

Tench Ringgold, First Owner of DACOR Bacon House
A Biography

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Part 3: 1831-1844

This study of the life and career of Tench Ringgold is in three parts. His career as marshal of the District of Columbia has already been posted and forms Part 2 of this series. Part 1 deals with the formative years up to 1818 when he was appointed marshal by the president and confirmed by the Senate; Part 3 will deal with his final years after he lost that appointment in 1831, but also provide information on his personal life during the time he served as marshal.

A New House and Other Properties in Washington City and in Maryland

Even before he was appointed marshal of the District in 1818, Ringgold must have been planning to move into or build a larger house for his growing family. His wife of three years, Mary Aylet Lee Ringgold, had given birth to her second child, a boy, in June 1818, bringing the number of children in his household to seven. In 1821 he purchased two adjoining lots on the northern side of Pennsylvania Avenue between 17th and 18th streets and another on the southern side of the avenue, and he may have contemplated building a home on the avenue, a block from the President's House.¹ However, it never happened, a possible sign of his constrained finances even after he had become marshal. Three years later, he and Frances Lear and Benjamin Lear, the widow and son of Tobias Lear, George Washington's erstwhile private secretary, settled a deal to exchange properties. For \$2,027.82, she sold to Ringgold three lots on Square 142 lying on the corner of 18th and F Streets, for the two lots on the northern side of Pennsylvania Avenue.² The property tax on the lots Ringgold purchased were \$10/ft as opposed to the lots on Pennsylvania Avenue, which were \$15, and this may also have influenced Ringgold's thinking.

Ringgold probably started assembling a construction team to build a house on the corner lot soon after, almost certainly drawing from enslaved labor workforce who had been employed earlier in his brickyard and rope walk. The house rose on Lot 1 of Square 142 with a square footage of 3,900, while Lot 2, amounting to 5,013 ft. was reserved for an attached garden. The third lot (15), measuring 4,005 square feet, would be where Ringgold located his stables and perhaps another outhouse. The tax assessment for these lots in 1824 and 1825 totaled \$1,351.³

To erect his house on F Street, Ringgold needed to borrow \$6,000 from his daughter Sarah Brooke Lee Ringgold (“Sally”), which they formalized in a mortgage document in November 1825. This was probably after the house had been completed. At that time, Sally was unmarried,⁴ so the money she was able to lend him must have come from property she inherited from her grandfather, Governor Thomas Sim Lee who died in 1819. According to the Lee’s last will and testament, property was left to all the grandchildren of Tench’s first wife Mary Christian Lee Ringgold.⁵ Sally, born in 1809, received several lots of properties in Georgetown, which would be held in trust for her until she reached the age of twenty-five, when it would be disposed of and the cash settled on her. (That would have been in 1834, so the cash or loan must have come from a promissory note.) Women at this time could not purchase property on their own. In the mortgage agreement, Sally’s trust fund was worth more than the \$6,000 Tench immediately borrowed, since the mortgage document states that should more money be required for the new house, Tench could draw on it. Also, as part of this agreement, he mortgaged the remaining lot he owned on Pennsylvania Avenue. In exchange, Sally and her heirs would become *de facto* owners of the F Street house should her father fail to repay the money in five years’ time (i.e. 1830).⁶ As became apparent, he was unable and therefore defaulted and forced to sell the house – see further on. Governor Lee’s other Ringgold grandchildren did not sell their lots, and in 1832, the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, may have expropriated some of these properties to construct the canal that ran through that section of Georgetown. The affected properties included those inherited by Sally’s sisters, Eliza Lee Ringgold and Anna Maria Ringgold.⁷

An important piece of old lore associated with DACOR Bacon House history is the story that Tobias Lear, who purchased the property on Square 142 in 1815, committed suicide in the garden in 1816.⁸ This dramatic event was reported by the *Washington Weekly Gazette* in the issue dated October 12, 1816, and slightly more dramatical version appeared in the *Georgetown Messenger*, and repeated in many newspapers later:⁹

Yesterday morning between the hours of 9 and 10 o’clock, Tobias Lear, Esq, accountant of the war-department, put a period to his existence, by shooting himself thro’ the head. We have not yet learnt the causes for the perpetration of this unhappy deed. Mr. Lear was naturally cheerful and pleasant; on the fatal morning, Mr. L. breakfasted with his family in his usual good humour, and was proceeding as they thought to his office when a report of a pistol was heard from the back part of the yard. Mr. Lear, son of the deceased,

immediately proceeded to the spot from whence the sound appeared to issue, and found his father weltering in his blood.

The earliest District tax record for the property is dated 1824, eight years after the event, and it included “improvements” on the property worth \$900. That amount, however, should not suggest a structure large enough to have housed a man with the stature and ambitions as Lear, his wife and son, to say nothing of having space to include an office. One report on the suicide mentions it was done in his house in Georgetown. However, recent research done by the Office of the Historian of the State Department on the buildings it occupied over the years makes it clear that Lear never lived on the DACOR Bacon House property but rather in what came to be known as the Wirt House, located G Street between 17th and 18th Streets. This house, first owned by James Calder, was occupied by the State Department after the burning of Washington during the period 1814 to March or April 1816, and sold while they were still occupying it to Tobias Lear in 1815 for \$8,000.¹⁰ In 1818, the widowed Mrs. Lear sold the house, which had been improved by various additions, to William Wirt, the new attorney general, who lived in the house for twelve years and the building was known ever after as “The Wirt House.” According to Margaret Brent Downing, “A lovely garden surrounding the house and a high brick wall enclosing it remained until recently.”¹¹ It can be concluded that Lear committed suicide in the garden of what became the Wirt House, not in the garden of DACOR Bacon House around the corner.¹²

Returning to the question of Ringgold’s Washington properties, he also owned several other properties in the District and others outside the city boundaries. Tench and his first wife had been given two pieces of property in the 5th Ward, a gift in 1802 from Thomas Sim Lee, his father-in-law.¹³ They lay close to the Anacostia River and in what is now part of the War College at the tip of the peninsula. They remained apparently undeveloped since the value of both lots in 1824 was only \$123. Ringgold at some unknown date relinquished these lots which were near where his ropewalk once stood before it was burned down by the British in 1814.

In 1813 Tench and his wife purchased for \$1,800 from his father-in-law a property in Georgetown known as Lot 83 in the “Deakins, Lee and Casanove Addition.”¹⁴ This property seems to have stretched from Causeway Street down to the Potomac River and was located close to the part of Georgetown bordering on spot where Rock Creek empties into the Potomac. What Tench did with the property – was it part of one of his entrepreneurial schemes? – is not known.

He seems to have sold it a few years later, because it is not mentioned in the District property tax assessments of 1824 and following years.

In addition to these in-town properties, Tench owned a house and tanning yard on two acres of land in “Belle Town” in Prince George’s County, probably in the area of Bladensburg, on which he owed taxes in the period between 1824 and 1827, according to announcements in the *National Intelligencer*.¹⁵ At some point he owned or rented a shop to sell the products of the tannery that were often advertised in the *Intelligencer* in the late 1810s. Once he became marshal, he closed most of his entrepreneurial schemes.

