

“HE KNOWS BETTER, BUT HE WANTS TO EXCITE WONDER.”¹



			BORN	1744	1745	1746	1747	1748	1749
1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759
1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769
1770	1771	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779
1780	1781	1782	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789
1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809
1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819
1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	DIED				

1. John Quincy Adams’s evaluation of Thomas Jefferson’s tendency to exaggerate and to picture himself as being at the center of things. Chief Justice John Marshall, who despised him, referred to him as “the great Lama of the mountains.” More recently Pauline Maier has evaluated Jefferson, for an American Heritage survey, as “the most overrated person in American history.” Professor Paul Finkelman, who is presently the John Hope Franklin Visiting Professor of American Legal History at the Duke University School of Law, characterizes him as having been “the monster of Monticello,” and a “creepy, brutal hypocrite.”



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Table of Altitudes

☰	Yoda	2 ' 0 "
	Lavinia Warren	2 ' 8 "
	Tom Thumb, Jr.	3 ' 4 "
	Lucy (Australopithecus Afarensis)	3 ' 8 "
	Hervé Villechaize ("Fantasy Island")	3 ' 11"
	Charles Proteus Steinmetz	4 ' 0 "
	Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (1)	4 ' 3 "
	Alexander Pope	4 ' 6 "
	Benjamin Lay	4 ' 7 "
	Dr. Ruth Westheimer	4 ' 7 "
☰	Gary Coleman ("Arnold Jackson")	4 ' 8 "
	Edith Piaf	4 ' 8 "
	Queen Victoria with osteoporosis	4 ' 8 "
	Linda Hunt	4 ' 9 "
	Queen Victoria as adult	4 ' 10 "
	Mother Teresa	4 ' 10 "
	Margaret Mitchell	4 ' 10 "
	length of newer military musket	4 ' 10"
	Charlotte Brontë	4 ' 10-11"
	Tammy Faye Bakker	4 ' 11"
	Soviet gymnast Olga Korbut	4 ' 11"
	jockey Willie Shoemaker	4 ' 11"
	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	4 ' 11"
	Joan of Arc	4 ' 11"
	Bonnie Parker of "Bonnie & Clyde"	4 ' 11"
	Harriet Beecher Stowe	4 ' 11"
	Laura Ingalls Wilder	4 ' 11"
☰	a rather tall adult Pygmy male	4 ' 11"
	Gloria Swanson	4 ' 11"1/2
	Clara Barton	5 ' 0 "
	Isambard Kingdom Brunel	5 ' 0 "
	Andrew Carnegie	5 ' 0 "
	Thomas de Quincey	5 ' 0 "
	Stephen A. Douglas	5 ' 0 "
	Danny DeVito	5 ' 0 "
	Immanuel Kant	5 ' 0 "
	William Wilberforce	5 ' 0 "
	Dollie Parton	5 ' 0 "



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Mae West	5' 0 "
Pia Zadora	5' 0 "
Deng Xiaoping	5' 0 "
Dred Scott	5' 0 " (±)
Captain William Bligh of HMS <i>Bounty</i>	5' 0 " (±)
Harriet Tubman	5' 0 " (±)
Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (2)	5' 0 " (±)
John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island	5' 0 " (+)
John Keats	5' 3/4 "
Debbie Reynolds (Carrie Fisher's mother)	5' 1 "
Princess Leia (Carrie Fisher)	5' 1 "
Bette Midler	5' 1 "
Dudley Moore	5' 2 "
Paul Simon (of Simon & Garfunkel)	5' 2 "
Honoré de Balzac	5' 2 "
Sally Field	5' 2 "
Jemmy Button	5' 2 "
Margaret Mead	5' 2 "
R. Buckminster "Bucky" Fuller	5' 2 "
Yuri Gagarin the astronaut	5' 2 "
William Walker	5' 2 "
Horatio Alger, Jr.	5' 2 "
length of older military musket	5' 2 "
the artist formerly known as Prince	5' 2 1/2 "
typical female of Thoreau's period	5' 2 1/2 "
Francis of Assisi	5' 3 "
Voltaire	5' 3 "
Mohandas Gandhi	5' 3 "
Kahlil Gibran	5' 3 "
Friend Daniel Ricketson	5' 3 "
The Reverend Gilbert White	5' 3 "
Soviet First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev	5' 3 "
Sammy Davis, Jr.	5' 3 "
William Laws Calley, Jr.	5' 3 "
Truman Capote	5' 3 "
Kim Jong Il (North Korea)	5' 3 "
Stephen A. "Little Giant" Douglas	5' 4 "
Francisco Franco	5' 4 "
President James Madison	5' 4 "
Iosef Vissarionovich Dzugashvili "Stalin"	5' 4 "
Alan Ladd	5' 4 "
Pablo Picasso	5' 4 "





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Truman Capote	5' 4 "
Queen Elizabeth	5' 4 "
Ludwig van Beethoven	5' 4 "
Typical Homo Erectus	5' 4 "
typical Neanderthal adult male	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
Alan Ladd	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
comte de Buffon	5' 5 " (-)
Captain Nathaniel Gordon	5' 5 "
Charles Manson	5' 5 "
Audie Murphy	5' 5 "
Harry Houdini	5' 5 "
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan 洪秀全	5' 5 "
Marilyn Monroe	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
T.E. Lawrence "of Arabia"	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
average runaway male American slave	5' 5-6 "
Charles Dickens	5' 6? "
President Benjamin Harrison	5' 6 "
President Martin Van Buren	5' 6 "
James Smithson	5' 6 "
Louisa May Alcott	5' 6 "
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Napoleon Bonaparte	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Emily Brontë	5' 6-7 "
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	5' ? "
average height, seaman of 1812	5' 6.85 "
Oliver Reed Smoot, Jr.	5' 7 "
minimum height, British soldier	5' 7 "
President John Adams	5' 7 "
President John Quincy Adams	5' 7 "
President William McKinley	5' 7 "
"Charley" Parkhurst (a female)	5' 7 "
Ulysses S. Grant	5' 7 "
Henry Thoreau	5' 7 "
the average male of Thoreau's period	5' 7 ¹ / ₂ "
Edgar Allan Poe	5' 8 "
President Ulysses S. Grant	5' 8 "
President William H. Harrison	5' 8 "
President James Polk	5' 8 "
President Zachary Taylor	5' 8 "
average height, soldier of 1812	5' 8.35 "
President Rutherford B. Hayes	5' 8 ¹ / ₂ "
President Millard Fillmore	5' 9 "





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

President Harry S. Truman	5 ' 9 "
President Jimmy Carter	5 ' 9 ¹ / ₂ "
Herman Melville	5 ' 9 ³ / ₄ "
Calvin Coolidge	5 ' 10"
Andrew Johnson	5 ' 10"
Theodore Roosevelt	5 ' 10"
Thomas Paine	5 ' 10"
Franklin Pierce	5 ' 10"
Abby May Alcott	5 ' 10"
Reverend Henry C. Wright	5 ' 10"
Nathaniel Hawthorne	5 ' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Louis "Deerfoot" Bennett	5 ' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Friend John Greenleaf Whittier	5 ' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower	5 ' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	5 ' 11"
Sojourner Truth	5 ' 11"
President Stephen Grover Cleveland	5 ' 11"
President Herbert Hoover	5 ' 11"
President Woodrow Wilson	5 ' 11"
President Jefferson Davis	5 ' 11"
President Richard Milhous Nixon	5 ' 11 ¹ / ₂ "
Robert Voorhis the hermit of Rhode Island	< 6 '
Frederick Douglass	6 ' (-)
Anthony Burns	6 ' 0 "
Waldo Emerson	6 ' 0 "
Joseph Smith, Jr.	6 ' 0 "
David Walker	6 ' 0 "
Sarah F. Wakefield	6 ' 0 "
Thomas Wentworth Higginson	6 ' 0 "
President James Buchanan	6 ' 0 "
President Gerald R. Ford	6 ' 0 "
President James Garfield	6 ' 0 "
President Warren Harding	6 ' 0 "
President John F. Kennedy	6 ' 0 "
President James Monroe	6 ' 0 "
President William H. Taft	6 ' 0 "
President John Tyler	6 ' 0 "
Captain John Brown	6 ' 0 (+)"
President Andrew Jackson	6 ' 1"
Alfred Russel Wallace	6 ' 1"
President Ronald Reagan	6 ' 1"
Venture Smith	6 ' 1 ¹ / ₂ "



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

John Camel Heenan	6 ' 2 "
Crispus Attucks	6 ' 2 "
President Chester A. Arthur	6 ' 2 "
President George Bush, Senior	6 ' 2 "
President Franklin D. Roosevelt	6 ' 2 "
President George Washington	6 ' 2 "
Gabriel Prosser	6 ' 2 "
Dangerfield Newby	6 ' 2 "
Charles Augustus Lindbergh	6 ' 2 "
President Bill Clinton	6 ' 2 1/2"
President Thomas Jefferson	6 ' 2 1/2"
President Lyndon B. Johnson	6 ' 3 "
Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.	6 ' 3 "
Richard "King Dick" Seaver	6 ' 3 1/4"
President Abraham Lincoln	6 ' 4 "
Marion Morrison (AKA John Wayne)	6 ' 4 "
Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior	6 ' 4 "
Thomas Cholmondeley	6 ' 4 " (?)
William Buckley	6 ' 4-7"
Franklin Benjamin Sanborn	6 ' 5 "
Peter the Great of Russia	6 ' 7 "
William "Dwarf Billy" Burley	6 ' 7 "
Giovanni Battista Belzoni	6 ' 7 "
Thomas Jefferson (the statue)	7 ' 6"
Jefferson Davis (the statue)	7 ' 7"
Martin Van Buren Bates	7 ' 11 1/2"
M. Bihin, a Belgian exhibited in Boston in 1840	8 '
Anna Haining Swan	8 ' 1"





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#) had an answer. [Thomas Jefferson](#) had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of [Charles Fourier](#), who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. [Fourierism](#) ([Horace Greeley](#) founded the New-York [Tribune](#) to promote Fourier's ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. [Brook Farm](#) was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the movement's history. Except for one detail, Fourier and Mother Ann Lee were of the same mind; they both saw that humankind must return to the tribe or extended family and that it was to exist on a farm. Everyone lived in one enormous dormitory. Everyone shared all work; everyone agreed, although with constant revisions and refinements, to a disciplined way of life that would be most harmonious for them, and lead to the greatest happiness. But when, of an evening, the Shakers danced or had "a union" (a conversational party), Fourier's Harmonians had an orgy of eating, dancing, and sexual high jinks, all planned by a Philosopher of the Passions. There is a strange sense in which the Shakers' total abstinence from the flesh and Fourier's total indulgence serve the same purpose. Each creates a psychological medium in which frictionless cooperation reaches a maximum possibility. It is also wonderfully telling that the modern world has no place for either.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1681

June: After not seeing any *dodos* on the island of Mauritius of the Mascarene island group east of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean for almost a couple of decades, there was a final report of a sighting.



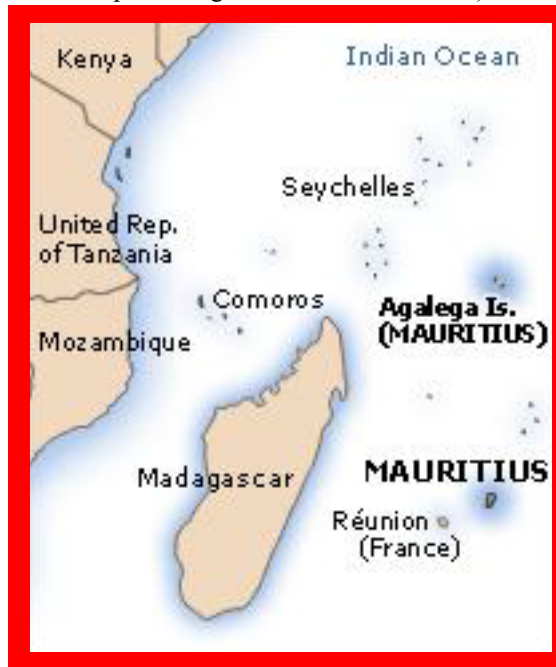
The species was by this point being driven to extinction by humans and by the feral dogs, pigs, rats, and monkeys introduced by humans to the island. (Two bird species closely related to the *dodo* also would become extinct: the Réunion Island white *dodo* by 1746, and the long-necked Rodrigues Island solitaire by 1790. These flightless pigeons would not be the only Mauritian bird species driven to extinction — of 45 bird species originally noted, only 21 remain.) At this point extinctions were still being conceptualized incorrectly along the same lines as ordinary migrations or displacements. President [Thomas Jefferson](#) believed that true species extinction would be quite impossible, as conflicting with his notion of the necessary providence and benevolence of deity, and therefore he expected that at some location on the surface of the earth our explorers were bound to begin to discover living creatures in possession of the massive bones (dinosaurs) being discovered encased in the American rocks. This dodo species would become, along with the turtle and the giant land tortoise, among the very first forms of life to become the subject of discussion about potential extinction caused by humans. By the mid-1750s there would begin some sporadic and unsatisfactory attempts to arrest the decline of tortoise and turtle populations on the islands of Mauritius and Rodriguez (which is off to the east

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and too tiny to indicate on this map showing Mauritius and Réunion).



After January 1849: ... Who knows but races become extinct because they have departed too far from their type As the Dodo having become gross and in a great measure lost the habits of the bird. its wings would no longer lift it from the ground— And the ostrich we might prophecy will soon share its fate & the domestic fowl also —if not continued by new importations from the forest.

I find the following statements in a Review of “The Dodo and its Kindred, or &c by H.E. Strickland” in Blackwood’s Mag. Jan. —49. ... Strickland describes the Dodo as in “the general aspect suggestive of gigantic immaturity.” a sort of “permanent nestling” says the rev. “covered with down instead of feathers.”

The earliest account of the Dodo is by a Dutch voyager who visited the island of Mauritius in 1598. The island was discovered between 1502 & 1545 One was seen in London “about 1638” by “Sir Hamon Lestrange the father of the more celebrated Sir Roger”

Only 3 heads & 2 feet now remain of the Dodo. Which was at one time regarded as a fabulous bird. They became extinct between 1681 —& 1693. There are also 5 old paintings of this bird left.

On the neighboring island of Rodriguez was another species *Didus solitarius* the *Solitaire* also now extinct. Perhaps there was also another species on the island of Bourbon.

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(Perhaps this is politically incorrect, but is one not reminded of Al Capp's creation, the "shmoo," and of the British Parliament's creation, the "constitutional monarch"?)



IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IT IS MORTALS WHO CONSUME OUR HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IS EVADE THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. (IMMORTALS, WITH NOTHING TO LIVE FOR, TAKE NO HEED OF OUR STORIES.)



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1685

In England, the leveler Colonel Richard Rumbold was led to the scaffold. Before being hanged for treason against the Stuart monarchy he was allowed to say a few words, and a few of the words he produced would later prove useful to [Thomas Jefferson](#), who would quote them without attribution:²

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.

**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**

2. Macaulay's HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Chapter V; Adair, Douglass. "Rumbold's Dying Speech, 1685, and Jefferson's Last Words on Democracy, 1826," [William and Mary Quarterly](#), 3rd Series, **IX** (1952):521-31. Rumbold had said that no man "comes into the World with a Saddle on his Back, neither any Booted and Spurr'd to Ride him." Adair noted that not even Rumbold may have originated such words, for there had been an earlier such pronouncement by Paolo Sarpi of Venice.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON**SALLY HEMINGS****1731**

July 1, Thursday (Old Style): The Philadelphia Library was founded by [Benjamin Franklin](#). This lending library would, for the first century of its existence, until 1830, refuse to stock any books authored by any persons suspected to have been irreligious — even the writings of [President Thomas Jefferson](#) would until then be proscribed.

**DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.**



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1743

April 13, Wednesday (Old Style): [Thomas Jefferson](#) was born.

Our Fearless Leaders

NAME	BORN	INAUGURATED	EX OFFICIO	DIED
GEORGE WASHINGTON		1789		
		1792		
JOHN ADAMS		1796		JULY 4, 1826
THOMAS JEFFERSON	APRIL 13, 1743	1800		DITTO
		1804		
JAMES MADISON		1808		
		1812		
JAMES MONROE		1816		
		1820		
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS		1824		
ANDREW JACKSON		1828		
		1832		
MARTIN VAN BUREN		1836		
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON		1840		
JOHN TYLER		1841		
JAMES K. POLK		1844		
ZACHARY TAYLOR		1848		
FRANKLIN PEIRCE		1852		
JAMES BUCHANAN		1856		
ABRAHAM LINCOLN		1860		
		1864		



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1757

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) would allege, in his campaign bio supporting General [Franklin Pierce](#)'s campaign for President of the United States of America in 1852, that Pierce's father Benjamin Pierce had been born in this year in Chelmsford, Massachusetts:

General Benjamin Pierce, the father of [General, nominee for President] Franklin [Pierce], was one of the earliest settlers in the town of Hillsborough, and contributed as much as any other man to the growth and prosperity of the county. He was born in 1757, at Chelmsford, now Lowell, in Massachusetts. Losing his parents early, he grew up under the care of an uncle, amid such circumstances of simple fare, hard labor, and scanty education as usually fell to the lot of a New England yeoman's family some eighty or a hundred years ago.

Speaking of founding fathers, in this year [Thomas Jefferson](#), at the age of 14, was inheriting from his father, a surveyor, cartographer, and tobacco planter, the plantation that would become the site of his [Monticello](#) hilltop slave plantation. The excess lands of this 5,000-acre rural factory based upon slave labor were subdivided into four adjacent tenant farms.



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[Jefferson](#) when young (but perhaps not in this very year) is known to have seined the American shad *Alosa sapidissima* on the Rivanna River, a tributary of the James River. The only way he is known to have consumed it is laid open and broiled in butter, with pepper and salt.



**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**

August 17, Wednesday: The surveyor, cartographer, and tobacco planter [Peter Jefferson](#), father of 14-year-old [Thomas Jefferson](#), died (the son would inherit, among other properties, the 5,000-acre hilltop slave plantation known as [Monticello](#)).

[Fort William Henry](#), at the southern end of Lake George on the frontier between the British province of New York and the French province of Canada, was being besieged by General Montcalm and his native allies:

Capt. Jonathan Brooks, with 30 men from [Concord](#), marched on alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry, Aug. 17, 1757. They went only to Palmer and returned in ten days. Oliver Miles was out there three months, being wounded, taken prisoner, stripped naked and treated in a very cruel manner. Robert Estabrook, Jonathan Harris Jr., Joseph Wheeler, and several others were taken at Fort Edward. The Journal of the General Court gives the following names of “sick and wounded soldiers” in the Crown Point expedition from [Concord](#), who received aid from the government:

Amos Parlin
Daniel Brown, drummer.
Stephen Hosmer
William Richardson
John Barker
Samuel Brewer
Samuel Wheeler
Samuel Buttrick
Jonathan Buttrick
Amos Hosmer
Thomas Billings
Ephraim Brooks



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Ephraim Stow
Samuel Estabrook
John Robbins
Boaz Brown
Daniel Brewer
Solomon Whitney
Peter Prescott
Timothy Barrett
Consider Soper
William Pool
John Savage.³

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

Sally Hemings

“Stack of the Artist of

3. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

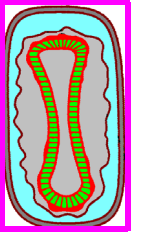


PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1760

At about this teenage point in his life, [Thomas Jefferson](#) was visiting the vicinity of Philadelphia, staying in a cottage near the Schuylkill River away from the city itself in order to have himself inoculated against the [small pox](#).



**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1766



[Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote an act for the [Virginia](#) legislature, that would protect the religious freedom of Muslims (so long as, it goes without saying, they were white men).

ISLAM

“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1770

Initially, in their internal political debates, Americans seem to have referred more frequently to Mason's draft Virginia Declaration of Rights, which began by asserting "that all men are born equally free and independent," than to the [Declaration of Independence](#) which we now have come to emphasize as having a certain primacy in our national system. It would be Mason's formulations, in most cases by use of the verb "born," rather than [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s formulations, that would be incorporated into various state bills of rights and, by way of the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights, into the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. After [the Constitution](#) and Bill of Rights had included no statement of basic revolutionary principles, it would be later generations of Americans, not this initial generation, who would find those principles useful in national politics and would gradually be transforming the Declaration from a revolutionary or "external" manifesto into a standard for established "internal" governance akin to a bill of rights. In a sense the Declaration had to be rescued from an initial obscurity before the Americans of the Early Republic began to be able to make their internal political appeals on its basis.

