett to Martha Washington, Boston, [Massachusetts], January 11, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.

¹⁵ Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 10. Daniel Oliver to Martha Washington, Boston, [Massachusetts], January 11, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.

¹⁶ James Grant Wilson, and John Fiske, eds., Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888-1889): Paul Revere V, 224-225; John Warren VI, 365. Josiah Bartlett, see Fields, 338-339.

¹⁷ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 13. Martha Washington to Past Grand Masters Grand Lodge Massachusetts: John Warren, Paul Revere, and Josiah Bartlett, Esqrs., Mount Vernon, January 27, 1800. Draft, signed by Tobias Lear.

¹⁸ This information provided on April 2, 1016, by Walter H. Hunt, Librarian, Samuel Crocker Lawrence Library, Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts, Boston, Massachusetts.

¹⁹ This request is held at Mount Vernon. The Fred W. Smith National Library for the Study of George Washington, Mount Vernon, Virginia. Julia Bowen, Mary B. Howell, Abby Chace and Sally Halsey to Martha Washington, Providence, [Rhode Island], February 14, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.

²⁰ Fields, 351-352.

²¹ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 18. Martha Washington to Julia Bowen, Mary B. Howell, Abby (sic) Chace and Sally Halsey, Mount Vernon, March 12, 1800. Draft, Tobias Lear. Four copies of this letter are known to exist, see Fields, 364.

- ²² Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 23. Julia Bowen, Mary B. Howell, Abba Chace, Sarah Halsey to Martha Washington, Providence, [Rhode Island], April 2, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed, one hand.
- ²³ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Diaries of George Washington 1748-1799, Volume IV (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925). See entries: April 10, 1791, 157; August 26, 31, and September 4, 1797, 259; February 14 and 16, 1798, 271; August 11, 1798, 282; Appletons', V, 636.
- ²⁴ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 8. Elizabeth Spotswood to Martha Washington, New Post, [Spotsylvania County, Virginia], January 2, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.
- ²⁵ Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, Martha Washington (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897), 280.
- ²⁶ Appletons', VI, 168-169.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 169; Fitzpatrick, Diaries, IV: January 14, 1790, 70-71.
- ²⁸ Jonathan Trumbull, [Jr.,] to Martha Washington, Lebanon, Connecticut, December 30, 1799. Autograph Letter Signed. According to Fields, 331, Location unknown.
- ²⁹ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 11. Martha Washington to Jonathan Trumbull, [Jr.,] Mount Vernon, January 15, 1800. Draft, Tobias Lear.
- ³⁰ Appletons', II, 608.
- ³¹ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 16. Catherine Garretson to Martha Washington, Rhinebeck, [New York], February 27, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.
- ³² Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 19. Martha Washington to Catherine Garretson, Mount Vernon, March 15, 1800. Draft, Tobias Lear.
- ³³ Appletons', V, 451; Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-1989: Bicentennial Edition (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1989), 1787; Fitzpatrick, Diaries, IV, 82.
- ³⁴ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 14. Theodore Sedgwick to Martha Washington, Philadelphia, [Pennsylvania], February 4, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.
- ³⁵ Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 15. Martha Washington to Theodore Sedgwick, Mount Vernon, February 15, 1800. Draft, signed by Tobias Lear.
- ³⁶ See Fields, 352- 353, FN 1.
- ³⁷ Biographical Directory, 1020-1021; Fitzgerald, Diaries, IV, 133, 135.
- ³⁸ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 20. Theodore Foster to Martha Washington, Philadelphia, [Pennsylvania], March 18, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed. Fields, 366, notes that the German Reformed church was located in Philadelphia on Race Street near Fourth Street.
- ³⁹ Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 22. Martha Washington to Theodore Foster, Mount Vernon, March 28, 1800. Draft, signed by Tobias Lear.
- ⁴⁰ Appletons', IV, 164.
- ⁴¹ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 21. Bishop James Madison to Martha Washington, Williamsburg, [Virginia], March 24, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.
- ⁴² Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 24. Martha Washington to Bishop James Madison, Mount Vernon, April 5, 1800. Draft, Tobias Lear.
- ⁴³ Appletons', VI, 515; Fitzpatrick, Diaries, IV: October 27, 1789, 36-37; October 29, 1789, 39; December 21, 1789, 60.
- ⁴⁴ Tudor Place Archive, MS 3, Box 1, Folder 27. Joseph Willard to Martha Washington, Cambridge, [Massachusetts], April 16, 1800. Autograph Letter Signed.

⁴⁵ Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 34. Tobias Lear to Joseph Willard, Mount Vernon, June 6, 1800. Draft, Tobias Lear.

⁴⁶ Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 26. Timothy Pickering to Martha Washington, Philadelphia, [Pennsylvania], April 7, 1800. Autograph Document Signed.

⁴⁷ Ibid., MS 3, Box 1, Folder 28. Martha Washington to Timothy Pickering, Mount Vernon, April 20, 1800. Draft, signed by Tobias Lear.

⁴⁸ Ford, 174.

⁴⁹ Tudor Place Archive, Gifts and Accessions, MS 25, Box 3, Folder 31. Samuel Latham Mitchill, "Dr. Mitchill's Letters from Washington: 1801-1813," *Harper's Magazine*. Volume 58, Number 347. April, 1879 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1879), 742.

⁵⁰ William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler, Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, L.L.D. Volume II (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke & Co., 1888), 56.