Following Calderhead’s narrative,¹⁶ the house he erected on F Street was a federal-style home of Flemish bond brick, with a 131¼ foot frontage on F Street and a 103-foot frontage on 18th Street. Above the ground floor rooms, it is now believed the front door was reached by a staircase that had wrought-iron railings like the Blair House. The front door opened into the hall that contained the great staircase to the upper-level rooms and to the main public rooms on the second floor. The beautifully constructed outside walls of Flemish bond brick pattern with English corners hint at the skill of the bricklayers, who were most probably some of Tench’s enslaved laborers. The new *Historic Structural Report* written by Beyer, Blinder, Belle revises the older conceptual drawing of the house done by Zane Carter and Katherine J. McGwier in Calderhead’s book, providing a more plausible view of how the house looked when it was constructed in 1824-25.¹⁷ However, Calderhead also writes that the plan of the house was a “mirror image” of Blair House on Pennsylvania Avenue before a third floor was added.¹⁸ Blair House, originally built for Dr. Joseph Lovell, the first Surgeon General of the U.S., was also constructed in 1824. The early photographs of the house that I have seen show that the lay-out of the three-bay façade, double hung windows and bull’s eye lintels, was similar.¹⁹

According to Beyer Blinder Belle *Historic Structural Report*, “It is reported that the original front entrance door (and potentially a portico), which consisted of carved columns, dentil moldings, baluster turnings, rope carvings, etc., are held in storage by the National Trust for Historic Preservation at Oatlands in Loudoun County, Virginia. They were likely removed from the house in the 1870s during the Carrolls’ ownership and taken to a home in Marblehead, Massachusetts. The National Trust acquired the pieces in 1964, when it was thought that Mrs. Virginia Bacon would bequeath the property to them.”²⁰ The details of the doorway seem to



The reimagined house as per Beyer Blinder Belle 2021



Blair House ca 1920. Photo courtesy Library of Congress:
<https://lccn.loc.gov/2016819352>



Early photograph of DACOR House (courtesy DC History Center)



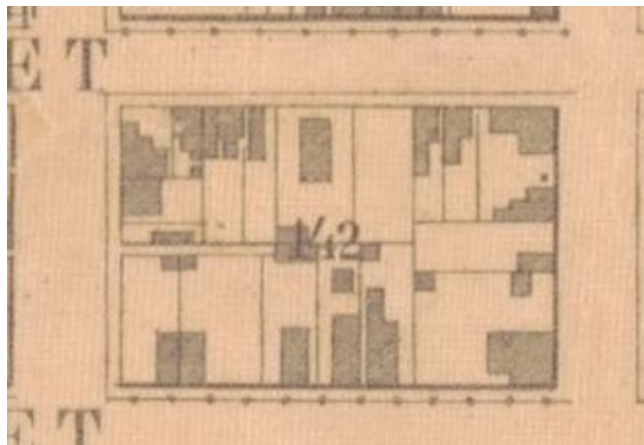
Photograph of the purported original door frame and surround, featuring highly decorative beaded and fluted pilasters and sidelights with wood panel. [National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2020]

have been incorporated into the drawing done by Beyer, Blinder, Belle. Given the highly decorative work on the doorway, the report concluded,²¹

If the architectural features stored at Oatlands are original to the House, the original entry vestibule must have been impressive indeed. The detail and craftsmanship is exquisite and speaks to the high skills of the carpenters—many likely enslaved—who built the House for the Ringgold family.

Given the ups and downs of his finances, Tench may not have been able to hold on to the brickyard, but it remains possible he would have used them in building the F Street house. Otherwise, he would have purchased enough from a brickyard. The laying of the foundations and the brickwork may have been done by some of his enslaved laborers who learned how to make and lay bricks from their employment at the yard. The finer carpentry may have been carried out by skilled Black or Irish carpenters.²²

An idea of the new house might be seen in the revised assessment of properties on Square 142 when, in 1830, it was valued at \$8,000 (as opposed to \$1,351), and the value of his personal property rose from \$1,500 in 1824 to \$2,000 in 1830. The real estate taxes rose substantially to reflect these improvements.²³ For comparison, the Decatur House, a full three floors in 1830, was assessed at \$10,000.



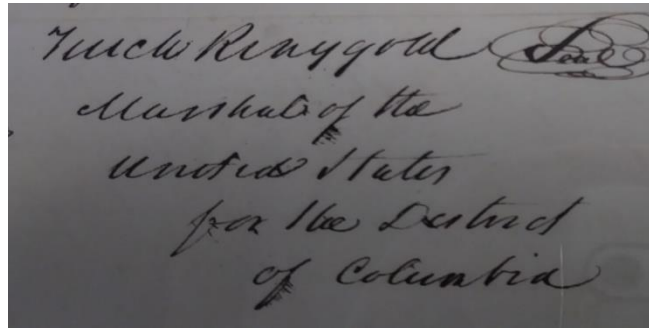
Square 142 in the earliest real estate maps of Washington (Boschke 1857). The Ringgold property is on the lower right, consisting of Lots 1, 2, and 15. It shows the porch added on the western (garden) side of the structure made by the later owners, William T. Carroll and his wife Sally.

Map courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The Ringgolds' Social World

Ringgold was appointed U.S. marshal for the District of Columbia in 1818 by President Monroe, with whom he and Mrs. Ringgold were close friends. His office brought him into close

association with the occupants of the President's House, but especially with Presidents Monroe and John Quincy Adams. The Monroes are known to have stayed in the Ringgold's new home on F Street several times. Even before that house was built, Adams family members visited the Ringolds. Charles Francis Adams, John Quincy Adam's son, made an entry in his

A photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive ink on a light-colored background. The signature reads "Tench Ringgold" followed by a decorative flourish. Below this, the text "Marshal of the United States for the District of Columbia" is written in a similar cursive hand.

Signature of Tench Ringgold as marshal

diary for January 15, 1824, mentioning he had gone around to Mrs. Ringgold's "where we spent the evening very pleasantly. I went with the girls and John. I danced with Miss Clapham²⁴ for the first time, a very voluptuous looking girl, with a lively black eye, and Miss Crowninshield.²⁵ I also had some conversation with Dr. May, a graduate of Harvard.²⁶ Principally concerning the Porcellian Club.²⁷ The evening was soon over as we came late and retired and arrived at home safely."²⁸ This gathering took place in the house Ringgold rented on F Street between 19th and 20th streets.

Toward the end of 1824, Tench was taken up with preparations for the visit of General Lafayette to the United States. The revered Frenchman landed in New York in September at the beginning of a nation-wide tour that would take a year to complete, visiting all twenty-four states then forming the United States. After touring New England and New York, he made his way south toward Washington to meet up with President Monroe, stopping in Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore. From there his entourage was accompanied by a cavalry led by former Maryland governor Samuel Sprigg, the father of Sally Sprigg – soon to become an owner of the F Street House – to the boundary of the District, and after visiting the Capitol, he reached the executive mansion where he was greeted by Tench and escorted into the house to meet with President Monroe.²⁹

Lafayette did not stay at the President's House, but lodged in one of the city's hotels, and while making excursions into Virginia. He stayed almost three months in Washington, up to the time of John Quincy Adams' inauguration in March 1825, and it seems entirely plausible that he would have dined at one point during his stay in Washington at the Ringgold House.³⁰ In August of 1825, after the General had returned to the east coast following a triumphant tour of the union, he and President Adams, along with Tench, John Adams II, his secretary and groom, took a carriage and carryall out to visit President Monroe at Oak Hill in Loudoun County. They stayed overnight in Fairfax before proceeding further west to the President's estate near Leesburg.³¹ Ringgold was also responsible for Lafayette's departure from Washington in September 1825 and accompanied the general down the Potomac to the Chesapeake Bay where the *U.S.S. Brandywine* was waiting to take him back to France.