During this [period of revolutionary turmoil](#), in which there would be a whole lot of talk about human rights and a whole lot of taking of human life, a total of 34 Friends would need to be "dealt with" in Pennsylvania, and a total of 9 Friends would need to be "dealt with" in [New Jersey](#), on account of their refusing to give up all involvement in public affairs. That is, a number of [Quakers](#) would refuse their society's demand that they "withdraw from being active in civil government" during a period so preoccupied with "the spirit of wars and fighting." They would either continue to hold public office, or would continue to attend town meeting, or would continue to cast votes for persons to hold public office, all of which activities were being proscribed by the Religious Society of Friends as morally unacceptable:

Friends being in any ways active in government [in the present commotions of public affairs] is inconsistent with our principles [against wars and fightings].

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

For the duration of the war, no Quaker would be allowed to even serve as an overseer of the poor, without being “dealt with” on account of this implicit involvement in violence by his meeting.

In Virginia, [Jefferson](#) was building [Monticello](#) on the backs of slave laborers.



"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."

- [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK
ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP
A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION.

WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH
OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS
HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS,
LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:
IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.

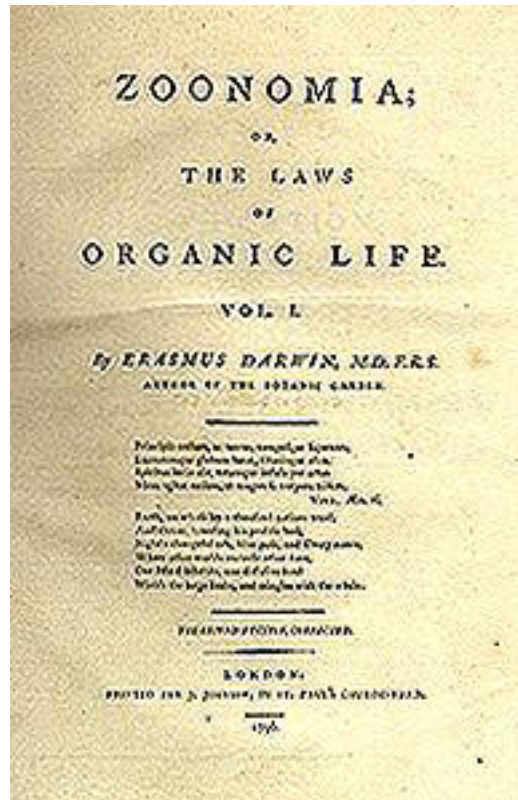
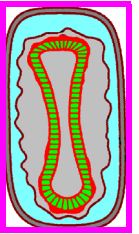
PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

[Dr. Erasmus Darwin](#) had his portrait done, by Joseph Wright, and began the writing of ZOONOMIA.⁴



His deep [small pox](#) pits were of course omitted from the painting.



THE SCIENCE OF 1770

His wife Mary (Polly) Howard Darwin died “after a long and suffering illness.” The grandson [Charles Robert](#) would report that “judging from all that I have heard of her, [she] must have been a superior and charming woman.” “They seem to have lived together most happily during the thirteen years of their married life, and she was tenderly nursed by her husband during her last illness.”

In this year he had the new motto *E conchis omnia*, “Everything from shells,” added to the painting on his coach door of the Darwin family’s coat of arms (which had pictured three scallop shells). The image below is not what was painted on his coach door, but what he would have engraved for a bookplate in the following

4. Although [Dr. Darwin](#)’s grandson [Charles Robert](#) would read ZOONOMIA at the age of 16 or 17, he would report later in life that the poem had been without effect on his mind. He hadn’t even retained a memory of what his family’s motto *E conchis omnia* was, or what it signified.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

year:



Unfortunately, the Canon of Lichfield Cathedral, the Reverend Thomas Seward (father of the poet Anna Seward who would fall in love with Dr. Darwin, would be rejected for another, and, after her love's death, would author a scathing and demonstrably false biography), would spot the reference, and –in satirical verse– would accuse his neighbor of renouncing his creator, and would exhort him to change that “foolish motto.”

Great wizard he! by magic spells
Can all things raise from cockle shells

Dr. Darwin would need to have his coach repainted to remove this offensive material.⁵

PALEONTOLOGY

The biographer Desmond King-Hele acknowledges that it is [Charles Darwin](#), not his grandfather [Erasmus](#), who created the theory of evolution, but seems not to comprehend why this is so:

Charles Darwin read ZONOMIA when he was sixteen or seventeen, and also listened to a panegyric in praise of evolution from his friend Dr Robert Grant at Edinburgh University. “At this time I greatly admired the ZONOMIA,” he says. But neither Grant nor ZONOMIA had “any effect on my mind.” This is true: otherwise he would have become an evolutionist before going on the voyage of the *Beagle*, rather than after.

5. Imagine parking in the parking lot of your local fundie church, nowadays, with one of those “Darwin” fish-with-legs logos on the trunk lid of your car! Why was such a motto so offensive? –Because the official story then, which would be the official story during [Charles Darwin](#)’s life as well, and would be the official story during [Henry Thoreau](#)’s life, and would be the official story at the Scopes monkey trial in Tennessee, and is still the official story, as for instance the official belief system of the Wubya administration of born-again Christians — is that our lives, to be of significance to us, to be meaningful to us, must have a divine purpose and legitimation. (That’s why we attacked Iraq — Wubya’s God told him he needed to “take Saddam out.” Wubya’s administration wasn’t mainly about stealing from the poor and giving to the rich. Wubya’s life, in fact, post-salvation, has divine purpose and legitimation. It is now a life as full of meaning, as once it was full of drunken revels.)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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Therefore, perhaps, I should here explicate why it was that creating the theory of evolution was left for Charles, and why it was that the early reading of ZOONOMIA, with its recognition of evolution, did nothing in this regard: it is one thing to regard evolution as a fact, and another thing entirely to create a theory which accounts for it by hypothesizing a plausible mechanism and demonstrating the inevitability of this mechanism. Lots of people regarded evolution as a fact, before Charles created his theory. Almost as many people were perfectly well aware of evolution as a fact in 1770, as had been perfectly well aware in 1491 that the earth was a globe — before Columbus obtained funding to sail west from Spain!

During the 1770s, [Erasmus](#) would be helping to found The Birmingham Lunar Society, a social club for the great scientists and industrialists of the day. The society would hold its monthly meetings at the Soho House on the Monday night nearest the full moon, and this supposedly was so that the attenders would afterwards be



able to find their way home. This society has been characterized as the think tank of the industrial revolution. Members of the society included the [Reverend Joseph Priestley](#), discoverer of oxygen, Friend Samuel Galton, a wealthy Quaker industrialist who eventually would be disowned due to his manufacture of firearms, William Small, the eccentrics Thomas Day and Richard Edgeworth, the [Matthew Boulton](#) who was known as “the creator of Birmingham,” [James Watt](#), William Withering, James Keir, and [Josiah Wedgwood](#).



Other personages linked to this society include [Thomas Jefferson](#), [Benjamin Franklin](#), Rudolph Erich Raspe, and [William Murdock](#), developer of a self-propelled vehicle and the inventor of gas lighting. (Murdock would end his days living at the court of the Shah of Persia, where he would be credited with being an incarnation of Marduk, ancient god of light.)

THE LUNAR SOCIETY OF BIRMINGHAM

ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,



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IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.



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1772

[Thomas Jefferson](#), Patrick Henry, Lee, and other leading men of the [Virginia](#) colony were desiring to “get rid of the great evil” represented by the presence of black people in America. “The interest of the country,” it was said in a discussion in the [Virginia](#) House of Burgesses –by “interest of the country” meaning of course not the interests of people in general but merely the interests of the white male propertied citizens of that colony– “manifestly requires the total expulsion of them” — by “them” meaning of course not merely slaves but black people in general. The governor of [Virginia](#), Francis Fauquier, had in correspondence with the Board of Trade on June 2, 1760 mentioned that some “old settlers who have bred large quantities of slaves and who would make a monopoly of them by a duty which they hoped would amount to a prohibition” had proposed the difficulties be placed in the way of the importation of new Africans. The [Virginia](#) Assembly needed to address [King George III of England](#) on this because, in council on December 10, 1770, he had warned them not to interfere with the importation of slaves. They pleaded with him on April 1, 1772 to remove his restraints upon their efforts to stop the importation of [slaves](#), which they referred to for some reason as “a very pernicious commerce” (we don’t know, they may have meant that it was damaging the lives of black people, or perhaps they may have meant that it was damaging the lives of white people). The monarch who “stood in the path of humanity and made himself the pillar of the colonial slave-trade” made no reply to this appeal of the Virginians (we don’t know, he may have desired to damage the lives of black people, or he may have simply desired that he and his friends continue to make inordinate profits on their participation in the international slave trade). The conduct of the King would cause the initial draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#) to contain a complaint that “He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce.” (This embarrassing paragraph would of course need to be

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stricken from a succeeding draft the Declaration!⁶⁷



[George Washington](#) was a member of the [Virginia](#) House of Burgesses during this year while it drafted a petition to the English throne, labeling the importation of [slaves](#) into the colonies from the coast of Africa “a trade of great inhumanity” that would endanger the “very existence of your Majesty’s American

6. Although the sentences in question are confidently asserted to have been authored by [Jefferson](#), and confidently asserted to have been stricken from the draft by others, I know of no evidence to support any such speculation.

7. For this and other such maps: <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/search.html>

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dominions.”



Maybe this did or maybe this didn't reflect his personal viewpoint (we know that in this very year the guy was purchasing five additional slaves for labor on his plantations), but we know that a couple of years later he would be personally involved in the composition of the July 1774 "Fairfax Resolves," one of which was that slaves not be imported into British colonies. He would be one of the signatories "declaring our most earnest Wishes to see an entire Stop forever put to such a wicked cruel and unnatural Trade." One resolution to this conundrum would be simply that he was one of those who were in favor of slavery and also in favor of restricting fresh imports — because this would effectively protect the market value of slaves already here, and their salable future progeny.⁸

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Next to South Carolina, Virginia had probably the largest slave-trade. Her situation, however, differed considerably from that of her Southern neighbor. The climate, the staple tobacco crop, and the society of Virginia were favorable to a system of domestic slavery, but one which tended to develop into a patriarchal serfdom rather than into a slave-consuming industrial hierarchy. The labor required by the tobacco crop was less unhealthy than that connected with the rice crop, and the Virginians were, perhaps, on a somewhat higher moral plane than the Carolinians. There was consequently no such insatiable demand for slaves in the larger colony. On the other hand, the power of the Virginia executive was peculiarly strong, and it was not possible here to thwart the slave-trade policy of the home government as easily as elsewhere.

Considering all these circumstances, it is somewhat difficult to determine just what was the attitude of the early Virginians toward the slave-trade. There is evidence, however, to show that although they desired the slave-trade, the rate at which the Negroes were brought in soon alarmed them. In 1710 a duty of £5 was laid on Negroes, but Governor Spotswood "soon perceived that the laying so high a Duty on Negros was intended to discourage the importation," and vetoed the measure.⁹ No further

8. In this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, a record number of ships, 28, were sailing from Rhode Island for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of slaves was 109 — as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargoes — then a total of well over 3,000 souls were being transported in [Rhode Island](#) bottoms alone.

9. LETTERS OF GOVERNOR SPOTSWOOD, in VA. HIST. SOC. COLL., New Ser., I. 52.



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restrictive legislation was attempted for some years, but whether on account of the attitude of the governor or the desire of the inhabitants, is not clear. With 1723 begins a series of acts extending down to the Revolution, which, so far as their contents can be ascertained, seem to have been designed effectually to check the slave-trade. Some of these acts, like those of 1723 and 1727, were almost immediately disallowed.¹⁰ The Act of 1732 laid a duty of 5%, which was continued until 1769,¹¹ and all other duties were in addition to this; so that by such cumulative duties the rate on slaves reached 25% in 1755,¹² and 35% at the time of Braddock's expedition.¹³ These acts were found "very burthensome," "introductive of many frauds," and "very inconvenient,"¹⁴ and were so far repealed that by 1761 the duty was only 15%. As now the Burgesses became more powerful, two or more bills proposing restrictive duties were passed, but disallowed.¹⁵ By 1772 the anti-slave-trade feeling had become considerably developed, and the Burgesses petitioned the king, declaring that "The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear *will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions....* Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove *all those restraints on your Majesty's governors of this colony, which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce.*"¹⁶ Nothing further appears to have been done before the war. When, in 1776, the delegates adopted a Frame of Government, it was charged in this document that the king had perverted his high office into a "detestable and insupportable tyranny, by ... prompting our negroes to rise in arms among us, those very negroes whom, by an inhuman use of his negative, he hath refused us permission to exclude by law."¹⁷ Two years later, in 1778, an "Act to prevent the further importation of Slaves" stopped definitively the legal slave-trade to Virginia.¹⁸

July 31, Friday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) tasted [potatoes](#) grown by his [slaves](#).

**ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED**

10. Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA, IV. 118, 182.

11. Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA, IV. 317, 394; V. 28, 160, 318; VI. 217, 353; VII. 281; VIII. 190, 336, 532.

12. Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA, V. 92; VI. 417, 419, 461, 466.

13. Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA, VII. 69, 81.

14. Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA, VII. 363, 383.

15. Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA, VIII. 237, 337.

16. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS, 1672-1865, in VA. HIST. SOC. COLL., New Ser., VI. 14; Tucker, BLACKSTONE'S COMMENTARIES, I. Part II. App., 51.

17. Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA, IX. 112.

18. Importation by sea or by land was prohibited, with a penalty of £1000 for illegal importation and £500 for buying or selling. The Negro was freed, if illegally brought in. This law was revised somewhat in 1785. Cf. Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA, IX. 471; XII. 182.



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TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).

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1773

In Virginia, a close-to-white child was born in this year, and was given the name [Sally Hemings](#). This close-to-white child with straight hair was “dashing” but she had been gotten upon the slave Elizabeth (Betty) Hemings (1735-1807) by her owner John Wayles (1715-1773) and was therefore of course herself a slave.



The mother Betty herself had been the daughter of a Captain Hemings upon an African-born woman, and Wayles would get upon her two other slave daughters and three slave sons (in addition this half-white slave Betty would bear eight other children sired by three other men, for a grand total of four white masters siring upon her fourteen near-white but enslaved offspring). When her white, free half-sister Martha Wayles would get married with [Thomas Jefferson](#), Sally would constitute a part of her white, free half-sister's wedding dowry, what fun!

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I wonder where Betty is buried. I wonder where Dashing Sally is buried. There is nothing like this in the Jefferson graveyard at Monticello, anywhere in the vicinity of Jefferson's lamented good 'ol buddy Dabney Carr's gravestone.

Jan. 18. charge our Bryan goods from ... 2. Jan. 2 1/2
 Jan. 18. Dalton v. Lucas order ... 2 1/6 rec. Nov. 18
 and sent? in ... by ... omitted in ...
 20. pd at Byrd ord. old bal. 2/6
 21. pd. ferrage at Woodson. 1/3
 bot Ursula, and her sons George and
 Baynell d. Fleming's estate for £ 210.
 pd ferrage at Michaux 1/3
 22. pd for corp at Byrd ord. 7 1/2
 26. charge Geo. Dudley 12 1/2 barrels corn the
 whole deliv'd this year. Rich. Somers with me
 I am to pay Wm. Page 10/ for bringing thing
 from Wm.burgh for myself.
 also 10/ for Randolph Jefferson for bring-
 ing his bed and trunk up fr Wm.burgh
 29. sold Sandy to Coto Chas Lewis for £ 100.
 payable in June. from which de-
 duct £ 9. 4. 8 my present debt with
 him, leaves £ 90. 15. 4. to be rec'd.
 Jan. 31. on settling Anderson Bryan's acct till Feb. 4.
 at wh time will be done, he is in my debt 7/6
 which give up.
 lent him 10/ to be charged for future work
 Feb. 1. Henry Walker (Machlenburgh) v. John
 Kemp (Machlenb.) bring acct on the
 Ches. Dam. £ 200.
 Feb. 1. pd J. Morgan 6/.
 pd entest. at Byrd ord. 4/6
 4. gave sup. to pay smith near Tuckahoe 1/3
 11. pd Bishop for bringing letters 1/6

BOUGHT AND PAID FOR

The [Monticello](#) graveyard was laid out in this year by [Jefferson](#) (since it has continued to be reserved as the family burial ground for his descendants, supposedly now it would be available for the burial of descendants of color! – what a shame that it is not. :-). He first would inter his close friend Dabney Carr there, in fulfillment of a pledge that whichever of them died first would be buried by the other under their favorite oak tree. Tom was such a romantic — it is indeed a pity that he didn't have any romanticism left over, that would have

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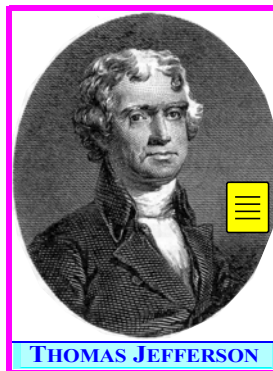
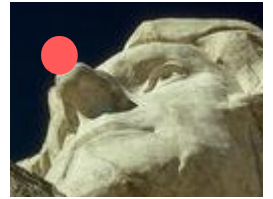
SALLY HEMINGS

generated enough personal energy for him to have taught his mulatto slave offspring to read and write!



"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? Thomas Jefferson owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."

- Kurt Vonnegut, FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

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The Reverend [Isaac Backus](#) preached a sermon, AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, AGAINST THE OPPRESSIONS OF THE PRESENT DAY, that advocated religious liberty through the separation of church and state.



Separation of church and state, it's what the reverend fantasizes that Jesus wanted back in the days of the Roman occupation of Israel: "Now who can hear Christ declare, that his kingdom is, not of this world, and yet believe that this blending of church and state together can be pleasing to him?"

SELFPRIVILEGING

There was an implicit Antisemitism here of the garden variety sort that is embedded within the Gospel According To Matthew. Christians were Christians, they were not Jews! The Jews had had a covenant with God but get this, that had been an older covenant, that had been an exclusively Jewish one, that one with Abraham was a superseded one and is entirely supplanted by our new covenant, which is the covenant of grace, which is with Christ Jesus and through him with his main man, the Protestant minister in town. This new covenant, the one that pertains to us Christians, the one of grace, is that in order to be saved we must believe on the Christ. It was necessary to break all direct connection between the federal government and institutionalized religion because any such connection would be Jewish rather than Christian. That old sort of connection must be broken by not allowing taxation to support official churches. The early American tradition of taxing local citizens to provide salaries for local ministers — that had been an utterly wrongheaded tradition. Just as obviously the power to tax is the power to destroy, so also, obviously, support of religion through taxation was inevitably going to lead to government control over religion. Get this, religion should control government, not vice versa. When it comes to the question, who is more influential in a town, the minister or the mayor, the answer must be that it is the minister who is more influential. The tail is not going to wag the dog. Please note that this is in no sense an advance in principled government: what it amounts to is full-bore self-privileging at its most outrageous. We really should not attempt to use either the attitude of the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) or the attitude of the Reverend Backus toward "separation of church and state" as a model for our current national situation, for either of these early dudes would consider our current situation to constitute a perversion of their conception of the ultimate authority of Preacher over President. We currently legitimize non-Christian religions and neither of them would have approved of any such kettle of fish. We do not allow school prayer and (if any such issue had then been allowed to raise its ugly head) they would have been outraged and would indignantly have insisted upon school prayer. Their wall of separation was merely a wall to protect the apparatus of the Christian church in each several State from any encroachment from the new authority of the new federal government, and it was most decidedly not one intended to provide the new federal government, or any of the older state governments, with any protection from religion, or to provide



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practitioners of other religions with any protection from abuse by hegemonic Christians. It would be President Jefferson, not Williams or Backus – [Thomas Jefferson](#) the guy who as an older man would consider himself fully competent to off the top of his head edit and simplify the Bible– who would come to regard all religious creeds and sects as potential tyrannies over the mind of man and explicitly deny that America was intended to be, could be, or should be a Christian nation! These Baptists wanted to keep church and state separate merely in order to create a solely Christian nation in which citizens would not render any more to Caesar than was truly Caesar’s –a minimal amount, merely what was absolutely necessary– while devoting the entire remainder of their energies and attention to the fulltime service of God under the guiding influence of their local pastor. Freedom was the last thing on these ministerial minds. What was on their minds can be most simply put: “I don’t want you to be the important one, I want me to be the important one. This isn’t about you, it’s about me.”

AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

February 25, Thursday: [Thomas Jefferson](#), sublime white racist, a slavemaster on a Virginia plantation, wrote to Charles McPherson of Albemarle, Virginia (a relation of James Macpherson) about “The Sublime Ossian”:

“These pieces have been and will, I think, during my life, continue to be to me the sources of daily pleasures. The tender and the sublime emotions of the mind were never before so wrought up by the human hand. I am not ashamed to own that I think this rude bard of the North the greatest poet that has ever existed. Merely for the pleasure of reading his works, I am become desirous of learning the language in which he sung, and of possessing his songs in their original form.”

SLAVERY



THOMAS JEFFERSON

He enjoined McPherson to have made for him, without regard to expense, a bound parchment fair copy of the poems, Ossianic manuscripts, and in addition to send a Gaelic grammar and dictionary and a “catalogue of the books written in that language.”



NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE FEBRUARY 25TH, 1773 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFfy AT BEST).

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1774

[New Hampshire](#) made itself the 1st state to declare itself independent from England.

The ladies of Edenton, [North Carolina](#), led by Mistress Penelope Barker, confronted British rule by putting away their teapots — this would become known as the “Edenton [Tea](#) Party.”



“Thanks, but no thanks.”

During this year one of the Virginia [slaveholders](#), [Thomas Jefferson](#), was preparing an anonymous tract SUMMARY VIEW OF THE RIGHTS OF BRITISH AMERICA, by which of course he meant the rights of white men of property and of proper English culture in the British colonies of North America. All and only white. All and only men. All and only propertied. All and only of proper English culture. –No others need apply.

Jefferson had not been asked to draft these instructions — he had a way of producing documents in the hope they might be adopted, which in this case did not happen. His friends nevertheless published his text.



A list of some of the slaves that our hero-of-freedom TJ was holding on his plantation [Monticello](#) is shown on the following screen, as a way graphically to illustrate the sad fact that indeed he did mean, and only mean, the rights of white men of property and of proper English culture in the British colonies of North America. All and only white. All and only men. All and only propertied. All and only of proper English culture. –No others need apply. (You will search in vain on this list for the name of dashing [Sally Hemings](#), although she had been born a slave in the previous year.¹⁹)

We say that in this year [Jefferson](#) unsuccessfully planted olive cuttings at Monticello — we do not mean to imply by that, however, that he ever had or ever would hold a spade or hoe in his own hand. (Unaware that the



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Padres who had established missions along the coast of California were already cultivating olives there by 1769, in 1791 he would have several hundred cuttings sent from France to South Carolina, only to be disappointed when they wouldn't bring in a lot of money.)

PLANTS

Word that he was the author of such a treatise would be spread by the Virginia legislature, and the reputation which he would achieve in this manner would help him, in a few years, gain appointment to the drafting committee of the Continental Congress for the writing of a [Declaration of Independence](#). Samuel Ward, representative from [Rhode Island](#) to the convention, would describe Jefferson, on the basis of this pamphlet, as “a very sensible spirited fine Fellow,” and one may suppose that indeed he was a very sensible spirited fine Fellow—he certainly did possess the ability and energy to beget [slave](#) children, offspring with whom he then was too busy about our nation's business to spend very much of his quality time with. For the remainder of his life this founding father would be able to use his past membership on this committee, and his skills as a scribe assembling draft material for the consideration of others, as his [self-privileging](#) claim to immortality.

SELFPRIVILEGING

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT'S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN'S STORIES.
LIFE ISN'T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

19. And why was that, we wonder? Why would Dashing Sally, as an infant, not be listed in Jefferson's FARM BOOK?
—Was it, perchance, that since this little almost-white girlie was not yet old enough to perform work and not yet old enough to be marketed and not yet old enough to be sexually entered, she was of no particular interest? —Or would there be some more benign explanation for this neglect?

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1775

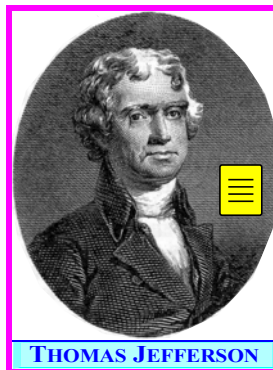
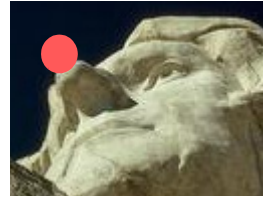
The [Virginia](#) legislature, in acting upon the recommendations of its committee on slaves, of which [Thomas Jefferson](#) had been a part, decided not to incorporate Jefferson's "significant additions" to their code. We may infer from this that Jefferson's aversion toward the presence in Virginia of non-enslaved Negroes, and his aversion toward white women who gave birth to children of mixed race, was more emphatic rather than less emphatic than the usual sentiment among white Virginians of the period. Conor Cruise O'Brien has commented, in regard to Jefferson's desire to make an outlaw of any white woman with a baby of mixed race, his proposition that both mother and child if they did not leave the state within one year would be declared outside "the protection of the laws":²⁰

In the circumstances that proposition was a license for lynching – for the physical destruction of mother and child by any Virginian who might care to do the job. Volunteers would not be lacking.

The much maligned Conor Cruise O'Brien is of course not alone in such sentiments:

"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."

– [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



An invention important to the development of the cloth industry occurred during this year. Richard Arkwright developed a series of combinations. Because this development would have an impact on the demand for bales of [cotton](#) as a raw material for cloth, it would eventually have an impact on the demand for field labor to grow this cotton, and therefore would have consequences in terms of human [slavery](#) — and in terms of the [international slave trade](#).²¹

20. Conor Cruise O'Brien, "Thomas Jefferson: Radical and Racist," [The Atlantic Monthly](#) 278:4 (October 1996): 53-74.



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W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The history of slavery and the slave-trade after 1820 must be read in the light of the industrial revolution through which the civilized world passed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between the years 1775 and 1825 occurred economic events and changes of the highest importance and widest influence. Though all branches of industry felt the impulse of this new industrial life, yet, "if we consider single industries, cotton manufacture has, during the nineteenth century, made the most magnificent and gigantic advances."²² This fact is easily explained by the remarkable series of inventions that revolutionized this industry between 1738 and 1830, including Arkwright's, Watt's, Compton's, and Cartwright's epoch-making contrivances.²³ The effect which these inventions had on the manufacture of cotton goods is best illustrated by the fact that in England, the chief cotton market of the world, the consumption of raw cotton rose steadily from 13,000 bales in 1781, to 572,000 in 1820, to 871,000 in 1830, and to 3,366,000 in 1860.²⁴ Very early, therefore, came the query whence the supply of raw cotton was to come. Tentative experiments on the rich, broad fields of the Southern United States, together with the indispensable invention of Whitney's cotton-gin, soon answered this question: a new economic future was opened up to this land, and immediately the whole South began to extend its cotton culture, and more and more to throw its whole energy into this one staple.

Here it was that the fatal mistake of compromising with slavery in the beginning, and of the policy of *laissez-faire* pursued thereafter, became painfully manifest; for, instead now of a healthy, normal, economic development along proper industrial lines, we have the abnormal and fatal rise of a slave-labor large farming system, which, before it was realized, had so intertwined itself with and braced itself upon the economic forces of an industrial age, that a vast and terrible civil war was necessary to displace it. The tendencies to a patriarchal serfdom, recognizable in the age of Washington and Jefferson, began slowly but surely to disappear; and in the second quarter of the century Southern slavery was irresistibly changing from a family institution to an industrial system.

The development of Southern slavery has heretofore been viewed so exclusively from the ethical and social standpoint that we are apt to forget its close and indissoluble connection with the

21. Bear in mind that in early periods the Southern states of the United States of America produced no significant amount of [cotton](#) fiber for export — such production not beginning until 1789. In fact, according to page 92 of Seybert's STATISTICS, in 1784 a small parcel of cotton that had found its way from the US to Liverpool had been refused admission to England, because it was the customs agent's opinion that this involved some sort of subterfuge: it could not have originated in the United States.

22. Beer, *GESCHICHTE DES WELTHANDELS IM 19^{TE} JAHRHUNDERT*, II. 67.

23. A list of these inventions most graphically illustrates this advance: —

1738, John Jay, fly-shuttle. John Wyatt, spinning by rollers.

1748, Lewis Paul, carding-machine.

1760, Robert Kay, drop-box.

1769, Richard Arkwright, water-frame and throstle. James Watt, steam-engine.

1772, James Lees, improvements on carding-machine.

1775, Richard Arkwright, series of combinations.

1779, Samuel Compton, mule.

1785, Edmund Cartwright, power-loom.

1803-4, Radcliffe and Johnson, dressing-machine.

1817, Roberts, fly-frame.

1818, William Eaton, self-acting frame.

1825-30, Roberts, improvements on mule.

Cf. Baines, *HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE*, pages 116-231; *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, 9th ed., article "Cotton."

24. Baines, *HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE*, page 215. A bale weighed from 375 lbs. to 400 lbs.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

world's cotton market. Beginning with 1820, a little after the close of the Napoleonic wars, when the industry of cotton manufacture had begun its modern development and the South had definitely assumed her position as chief producer of raw cotton, we find the average price of cotton per pound, 8½d. From this time until 1845 the price steadily fell, until in the latter year it reached 4d.; the only exception to this fall was in the years 1832-1839, when, among other things, a strong increase in the English demand, together with an attempt of the young slave power to "corner" the market, sent the price up as high as 11d. The demand for cotton goods soon outran a crop which McCullough had pronounced "prodigious," and after 1845 the price started on a steady rise, which, except for the checks suffered during the continental revolutions and the Crimean War, continued until 1860.²⁵ The steady increase in the production of cotton explains the fall in price down to 1845. In 1822 the crop was a half-million bales; in 1831, a million; in 1838, a million and a half; and in 1840-1843, two million. By this time the world's consumption of cotton goods began to increase so rapidly that, in spite of the increase in Southern crops, the price kept rising. Three million bales were gathered in 1852, three and a half million in 1856, and the remarkable crop of five million bales in 1860.²⁶

Here we have data to explain largely the economic development of the South. By 1822 the large-plantation slave system had gained footing; in 1838-1839 it was able to show its power in the cotton "corner;" by the end of the next decade it had not only gained a solid economic foundation, but it had built a closed oligarchy with a political policy. The changes in price during the next few years drove out of competition many survivors of the small-farming free-labor system, and put the slave *régime* in position to dictate the policy of the nation. The zenith of the system and the first inevitable signs of decay came in the years 1850-1860, when the rising price of cotton threw the whole economic energy of the South into its cultivation, leading to a terrible consumption of soil and slaves, to a great increase in the size of plantations, and to increasing power and effrontery on the part of the slave barons. Finally, when a rising moral crusade conjoined with threatened economic disaster, the oligarchy, encouraged by the state of the cotton market, risked all on a political *coup-d'état*, which failed in the war of 1861-1865.²⁷

**THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT
CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE
HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE,
A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A
MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH
WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL**

25. The prices cited are from Newmarch and Tooke, and refer to the London market. The average price in 1855-60 was about 7d.

26. From United States census reports.

27. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, *THE COTTON KINGDOM*.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

A Roll of the proper Slaves of Thomas Jefferson. Jan. 14. 1774.

Monticello.

* { Goliath.
* { Hercules.
+ { Jupiter. 1743.

* { Gill.
* { Fanny
+ { Ned. 1760.
 { Suckey 1765.
 { Franky. 1767.
 { Gill. 1769.

* { Quash
* { Nell.
* { Bella. 1757.
* { Charles. 1760.
 { Lenny. 1768.

* Betty

- { Juno
* { Toby junr. 1753.
- { Luna. 1758.

* { Cate. about 1747.
 { Hannah 1770.
 { Rachael. 1772.

Monticello.

+ { George

+ { Ursula.

{ George.

{ Bagwell.

{ Archy. 1773.

+ Frank 1757.

+ Bett. 1759

+ Scilla. 1762.

* denotes a labourer in the ground

+ denotes a titheable person following some other occupation



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

**CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT.
THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS
EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.**



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1776



May: Panic swept [Charleston, South Carolina](#) when a British armada carrying more than 3,000 British regulars was sighted offshore. Oh, this is bad, this is very bad.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A call for American independence from Britain, the [Virginia](#) Declaration of Rights was drafted by George Mason (1725-1792) and amended by Thomas Ludwell Lee (*circa* 1730-1778) and by the Virginia Convention. Mason wrote “*That all men are born equally free and independant [sic], and have certain inherent natural right, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursuing [sic] and obtaining Happiness and Safety.*” [Thomas Jefferson](#) would draw from this document when a month later he worked over an early draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In 1789 it would be accessed not only by [James Madison, Jr.](#) in drawing up the Bill of Rights to the US Constitution but also by the *Marquis de Lafayette* in drafting the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.



But that was in [Virginia](#) and applied to people who were safely pro-war. For people who were anti-war there weren't all that many rights available in America:



Pennsylvania Quakers ... experienced significant harassment for their pacifism and neutrality. Their numbers were already greatly reduced by the disciplinary renaissance of the 1750s, and they faced a real schism from “Free Quakers,” who both supported the Revolution and rejected pacifism. As a result “orthodox” Friends found themselves hunted down in a colony they had founded and long governed. In May 1776 a stone-throwing mob forced Philadelphia Friends to observe a fast day that the Continental Congress had proclaimed. A Berks County mob shackled and jailed Moses Roberts, a Quaker minister, until he posted a \$10,000 bond guaranteeing his “good” behavior. Philadelphia patriots also exiled seventeen Friends to Virginia in 1776 for nearly two years so they would not interfere with revolutionary activities. Patriots celebrating the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1782 ransacked Quaker homes that had not displayed victory candles.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Clearly, there were in [Rhode Island](#) a few Quaker men who were attempting to avoid persecution by the usual coterie of Those-Who-Aren't-With-Us-Are-Against-Us “patriots.” For, at the men’s meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield](#), “Two of the Committee to labour with Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson for attending Training etc. report that they have labored with them and they appear to have frequented Trainings for Military service and endeavour to justify the same, and seldom attended friends meetings, and gave but very little satisfaction for their said conduct. Therefore this Meeting puts them from under their care, until they shall condemn said conduct to the Satisfaction of friends, which we desire they may be enabled to do — Jona Arnold is desired to inform them of their denial, Right of appeal and report to next monthly Mtg. to which time the drawing of a Testimony of their deniels [sic], in order to be published, is referred. — L. Lapham, Clerk.”

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

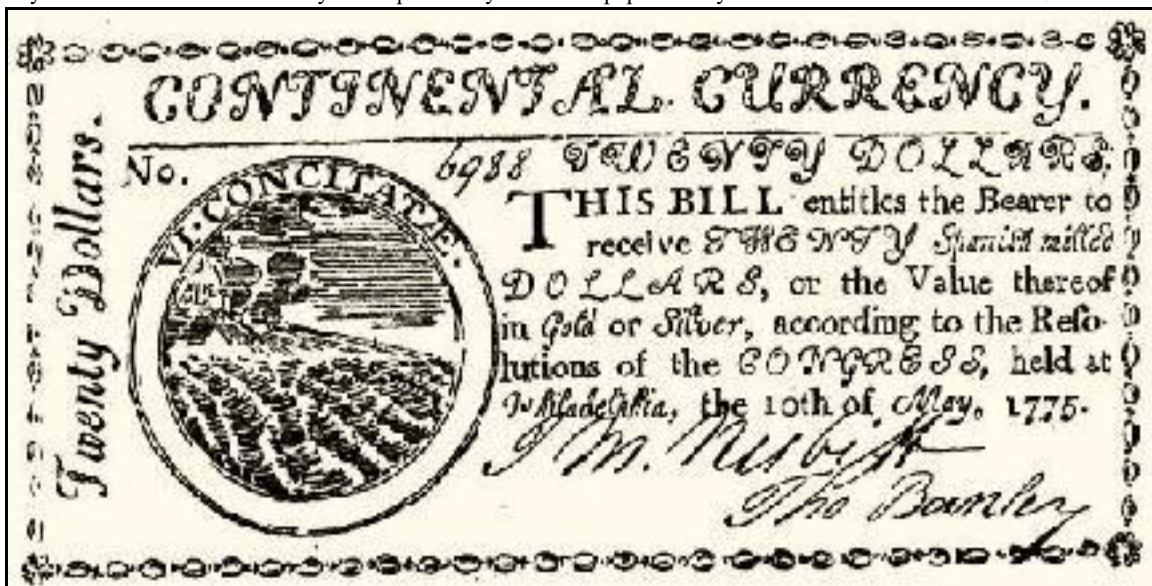
May 10, Friday: [John Paul Jones](#) assumed command of the [USS Providence](#) with a temporary rank of Captain. Upon its return after a voyage to New-York returning to the Continental Army about 100 soldiers whom [George Washington](#) had lent to [Esek Hopkins](#) to help man the American fleet, the *Providence* was hove down at [Providence, Rhode Island](#) for a cleaning of its bottom.

The 2nd Continental Congress delegated John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, and Edward Rutledge to prepare the wording of a resolution, that the North American colonies were severing themselves from British crown rule. Note: this was a resolution, a political act, rather than a declaration; the [Declaration of Independence](#) would be thought of later on, not as a political act but as a mere printed broadside, a piece of street theater, public propaganda (the distinction being suggested here is a distinction between what is internal to government, the decision, and what is external to government, the publicity).²⁸

In a later period the document created by the 2nd Continental Congress would be awarded by our nation an almost religious iconic significance. This would be accomplished, in part, by suppressing the fact that in actuality the document had not stood alone. There had in fact been at least ninety such declaration documents, issued at various times by various bodies.²⁹ It was almost an art form of the period. On the following screen are some of the salient examples which have survived in our memory:

FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS

28. This wasn't the only piece of paper issued on this day. On this day also the Continental Congress began to issue paper money that they backdated to the 10th of May of the previous year. That's paper money as in “Not worth a Continental”:



CONTINENTAL CONGRESS



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.