The Household Staff

Ringgold's household according to the 1820 census included eighteen enslaved men, women and children. The 1824 tax assessment shows Tench was taxed on fourteen of them, paying \$2 per head for the eight enslaved men (for a total of \$16), and \$1 per head for the six enslaved women (total of \$6). Four other enslaved persons would not have been assessed a tax because they were under the age of 10 or over the age of 45.³² One of the women was named Betsy, who had been given to the Ringolds in 1806 by the first Mrs. Ringgold's father, Gov. Lee; Betsy had given birth in 1822 to Louisa, who would have been aged two at the time of the 1824 tax assessment and therefore probably not taxed.³³ Also living in the house sometime in the decade of the 1820s was Susan, mother of four children – Thomas, Kitty, Mary and Maria – who would later sue Tench and his daughter Mary for her and her children's freedom in 1837 after they had moved out of the city and were living across the river in Alexandria County.³⁴ A third enslaved person was Ben Dorsey, born in 1801, who fled the household in 1825, dressed in a "form-fitting blue coat, a white waistcoat, coarse linen pantaloons and a black wool hat."³⁵ Ringgold offered \$100 reward if caught, but it appears Ben successfully escaped his enslavement. The names of other enslaved men who labored for Ringgold in his house or the tannery at various times are mentioned in newspaper advertisements, but their stays on the household were probably brief.³⁶ Ringgold was accustomed to buying, trading, and selling enslaved persons.

The names of most enslaved persons remain as yet unknown or unconfirmed. By way of comparison, it is interesting to note that Col. John Tayloe of the Octagon House was assessed taxes in 1824 on five enslaved men and one enslaved woman, and John Ness, the future mayor of Washington and owner of a stately home near what would become the Mall, was assessed on three enslaved men and three enslaved women. Another enslaver was Joseph Bromley, a leading citizen of Washington and one of the members of an early governing chamber of the city, who was taxed on five males and five females in 1825. The tax books suggest that Ringgold ranked among the largest enslavers in the first and second wards of Washington.

The Ringolds owned a coach (on which Tench paid \$9 in annual taxes) and a carryall, which was a smaller carriage drawn by a single horse on which he was taxed one dollar. Ringgold's office may have been on Capitol Hill, in the Circuit Court building at the corner of A and 1st Streets Northeast,³⁷ and assuming he did not walk to work, he would have required transportation to get to his office every day and to move about his jurisdiction on both sides of the Potomac. Most likely he would have taken the coach, as befitting his office, driven by a coachman or coachmen, who would have been one or two of the enslaved men in the household. It is very likely that they were liveried, perhaps dressed like Ben Dorsey. The carryall would have been used by the household servants to fetch firewood, coal, and groceries and other household items in their daily rounds, or perhaps by family members for purposes of visiting friends.

The living quarters of the enslaved household cannot be fixed. Enslaved workers were often not given private rooms but slept in the rooms where they worked. In the example of the Ringgold's house, the ground floor area where the laundry and kitchen were located was most likely where the women and girls slept. There were out-houses, one of which would have accommodated the stable for the horses, the carriage and the carryall, and most probably living space for the male grooms and other enslaved men. The enslaved staff at Octagon House, a block away, also lived in the basement area. At least one of the Tayloe's enslaved ladies' maid slept in the hallway outside the door of the mistress's bedroom. In the mid-1820s, when the enslaved workers in the Ringgold's house hovered around eighteen, one imagines they would have been hard-pressed to find space to rest without the existence of a separate slave quarters, as had the Decatur House, but there is no evidence that such a structure was ever erected at the F Street residence. It is also possible that some of the enslaved men were working and living outside the

house in the buildings of whatever enterprises Tench retained in 1820 during the time the census was taken.

The enslaved women would have labored as cooks, ladies' maids, and washerwomen. This entailed a daily list of chores for a household with five daughters and two sons. The wedding ceremonies of two of the Ringgold daughters at the end of the decade were attended by a large crowd of invited guests who, from a description of one of them, were provided a feast fit for "gourmands." Salmon Chase, then an aspiring young lawyer, crashed the wedding reception on November 17, 1829 of Anna Maria Ringgold who married Dr. Henry Hunt, and wrote this entry in his diary afterwards:³⁸

"Nov 17. Dr. Huntt was married this evening to the youngest daughter of Mr. Ringgold. The evening was extremely unpropitious, but a great crowd was there. I went as a looker on. I saw Mr. Van Buren moving about, paying compliments and hunting for good opinions. Many beaux promenaded the rooms and many belles dying for their attentions. Mr. R—was bustling about like an [a man] determined that if his guests were not pleased it should be thro no fault of his. The doctor was as happy as an old bachelor just [escaped] from the barren confines of single blessedness as apt to be on such occasion and the bride was a very pretty bride. At 10 large folding doors were thrown open displaying to the gourmands of the company a most pleasing spectacle. An instant rush was made toward the tables; yet the gallantry of the gentlemen them to resist until the fairer half of creation had retired. Then however hams, rounds of beef, chicken were not spared. Pyramids of ice were demolished in less time than is required to record their fate. Wine flowed in rivers – and rivers [were] drank dry. At length however the appetite of the most eager was sated and as there was nothing more to be seen I returned home."

The cook of the Ringgold house, whichever enslaved man or woman it was, must have been an important person for the entire family, and the needs of the guests must have been seen to by some of the several male enslaved servants trained as waiters. They too would have been specially garbed for the occasion.

Ringgold as a Widower for the Second Time

As the latter half of the 1820s unfolded, Tench once again lost his wife to illness. The second Molly Ringgold, who suffered from edema, died on June 9, 1826, and Tench was almost certainly the author of this very personal notice that was posted in the *National Intelligencer*:³⁹

“Died on Friday last, at her residence in Washington City, Mary A. Ringgold, consort of Tench Ringgold, Esq, Marshal for the District of Columbia, in her 32nd yr of her age. Her sickness (the dropsy), under which she labored for years, was at times painful in the extreme, but she bore it with Christian fortitude... Shortly before she expired, being asked whether the Saviour, in whom she trusted continued to be precious to her heart, she replied, ‘I just lie here and say, Thy will be done.’ The writer of this notice saw her in every stage of her sickness, and was a witness of the painful scene of her departure from scenes temporal to those that are eternal.... It may not be improper to remark, that never was manifested towards a mother-in-law, more sincere regard and affection, than was exhibited, during the whole of her illness, to the last moment of her mortal existence, from the children of her affectionate husband by his former wife.”

She left Tench needing to care for seven children, two of whom were under ten years old. A reminiscence by Sally Sprigg Carroll, whose father purchased Ringgold’s house in 1835, suggests that in 1829 he proposed to the twenty-year-old sister of Dr. John Moylan Thomas, who was courting his daughter Sally Ringgold. Sally Carroll was visiting Sally Ringgold at her father’s house when she heard the story of the proposal. The young lady turned down the offer of marriage, and Ringgold, who was then fifty-three, was so angry that he forbade his daughter to marry Dr. Thomas.⁴⁰ Sally Carroll remembered that they eloped and then were quietly married by a priest later that year.⁴¹ (Her marriage, quietly announced in newspapers, can be contrasted with the elaborate celebration of her daughter Anna Maria, married later that year.) Unsuccessful in attracting a new mistress of his house, Ringgold may have asked his eldest daughter, Mary D. G. Ringgold, then aged 29, to take over management of household duties and the enslaved staff.

In the aftermath of Molly’s death, Ringgold maintained a guarded mourning. President John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary on December 7, 1826,⁴²

Mr. Ringgold, the Marshal, came to ask if I should wish his attendance here at the drawing-rooms for the preservation of order among the coachmen and carriages in the yard, as has been usual. I desired that he would. He has lately lost his wife, and said he did not generally go into society, but that he would very readily attend here, considering it in the line of his duty. He did accordingly attend this evening, when Mrs. Adams held the first drawing-room for the season, a week earlier than usual, for the sake of the members of the Canal Convention, many of whom were here. The attendance was full, but not crowded.

Several months later, Adams asked him to accompany him to the Washington “Birthnight Ball” at Gadsby’s Hotel, on February 22, 1827,⁴³ and thereafter his duties as marshal kept him

constantly on the go, either attending public auctions which his office supervised where the property of debtors was sold to furnish funds to the lenders, attending meetings of the courts as required, and supervising public executions.⁴⁴ One of the auctions involved John Threlkeld, the well-known Georgetown figure and former mayor, who fell into debt, went bankrupt and was forced to sell his property and 27 slaves. The event was witnessed by a foreign traveler who provided the text of the advertisement in the *National Intelligencer* that announced the sale.⁴⁵

MARSHAL'S SALE.

By authority of a writ of *feri facias*, issued from the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of this district, for the county of Washington, to me directed, I shall expose to public sale, for cash, on Monday, 31st instant, the following slaves, viz.: Charity, Fanny, Sandy, Jerry, Nace, Harry, Jem, Bill, Anne, Lucy; Nancy and her five children, George, Penn, Mary, Francis, and Henry; Flora and her seven children, Robert, Joseph, Fanny, Mary, Jane, Patty, and Betsy; Harry; and also four mules, four carts, one carriage and harness. Seized and taken in execution, as the goods and chattels of John Threlkeld, and will be sold to satisfy a debt due by him to the Bank of the United States, use of the United States, and the Bank of the United States.

Sale to be at the dwelling of Alexander Burrows and commence at 11 o'clock A. M.
TENCH RINGGOLD,
Marshal of the District of Columbia.

As a result of this sale, a number of family members were sold to different owners and separated,⁴⁶ a not unusual circumstance for such sales which cast a pall among the African American community.

With the help of his daughters and his enslaved workers, Ringgold continued to host the Monroes whenever they passed through Washington on their way to New York to visit their daughter, as they did in the summer of 1828.⁴⁷ The house would also have accommodated the personal slaves that accompanied the Monroes on their long trip north. Mary D. G. Ringgold never married and probably looked after her father for the rest of his life.

The tax assessment of the house in 1830 shows the remarkable improvements that had been made over the previous five years. Now assessed at \$8,000, Tench's personal property had also increased to \$2,000 (excluding the value of his enslaved workers).⁴⁸ The household now accommodated eight whites and thirteen enslaved men, women and children. In addition to Ringgold and his daughter Mary (aged 30), the family included daughters, Eliza (aged 24) and Catherine (aged 13), sons Benjamin (28) and Thomas (age 12), and his recently married daughter

Sally and her husband, Dr. John Moylan Thomas and their newly born daughter, Mary. (Clearly the row over Dr. Thomas's sister had subsided.) The enslaved staff had been reduced from eighteen to thirteen and now included a young boy and a girl (probably Betsy's daughter, Louisa, aged eight. Susan would have been one of the enslaved females, and her three daughters and son (ages unknown) would have been counted among the other enslaved members of the household. Although Benjamin seems to have worked with Tench as an assistant or deputy marshal for a period in the late 1820s,⁴⁹ Tench remained the breadwinner for the house and its inhabitants.

Ringgold Loses his Appointment as Marshal

It was a severe blow when, in the following year, Andrew Jackson decided not to renew Ringgold's term as marshal. This was contrary to what Jackson had encouraged James Monroe to believe when he had made a special effort to press Ringgold's cause.⁵⁰ But in fact there were nagging suspicions about Ringgold in Jackson's mind that may or may not have been justified. Several years earlier a complaint had been made by the widow of a debtor who alleged that Ringgold had taken public funds and spent them on his personal expenses.⁵¹ There was also the complaint about debtors being given quarters in the D.C. jail with common criminals. Whatever Jackson's reasoning, Tench seems to have enjoyed widespread respect for the toughness which he displayed in the performance of his duties – as seen by some of the comments made after his termination became known.

The news broke out on February 4, 1831, when Henry Ashton, a Jackson follower, was nominated to replace him and it caused a shock that reverberated in many corners of the city. John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary:⁵²

T. Ringgold has lost the office of Marshal of the District, and Colonel Henry Ashton has been nominated to take his place. Ashton is a petty Crawfordite lawyer converted into a Jackson Central Committee man. Ringgold is poor, with an expensive family, and has been an excellent officer. There is sympathy with him, but it is a sympathy of fear. "Oderint dum metuant" is the maxim of the day.⁵³

The following day the *Genius of Liberty* newspaper, published in Alexandria, informed its readers⁵⁴

“It is understood that Henry Ashton was yesterday nominated by the president as marshall [sic] of the District of Columbia to supercede [sic] Tench Ringgold, the old, energetic, and we may add, popular incumbent.”

And two days later, John Marshall wrote to his wife,⁵⁵

I suppose you have heard we have lost our marshal. Poor Ringgold is out of office, and I fear greatly that his family and himself will be distressed. He just left us. Brother Story and myself condole with him very sincerely, and he is grateful to us for our friendly regard.

It is noteworthy in this entry Marshall and Justice Joseph Story (his close colleague on the Supreme Court) both expressed their sorrow to him personally. Later in the year, they took measures to further console him.

Ringgold made a concerted effort to persuade Jackson to withdraw his nomination of Ashton. He gathered as many as 1,800 signatures of the most prominent people in the city and county in support of him,⁵⁶ but to no avail. Jackson remained firm.

In these unhappy days, Ringold received news that his dear friend James Monroe was gravely ill in New York where he had moved after his wife died in 1830 to be with his daughter, Maria Monroe Gouverneur. In May he traveled to New York to be with him and remained in attendance until Monroe died in his daughter's home on Prince Street, Manhattan, July 4, 1831.⁵⁷ He took it upon himself to write that evening to President Madison informing of Monroe's



LAST RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT MONROE, PRINCE STREET, NEW YORK.

Samuel Gouverneur's house on Prince Street in New York where Tench attended James Monroe on his death bed, July 1831.

death.⁵⁸ When he returned to Washington, he also arranged per the wishes of Monroe to have Peter Marks, a Monroe slave, liberated.⁵⁹

Washington August 27th 1831

The bearer hear of Peter Marks a coloured man late the property of James Monroe deceased, late President of the United States, has been liberated & set free by at Mr Monroes dying request by his executor Samuel L. Gouverneur of the City of New York & by Mrs E K Hay one of Mr Monroes daughters to whom he was a slave.