29. In addition, there is at least one instance in which such a Declaration of Independence document failed of acceptance, in Barnstable, Massachusetts on June 25, 1776. You will interrogate many Barnstable citizens before you find anyone with any awareness of this episode in their town's history.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

April 12, 1776	North Carolina Instructions
April 22, 1776	Cumberland County, Virginia Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
April 23, 1776	Charleston , South Carolina, Judge Drayton's charge to the Grand Jury
April 23, 1776	Charlotte County, Virginia Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
April 24, 1776	James City County, Virginia Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
May 4, 1776	Rhode Island Act repealing another securing allegiance
May 6, 1776	Georgetown, South Carolina presentment to the Grand Jury
May 13?, 1776	Buckingham County, Virginia Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
May 13?, 1776	Declaration of Chelmsford, Massachusetts
May 15, 1776	Virginia Instructions
May 20, 1776	Cheraws District, South Carolina presentment to the Grand Jury
May 20, 1776	Declaration of Plymouth, Massachusetts
May 20, 1776	Declaration of Watertown, Massachusetts
May 20, 1776	Declaration of Brookline, Massachusetts
May 21, 1776	Declaration of Lynn, Massachusetts
May 22, 1776	Declaration of Rowley, Massachusetts
May 23, 1776	Declaration of Plympton, Massachusetts
May 23, 1776	Declaration of Billerica, Massachusetts
May 23, 1776	Declaration of Boston, Massachusetts
May 27, 1776	Declaration of Dedham, Massachusetts
May 27, 1776	Declaration of Malden, Massachusetts
May 29, 1776	Declaration of the New-York Mechanics in Union
May 31, 1776	Declaration of Brunswick, Massachusetts
May 31, 1776	Declaration of Newburyport, Massachusetts
May 31, 1776	Declaration of Newbury, Massachusetts
(undated) 1776	Declaration of Stockbridge, Massachusetts
(undated) 1776	Declaration of Pittsfield, Massachusetts
June 3, 1776	Declaration of Taunton, Massachusetts
June 4, 1776	Declaration of Scituate, Massachusetts
June 5, 1776	Declaration of Wrentham, Massachusetts
June 6, 1776	Declaration of Hanover, Massachusetts
June 7, 1776	Declaration of Tyringham, Massachusetts
June 7, 1776	Declaration of Alford, Massachusetts
June 7, 1776	Declaration of Norwich, Massachusetts
June 8, 1776	Pennsylvania Instructions to Assembly
June 10, 1776	Declaration of Ipswich, Massachusetts
June 10, 1776	Declaration of the Associators, 1st Battalion (militia) of Chester County PA
June 10, 1776	Declaration of the Associators of Colonel Crawford's Battalion, Lancaster County PA
(undated) 1776	Declaration of the Associators, Elk Battalion Militia of Chester County, Pennsylvania
June 10?, 1776	Declaration of Associators, 4th Battalion (militia), City and Liberties of Philadelphia



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

June 10?, 1776	Declaration of Associators, 5th Battalion (militia), City and Liberties of Philadelphia
June 12, 1776	Declaration of Salem, Massachusetts
June 12, 1776	Declaration of Andover, Massachusetts
June 13, 1776	Declaration of Beverly, Massachusetts
June 13, 1776	Declaration of Amherst, Massachusetts
June 14, 1776	Connecticut Instructions
June 14, 1776	Declaration of Acton, Massachusetts
June 14, 1776	Declaration of Hubbardston, Massachusetts
June 14, 21, 1776	Declaration of Topsfield, Massachusetts
June 15, 1776	New Hampshire Instructions
June 15, 1776	Delaware Instructions
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Palmer, Massachusetts
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Bedford, Massachusetts
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Murraysfield, Massachusetts
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Marblehead, Massachusetts
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Boxford, Massachusetts
June 17, 1776	Frederick County, Maryland Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
June 18, 1776	Declaration of Weston, Massachusetts
June 18, 1776	Declaration of Leverett, Massachusetts
June 18, 1776	Declaration of Danvers, Massachusetts
June 19, 1776	Declaration of Gageborough, Massachusetts
June 20, 1776	Declaration of Natick, Massachusetts
June 20, 1776	Declaration of Bradford, Massachusetts
June 21, 1776	Declaration of Southampton, Massachusetts
June 22, 1776	New Jersey Instructions
June 22, 1776	Anne Arundel County, Maryland Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
(undated) 1776	Charles County, Maryland Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
(undated) 1776	Talbot County, Maryland Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
June 24, 1776	Declaration of the Town of King's District, New York
June 24, 1776	Pennsylvania Instructions to Provincial Congress
June 24, 1776	Declaration of Spencer-Town [Albany], New York
June 24, 1776	Declaration of Gloucester, Massachusetts
June 24, 1776	Declaration of Williamstown, Massachusetts
June 25, 1776	Declaration of Northbridge, Massachusetts
June 25, 1776	Declaration of Haverhill, Massachusetts
June 27, 1776	Declaration of Sturbridge, Massachusetts
June 28, 1776	Maryland Instructions
June 28, 1776	Declaration of Ashburnham, Massachusetts
June 29, 1776	Preamble, Virginia constitution
June 30, 1776	Declaration of Hanover, Massachusetts



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

July 1, 1776	Declaration of Amesbury, Massachusetts
July 1, 1776	Declaration of Fitchburg, Massachusetts
July 1, 1776	Declaration of Ashby, Massachusetts
July 1, 1776	Declaration of Greenwich, Massachusetts
July 2, 1776	Preamble, New Jersey constitution
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Bellingham, Massachusetts
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Winchendon, Massachusetts
(undated) 1776	Declaration of Eastham, Massachusetts
July 6, 1776	Maryland 's "A Declaration"

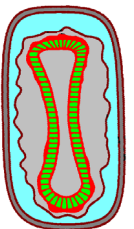
May 13, Monday: The drafting committee made up of John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, and Edward Rutledge submitted their draft resolution to the 2d Continental Congress, that the North American colonies were severing themselves from British crown rule. Note: this was a resolution, a political act, rather than a declaration; the creation of a [Declaration of Independency](#) document would be thought of later on, not as a political act but as a mere printed broadside, a piece of street theater, public propaganda (the distinction being suggested here is a distinction between what is internal to government, the decision, and what is external to government, the publicity, the subornation of support).

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

HISTORY'S NOT MADE OF WOULD. WHEN SOMEONE REVEALS, FOR INSTANCE, THAT A DEFINITIVE DOCUMENT WOULD ONLY LATER BE THOUGHT OF, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM. THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT THE FUTURE HASN'T EVER HAPPENED, YET. AT THIS POINT, NOT ONLY DID OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCY NOT YET EXIST, BUT EVEN THE IDEA OF CREATING SUCH A SCREED HAD NOT YET COME INTO BEING.

May 14, Tuesday: [Acton](#) began its process of minister selection, to replace the Reverend John Swift who had died of the small pox.

The 14th May, 1776, the town [of [Acton](#)] voted to invite four candidates to preach four sabbaths each on probation. And a committee consisting of Messrs. Samuel Hayward, Francis Faulkner, Nathaniel Edwards, Josiah Hayward, and John Heald were chosen "to take advice of the President of the College and the neighbouring ministers, who said candidates shall be." Mr. Moses Adams was subsequently engaged eight sabbaths on trial. The 20th of December was observed as a day of solemn fasting and prayer to Almighty God for direction and assistance in resettling the gospel. Mr. Adams was invited to be their pastor 8th of January,





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1777; and was ordained 25th of June, 1778. The first and fourth church in Dedham, second in Sudbury, second in Reading, and the churches in [Concord](#), Stow, and Fitchburg, composed the counsel. He received £200 as a settlement, and £180 salary, according to the value of silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce, and his fire-wood.³⁰

[Thomas Jefferson](#) belatedly arrived in Philadelphia, not by the quickest route because he had done some minor sightseeing along the way. Before his arrival, the federal congress had already voted to recommend that the states adopt new governments as appropriate. Jefferson would rather have been with the big boys in the Virginia General Assembly, establishing a new government for Virginia, but he had become stuck at the 2nd Congressional Congress instead, because the more senior Virginia delegates had effectively abandoned him there. He needed to remain in Philadelphia so that his colony would be adequately represented. And, he needed to find something useful that he could contribute to the congress. Jefferson has been described as “a notoriously weak speaker,” someone who usually remained silent in public meetings for pretty much the same reason as Samuel Adams remained silent (Adams had a distinct speech impediment). How better to make use of such a person that to shunt him off to a mere drafting committee, and there work the blue blazing Hades out of him? –Highest and best use, I’d say.



**YOU HAVE TO ACCEPT EITHER THE REALITY OF TIME OVER THAT OF
CHANGE, OR CHANGE OVER TIME — IT’S PARMENIDES, OR
HERACLITUS. I HAVE GONE WITH HERACLITUS.**

30. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

May 15, Wednesday: The Virginia Assembly instructed its delegation in Congress to propose independence. In Williamsburg, Virginia, the Union Jack was taken down and a “continental union” flag run up.³¹ The Preamble and Resolution of the Virginia Convention:

READ THE FULL TEXT

The 2d Continental Congress adopted a measure to suppress the powers of the crown and admit to no power in the colonies other than the people. In Philadelphia, that assembly approved John Adams’s proposal that anyone continuing to operate under the authority of the British crown be suppressed — in this effecting in the words of Adams “a total, absolute Independence.”

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

**ONE COULD BE ELSEWHERE, AS ELSEWHERE DOES EXIST.
ONE CANNOT BE ELSEWHEN SINCE ELSEWHEN DOES NOT.
(TO THE WILLING MANY THINGS CAN BE EXPLAINED,
THAT FOR THE UNWILLING WILL REMAIN FOREVER MYSTERIOUS.)**

31. We’re not clear what this flag looked like. The “thirteen stripes alternating red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation” flag would not be adopted by the Continental Congress until June 14th of the following year.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

June 5, Wednesday: Robert Morris had decided by this point that we needed not only to decide to become an independent nation, but also to issue to the general public some sort of “[declaration of independency](#).”

[Patrick Henry](#), a delegate to the Virginia Conventions, would be Governor of Virginia until June 1, 1779.



THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

June 7, Friday: Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced, and John Adams seconded, a motion that “these United colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States,” and that a “plan of confederation” be prepared for the political union of these free and independent entities — a motion that would carry.

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On this basis the Continental Congress would appoint a committee consisting of Adams of Massachusetts, [Benjamin Franklin](#) of Pennsylvania, [Thomas Jefferson](#) of Virginia, Robert R. Livingston of New York, and Roger Sherman of Connecticut to compose a public-propaganda broadside declaring the sentiment of the convention.

*Son of so-and-so and so-and-so, this
so-and-so helped us to gain our independence,
instructed us in economy,
and drew down lightning from the clouds.*

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

This would come to be known as the Committee of Five despite the fact that Franklin’s gout had at this point gotten so bad that he had stopped coming to the meetings of the Congress a week before he was stuck onto this drafting committee. We believe that he did not make his appearance again until after the drafting committee had completed its work. We have no reason to presume that he attended even a single one of its meetings.

Later on Jefferson would make apparently false claims as to his sole authorship of the document, through minimization of the contributions of other, deceased members of the committee.

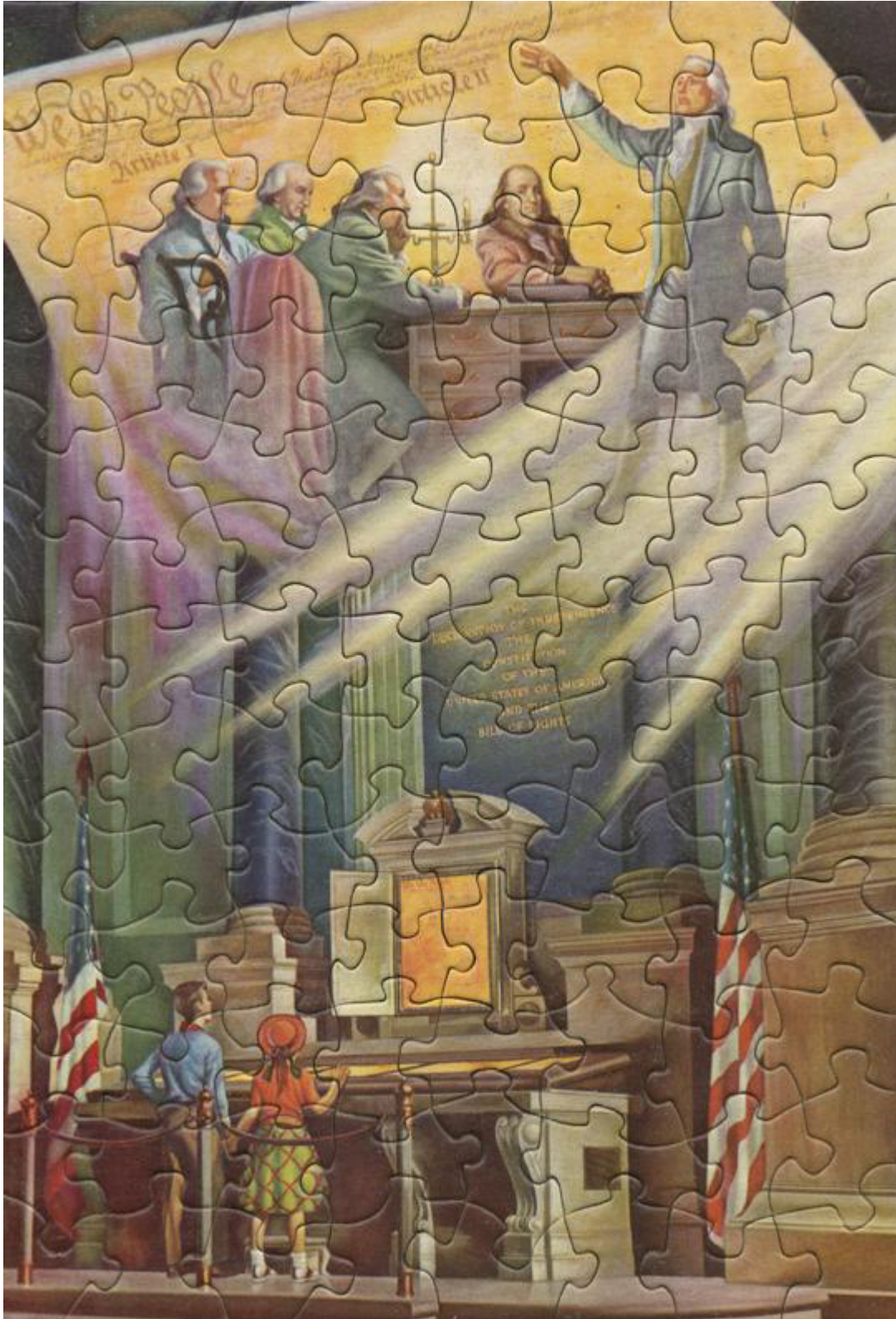


The committee Congress appointed to draft a declaration of Independence left no minutes of its proceedings, and the account of its work written nearest the event, Thomas Jefferson’s “Notes of Proceedings in the Continental Congress,” is succinct to a fault. Members of the committee, Jefferson said, “desired” or asked him to prepare it; “it was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the house on Friday the 28th. of June when it was read and ordered to lie on the table.” Both Jefferson and John Adams later helped flesh out that bare-bones story. However, most of the testimony on the drafting process was written between a quarter and a half century later, which even at the time raised questions about its accuracy, and, it turns out, for good reason. What they said contains one mistake after another. Fortunately, Adams’s statements can be compared to Jefferson’s, and both can be measured against shards of evidence that have survived from the 1770s. Piecing together the story demands sifting through contradictory clues with the care of a shrewd detective; indeed, a good part of the story involves evaluating evidence. So do detective stories, but they at least reveal by their endings exactly who did what and when, which is not the case here. Learning how the [Declaration of Independence](#) was written is more like assembling an immensely complex jigsaw puzzle in which some pieces are “teases,” serving only to mislead, while others necessary to complete the picture have probably been lost forever. Whenever a new piece of the puzzle does appear, as still happens occasionally, it fills out the picture, adding or changing some details, which can affect interpretations of the document. Despite those problems, the picture’s subject –or the story of how the Declaration was written– is reasonably clear. It

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



includes not a single talented writer but a group of men working under tight time constraints to complete this one of many assignments the Continental Congress gave them. Adams and Jefferson



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

dominate the scene in part because they lived long enough to tell the story to a generation of interested younger Americans, but also because they in fact played central roles in the Declaration's development.... In the end, considering its complex ancestry and the number of people who actively intervened in defining its text, the Declaration of Independence was the work not of one man, but of many.... [W]hat Jefferson later called "the original rough draft" of the document ... was in fact not an "original rough draft," but a copy Jefferson made from earlier compositional fragments to show members of the drafting committee.... [W]hen Jefferson sent the draft to Franklin ... he attached a note whose significance seems to have gone virtually unnoticed ... "The inclosed paper has been read and with some small alterations approved of by the committee," it began.... "The paper having been returned to me to change a particular sentiment or two, I propose laying it again before the committee tomorrow morning...." That description of the drafting procedure contradicts Jefferson's 1823 account, by which he showed the draft to Adams and Franklin before submitting it to the committee, and the committee did nothing between appointing him draftsman and approving the text he submitted with two or three "verbal" adjustments suggested by Adams and Franklin. In fact, the committee met not only at the beginning and end of the drafting process, but in between.

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE



June 8, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Trois-Rivieres, Quebec, Canada.

In the 2d Continental Congress at Philadelphia, people were debating each other.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

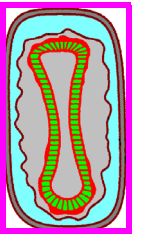
SALLY HEMINGS

June 10, Monday: The Declaration of [Ipswich](#), in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

On the recommendation of the Congress, a census of [Rhode Island](#) was initiated (the population would turn out to number 55,011).

Hospitals for inoculation for the [small pox](#) were ordered to be established in each county of [Rhode Island](#).

There was continued debate in the 2d Continental Congress at Philadelphia and a “committee of five” was appointed to draft a subdued declaration of war, to wit, a “statement of independence” for the colonies. Since there were a couple of northerners –John Adams of Massachusetts and Roger Sherman of Connecticut– plus a couple of men from the Middle Colonies –[Benjamin Franklin](#) of Philadelphia and Robert R. Livingston of New York (refer to the guy in the middle, on the back of the \$2 bill)– for political correctness they would need to incorporate one or another southerner — and so they picked out a junior delegate, redheaded [Thomas Jefferson](#) of Virginia.



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

**THE AGE OF REASON WAS A PIPE DREAM, OR AT BEST A PROJECT.
ACTUALLY, HUMANS HAVE ALMOST NO CLUE WHAT THEY ARE DOING,
WHILE CREDITING THEIR OWN LIES ABOUT WHY THEY ARE DOING IT.**

June 8, Saturday: Colonial forces attacked British and Canadians at Trois Rivières, halfway between Montreal and Quebec.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 9, Sunday: Colonial forces evacuated Montreal.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

June 10, Monday: King Louis XVI of France approved loans to Americans.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

After a 3-day battle at Trois Rivières, British and Canadian forces fought off colonial attackers.

The Continental Congress decided to put off debate on independence until July 1st, giving southern colonies time to receive instructions. In the meantime, they appointed a committee to draft a declaration of independence. The members of this committee were to be John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

June 11, Tuesday: The 2d Continental Congress formed a committee to draft a [Declaration of our independency upon the British crown](#).

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

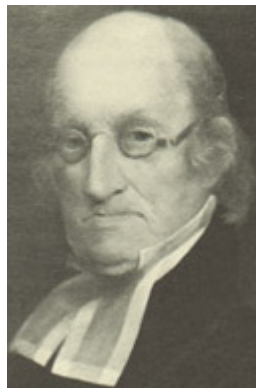
John Constable, who would become a landscape painter, was born.

With the army having evacuated and with [Boston](#) safely in the hands of revolutionary authorities, it was possible for the board of governors of [Harvard College](#) to instruct “That the President, tomorrow after Prayers, adjourn the College [from [Concord](#)] to Cambridge, there to meet & attend the usual exercises on Fryday [*sic*] the 21st Instant.”



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The departing class consisted of 43 seniors. The Harvard overseers paid individual homeowners for windows that had been broken in the town by students, and in addition voted a sum of £10 to the town itself. Some of “Concord’s” Class of ’76 would go on to distinction: one state governor, two state Chief Supreme Court justices, Harvard’s 1st professor of chemistry and materia medica, Isaac Hurd who would become a medical doctor; Jonathan Fay who would become an attorney at law — and in 1778 student [Ezra Ripley](#) would return to be the minister of 1st Parish.



While at Harvard, student Ripley was being referred to as “Holy Ripley,” although he did not yet look much like the divine pictured above. After working as a schoolteacher in Plymouth, Massachusetts for about a year, he would study for the ministry with Jason Haven, the pastor in Dedham, Massachusetts, before returning to [Concord](#)’s 1st Parish Church as a Reverend — and marrying the Reverend [William Emerson](#)’s widow [Phoebe](#).³²

32. A Scotsman, Archibald Campbell, had sailed into Boston harbor just after the British evacuated Boston, and he and all his men had been arrested. With the prisons in Boston already full, Campbell and one of his officers were held for a time in Concord. He complained to General Washington about the condition there. Later he would be exchanged for a British prisoner, Ethan Allen.



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CONTINGENCY

**ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST
THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.**



June 12, Wednesday: The [Virginia](#) Convention adopted the Declaration of Rights as drafted by George Mason (1725-1792) and amended by Thomas Ludwell Lee (circa 1730-1778) and other delegates.

READ THE FULL TEXT

Mason had written “*That all men are born equally free and independant [sic], and have certain inherent natural rights, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursuing [sic] and obtaining Happiness and Safety.*” [Thomas Jefferson](#) would draw from Mason’s draft while working over an early draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In 1789 it would be accessed not only by [James Madison, Jr.](#) in drawing up the Bill of Rights to the US Constitution but also by the [Marquis de Lafayette](#) in drafting the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

The president of [Harvard College](#) directed an open letter to the citizens of the town of [Concord](#) as his institution began its temporary relocation to interior safety and turned its campus in Cambridge over to temporary use by General [George Washington](#)’s revolutionary soldiers.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Concord, June 12, 1776. At a meeting of the President, Professors, and Tutors of Harvard College, voted, that the following address of thanks be presented by the president to the Selectmen, the gentlemen of the Committee, and other gentlemen and inhabitants of the town of Concord, who have favored the college with their encouragement and assistance, in its removal to this town, by providing accommodations.

Gentlemen, – The assistance you have afforded us in obtaining accommodations for this society here [Concord], when Cambridge was filled with the glorious army of freemen, which was assembled to hazard their lives in their country’s cause, and our removal from thence became necessary, demands our grateful acknowledgments.