Peter is honest, and capable, he is an excellent dining room serv[an]t, and a good coachman, has been brought [up in] the family of Mr Monroe from his infancy ea[rly l]ife & I can recommend him to any person [who ma]y want a waiter or coachman, as I have long [know]n him—

[Tenc]h Ringgold

On his way back from New York, Ringgold stopped in Philadelphia, then the financial capital of the young country, to see if he could secure loans to help resolve his ongoing money problems and stave off bankruptcy. It would appear he had some success and soon after getting back to Washington placed an announcement in the *National Intelligencer*⁶⁰ that he had

established facilities, by correspondence, to procure Loans of Money on Deeds of Trust, on improved property in the City of Washington and Georgetown. The money will be loaned by the citizens of Philadelphia and New York, at six per cent; the title of the property to be indisputable, and the value of it to be proved by the most satisfactory evidence. From *seven to ten thousand dollars* to be disposed of as stated, if application is made immediately.

His discussions with bankers in Philadelphia also encouraged him to establish a “general agency” for businessmen owning property in Washington or dealing with the government. As he grandly announced in the *Daily National Intelligencer* in September 1831, six months after his marshal appointment had ended,⁶¹

“...encouraged by friends in Northern cities, [the subscriber] offers his services to merchants and other citizens of the United States, to collect claims Civil, Military, and Naval, on the General Government and individuals in this District; to pay the taxes of non-residents on City Lots; to obtain loans of 6 per. on real property in Washington and Georgetown, to manage and collect claims under the treaty lately made with France, as well as and claims, and all others which non-residents of the District may have occasion to confide in an agent.”

This advertisement was endorsed by many of his friends in high places, including ex-president Monroe, leading jurists in the city (among them, William Cranach), earlier testimonials from all the Supreme Court justices from Marshall on down, leading attorneys, and the comptroller of the U.S. Treasury. Without access to Ringgold's account books or bank records, it is difficult to know what happened with these opportunities. They seem to have fizzled out,⁶² but they may well have allowed him to negotiate with local banks for more time with which to pay back the debt owed his daughter.

In the meantime, his friends at the Supreme Court seem to have come to his aid. In the fall Richard Peter, the court reporter, sounded Tench out on the possibility of the justices boarding at his home – presumably as paying guests. John Marshall wrote Justice Story about the situation:⁶³

“There has been some difficulty with next winter's accommodation... At length it seems fixed that we quarter with Ringgold. “You may not like being out of the center of the city. I am told that our accommodations as to rooms will be convenient, and as to everything else you know they will be excellent. Mr. Johnson will quarter by himself – and our brother MacLain [sic] will preserve his former position. The remaining five will I hope be united.”

Interestingly, the chief justice had been recovering from a gall stone operation in Philadelphia about the time that Ringgold was seeing bank officers about loans.

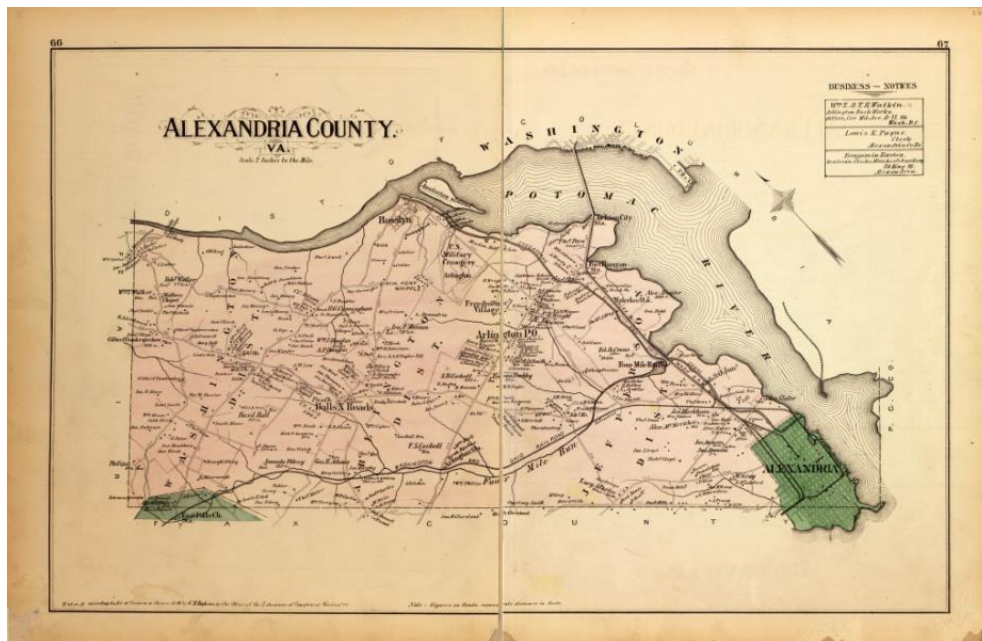
Though Monroe had died, his plantation overseer or Monroe's heir (Samuel Gouverneur, his executor?) at Oak Hill sent John Baker, one of the family enslaved workers, to the Ringgolds bearing a cartload of “16 Turkeys 9 Geese 34 pounds butter, 16 hams weighing 140 pounds” at the end of December, presumably in preparation for receiving the justices in early January 1832.⁶⁴

The five justices – John Marshall, Joseph Story, Gabriel Duvall, Smith Thompson, and Henry Baldwin – arrived in the early days of January and began reviewing the upcoming cases for the court's two-month term. The most important case to be decided was Worcester vs. State of Georgia, which was argued before the court in February 21-23 and decided by the justices on March 5, 1832.⁶⁵ It was one of three cases decided by the court in favor of the primacy of rights of the Cherokee nation as negotiated in treaties with the federal government. This case and other cases that the justices dealt with during the term were no doubt argued and discussed among the justices in the drawing room and at the dinner table at the Ringgolds, now part of the cherished

history of DACOR Bacon House. The court ended its session toward the end of March and the justices departed. The following year, only Justices John Marshall and Joseph Story returned to stay at the Ringgold House; the other justices found their own quarters elsewhere in the city's private residences or boarding houses.

It is possible that the justices planned to stay again during the 1834 term, but in October or November, Ringgold wrote Marshall that this would not be possible as he was vacating the house and moving "out of the city." Accordingly, the justices made plans to stay at Mrs. Dunn's boarding house, closer to the Capitol.⁶⁶

As events in the fall of 1833 unfolded, Sally Ringgold Thomas's mortgage on the house was called in by the bank, and Tench was forced to foreclose. He decided to purchase a farm in Alexandria County, then part of the federal city lying on the Virginia side of the Potomac, and bought a property of 140 acres that lay close to the road leading from Georgetown to Fairfax Courthouse, near Four Mile Run.⁶⁷ He paid \$2,200, which was probably from money provided by his son-in-law Dr. Thomas who had purchased the Ringgold House for \$8,500.⁶⁸



Map of Alexandria County, 1878, courtesy Library of Congress.

The earlier maps of the county, when it was part of the federal city, do not show the roads to Georgetown.

Tench's property lay adjacent to Carlin's, near Four Mile Run on the southern edge of the county.

However, at the time he purchased the property in Alexandria, Ringgold also registered an indenture (series of IOUs) to a variety of men in the "City," Alexandria County and even

Philadelphia amounting to more than a thousand dollars.⁶⁹ His financial dealings were always complicated and seemingly unending, and some of that borrowed money may also have been used to purchase the farm.

The move across the river may have been made as soon as a house was completed, possibly at the end of 1833 or early 1834. Mary Ringgold and some of her her siblings may have gone with him to set up the new quarters, using furniture, linens, cutlery, pots and pans and other household possessions that were not auctioned by P. Mauro in February 1834.⁷⁰ The inventory of his property in Alexandria County in 1845 suggests he lived very modestly, the whole of the

SALE OF VALUABLE FURNITURE.

AT the dwelling of Tench Ringgold, Esq. Corner of P and 18th Streets West, he having moved to the country, will be sold by public auction, on Saturday, the 22d inst., 11 o'clock A. M. a part of his Furniture, consisting of

Window Curtains, Book Case, Sideboard,
Looking Glasses, Carpets, Tables, Chairs,
Beds and Bedding, Centre and Astral Lamps,
Wardrobe, Coal Grates with Soap Stones,
Some valuable Books, and a variety of other articles

Terms of sale—For all sums of and under 25 dollars, cash; from 25 to 50 dollars, sixty days; and on all sums over 50 dollars, a credit of sixty and ninety days, for good notes, satisfactorily endorsed, with interest.

P. MAURO & SON,
Auctioneers.

march 18—dts

Daily National Intelligencer, March 18, 1834, p. 3.

personal estate valued at only \$525, excluding farm equipment and livestock (a bull, three cows, two oxen, ten pigs, three hogs) which added another \$140. The house contained various tables and mahogany chairs, three beds and several horse-hair mattresses, a Yankee clock, and several better-quality Marseilles quilts.⁷¹ Mary eventually bought her own property nearby in 1839. It was another plot of about 100 acres which she may or may not have developed.⁷²

Mary's youngest half-sister, Catherine Sidney Lee Ringgold, known as Sidney, was married in 1834 to a congressman from Louisiana named Edward Douglas White. She was



Miniature of Catherine "Sidney" Lee Ringgold White, done ca. 1850, shortly before her marriage to Andre Brousseau, a New Orleans merchant. Courtesy E.D. White Historic Site, a Louisiana State Museum.

seventeen at the time and had met him at the house of a cousin of his who lived in Georgetown where she was then living.⁷³ She left Washington shortly thereafter when her husband became governor of the state, 1835-39. White returned to Washington as a congressman for two terms after serving as governor and then moved with his family to a plantation he had bought outside Thibodeau, Louisiana worked by nearly 60 enslaved people. He died in 1847, and three years later, she remarried. Her youngest son by White was Edward Douglass White, later chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, 1910-1921.

Ringgold's second oldest daughter, Eliza Lee Ringgold, eventually followed her half-sister Sidney to Louisiana, where she died and was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Thibodaux. She never married. Jane, Rachel and Patty, the three enslaved Black women who worked for her in Louisiana, were given to her sister under the terms of her will.⁷⁴

Ben Ringgold, Ringgold's eldest son who had attended classes for two years at Georgetown College, started working for his father as a deputy marshal when he was in his early twenties. He became involved in a kerfuffle when he attempted to serve a writ of *facias fieri* (seizure of property for unpaid debts) to Charles Queen and took one of Queen's enslaved men. This led to an argument with Queen's wife who refused to assist him in any way. A pamphlet describing the incident, during which insults were exchanged and Ben's reputation was

slandered, was widely circulated in Georgetown and Washington. Several of his letters denouncing the slander and vindicating his actions were published in the *National Intelligencer*.⁷⁵ He also accompanied Tench on a trip to visit James Monroe in Oak Hill in 1829. A reference to their visit includes an oblique comment about Ben that “[he] has been reformed not by Gen. J. (Jackson?) but by his own understanding and feelings....” It suggests that he and his father had had a falling out, possibly over politics. After Ringgold moved out of the city, Ben disappears from the record, and nothing is known of her later life, marriage, or death.

Thomas Ringgold, Tench’s younger son, entered West Point Academy in 1834 when he was 16 (the year after his father his house on F Street), and graduated with the class of 1838. While in the army he served in Florida, at various posts in New York and then taught “natural and experimental philosophy” at West Point for several years. He was posted to Washington to become an Ordnance officer at the Arsenal, serving at a variety of positions, and then made captain of Ordnance in 1853. In 1846, he made an advantageous marriage when he wed Susan Parker Brown Upshur, the only daughter of the late Secretary of State Abel Parker Upshur who had been killed in 1844 in a famous accident when the USS Princeton was blown up. The wedding took place in Vaucuse Plantation, the home of the Upshurs, in Northampton County, eastern shore of Virginia. They had a home in Washington at the Washington Arsenal where their four children were subsequently born. They probably traveled often to Vaucuse, the Upshur family seat. Two of their youngest children died there in 1853 and were buried in the plantation cemetery. When Thomas died on 11 May 1854, he was buried at Oak Hill Cemetery.⁷⁶ He was not quite 36 years old at the time of death.

Anna Maria, the last of Tench’s children by his first wife, was married on 17 November 1829 to Dr. Henry Huntt (1781-1838) of Washington. She was 18 and he was 48. The wedding, described above, was a fashionable event and attended by the Washington elite.⁷⁷ It’s clear Ringgold in was the case of this daughter unstinting in his hospitality. The couple first lived on New York Avenue and later moved to a house on F Street where their neighbor was Mrs. William Thornton, the widow of the architect. Dr. Huntt was the personal physical of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, and he frequently visited the White House. He figured in the famous “Snow” riot in Washington in 1835 when he was aroused by Mrs. Thornton who told him she had been attacked by a young African American man who had worked for her. The young man was arrested for attempted murder and tried by Francis Scott Key. The incident and

trial, at which Dr Huntt testified, aroused the white population of the city and led to an attack on African Americans.⁷⁸ It is considered Washington's first race riot. He died 21 September 1838 and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery. Anna Maria died in 1841, and she was buried next to her husband and infant son, Henry Clay Hunt, not far from Ringgold's grave.

Ringgold in Retirement

In the remaining ten years of Ringgold's life, he remained largely out of the spotlight. He took with him five enslaved workers from Washington, three of whom were employed as farm hands, according to the 1840 census. Among those he seems to have brought to his new home were Louisa, the daughter of Betsy, and Louisa's daughter, Elizabeth, although they may already have been passed on to Mary when she set up her own quarters. Another enslaved worker, Susan, mother of four children, may have objected to moving "to the country," possibly because her husband was living in Washington, and she sued Ringgold and Mary for her freedom in 1837. Her lawyer was Francis Scott Key, who, although a slave owner himself, took up cases of many District enslaved people seeking freedom.⁷⁹ Ringgold remained interested in horses, although it is not known whether he owned them. He took out an advertisement in a local paper to testify to the pedigree of a famous horse owned by Samuel Gouverneur, Monroe's son-in-law, named Paul Clifford, a thoroughbred who was descended from American Eclipse, one of the most famous racers of the time.⁸⁰

In 1836 he was appointed a justice of the peace, the lowest grade judicial office in the system, and it may have allowed him to earn an income from collecting fees.⁸¹ He served as a grand juror in the court at Alexandria and was one of the jurors who indicted Dorcas Allen for murdering two of her children to prevent them from being sold into slavery. It was a celebrated if notorious case. She was acquitted on grounds of insanity. An outraged John Quincy Adams pledged \$50 to help Nathan Allen purchase his wife and two surviving children when they were put up for sale again.⁸²

Simon Darne, the man who sold him land in Alexandria County, probably also induced Ringgold to invest in the Alexandria Canal Project. The idea behind the scheme was to link the port of Alexandria, which was then suffering from competition elsewhere in the area, to have a direct link to the traffic flowing along the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. This, like so many canal

projects, excited great attention at first and then faltered badly when expenses proved unwieldy. He and Darne had a falling out and a court case ensued.⁸³

In his last years, Tench voiced opposition to the retrocession of Alexandria and Alexandria County (then one and the same) to Virginia and joined a group of prominent citizens urging residents to oppose the measure.⁸⁴ This effort failed, and the Virginia side of the District of Columbia was ceded back to Virginia in 1847, after Ringgold's death.