We have observed with pleasure the many tokens of your friendship to the college; and particularly to thank you for the use of your public buildings. We hope the scholars while here [Concord] have not dishonored themselves and the society by any incivilities or indecencies of behaviour, or that you will readily forgive any errors which may be attributed to the inadvertence of youth.

May God reward you with all his blessings, grant us a quiet re-settlement in our ancient seat to which we are now returning, preserve America from slavery, and establish and continue religion, learning, peace, and the happiest government in these American colonies to the end of the world.



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SAMUEL LANGDON, President Per Order.

Karl Marx would express, in his *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE, 1848-1850*, the sentiment that “The origin of states gets lost in a myth, in which one may believe, but which one may not discuss.” On the 1st page of Theodore W. Allen’s introduction to his 1st volume,³³ this independent scholar asks our “indulgence for only one assumption, namely, that while some people may desire to be masters, all persons are born equally unwilling and unsuited to be slaves.” I find that remark remarkable indeed! When in our [Declaration of Independence](#) we said to ourselves “All men are created equal,” we were of course writing as lawyers and in a lawyerly manner.



We were purposing to level others, such as those overweening overbred British aristocrats, down to our own lay level, but meanwhile it was no part of our purpose to level others, such as our wives and slaves, up to our own exalted situation—we were doing this to benefit ourselves at the expense of others, and not doing this for the benefit of others. What we meant back there in Philadelphia several centuries ago, by such a trope as “All men are created equal,” was “We want, 1st, to sound almost as if we were saying that while some people may desire to be masters, all persons are born equally unwilling and unsuited to be slaves, and we want, 2dly, to sound as if we were struggling to express **something** like that without actually declaring **anything** like that — because it is essential that in this new nation of ours (based as it is upon human enslavement) we avoid any such issue. Our equality here is to be founded upon the inequality of others, and this grand-sounding trope ‘All men are created equal’ is being provided so that it can function as our cover story, enabling such viciousness to proceed unhindered.” As [Edmund Burke](#) expressed on February 16, 1788 during the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings for maladministration of the British rule in [India](#), “There is a sacred veil to be drawn over the

33. Allen, Theodore W. *THE INVENTION OF THE WHITE RACE, VOLUME ONE: RACIAL OPPRESSION AND SOCIAL CONTROL*. London: Verso, 1994

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beginnings of all government.”



The African Association was founded in England to explore the interior of Africa.

In the usage of the trope “peculiar institution” that is today ordinary or usual, this trope is deployed of course in oblique reference to the unmentionable crime of human chattel bondage. It is nowadays used in implicit criticism of enslavement. Not so originally! In its initial usages, to refer to slavery as “peculiar” was not to attack it but proclaim it to be defensible. “Peculiar,” in this archaic usage, indicated merely that the legitimacy of the system was based not upon any endorsement by a higher or more remote legal authority, but based instead upon the “peculiar conditions and history” of a particular district of the country and a particular society and a particular historically engendered set of customs and procedures and conventions. This trope went hand in hand with the Doctrine of States Rights, and went hand in hand with the persistence of the English common law. What Allen, however, refers to by use of this trope “peculiar institution” is, instead, the invention of the so-called “white race” which has here been used to legitimate our local version of thus unmentionable crime, our local version of a solution to the problem of social control. It is for him this biologicistic cover story, itself, which constitutes the quintessential “Peculiar Institution” we have been forced to construct. “Only by understanding what was peculiar about the Peculiar Institution can one know what is exceptionable about American Exceptionalism” (Volume I, page 1). In this he acknowledges that he is following a seed that had been planted by W.E.B. Du Bois in his BLACK RECONSTRUCTION.

Allen’s 1st volume is made up of an elaborate parallelization of the [Irish](#) and Scottish experience under English colonialism, and the American antebellum experience:

Every aspect of the Ulster Plantation policy aimed at destroying the tribal leadership and dispersing the tribe is matched by typical examples from Anglo-American colonial and United States policy toward the indigenous population, the “American Indians” – a policy we clearly recognize as racial oppression of “the red man.”

I have been looking into an Irish mirror for insights into the nature of racial oppression and its implication for ruling-class social control in the United States.

[SCOTLAND](#)

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June 28, Friday: In the initial major naval battle of the Revolution, a fleet of 11 British warships and 1,500 troops under Admiral Sir Peter Parker attacked Ft. Moultrie on Sullivan's Island in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. They were repulsed with severe damage to the vessels, because the fort had been constructed of palmetto logs that were too spongy to be much damaged by cannonballs, and because British attackers attempting to wade across from Long Island found the water to be too deep.

CHARLESTON

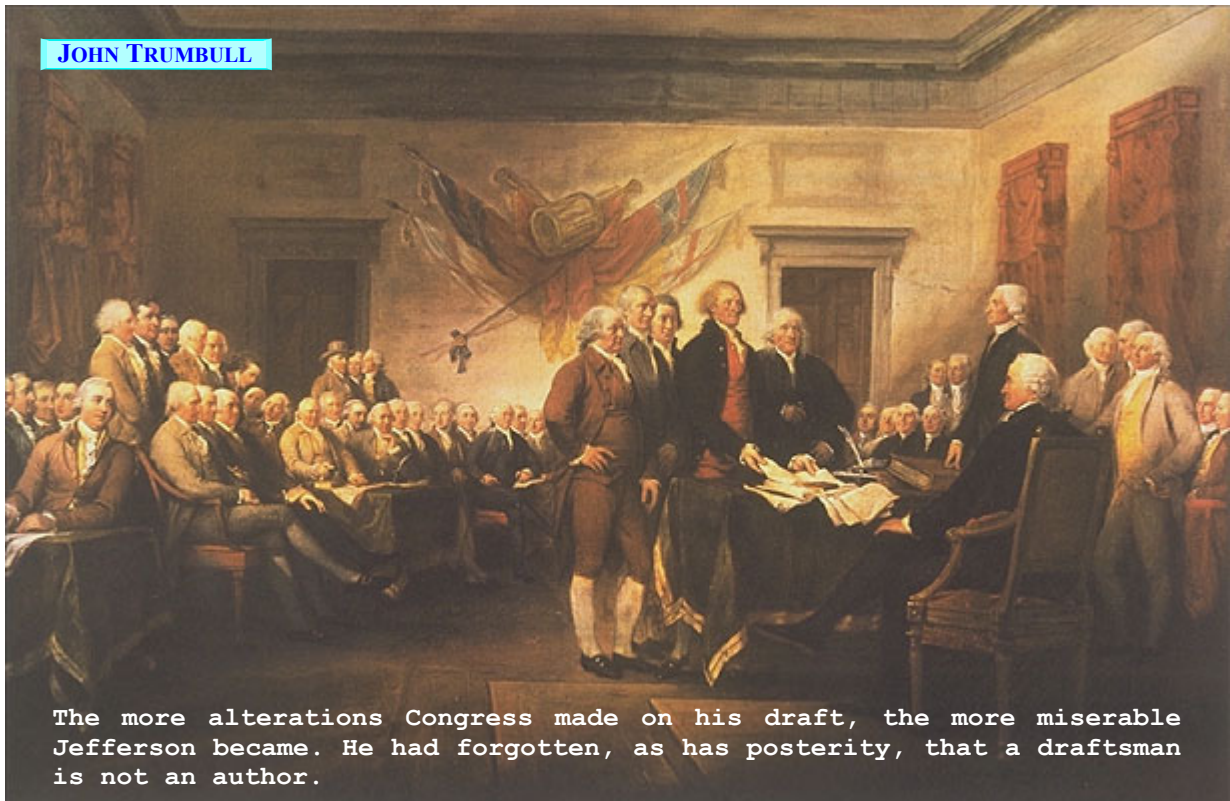
The drafting committee presented its recommended draft for a [declaration of independency](#), thus stopping the clock on the deadlines which had been imposed on its work. The draft, however, was merely tabled rather than picked up and immediately processed by the congress acting as a Committee of the Whole. Pauline Maier says of this draft:

No doubt it was a promising text, one that would have been easily improved if the author could have put it aside for two weeks, then looked at it afresh. Jefferson didn't have two weeks. He had, however, the next best thing: an extraordinary editor.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

She is referring of course to the Congress acting collectively to improve the script:

JOHN TRUMBULL



The more alterations Congress made on his draft, the more miserable Jefferson became. He had forgotten, as has posterity, that a draftsman is not an author.

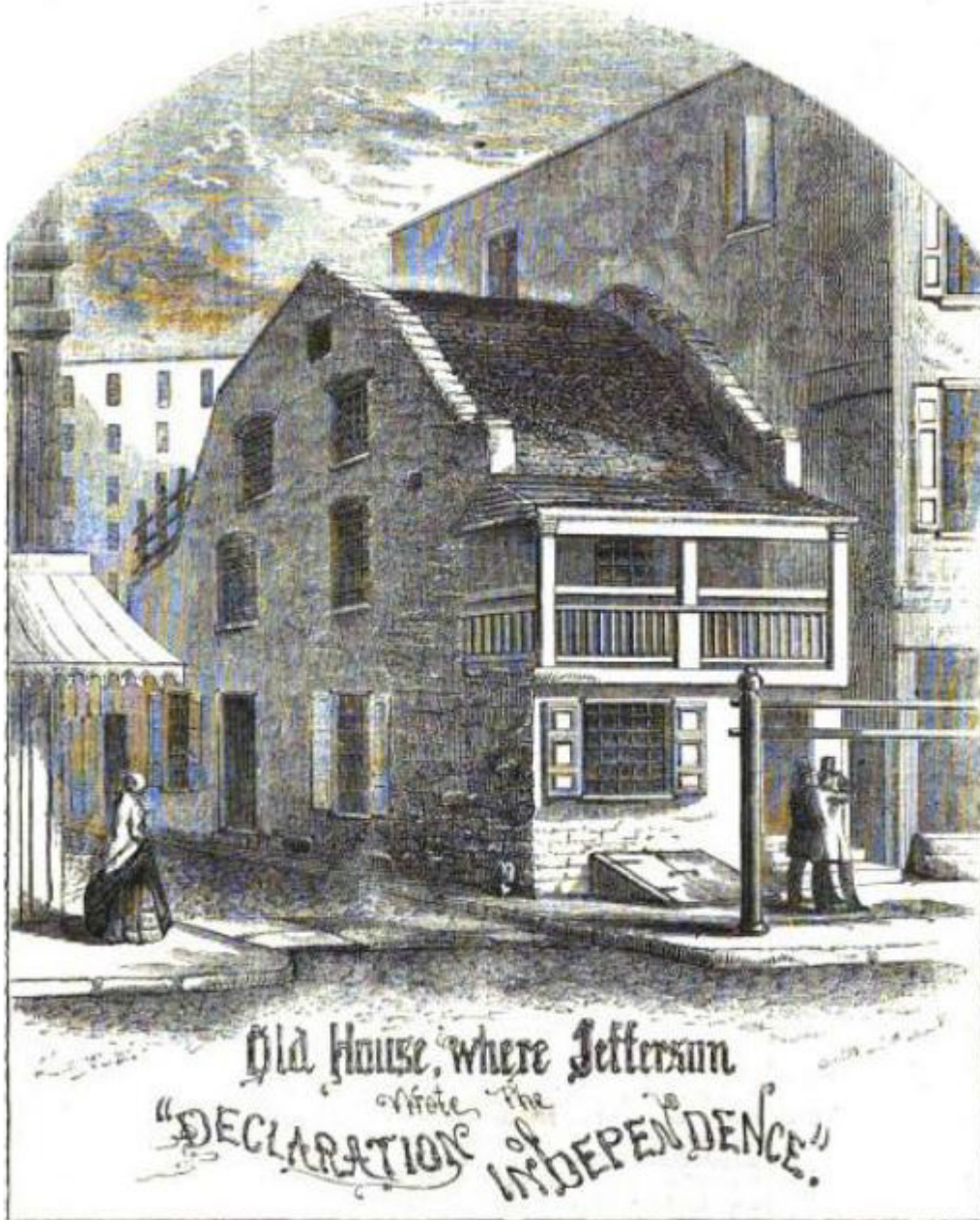
According to John Adams's 1805 autobiography, Jefferson's drafting contribution amounted to merely "a day or two," and came after the five members of the committee had not only outlined the document desired but also decided at least in general terms what its various "Articles" should say. These instructions to the draftsperson according to Adams had been issued in writing, as "minutes," so they might be in a form which the draftsperson could take with him to his lodgings.

Whatever written directions or "minutes" the Committee of Five gave Jefferson have long since disappeared.

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Unless and until we have those instructive written “minutes” which Jefferson the scribe took with him to his lodgings, we have no way to determine the extent to which his subsequent “day or two” of work as a “draughtsman” amounted to more than a copying job, one of sheer elaboration.



Drawn by Deveraux, from an Original Sketch. for the New York Journal.

ENGRAVED BY S. H. WALLIN

Jefferson would make the old age claim that he had in his possession “written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot,” but such materials are not now of record and there is every appearance that Jefferson, at age 80, was lying. Furthermore, be it noted that the words he used, “written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot,” are entirely ambiguous in that they might indicate that he was writing down the instructions of others under dictation, might indicate that he was jotting down his own thoughts and plans, or might indicate anything in between these two extremes. However that may be, Pauline Maier, on her page 100,



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concur that he was “likely” lying when he made this assertion.

When, in 1852,  Frederick Douglass would deliver an address in Rochester, New York about our national [Declaration of Independence](#), he would be forced to repudiate it since it had been a foundational document of, by, and for only those Americans who have the good fortune to be all white. He would need to take that tack because although this text about human freedom, which had originally been reported to “the representatives of the United states of America, in General Congress Assembled” as of this June 28, 1776, had in its originary version contained the following valid declaration in regard to slaves by King George III of England, and as to our right to free ourselves from such treatment —



he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where Men should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the Liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

— that portion had been omitted by the white delegates in their process of reconsideration of the document!

(Had they not expunged such a peroration, the representatives obviously brought themselves to recognize, it would render this new continental government liable to the same course of action in the future, on the part of its own black slaves, which these white men were contemplating in their initial honorific rebellion against their white king. This clause of the document would have been able to become a perfect legitimation for further rebelliousness, available to such a personage as [Frederick Douglass](#): a war between the enslaved and enslaving races constructed in our originary document as being quite as legitimate as that earlier revolution of the whites against their white overlord. But no, they would be **careful** not to leave in the document a section useful to a later generation of freedom fighters of another hue!)

Now, it has ever been presumed that the above challenging paragraph about human freedom was something that was being created by [Thomas Jefferson](#) the believer in freedom, during his midnight-oil musings, and it has ever been presumed that the above challenging paragraph about human freedom was something that some cabal of other delegates of lesser audacity and benevolence at the congress would then have needed to voided in its entirety because they were not so firm in their belief in human freedom as was our Founding Father Jefferson the sole author of this [Declaration of Independence](#) writ.

But my intent here is to inquire as to **how we know** this to be the correct reconstruction of the course of events. Bear in mind, Jefferson was the guy who would become so horrified at the idea of miscegenation between the races, that he would be ready to contemplate the killing of white women in [Virginia](#) who were guilty of bearing racially tainted children — and of such racially tainted children with them. Bear in mind, this is the Jefferson who later, as President, when later faced by a 2d American revolution, a revolution by black slaves on the Caribbean Island of Haiti, would become so horrified as to place that sugar island under an absolute embargo, directly transforming it by US fiat from the richest “Pearl of the Antilles” into the sort of pesthole it is today.

Had this [Virginia](#) slavemaster been the delegate who actually espoused the attitudes shown in the paragraph



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included above, from the draft for the document?

It seems that the document we frequently see reproduced, that is on display in our nation's capital under heavy green glass, is not only not in the hand of this [Thomas Jefferson](#), but does not even date all the way back to July 4th, 1776, let alone to this earlier June 28th. Instead, what we display for our corporate self-worship is a mere prettified copy that we are officiously passing off as if it had been that foundational writ. The Continental Congress would actually have its originary document set up in uggy movable metal type and printed off at a job print shop, rather than penned onto foolscap. If we ask the interesting question, how is it that this prettified late copy on foolscap is now being passed off as the original, the answer seems to be that such an anonymous piece of calligraphy, since it approximates handwriting, appears to be the work of one hand, and, appearing as a hand product, better supports one of the myths we have come to embrace: the myth of Sole Authorship.

We know very well that Jefferson was not actually having quite as much to do with the drafting of the [Declaration of Independence](#), as his posterity now chooses to pretend to recall. For instance, on the wall of the Jefferson Memorial in [Washington DC](#) we have carved a truncated version of the grandiloquent last paragraph of the Declaration and yet as we are well aware those were words that would be inserted primarily only during the general revision process, as a generally accepted replacement for other text which Jefferson had sponsored. Jefferson's "[autobiography](#)," written in 1820 when he was 77 after most of the other witnesses were out of the way, included an annotated version of his overnight draft showing the changes made by others subsequent to its submittal, **and in that commentary what we have chiseled into the wall of his memorial is carefully exegeted as having been primarily the contribution of others.** Also, we know that at the point at which Jefferson would begin to take sole credit for the Declaration, he would have become an old gent whose desire it was to be remembered for this creation of this foundational document, with the following eventually to be inscribed on his (replacement) tombstone³⁴ at his slave plantation [Monticello](#) in [Virginia](#):

**Here was buried Thomas Jefferson,
author of the Declaration of American Independence,
of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom,
and father of the University of Virginia.**

At that point he would have become an octogenarian survivor whose grand claims could no longer readily be contested. He would have become able conveniently to forget that, at the time of enactment, he had been protesting that the other delegates were "mutilating" his work. He would have become able conveniently to forget how much editorial guidance he had been receiving, beforehand, from other members of the drafting committee, and elide this in his uncorroborated and entirely self-serving late narrative. He would in this late reconstruction neglect to make any similar record of the detailed instructions from other committee members which he had taken back to his lodgings with him for the preparation of that overnight draft — would choose to remember instead that these others had subsequently made but "two or three" minor changes in his draft!

Well, if this is to be suspected to be an exaggeration, was it typical, or atypical, of Jefferson, to exaggerate? Jefferson was in fact frequently guilty of what John Quincy Adams, who knew the man, carefully referred to as "prodigies." For instance, Jefferson once gratuitously insisted that for six weeks the thermometer had been below zero, when that was egregiously false. Also, he once claimed he had taught himself Spanish, when that, also, was a considerable exaggeration. Adam's comment on this tendency was:

"He knows better; but he wants to excite wonder."

The actual origin of the document seems to have been in a draft of a "Declaration of Rights" which George Mason had prepared for Virginians, a draft which ran afoul of the delegation because it spoke of human slavery as "disgraceful to mankind." Mason, when it came time to sign the original printed-up form of the [Declaration of Independence](#) as amended and approved, would decline to add his name at the foot of that document.

34. In what year was this replacement grave marker with its inscription prepared, after the original marker had been chipped away by visitors? Had the original cenotaph been a blank stone?



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He refused, ashamed, because he knew that in this form it would be made to apply only to white Americans. It was this which would free [Thomas Jefferson](#), who never in his life saw anything problematic about American racism, later into his dotage, to claim to have been the Sole Author of that repudiated document.³⁵

I would like to suggest that we may be quite mistaken in presuming it to have been Jefferson who wrote the above paragraph about freedom for slaves, and in presuming that the better judgment of the other delegates over-rode his convictions in this area. It may well have been, instead, that this paragraph about the horror of slavery reflects instructions given by other drafters to Jefferson, which this slavemaster and other slavemasters would finally succeed in overcoming. —That alternate, unconsidered interpretation is a possibility which is definitely more compatible with a [Jefferson](#) who would later express such a horror of miscegenation, and demonstrate such mistrust in the processes of freedom in [Haiti](#).

Thus, actually, the claim that [Jefferson](#) wrote the [Declaration of Independence](#) is a claim which rests merely upon his own late-life assertion, and not upon any other evidence. At first none of us really had cared who had written up that document. It had no legal standing. It had been brought into existence only as pro-revolution propaganda, which is to say, material considered to be of temporary and topical relevance. It had taken quite a long time for it to become more than a pamphlet of the times, to become instead a popular part of our history, an extra-legal foundational document of sorts.

The hard evidence which we presently have is consistent with A.) the story Jefferson created for himself in his old age. However, this hard evidence is **also** B.) consistent with another story altogether: that in fact for his own aggrandizement in history he vastly exaggerated not only the original importance of that particular document but also his own impact upon the document. As he was wont to do, even in regard to his knowledge of foreign languages and even in regard to the temperature. “He knows better, but he wants to excite wonder.”

We know he was sent home overnight by the drafting committee with a list of instructions as to what to prepare for the next day. We know he returned the next morning with a draft, of which we have the text. What we decidedly **do not know** is, how much of that draft he brought back in to the committee the next morning had already existed, in the list of instructions which he had been given by the committee. His claim was that this list of instructions had been perfunctory. We do not know that that was true. For all we actually know, the list of instructions might well have been, all but a jot here and a tittle there and a little perfunctory scribal improvement in handwriting and/or wording, identical with what he brought back in the next morning.

Story B.) is consistent with everything else we know of Jefferson and his life.

Story A.) is generally inconsistent with many of the details of Jefferson’s other work, such as with his eagerness to outlaw, and thus legally sanction the murder of, any white woman who bore a child not entirely white — and her child with her.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The Declaration of Independence showed a significant drift of public opinion from the firm stand taken in the “Association” resolutions. The clique of political philosophers to which Jefferson belonged never imagined the continued existence of the country with slavery. It is well known that the first draft of the Declaration contained a severe arraignment of Great Britain as the real promoter of slavery and the slave-trade in America. In it the king was charged with waging “cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying

35. Incidentally, contrary to what you might have supposed, the moniker “the United States of America” was not created by [Jefferson](#) for use in this document. Such a moniker was already in existence. For instance, we have a letter written by Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts as a member of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, to General Horatio Gates, promising that execution would be the fate of internal “enemies of the United States of America,” and the date on that letter is June 25th, three days prior to the appearance of the phrase “the representatives of the United states of America, in General Congress Assembled” on June 28th.



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them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another."³⁶

To this radical and not strictly truthful statement, even the large influence of the Virginia leaders could not gain the assent of the delegates in Congress. The afflatus of 1774 was rapidly subsiding, and changing economic conditions had already led many to look forward to a day when the slave-trade could successfully be reopened. More important than this, the nation as a whole was even less inclined now than in 1774 to denounce the slave-trade uncompromisingly. Jefferson himself says that this clause "was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also, I believe," said he, "felt a little tender under those censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."³⁷

As the war slowly dragged itself to a close, it became increasingly evident that a firm moral stand against slavery and the slave-trade was not a probability. The reaction which naturally follows a period of prolonged and exhausting strife for high political principles now set in. The economic forces of the country, which had suffered most, sought to recover and rearrange themselves; and all the selfish motives that impelled a bankrupt nation to seek to gain its daily bread did not long hesitate to demand a reopening of the profitable African slave-trade. This demand was especially urgent from the fact that the slaves, by pillage, flight, and actual fighting, had become so reduced in numbers during the war that an urgent demand for more laborers was felt in the South.

Nevertheless, the revival of the trade was naturally a matter of some difficulty, as the West India circuit had been cut off, leaving no resort except to contraband traffic and the direct African trade. The English slave-trade after the peace "returned to its former state," and was by 1784 sending 20,000 slaves annually to the West Indies.³⁸ Just how large the trade to the continent was at this time there are few means of ascertaining; it is certain that there was a general reopening of the trade in the Carolinas and Georgia, and that the New England traders participated in it. This traffic undoubtedly reached considerable proportions; and through the direct African trade and the illicit West India trade many thousands of Negroes came

36. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 23-4. On the Declaration as an anti-slavery document, cf. Elliot, DEBATES (1861), I. 89.

37. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 19.

38. Clarkson, IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, pages 25-6; REPORT OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, etc. (London, 1789).



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into the United States during the years 1783-1787.³⁹ Meantime there was slowly arising a significant divergence of opinion on the subject. Probably the whole country still regarded both slavery and the slave-trade as temporary; but the Middle States expected to see the abolition of both within a generation, while the South scarcely thought it probable to prohibit even the slave-trade in that short time. Such a difference might, in all probability, have been satisfactorily adjusted, if both parties had recognized the real gravity of the matter. As it was, both regarded it as a problem of secondary importance, to be solved after many other more pressing ones had been disposed of. The anti-slavery men had seen slavery die in their own communities, and expected it to die the same way in others, with as little active effort on their own part. The Southern planters, born and reared in a slave system, thought that some day the system might change, and possibly disappear; but active effort to this end on their part was ever farthest from their thoughts. Here, then, began that fatal policy toward slavery and the slave-trade that characterized the nation for three-quarters of a century, the policy of *laissez-faire*, *laissez-passer*.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

"It behooves the United States, therefore, in the interest both of scientific truth and of future social reform, carefully to study such chapters of her history as that of the suppression of the slave-trade. The most obvious question which this study suggests is: How far in a State can a recognized moral wrong safely be compromised? And although this chapter of history can give us no definite answer suited to the ever-varying aspects of political life, yet it would seem to warn any nation from allowing, through carelessness and moral cowardice, any social evil to grow. No persons would have seen the Civil War with more surprise and horror than the Revolutionists of 1776; yet from the small and apparently dying institution of their day arose the walled and castled Slave-Power. From this we may conclude that it behooves nations as well as men to do things at the very moment when they ought to be done."

— W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, 1896

39. Witness the many high duty acts on slaves, and the revenue derived therefrom. Massachusetts had sixty distilleries running in 1783. Cf. Sheffield, OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN COMMERCE, page 267.



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THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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THE 1ST (STILL EXTANT) DRAFT
OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE⁴⁰

This is what Thomas Jefferson alleged to be his "original rough draft" as submitted by him as his writing before it was modified by others. Pauline Maier has pointed out that actually "what Jefferson later called 'the original rough draft' of the document ... was in fact not an 'original rough draft,' but a copy Jefferson made from earlier compositional fragments to show members of the drafting committee...." In other words, this is not Jefferson's creation but the Committee of Five's creation (falsely claimed by Jefferson after he could no longer be challenged because most of the people who might expose him were safely deceased).

**A Declaration of the Representatives of the
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
in General Congress assembled.**

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a people to advance from that subordination in which they have hitherto remained, & to assume among the powers of the earth the equal & independent station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the change.

We hold these truths to be sacred & undeniable; that all men are created equal & independent, that from equal creation they derive rights inherent & inalienable, among which are the preservation of life, & liberty & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ends, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government shall become destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation on such principles & organizing it's powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but when a long train of abuses & usurpations, begun at a

40. Original manuscript held and owned by the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.



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distinguished period, & pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to subject them to arbitrary power, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government & to provide new guards for their future security. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former systems of government. the history of his present majesty, is a history of unremitting injuries and usurpations, among which no one fact stands single or solitary to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, all of this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood. he has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary of the public good:

he has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has neglected utterly to attend to them.

he has refused to pass laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish, the right of representation; a right inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants alone:

he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly & continually, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people:

he has refused for a long space of time to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions within:

he has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands:

he has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these colonies, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers:

he has made our judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and amount of their salaries:

he has erected a multitude of new offices by a self-assumed power, & sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people & eat out their substance:

he has kept among us in times of peace standing armies & ships of war.

he has affected to render the military, independent of & superior to the civil power:

he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws;



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giving his assent to their pretended acts of legislation, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders they should commit on the inhabitation of these states; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offenses: for taking away our charters, & altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own legislatures & declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

he has abdicated government here, withdrawing his governors, & declaring us out of his allegiance & protection:

he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns & destroyed the lives of our people:

he is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation & tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty & perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation:

he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, & conditions of existence: he has incited treasonable insurrections in our fellow-subjects, with the allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property.

he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life & liberty in the persons of distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.

this piratical warfare, the opprobrium of **infidel** powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which **he** has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom **he** also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the **liberties** of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the **lives** of another. in every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered by repeated injury. a prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free. future ages will scarce believe that the hardiness of one man, adventured within the short compass of 12 years only, on so many acts of tyranny without a mask, over a people fostered & fixed in principles of liberty. Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. we have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature



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to extend a jurisdiction over these our states. we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration & settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and we appealed to their native justice & magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which were likely to interrupt our correspondence & connection. they too have been deaf to the voice of justice & of consanguinity, & when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power, at this very time too they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & deluge us in blood. these facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. we must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. we might have been a free & a great people together; but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. be it so, since they will have it: the road to glory & happiness is open to us too; we will climb it in a separate state, and acquiesce in the necessity which pronounces our everlasting Adieu!

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled do, in the name & by authority of the good people of these states, reject and renounce all allegiance & subjection to the kings of Great Britain & all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve & break off all political connections which may have heretofore subsisted between us & the people of parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent states, and that as free & independent states they shall hereafter have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, & our sacred honor.

July 1, Monday: The 2d Continental Congress (acting for the day as a committee of the whole in order to loosen things up a bit parliamentarily) took under consideration the draft of a [Declaration of Independence](#) document that had been submitted on schedule by its drafting "committee of five." Debate began, with it appeared 9 colonies for issuance of the document, 2 against, and 2 split, with New York abstaining — and, again acting only as a committee of the whole, after having discussed the matter for 9 hours, the congress adopted this draft, for purposes of presentation at the next meeting and formal debate.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



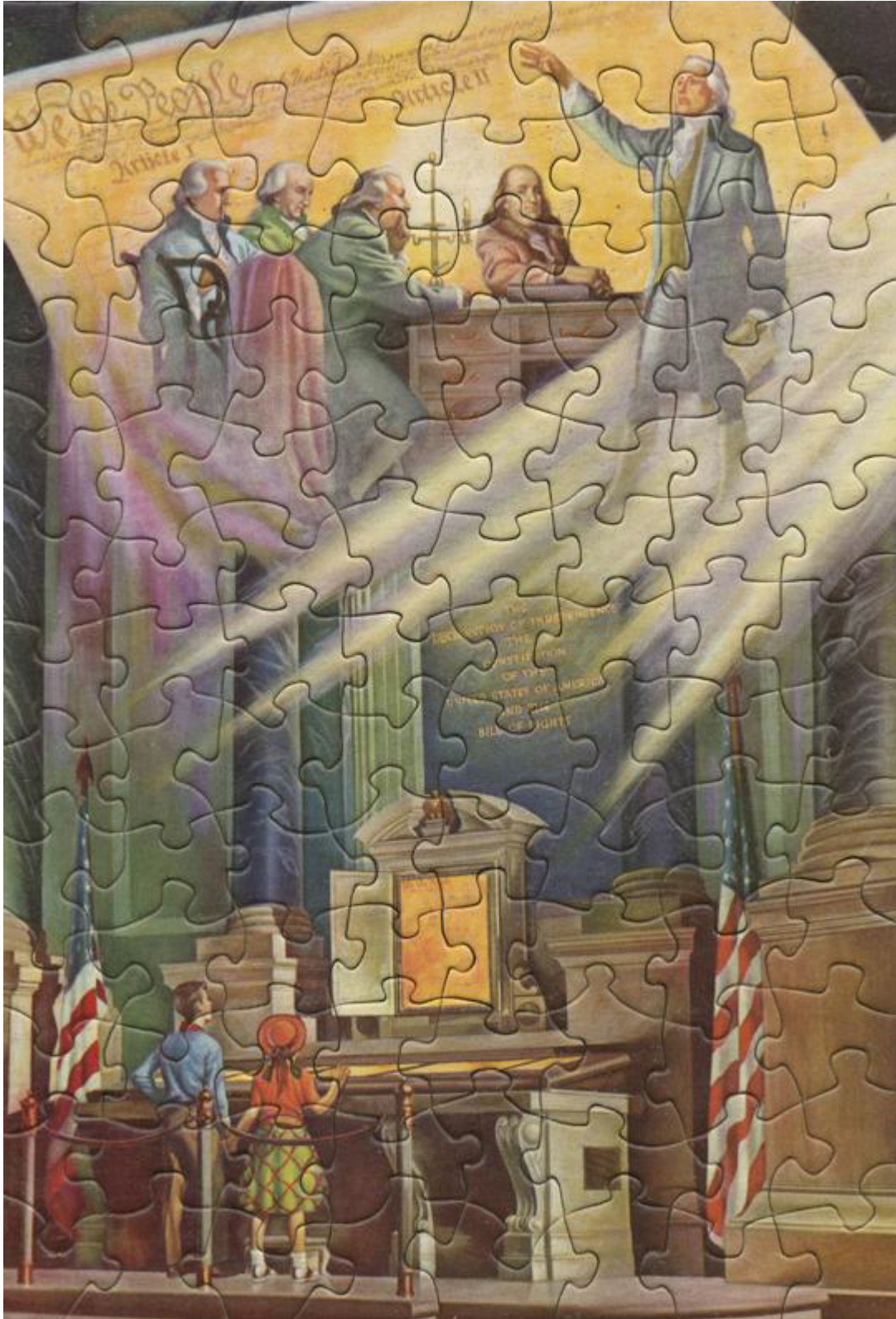
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July 2, Tuesday: The Constitution of New Jersey granted suffrage to female citizens (this would remain in effect until 1807).

READ THE FULL TEXT

When the 2d Continental Congress prepared to take up the draft declaration of Independency that had been submitted for their consideration by the “committee of five” on June 28th, presumably during the intervening days any number of clerical copies of that draft had been made so that each delegate would be able to mark up, whenever possible in the press of the war business, his own personal copy with his own thoughts as to what such a declaration-of-war document ought to contain and how it ought to be worded. Since none of such copies have survived, a good hypothesis is that they must have most carefully been gathered up and destroyed at the conclusion of the deliberations — in order to quite obliterate any suspicious signs of internal dissent. The initial vote was 12 for, with New York abstaining. However, the press of urgent war-related business would prevent any real general discussion of the draft by the assembled delegates from being initiated until the 4th.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



From time to time one sees a question being uneasily raised as to which of our Founding Fathers, while striking this blow for nationhood and liberty, were themselves the holders of slaves. Typically, the folks who produce this question, and the folks who attempt to respond to it, are concerned about being considered unpatriotic (Heaven knows why). Here for what it is worth is an attempt at a list of known culprits as generated by PhD candidate Rob Parkinson of the University of Virginia for H-SHEAR on November 18, 2004:

Carter Braxton (Virginia)
Charles Carroll of Carrollton (Maryland)
Samuel Chase (Maryland)
William Ellery (Rhode Island)
Benjamin Franklin (Pennsylvania)
Button Gwinnett (Georgia)
John Hancock (Massachusetts)
Benjamin Harrison (Virginia)
Thomas Heyward, Jr. (South Carolina)
Francis Hopkinson (New Jersey)
Thomas Jefferson (Virginia)
Francis Lightfoot Lee (Virginia)
Richard Henry Lee (Virginia)
Francis Lewis (New York)
Thomas Lynch, Jr. (South Carolina)
Arthur Middleton (South Carolina)
Robert Morris (Pennsylvania)
John Morton (Pennsylvania)
Thomas Nelson (Pennsylvania)
George Read (Delaware)
Caesar Rodney (Delaware)
Benjamin Rush (Pennsylvania)
Edward Rutledge (South Carolina)
Richard Stockton (New Jersey)
George Walton (Georgia)
William Whipple (New Hampshire)
James Wilson (Pennsylvania)
John Witherspoon (New Jersey)
George Wythe (Virginia)

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July 3, Wednesday: In Cambridge, Massachusetts, [George Washington](#) assumed command of the main American army besieging British occupied Boston.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

On this day and the following one, the 2d Continental Congress was revising the wording of its Declaration of Independency.

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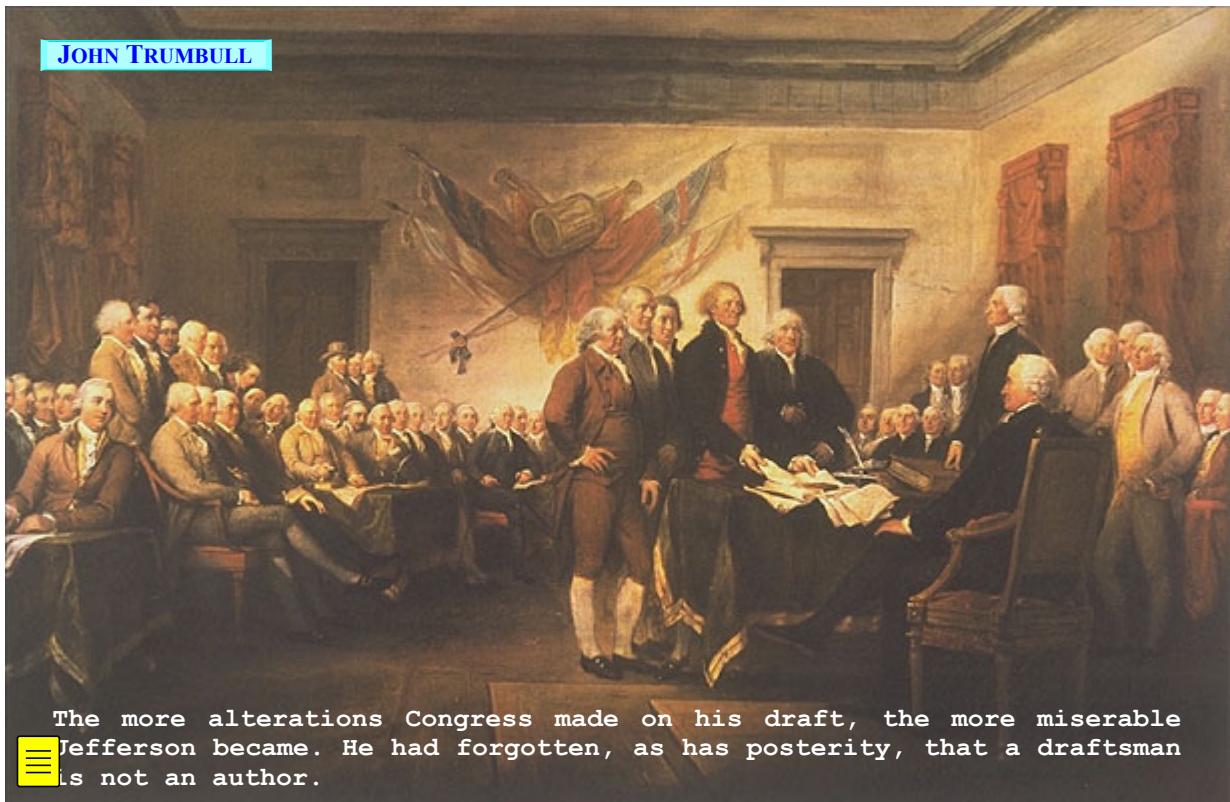


July 4, Thursday: After 2 days of debate and amendments, the [Declaration of Independence](#) was approved by the Continental Congress and signed by President of the Congress John Hancock and Secretary of the Congress Charles Thomson.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

It was a cloudy day, and the temperature was but 76 degrees Fahrenheit. In North America, the process that had begun when a crafty old politician named [Benjamin Franklin](#) had been placed on a Constitutional Committee of Pennsylvania to draft a declaration of the independence of the former North American seacoast colonies of Great Britain was brought to fruition, in that a broadside to that effect was on this date roughly printed off in Philadelphia.

JOHN TRUMBULL



The more alterations Congress made on his draft, the more miserable Jefferson became. He had forgotten, as has posterity, that a draftsman is not an author.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

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This date saw, also, the publication of [Adam Smith](#)'s AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS.



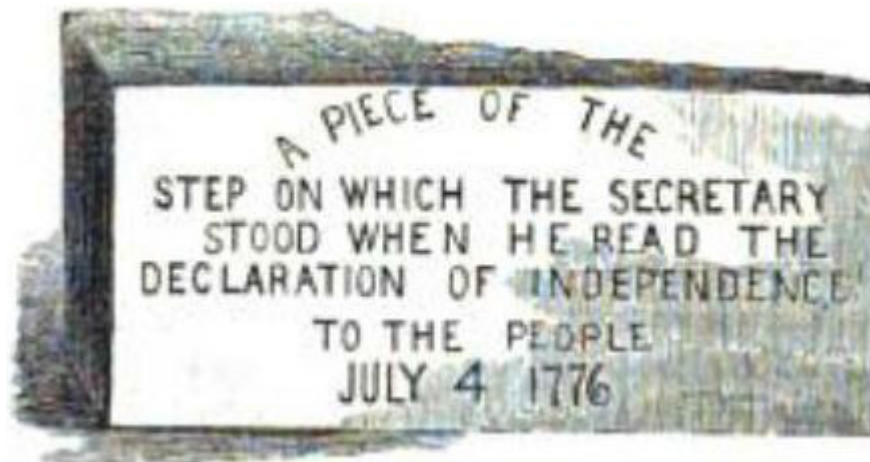
The point at which Professor Smith writes about pin-manufacture (Chapter 1, page 3), as the basis for division of labor and therefore for the wealth of nations, is displayed on a following screen.