He died in July 31, 1844 at his home in Alexandria County.⁸⁵ The funeral was held at the home of Sally and Dr. Thomas, then located on Pennsylvania Avenue between 14th and 15th Streets.⁸⁶ His younger son, Thomas Lee Ringgold, was the executor of his estate and oversaw the official inventory that was conducted in 1845.⁸⁷ Ringgold did not make a will. Since none of the enslaved workers are mentioned in the inventory, none seems to have been emancipated, nor can a sale of them be found in newspapers, it can be assumed that those who remained with him to the end were given to his sons and daughters before his death.

He was buried in the Congressional Cemetery. Buried with him in the plot is someone identified as "Thomas Ringgold" who was interred in 1845.⁸⁸ One wonders who he might have been.



Ringgold headstone, Congressional Cemetery,
Washington, D.C.
(photo courtesy Findagrave).

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- ¹ DC Archives, Land Records, Liber W.B.3, new page 2. The seller was John Swann, a Baltimore speculator.
- ² D.C. Archives, Land Records, Liber W.B. 10, new pp. 230-31.
- ³ National Archives, Washington, Tax Book A-Z, Corporation of Washington, vol. 1 (Wards 1 and 2).
- ⁴ She married in 1829: *National Intelligencer*, 12 August 1829.
- ⁵ The will is published in full in Edmund Jennings Lee, ed. and publ., *Lee of Virginia, 1642-1892: Biographical and Genealogical Sketches of the Descendants of Col. Richard Lee. With Brief Notices of the Related Families...* (Philadelphia, Franklin Printing Company, 1895), 307-10.
- ⁶ D.C. Archives, Land Records, Liber W.B. 15, new pages 153-55.
- ⁷ Deeds of Ingress. Registered in the courts regarding the properties of Eliza Lee Rnggold and Anna Maria Ringgold Hunt, D.C. Archives, Land Records, Liber W.B.39, new page 85 and 85. Dated 1832.
- ⁸ Calderhead, 36-37. His source is Richard Brighton, *The Checkered Career of Tobias Lear* (Peter Randall Publisher, 1985), 326.
- ⁹ *Spooner's Vermont Journal*, October 28, 1816, sourcing the *Georgetown Messenger*.
- ¹⁰ <https://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/the-mysterious-death-of-tobias-lear/> (reference to the Lear's home in Georgetown, updated 2020); <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/buildings/section23>
- ¹¹ Margaret Brent Downing, "Literary Landmarks," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 19 (1916), 24.
- ¹² A photograph in the collection of the Willard R. Ross Postcard Collection in the District of Columbia Public Library (<http://hdl.handle.net/1961/dcplislandora:47506>) identifies "the Wirt House" as being situated on the corner of 18th and F Streets – in other words right across the street from DACOR Bacon House. This must be an error of identification as the records uncovered by the State Department show that the house was located in the middle of G Street (in Square 169).
- ¹³ D.C. Archives, Land Records, Liber. H.8, 1802, new pages 49 and 50
- ¹⁴ D.C. Archives, Land Records, Liber A.F.31, new page 305, recorded November 15, 1813.
- ¹⁵ *National Intelligencer*: June 15, 1827. The taxes due were \$14.84 (1825), \$15.42 (1826), \$17.77 (1827), total: 48.03
- ¹⁶ *DACOR Bacon House*, 41-42
- ¹⁷ Beyer, Blinder Belle, 45.
- ¹⁸ Calderhead, 41
- ¹⁹ BBB House Structural Report, 22.
- ²⁰ Beyer Blinder Belle, DACOR Bacon House Foundation Preliminary Report (2020), p. 29.
- ²¹ Beyer, Blinder, Belle, 48.
- ²² Bob Arnebeck, *Slave Labor in the Capital* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2014), chap. 8.
- ²³ National Archives, Tax Books 1830, vol. 7.
- ²⁴ Thought to be the daughter of Josiah Clapham, one of the directors of the Potomac Company: see footnote 7, vol. 1-2, *Diary of Charles Francis Adams*, p. 45.
- ²⁵ Either Elizabeth or Mary Crowninshield, one of the daughters of Benjamin Williams Crowninshield, secretary of the Navy under Presidents Madison and Monroe: see footnote 5, vol. 1-2, *Diary of Charles Francis Adams*, p. 29.
- ²⁶ Could be a reference to Samuel May, a 1820 graduate of the Divinity School, later ordained an Episcopal minister in Boston; also a member of the Porcellian Club. See <https://guides.library.harvard.edu/hds/1st-100/hds/19th-century-students-to-1830>; Harvard University, *Porcellian Club Centennial, 1791-1891*, (Cambridge, MA, Riverside Press, 1891), p. 69. The Massachusetts Historical Society editors of the Adams Digital Library identify him as Dr. Frederick May, a graduate of Dartmouth and Harvard and an eminent Washington physician. See footnote 28 before.
- ²⁷ Harvard's exclusive private club.
- ²⁸ *Diary*, vol. 1: Charles Francis Adams, Aïda DiPace Donald, David Herbert Donald, Marc Friedlaender, eds. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), entry for January 15, 1824. The diary is now available online at the Massachusetts Historical Society: for this entry: <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/ADMS-13-01-02-0003-0001-0015#sn=0>

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- ²⁹ <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-nations-guest> (White House Historical Association, “The Nation’s Guest: Lafayette 1824-25 Tour of the United States.” Accessed 4/22/2019. See also my article, “Lafayette and His Connection with Ringgold and DACOR Bacon House,” posted in August 2024, on https://www.dacorbacoon.org/academic_library.php.
- ³⁰ However, there is no documented evidence that he did.
- ³¹ *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol. 7, 40.
- ³² Tax for personal property is given in Delano, *Washington Directory*, 111. The census shows that two of the enslaved females were under 10; one enslaved man and one enslaved woman were over 45.
- ³³ The information on Betsy and Lousia comes from Louisa’s compensated emancipation document dated 1862: <http://civilwardc.org/texts/petitions/cww.00450.html>. Louisa at this time was the property of Ringgold’s daughter, Mary.
- ³⁴ <http://earlywashingtondc.org/doc/osycs.case.0208.002> (accessed August 24, 2019)
- ³⁵ *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 22, 1825.
- ³⁶ Frank, probably worked in Ringgold’s tannery in Bladensburg for a time (*Daily National Intelligencer*, August 7, 1819, p. 3; Josias, jailed for lacking freedom papers was purchased by Ringgold for \$84 in a “marshal’s” auction and then resold by Ringgold for \$20: *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 25, 1826, p. 4; Ringgold offered for sale two Negroes, “good carriage drivers and waiters” (*Daily National Intelligencer*, June 19, 1828).
- ³⁷ Delano, *Washington Directory* (published in 1822).
- ³⁸ *Salmon Chase Papers*, vol. 1 (Salmon Portland Chase, Kent, OH, Kent State University Press, 1993), 29.
- ³⁹ *National Intelligencer*, June 13, 1826, p. 3.
- ⁴⁰ Maine Historical Society, Portland, John Marshall Brown Papers, Box 18A, Folder 1 “The Carroll Family,” “Mrs. Carroll Tells a Story...,” dated January 1, 1883. It is written on stationery that Gen. Brown brought with him -- Headquarters, First Regiment Infantry, Maine Volunteer Militia – which he had commanded during the Civil War and remained an honorary member throughout his life.
- ⁴¹ Married July 25, 1829, by the Rev. Mr. Marshall: *Daily National Intelligence*, August 12, 1829. The title “Rev. Mr.” suggests the officiating officer was not Catholic. A later marriage in the Catholic church cannot be confirmed. Father Matthews was the priest at St. Patrick’s Church (Washington) where other Catholic members of the younger Ringgold family attended.
- ⁴² <http://www.masshist.org/publications/jqadiaries/index.php/document/jqadiaries-v37-1826-12-06-p131#sn=14> John Quincy Adams Digital Diary, entry for December 6, 1826 (*Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol. 7, 199).
- ⁴³ *Ibid*, vol. 7, 231
- ⁴⁴ Adams noted in his diary that Tench had attended the execution in Alexandria of Jonathan de Vaughn: *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* 7, p. 295-6.
- ⁴⁵ Basil Hall, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: R. Cadell, 1830), 3: 41.
- ⁴⁶ <https://gloverparkhistory.com/population/slaves-population/slaves-of-john-threlkeld/>.
- ⁴⁷ *National Intelligencer*, June 4, 1828; also noted in Adams’ *Diary*, vol. 8, 22.
- ⁴⁸ National Archives, Tax Books, Tax Assessment of Real and Personal Property for 1830.
- ⁴⁹ See the following section on the Ringgold children.
- ⁵⁰ Winslow Marston Watson and Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, *In Memoriam: Benjamin Ogle Tayloe* (Washington: Sherman & Company, printers, 1872), 104.
- ⁵¹ The charges, brought by Elizabeth Williams, beginning in 1829, can be followed in the Daniel Feller, ed. in chief, Jackson Papers: https://trace.tennessee.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=utk_jackson
- ⁵² Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol 8., 307, entry dated January 31.
- ⁵³ Let them hate, as long as they fear.
- ⁵⁴ Alexandria, *Genius of Liberty*, vol 15, #5, dated 5 February 1831
- ⁵⁵ *Papers of John Marshall*, vol. 12, 17.
- ⁵⁶ Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol. 8, 318-19.
- ⁵⁷ <http://daytoninmanhattan.blogspot.com/2016/05/the-lost-james-monroe-house-prince-and.html>.
- ⁵⁸ <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/99-02-02-2383>.
- ⁵⁹ Bob Karachuk, Assistant Editor, University of Mary Washington, The James Monroe Papers, “Mr. Monroe’s dying request”: <https://academics.umw.edu/jamesmonroepapers/2018/11/30/mr-monroes-dying-request/>
- ⁶⁰ *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 7, 1831, p.
- ⁶¹ *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 27, 1831, p. 4.

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- ⁶² No further advertisements were taken out in later newspapers.
- ⁶³ Charles Hobson, ed., *The Papers of John Marshall Digital Edition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2014), vol. 12, 124, dated November 10, 1831.
- ⁶⁴ Lori Kimball and Wynne Saffer, comps., "References to James Monroe's Slaves with a Focus on Loudoun County, Virginia." <https://www.leesburgva.gov/home/showdocument?id=8851>
- ⁶⁵ See my article, "Marshall and the Justices at Ringgold House 1832 and 1833," DACOR Bacon House History Project, September 18, 2020.
- ⁶⁶ Letter from John Marshall to Joseph Story, 16 November 1833; Hobson, *Papers of John Marshall Digital Edition*, vol. 12, 309.
- ⁶⁷ Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Va., Lands Records, vol. N2-V2, 550. Purchase dated September 28, 1833, recorded November 16, 1835.
- ⁶⁸ *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 23, 1833.
- ⁶⁹ Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Va., Land Records, vol. N2-U2, pp. 510-12. As best as I can make out, the indenture references various trades on drafts from third parties. One of the parties mentioned is Samuel Gouverneur, Monroe's son-in-law, whom he had stayed with in Philadelphia.
- ⁷⁰ *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 18, 1834, p. 3.
- ⁷¹ Library of Virginia, Richmond: Barcode 1043689 Arlington County/ Fiduciary Records/ Estate Accounts 1844-1845, recorded February session, 1845, 94-99. Kindly retrieved for me by Robert Walz and Susan Reed.
- ⁷² Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Va., Land Records, vol. V2-C3, p. 354. The price paid was \$450.
- ⁷³ William D. Reeves, *Paths to Distinction: Dr. James White, Governor E. D. White and Chief Justice Edward Douglass White of Louisiana* (Thibodaux, LA: Friends of the Edward Douglass White Historic Site, 1999), 61.
- ⁷⁴ Wesley E. Pippinger, comp., *District of Columbia Probate Records: Will Books 1 through 6, 1801-1852 and Estate Files, 1801-1852* (Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1996), p. 96. The three women appear to have earlier been the property of Eliza's uncle, John Lee, who sent enslaved workers from Maryland to work on his property in Louisiana.
- ⁷⁵ Published in the *National Intelligencer* and the *Washington Gazette* August 19, 1823, and August 20, 1823 respectively.
- ⁷⁶ http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/Cullums_Register/952*.html
- ⁷⁷ See footnote 36 above; for the wedding, *National Intelligencer*, November 20, 1829.
- ⁷⁸ Jefferson Morley, *Snow-Storm in August: The Struggle for American Freedom and Washington's Race Riot of 1835* (New York: Anchor Books, 2015).
- ⁷⁹ "Negro Susan vs. Tench Ringgold and Mary Ringgold": National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 21, Entry 6, Box 569, Folder 207; the case is found on the internet: <http://earlywashingtondc.org/doc/oscys.case.0208.002>. By coincidence, Ringgold and Key were now related by family ties: his niece Virginia Ringgold was married in 1834 to John Ross Key, Key's son
- ⁸⁰ Tench's testimony is run as part of advertisements about "Paul Clifford" that appears in the *Genius of Liberty*, April 3, 1841 and elsewhere; on *American Eclipse*: <https://www.tbheritage.com/Portraits/AmericanEclipse.html>.
- ⁸¹ Charles S. Bundy, "A History of the Office of Justice of the Peace in the District of Columbia," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (Washington, D.C.), vol. 5, 1902, 280.
- ⁸² Tench is summoned to be a grand juror: *Alexandria Gazette*, November 5, 1839; on the case, Alison T. Mann, "Horrible Barbarity: The 1837 Murder Trial of Dorcas Allen, a Georgetown Slave," *Washington History* 27:1 (Spring 2015), 3-14; "Slavery exacts an impossible price: John Quincy Adams and the Dorcas Allen case, Washington, DC" (2010). University of New Hampshire, Doctoral Dissertations. 531: <https://scholars.unh.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1530&context=dissertation>.
- ⁸³ *Alexandria Gazette*, June 29, 1838.
- ⁸⁴ *Alexandria Gazette*, October 10, 1840.
- ⁸⁵ *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 31, 1844.
- ⁸⁶ *Washington Directory for 1843*.
- ⁸⁷ *Alexandria Gazette*, 11 January 1845 (Notice asking readers to approach him to settle any outstanding debts.)
- ⁸⁸ Congressional Cemetery Records: information provide by the archivist Dayle Dooley, October 8, 2021.