An extract from its section "The cost of Empire" is on subsequent screens:

[see following]

Certain American business types would come to regard this latter document, possibly on account of its publication date and possibly for some other reason, as their real [Declaration of Independence](#), although by 1844 Friedrich Engels would be challenging such an attitude toward freedom in his THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING MAN IN ENGLAND and by 1855 [Herman Melville](#) would be challenging such an attitude toward freedom in his BENITO CERENO.

Only John Hancock, president of the assembly, and Charles Thomson, secretary of the assembly, signed the draft of "A Declaration by the representatives of the United states of America, in Congress assembled" accepted on this day, which was declaring itself as being issued "in the name and by the authority of the good people of these ... free and independent states." That draft incorporated markup of the changes made by the delegates, along with symbols inserted by Jefferson to indicate the points at which a person reading it orally ought to pause for rhetorical effect. The printer who typeset this document inserted quotation marks to represent Jefferson's symbol, and then found he had to pull them out in general replacing them by extra spaces.



This draft was not preserved and, it seems, nobody made any particular effort to preserve any copies of this original printing. Of the 25 copies that by the sheerest chance have survived, the 25th was to be discovered as the paper backing of a painting that had been bought at a flea market in Pennsylvania in 1989 for \$4, and this

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DIVISION OF LABOUR.

3

ten be collected into the same workhouse, and placed at once under the view of the spectator. In those great manufactures, on the contrary, which are destined to supply the great wants of the great body of the people, every different branch of the work employs so great a number of workmen, that it is impossible to collect them all into the same workhouse. We can seldom see more, at one time, than those employed in one single branch. Though in such manufactures, therefore, the work may really be divided into a much greater number of parts, than in those of a more trifling nature, the division is not near so obvious, and has accordingly been much less observed.

To take an example, therefore, from a very trifling manufacture, but one in which the division of labour has been very often taken notice of, the trade of a pin-maker: a workman not educated to this business (which the division of labour has rendered a distinct trade), nor acquainted with the use of the machinery employed in it (to the invention of which the same division of labour has probably given occasion), could scarce, perhaps, with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which this business is now carried on, not only the whole work is a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater part are likewise peculiar trades. One man draws out the wire; another straightens it; a third cuts it; a fourth points it; a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business; to whiten the pins is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands, though in others the same man will sometimes perform two or three of them. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind, where ten men only were employed, and where some of them consequently performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of four thousand pins of a middling size. Those ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this peculiar business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day; that is, certainly, not the

two hundred and fortieth, perhaps not the four thousand eight hundredth, part of what they are at present capable of performing, in consequence of a proper division and combination of their different operations.

In every other art and manufacture, the effects of the division of labour are similar to what they are in this very trifling one, though, in many of them, the labour can neither be so much subdivided, nor reduced to so great a simplicity of operation. The division of labour, however, so far as it can be introduced, occasions, in every art, a proportionable increase of the productive powers of labour. The separation of different trades and employments from one another, seems to have taken place in consequence of this advantage. This separation, too, is generally carried furthest in those countries which enjoy the highest degree of industry and improvement; what is the work of one man, in a rude state of society, being generally that of several in an improved one. In every improved society, the farmer is generally nothing but a farmer; the manufacturer, nothing but a manufacturer. The labour, too, which is necessary to produce any one complete manufacture, is almost always divided among a great number of hands. How many different trades are employed in each branch of the linen and woollen manufactures, from the growers of the flax and the wool, to the bleachers and smoothers of the linen, or to the dyers and dressers of the cloth! The nature of agriculture, indeed, does not admit of so many subdivisions of labour, nor of so complete a separation of one business from another, as manufactures. It is impossible to separate so entirely the business of the grazier from that of the corn-farmer, as the trade of the carpenter is commonly separated from that of the smith. The spinner is almost always a distinct person from the weaver; but the ploughman, the harrower, the sower of the seed, and the reaper of the corn, are often the same. The occasions for those different sorts of labour returning with the different seasons of the year, it is impossible that one man should be constantly employed in any one of them. This impossibility of making so complete and entire a separation of all the different branches of labour employed in agriculture, is perhaps the reason why the improvement of the productive powers of labour, in this art, does not always keep pace with their improvement in manufactures. The most opulent nations, indeed, generally excel all their neighbours in agriculture as well as in manufactures; but they are commonly more distinguished by their superiority in the latter than in the former. Their lands are in general better cultivated, and having more labour and expense bestowed upon them, produce more in proportion to the extent and natural fertility of the ground. But this superiority of produce is seldom much more than in pro-

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copy seems now to be worth more than \$8,000,000 on the open market as it has become the sole copy not owned by an institution. It would not be until after the delegation from the colony of New York had belatedly received instructions to cast their vote also for independence and thus render the vote of the Continental Congress unanimous, that the delegates would be able to insert the word “unanimous” into this title. At the same time they would delete the reference to mere “representatives,” thus strengthening the affirmation of colonial consensus. Although the JOURNALS OF CONGRESS did identify the members of the committee that had prepared the draft for this Declaration document and thus listed the name of [Thomas Jefferson](#) among the others, there was no mention made at this time of his having provided a contribution that was being considered unique. –In fact Jefferson himself would make no such public claim, until the year prior to his death.



July 7, Sunday: Silas Deane arrived in Paris as the 1st representative of the United States to a foreign power.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

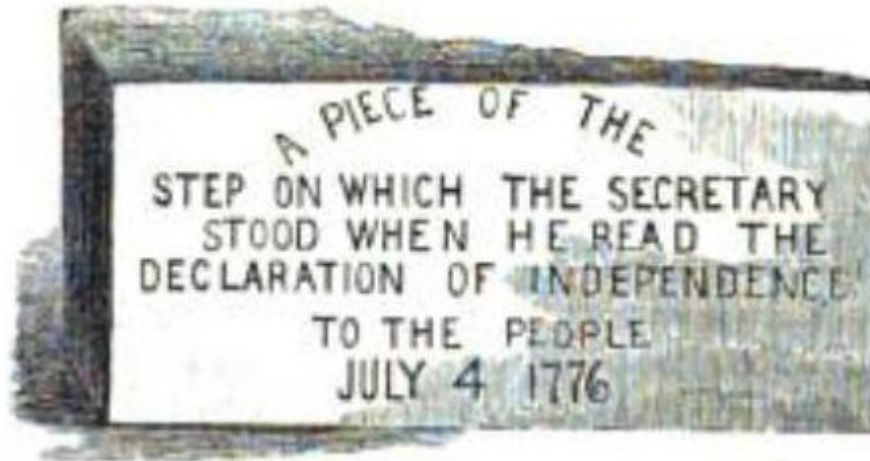


July 8, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Roxbury, Massachusetts.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Thomas Jefferson](#) sent to Richard Henry Lee and to Edmund Pendleton “a copy of the [Declaration of Independence](#) as agreed to by the House, and also, as originally framed” asking them to “judge whether it is better or worse for the Critics.”⁴¹

Standing on the steps to the Observatory in State House Yard, John Nixon read the document to the public. This was to be the very most famous declaration of war ever issued!



This was followed by general celebrations, bonfires, and parades. The royal arms were removed from the Supreme Court at the State House and placed on a large fire. Meanwhile a public reading was being given the document in Trenton.



41. John Lind would write “Of the preamble I have taken little or no notice. The truth is, little or none does it deserve.” (It is said that Governor [Thomas Hutchinson](#) likewise paid little attention to this “All men are created equal...” boilerplate.) Boyd, Julian P., et al., eds., THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, 27 vols. to date (Princeton NJ, 1950 -), Volume I, pages 455-6



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Adam Smith on “The cost of Empire,” from AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS:

The countries which possess the colonies of America, and which trade directly to the East Indies, enjoy, indeed, the whole show and splendour of this great commerce. Other countries, however, notwithstanding all the invidious restraints by which it is meant to exclude them, frequently enjoy a greater share of the real benefit of it. The colonies of Spain and Portugal, for example, give more real encouragement to the industry of other countries than to that of Spain and Portugal.... After all the unjust attempts, therefore, of every country in Europe to engross to itself the whole advantage of the trade of its own colonies, no country has yet been able to engross to itself anything but the expense of supporting in time of peace, and of defending in time of war, the oppressive authority which it assumes over them. The inconveniencies resulting from the possession of its colonies, every country has engrossed to itself completely. The advantages resulting from their trade it has been obliged to share with many other countries.

At first sight, no doubt, the monopoly of the great commerce of America naturally seems to be an acquisition of the highest value. To the undiscerning eye of giddy ambition, it naturally presents itself amidst the confused scramble of politics and war, as a very dazzling object to fight for. The dazzling splendour of the object, however the immense greatness of the commerce, is the very quality which renders the monopoly of it hurtful, or which makes one employment, in its own nature necessarily less advantageous to the country than the greater part of other employments, absorb a much greater proportion of the capital of the country than what would otherwise have gone to it.... It is not contrary to justice that ... America should contribute towards the discharge of the public debt of Great Britain.... a government to which several of the colonies of America owe their present charters, and consequently their present constitution; and to which all the colonies of America owe the liberty, security, and property which they have ever since enjoyed. That public debt has been contracted in the defence, not of Great Britain alone, but of all the different provinces of the empire; the immense debt contracted in the late war in particular, and a great part of that contracted in the war before, were both properly contracted in defence of America.... If it should be found impracticable for Great Britain to draw any considerable augmentation of revenue from any of the resources above mentioned; the only resource which can remain to her is a diminution of her expense. In the mode of collecting, and in that of expending the public revenue; though in both there may be still room for improvement; Great Britain seems to be at least as economical as any of her neighbours. The military establishment which she maintains for her own defence in time of peace, is more moderate than that of any European state which can pretend to rival her either in wealth or in power. None of those articles, therefore, seem to admit of any considerable reduction of expense. The expense of the peace establishment of the colonies was, before the commencement of the present disturbances, very considerable, and is an expense which may, and if no revenue can be drawn from them ought certainly to be saved altogether. This constant expense in time of peace, though very great, is insignificant in comparison with what the defence of the colonies has cost us in time of war.



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Adam Smith on “The cost of Empire,” from AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS:

The last war, which was undertaken altogether on account of the colonies, cost Great Britain ... upwards of ninety millions. The Spanish war of 1739 was principally undertaken on their account; in which, and in the French war that was the consequence of it, Great Britain spent upwards of forty millions, a great part of which ought justly to be charged to the colonies. In those two wars the colonies cost Great Britain much more than double the sum which the national debt amounted to before the commencement of the first of them. Had it not been for those wars that debt might, and probably would by this time, have been completely paid; and had it not been for the colonies, the former of those wars might not, and the latter certainly would not have been undertaken. It was because the colonies were supposed to be provinces of the British empire, that this expense was laid out upon them. But countries which contribute neither revenue nor military force towards the support of the empire, cannot be considered as provinces. They may perhaps be considered as appendages, as a sort of splendid and showy equipage of the empire. But if the empire can no longer support the expense of keeping up this equipage, it ought certainly to lay it down; and if it cannot raise its revenue in proportion to its expense, it ought at least, to accommodate its expense to its revenue. If the colonies, notwithstanding their refusal to submit to British taxes, are still to be considered as provinces of the British empire, their defence in some future war may cost Great Britain as great an expense as it ever has done in any former war. The rulers of Great Britain have, for more than a century past, amused the people with the imagination that they possessed a great empire on the west side of the Atlantic. This empire, however, has hitherto existed in imagination only. It has hitherto been, not an empire, but the project of an empire; not a gold mine, but the project of a gold mine; a project which has cost, which continues to cost, and which, if pursued in the same way as it has been hitherto, is likely to cost, immense expense, without being likely to bring any profit; for the effects of the monopoly of the colony trade, it has been shown, are, to the great body of the people, mere loss instead of profit. It is surely now time that our rulers should either realise this golden dream, in which they have been indulging themselves, perhaps, as well as the people; or, that they should awake from it themselves, and endeavour to awaken the people. If the project cannot be completed, it ought to be given up. If any of these provinces of the British empire cannot be made to contribute towards the support of the whole empire, it is surely time that Great Britain should free herself from the expense of defending those provinces in time of war, and of supporting any part of their civil or military establishments in time of peace, and endeavour to accommodate her future views and designs to the real mediocrity of her circumstances.

October: Isaak Iselen of Basel, Switzerland provided a full German translation of the American [Declaration of Independence](#).

[James Madison, Jr.](#) was a member of the newly convened Virginia House of Delegates, and met [Thomas Jefferson](#) for the 1st time.

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1777

[James Madison, Jr.](#) lost his seat in the Virginia House of Delegates, seemingly because he was cheap about treating the voters to the usual whiskey. Never mind, later that year he was elected to the 8-member Council of State.

The Reverend [Ezra Stiles](#) recorded in his diary⁴² after a meal with John Langdon, who had been a delegate from [New Hampshire](#) to the Continental Congress but had been replaced by William Whipple prior to the



drafting of the [Declaration of Independence](#), that he had “Dined in Company with Col. Langdon formerly of the Continental Congress. He says Mr. Jeffries of Virginia drafted the Declaration of Independency.” (The confusion about [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s name indicates that Langdon, as well as Stiles, is a hearsay source for this allegation.)



If you had asked any of these people at that time, which was the more important document, this declaration or the Articles of Incorporation, there is little doubt but that the response you would have received would have

42. Dexter, Franklin Bowditch, ed., THE LITERARY DIARY OF EZRA STILES. NY, 1901, Volume II, page 155

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been “Why, the Articles of Incorporation, of course.”



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: When the first 4th-of-July commemorative B'day bash was staged, in 1777, what was being celebrated on the 4th was what had happened on the 2nd. The celebration that year didn't have anything much to do with any formal [Declaration of Independence](#) document that had been in process as of the 4th in the previous year, but rather, it had to do with the actual political act, the declaration (lower-case “d”) of our independence (lower-case “i”), which is to say, it had to do with the critical vote which had succeeded on July 2, 1776. The problem was simply that in this year 1777, nobody was yet thinking much in advance — and so it had taken a couple of days to organize the idea of having a celebration.⁴³

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In those early years you won't find any suggestions being made, that the document was a particularly powerful one, or a fine piece of writing. When people quoted from the propaganda broadside, very commonly what they quoted were not words from the Committee of Five's early draft, but words in the final paragraph that had been offered by the Continental Congress acting as a Committee of the Whole, words such as “absolved of all allegiance to the British Crown,” and “are and of right ought to be free and independent states.” The bulk of the document was easily dismissed at the time as yet another mean-spirited “recapitulation of injuries”:

Considering how revered a position the Declaration of Independence later won in the hearts and minds of the American people ... disregard for it in the earliest years of the new nation verges on the incredible.

It was as if that document had done its work in carrying news of Independence to the people, and neither needed nor deserved further consideration. The festivities included no praise of Thomas Jefferson.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

One thing to bear in mind is that, just as there wasn't just this one copy of this particular Declaration of

43. Later on, of course, the forces of historical rectification took over, and some apologist or other swept the pieces of the story together creatively and invented a plausible reason why we have been celebrating our national B'day on the 4th — and that, kiddies, is how the Declaration of Independence, a political broadside, got substituted for our declaration of independence, an act of defiance. Although the [Declaration of Independence](#) was probably not signed on the evening of the 4th as [Thomas Jefferson](#) would insist it had been, having probably been already approved that morning and lain aside, with the signing of a handwritten parchment copy not beginning until a later timeframe, we have all decided to pretend that it was signed on the 4th because that pretense legitimates our habitually popping off with imitation gunfire and the rockets red glare as of the 4th. There are several good reasons why there have been no objections to this false story our Jeffersons were creating. First, according to Pauline Maier on page 184, his fabrication was at the time merely “entrusted to private letters” rather than being broadcast to people who might have challenged it, and second, he was doing this historical reconstruction only after in the case of many of the participants “death had sealed their lips.”



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Independence, also there wasn't just one such Declaration of Independence. We presently know of at least ninety discrete, different examples of this peculiar art form, and if we had any reason to dig further, surely we could produce record of some more. For instance, according to Lemuel Shattuck's HISTORY OF ... CONCORD, there was a Declaration of Independence from British colonial rule issued by the town government of Acton MA on June 14th, 1776. Where is it now? —Presumably in the Reserve Book Room of the Acton Public Library, or maybe hanging on the wall. Who knows, and who cares? What we have done in our minds is suppress all memory of these other examples of the art form so that the one document we have selected out for our national worship, encased behind bullet-proof glass in a Baroque reliquary in [Washington DC](#), will seem to us to have been totally exceptional. It's a cheap trick but so what? Every night as the line of worshipful viewers is halted, that votive document gets lowered by computer into a specially reinforced underground crypt where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal, and where atomic weapons raining down upon the District of Columbia would be as harmless as the Brownian motion of the molecules of water vapor in the carefully regulated ambiance inside the thick green glass case. For where our treasured document is, there our hearts are also. Meanwhile our other 89 Declarations of Independence are protected only by their entire irrelevance.

 The Declaration of Independence was, in fact, a peculiar document to be cited by those who championed the cause of equality. Not only did its reference to men's equal creation concern people in a state of nature before government was established, but the document's original function was to end the previous regime, not to lay down principles to guide and limit its successor.

Let's re-emphasize what is being said above. The [Declaration of Independence](#) was a document to end an existing government, not one to begin a new government. Its very success took it out of any legal existence. It has no legal force whatever in any court of the United States of America, not even the Supreme Court, as it has never been ratified or endorsed by any duly constituted authority of that national government. That is of course the whole reason why we presently emphasize the document to such a great degree in our oratory — our oratory amounts to cheap talk, whereas were we to discourse upon our Bill of Rights, we would be talking about something possessing serious impact, as our Bill of Rights is of course in legal effect. Talk about how "all men are created equal" per our Declaration of Independence, on a 4th of July, distracts us from the serious limitations inherent in actual legal texts such as the XIIIth and XIVth Amendments.





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SALLY HEMINGS

1779

[Thomas Jefferson](#)'s Act for Religious Freedom was passed by the Virginia Assembly. From the wording of this enactment the 2nd panel of the Jefferson Memorial in [Washington DC](#) would derive three quotations, but then on the white stone would be carved a sentence from a letter Jefferson wrote, a decade later, to James Madison. That final sentence would be utterly ripped out of its context: "I know but one code of morality for men whether acting singly or collectively." In the context of religious freedom, preceded by phrases like "Almighty God" and "the Holy Author of our freedom," the stones would lie by implying that in this sentence Jefferson was declaring a belief in some sort of absolute moral code. No such sentiment is to be discovered in this year's Act for Religious Freedom, for which Jefferson would seek to be remembered:

**Here was buried Thomas Jefferson,
author of the Declaration of American
Independence,
of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom,
and father of the University of Virginia.**

March: In a letter to [George Mason](#) in Virginia which he expected to be shown to [Thomas Jefferson](#), General [George Washington](#) complained that during the present "critical period" while the new nation was "verging ... fast to destruction," Jefferson was at home at Monticello indulging in mere "idleness and dissipation." Nevertheless Jefferson would remain at home enjoying himself, contributing nothing whatever to the war effort until after the British were quite gone from this area of the country. Even while serving as Virginia's governor, Jefferson would inevitably resist all pressure to utilize the state militia, saying that he preferred to hold such forces in readiness to suppress any black servile insurrection. The only positive action that Jefferson ever would take during the war was fleeing. This occurred on June 3, 1781, when General Cornwallis dispatched a cavalry party made up of 250 infantry and dragoons under the leadership of Colonel Banastre Tarleton, and the raiding party went out to the Monticello plantation house to apprehend Jefferson. On that day Jefferson, after burning some sensitive papers and sending his favorite servant Martin Hemings off to hide some valuable items, mounted his favorite horse Caractacus and made his getaway. (In this gentleman's autobiography, there would of course be no mention of such a flight, presumably for the very same reason that there would of course be no mention of Sally or the rugrats.)

If Tom could get away with it...



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Of course, Tom can be excused for being a draft-dodger (like William Jefferson Clinton), as he had in this year more important fish that he needed get fried:

A Bill Concerning Slaves

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that no persons shall, henceforth, be slaves within this commonwealth, except such as were so on the first day of this present session of Assembly, and the descendants of the females of them. Negroes and



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mulattoes which shall hereafter be brought into this commonwealth and kept therein one whole year, together, or so long at different times as shall amount to one year, shall be free. But if they shall not depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter they shall be out of the protection of the laws. Those which shall come into this commonwealth of their own accord shall be out of the protection of the laws; save only such as being seafaring persons and navigating vessels hither, shall not leave the same while here more than twenty four hours together.

It shall not be lawful for any person to emancipate a slave but by deed executed, proved and recorded as is required by law in the case of a conveyance of goods and chattels, on consideration not deemed valuable in law, or by last will and testament, and with the free consent of such slave, expressed in presence of the court of the county wherein he resides: And if such slave, so emancipated, shall not within one year thereafter, depart the commonwealth, he shall be out of the protection of the laws. All conditions, restrictions and limitations annexed to any act of emancipation shall be void from the time such emancipation is to take place.

If any white woman shall have a child by a negro or mulatto, she and her child shall depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter. If they fail so to do, the woman shall be out of the protection of the laws, and the child shall be bound out by the Aldermen of the county, in like manner as poor orphans are by law directed to be, and within one year after its term of service expired shall depart the commonwealth, or on failure so to do, shall be out of the protection of the laws.

Where any of the persons before described shall be disabled from departing the commonwealth by grievous sickness, the protection of the law shall be continued to him until such disability be removed: And if the county shall in the mean time, incur any expence in taking care of him, as of other county poor, the Aldermen shall be intitled to recover the same from his former master, if he had one, his heirs, executors and administrators.

No negro or mulatto shall be a witness except in pleas of the commonwealth against negroes or mullatoes, or in civil pleas wherein negroes or mulattoes alone shall be parties.

No slave shall go from the tenements of his master, or other person with whom he lives, without a pass, or some letter or token whereby it may appear that he is proceeding by authority from his master, employer, or overseer: If he does, it shall be lawful for any person to apprehend and carry him before a Justice of the Peace, to be by his order punished with stripes, or not, in his discretion.

No slave shall keep any arms whatever, nor pass, unless with written orders from his master or employer, or in his company, with arms from one place to another. Arms in possession of a slave contrary to this prohibition shall be forfeited to him who will seize them.

Riots, Routs, unlawful assemblies, trespasses and seditious speeches by a negro or mullato shall be punished with stripes at the discretion of a Justice of the Peace; and he who will may apprehend and carry him before such Justice.



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A question has arisen as to what Tom meant, above, by the phrase “out of the protection of the laws.” When I opinioned that what it must have meant in practice on the ground was “may be killed without penalty,” a senior Jefferson scholar was just outraged. I was set straight in no uncertain terms. No, what it meant was, such a person “would not be entitled to receive any further Welfare payments.” Gosh, how could I have been so utterly wrong!

We notice above how the law that Tom wrote did not bear on his **personal** situation out at the Monticello plantation. He wrote that “If any white woman shall have a child by a negro or mulatto, she and her child shall depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter,” and that otherwise she would be placing herself “out of the protection of the laws” — meaning merely that such a miscegenator wouldn’t be entitled to Welfare or to Aid for Dependent Children, but he did **not** write that “If any white man [such as himself, for one fine example] shall have a child by a negro or mulatto [such as Tom’s slave girl Sally], he and his child [such as Thomas Jefferson Hemings] shall depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter,” and that otherwise he would be placing himself “out of the protection of the laws” — meaning merely that such a miscegenator wouldn’t be entitled to Welfare or to Aid for Dependent Children.



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1781

[Thomas Jefferson](#) brought [tomatoes](#) to his table (along with french fries).

[Jefferson](#) suggested [tobacco](#) cultivation in the “western country on the Mississippi.”

As the smuggling and use of the bean had continued in Prussia subsequent to his requiring that citizens were required to drink [beer](#) rather than [coffee](#), Frederick the Great created a monopoly, forbidding [coffee](#) roasting except in royal establishments. This monopoly also would prove unsuccessful. Also, coffee substitutes such as chicory made their appearance.

March 1, Thursday: [Maryland](#) ratified the Articles of Confederation, the 13th and final state to do so, and so these articles became effective.

READ THE FULL TEXT



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Note that approximately a year and a half after [Henry Thoreau](#) would die, President [Abraham Lincoln](#) would take the train down from [Washington DC](#) and delivered a brief address at a ceremony dedicating the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania as a national cemetery, a brief that would become justly famous as his “Gettysburg Address,” in which he would state:

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

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It would take 87 years for America to start catching up to sentiment of the [Declaration of Independence](#) concerning all men being equal. A French philosopher, Professor Pierre Hadot, would term this Lincolnian re-interpretation of the Declaration to be (translating from his French) “certainly a misinterpretation, but a creative misinterpretation.” In point of fact, when the proposition “all men are created equal” had been penned,



it simply had not been **leveling up** that had been in anyone’s mind, but instead, it had only been **leveling down** that had been in anyone’s mind. What they meant by the concept of equality was that there was not inherently a class of noble men who were intrinsically more worthy than common men like themselves. They were merely dragging these noblemen down to the common level. There was no involvement of any such idea, as that women were worth as much as men, or that non-whites were worth as much as whites, etc. etc., because such ideas would have involved **leveling up**, they would have involved an effort to raise others to one’s own level. That would have been thinking outside the box — that thought was still unthinkable. So when, in the Gettysburg Address, President Lincoln pretended that fourscore and seven years ago President [Thomas Jefferson](#) had been intending to **level up** as well as to **level down**, the interpretation by Professor Hadot would be that what he was doing was, he was slyly proposing to us that we indulge ourselves with a bit of “creative misinterpretation.” Henceforth we were going to act dumb, and **pretend** that we had meant **what we should have meant**, what a decent man would have meant, rather than the stunted thought which we had actually thought. (It is a good thing that President Lincoln was not delivering this Gettysburg Address as a brief before today’s United States Supreme Court! Nowadays the strict-constructionist justices in the majority on the United States Supreme Court would Bork this sort of creative misinterpretation, dismiss it instantly and totally.) One thing to bear in mind is that there was not just one Declaration of Independency, as we now pretend, but actually some seventy such documents. Declaring independency was, at that time, a common art form. Another thing to bear in mind is that the one Declaration of Independence, that we now pick out to remember alone, has nothing whatever to do with the present federal government of the United States of America. It is simply not a legal document, it is not any part of our body of law. It was not created by a duly-

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constituted representative body and did not bring our present government into effect. Instead, it brought into effect a short-lived confederacy which had its own presidents, under the “Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union” of 1781, which then disintegrated upon the later enactment of another document, the United States Constitution, which ultimately brought the United States of America into existence as of 1887 under a first US president discontinuous from the previous series of presidents, former General [George Washington](#). Actually, in order to make the one, of the seventy-odd, Declaration of Independency, that President Lincoln chose to emphasize at Gettysburg, have anything at all to do with the United States of America, it would be necessary for him to have considered General Washington not to be our 1st president, but to be actually our 17th president or something like that depending on how you count, with the previous presidents having been:

President of the First Continental Congress Peyton Randolph (September 5, 1774-October 21, 1774)
Henry Middleton (October 22, 1774-October 26, 1774)



President of the Second Continental Congress Peyton Randolph (May 10, 1775-May 23, 1775)
John Hancock (May 24, 1775-October 31, 1777)
Henry Laurens (November 1, 1777-December 9, 1778)
John Jay (December 10, 1778-September 27, 1779)
Samuel Huntington (September 28, 1779-March 1, 1781)
President of the United States in Congress Assembled Samuel Huntington (March 1, 1781[2]-July 9, 1781)
Thomas McKean (July 10, 1781-November 4, 1781)
John Hanson (November 5, 1781-November 3, 1782)
Elias Boudinot (November 4, 1782-November 2, 1783)
Thomas Mifflin (November 3, 1783-October 31, 1784)
Richard Henry Lee (November 30, 1784-November 6, 1785)
John Hancock (November 23, 1785-June 5, 1786) [due to his failing health, two others acted in his stead]
David Ramsay (November 23, 1785-May 12, 1786)
Nathaniel Gorham (May 15, 1786-June 5, 1786)
Nathaniel Gorham (June 6, 1786-November 5, 1786)
Arthur St. Clair (February 2, 1787-November 4, 1787)
Cyrus Griffin (January 22, 1788-November 2, 1788)

We can't have it both ways, folks. Either Georgibus was actually our 17th president rather than our 1st, or that Declaration of Independence someone had signed in 1775 has actually no direct connection of any sort with the federal government of the USA that would eventuate belatedly in 1787.

June 2, Saturday: A French fleet captured the British island of Tobago.



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June 3, Sunday: In Virginia, General Cornwallis dispatched a cavalry party made up of 250 infantry and dragoons under the leadership of Colonel Banastre Tarleton, and the raiding party went out to Monticello to apprehend [Thomas Jefferson](#). On being warned that the British were coming, Jefferson burned some sensitive papers and sent his favorite servant Martin Hemings off to hide some valuable items, and then mounted his favorite horse Caractacus and made his getaway. (This would be as close as Jefferson would get, to participating in the American Revolution. In his autobiography, he would make no reference to the events of this day. During this month, Patrick Henry and other Virginia legislators would be calling for an investigation of Jefferson's wartime conduct, accusing him among other things of failing to post sentinels, disregarding General [George Washington](#), ignoring offers to raise volunteer units, and generally mishandling the militia.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 4, Monday: Still does the war prevail?, an ode by John Stanley to words of Whitehead, was performed for the initial time, to honor the birthday of King George III.

Thomas Jefferson narrowly escaped capture by British troops as they reached his home near Charlottesville, Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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SALLY HEMINGS

1782

[Thomas Jefferson](#) was composing his NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA; WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1781, SOMEWHAT CORRECTED AND ENLARGED IN THE WINTER OF 1782, FOR THE USE OF A FOREIGNER OF DISTINCTION, IN ANSWER TO CERTAIN QUERIES PROPOSED BY HIM (initially for the benefit of M. Barbè de Marbois, Secretary of the French Legation, although it would be printed at Paris during 1784/1785) — which would turn out to be his only book to be published during his lifetime despite the fact that in his spare time he would be rewriting the four gospels of the New Testament into one “nondiscrepant and consolidated” narrative. Jefferson took a familiar tack: since contact with black slaves was having a pernicious influence upon the moral character of white people, we ought to have apartheid in America.

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)



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SALLY HEMINGS

You see if you can read this 1985 book now and perceive the **[white]** and **[black]** interpolations which I have inserted below to be inappropriate ones! The fact is, Jefferson was disturbed by slavery not primarily out of concern for the slaves themselves, but primarily out of concern for its degrading impact upon the white people such as himself who inevitably were forced into contact with such people. That is to say, his concern for getting rid of slavery could have been fully disposed of had it been technologically possible to put all slaves underground where they could not be observed and where there could be none of these unfortunate interactions with white people:

*There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our **[white]** people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between **[white]** master and **[black]** slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unrelenting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our **[white]** children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal.... The **[white]** parent storms, the **[white]** child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The **[white]** man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.*



One wonders whether Jefferson's relationship with his sex slave [Sally Hemings](#) might have been describable as a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, involving on his part the most unrelenting despotism

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and on Sally's part the most degrading submissions:



[N]ever yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration.



In this book Jefferson coined the term “belittle.”

Professor Paul Finkelman, Chapman Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of Tulsa College of Law, believes this writing by Jefferson to have been the definitive moment in a transition from justifications for slavery in terms of culture (such as lack of Christian religion or coming from a foreign and backwards place) to justifications for slavery in terms of biology (in term, that is, of race inferiority). “Having declared we are all ‘created equal’ he [Thomas Jefferson] then had to explain slavery and did it by ‘discovering’ that blacks were not equal.”



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed **slavery**, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

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1783

May 8, Thursday: The earliest known public reference (so far as we presently know⁴⁴) to [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s role as the draftsman of the [Declaration of Independence](#) would be a pamphlet version distributed in New England⁴⁵ of a sermon of this date by the Reverend President [Ezra Stiles](#) of [Yale College](#) before the Connecticut General Assembly. In this sermon, although Stiles attributed the fine sentiments of the document to all Americans, he also took note of Jefferson's "signal act" of having drafted it on behalf of the Continental Congress.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

It had been Jefferson, according to the Reverend (who was no historian and had no information other than hearsay), who had "poured the soul of the continent into the monumental act of Independence." The style of this brief reference seems suggestive of emphasis being placed upon a known but disregarded piece of information rather than announcement of what it actually was — announcement of what if it could be substantiated a novel piece of new information.



François-André Danican-Philidor provided his 2d multiple chess game demonstration in St. James' Street, London, playing 3 simultaneous games without seeing any of them. He won 2 and the 3d was a draw.

44. Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," 560; Boyd, *et al.*, eds., *THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON*, XV, 241n.

45. The sermon would subsequently be issued as a pamphlet: *THE UNITED STATES ELEVATED TO GLORY AND HONOR. A SERMON PREACHED BEFORE HIS EXCELLENCY JONATHAN TRUMBULL,... AND THE HONORABLE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT... MAY 8TH, 1783* (New Haven CT: Thomas and Samuel Green, 1783; Worcester MA: Isaiah Thomas, 1785).

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October 25, Saturday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) clambered atop a wobbly stack of layers of shale to view the scenery of [Harpers Ferry](#).



He would register his impressions in NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA in 1785:

READ JEFFERSON TEXT

The passage of the Patowmack through the Blue Ridge is perhaps one of the most stupendous scenes in Nature. You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain a hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patowmack in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion that this earth has been created in time, that the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards, that in this place particularly they have been so dammed up by the Blue Ridge of mountains as to have formed an ocean which filled the whole valley; that, continuing to rise, they have at last broken over at this spot and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disruptions and avulsions from their beds by the most powerful agents in nature, corroborate the impression.

But the distant finishing which nature has given the picture is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the former. It is as placid and delightful as that is wild and tremendous. For the mountains being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in that plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around to pass through the breach and participate in the calm below. Here the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way, too, the road happens actually to lead. You cross the Patowmack above the junction, pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles, the terrible precipice hanging in fragments

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over you, and within about 20 miles reach Frederictown and the fine country around that. This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic.



(When an attempt would be made to escort President [Abraham Lincoln](#) to this vantage point, he would find the climb too exhausting and turn back.)

June 1, Thursday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) forwarded a copy of the drafting committee's draft for a [Declaration of Independence](#) to [James Madison, Jr.](#), "at full length distinguishing the alterations it underwent."⁴⁶

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

46. Boyd, Julian P., et al., eds. THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON (27 vols. to date, Princeton NJ: 1950-), Volume VI, page 273

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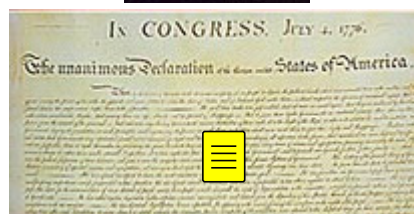
1784

John Trumbull was back in [London](#), studying with the painter [Benjamin West](#). At West's suggestion and with [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s encouragement, he began the celebrated series of historical paintings and engravings that at which he would labor sporadically for the remainder of his life.

JOHN TRUMBULL



June 30, Wednesday: With [Thomas Jefferson](#) passing through town on a diplomatic mission to France, Boston's [The Massachusetts Centinel and the Republican Journal](#) averred to its readership that "the memorable declaration of American Independence is said to have been penned by him."



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



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1785

We who are accustomed to the present “one-drop rule” convention, whereby anyone with any black ancestry at all is categorized as “a black,” need to remind ourselves that in colonial Virginia the conventional distinction between black and white had been considered to be 1/8th black ancestry. In this year that social and legal convention was altered from 1/8th to 1/4th, which meant that in the state of Virginia in this year there would have been some enslaved individuals who were to be considered white, and over and above that there would have been free white citizens who nevertheless had noticeable African heritage. After Nat Turner’s insurrection, there would be legislation in Virginia to allow “white” citizens who had some African ancestry, **if they were free** (which wasn’t necessarily the case, as it was quite all right under Virginia statutes for a white person to be a slave of someone else), to obtain a document from a county court, certifying to the fact that whatever they looked like they were “not a negro.” By [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s own explication of this convention, it appears ambiguous whether he considered his sex slave [Sally Hemings](#) to be black or to be white, although, black or white, she would be nevertheless for life his slave (he would not release her from [slavery](#), although he did honor the bargain he had made with her that some of their children would in his will be granted [manumission](#) documents).⁴⁷“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such



, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human — is not such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of the world from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”

— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

NO-ONE’S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE



Presentation of [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.

READ JEFFERSON TEXT

Knowing that we would place a very great deal of emphasis on his opinions because he was such a swell guy, such a marvelous moral example, the founding father commented, on the topic of religious liberty, that:

The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say that there are twenty Gods, or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg.

47. Is the earliest beginning of the [Eugenics](#) agenda in America to be traced to this hot conceit of white slavemasters such as Jefferson — that they might inseminate mulatto females who were their property, and inseminate them progressively through generations of less and less dusky little girls, until eventually their offspring would become treatable as if they were white?



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He commented, on the topic of religious pluralism, that:

Difference of opinion is advantageous in religion. The several sects perform the office of a censor morum over such other. Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch toward uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half of the world fools and the other half hypocrites.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

He also declared (pay attention here) that he just liked the scenery in the Commonwealth of Virginia one heck of a lot:

The passage of the Patowmac through the Blue Ridge is perhaps one of the most stupendous scenes in Nature. You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain a hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patowmac in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion that this earth has been created in time, that the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards, that in this place particularly they have been so dammed up by the Blue Ridge of mountains as to have formed an ocean which filled the whole valley; that, continuing to rise, they have at last broken over at this spot and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disruptions and avulsions from their beds by the most powerful agents in nature, corroborate the impression.

But the distant finishing which nature has given the picture is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the former. It is as placid and delightful as that is wild and tremendous. For the mountains being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in that plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around to pass through the breach and participate in the calm below. Here the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way, too, the road happens actually to lead. You cross the Patowmac above the junction, pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles, the terrible precipice hanging in fragments over you, and within about 20 miles reach Fredericktown and the fine country around that. This scene is worth a voyage across

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the Atlantic.



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SALLY HEMINGS



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Dignitaries at an Independence Day dinner in New York raised their glasses to George Washington, to the soldiers who died in combat, to our nation’s European allies, and to “Liberty, peace and happiness to all mankind.” Note well that no dignitary proposed raising a glass to any [Jefferson](#), either as the author of our [Declaration of Independence](#) or for any other reason.



The victory having been attained and properly celebrated, the victors proceeded to a proper distribution of their spoils of war, the former estates of departed Loyalists. During the latter half of the year, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#) would be relocating his family to the piece of the loot that had been assigned to him, a plantation called “Mulberry Grove” on the Savannah River of Georgia.

[Boston](#) began sending its convicts out to the Castle in Boston Harbor to serve their sentences.



NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1786

A Virginia bill drafted by [Thomas Jefferson](#) revised colonial marriage law by omitting reference to ecclesiastical authority but reenacting the following: "A marriage between a person of free condition and a [slave](#), or between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a mulatto, shall be null."



AMALGAMATION



"Don't think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed."

— [Dwight David Eisenhower](#)





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

[Sally Hemings](#), “Dashing Sally” as she was called in the [Monticello](#) plantation house, “mighty near white,” old enough to know better but too young to resist, had been part of the wedding dowry that her white, free half-sister Martha Wayles had brought with her when she got married with [Thomas Jefferson](#). She accompanied [Thomas](#)’s two white daughters by her half-sister, her cousins, to visit her slavemaster in Gay Paree. She was officially categorized as the “nurse” of one of these white recognized daughters. She was thirteen or fourteen years of age and her 6 foot 2 inch white [slavemaster](#) / lover was thirty years her senior.

Meanwhile, back home in America, the Virginia bill, which had been drafted by this [Jefferson](#), revised colonial marriage law, omitting reference to ecclesiastical authority but reenacting the following:

A marriage between a person of free condition and a slave, or between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a mulatto, shall be null.

Obviously, whatever erotics developed between this white master and his mulatto slave girl, by definition sexually available to him — marriage wasn’t ever gonna be one of the possibilities! Our guy had already seen to that, firmly closing the door upon any such temptation to decency.

This was the year of [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. It is to be noted that not only would the Commonwealth of Virginia not live up to this ideal, but even Jefferson himself would not live up to this ideal. This Statute provided for a strict [separation of church and state](#), by declaring that “our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions.” It denounced as a violation of “natural right” any measure that linked public office to religious profession or that diminished or enlarged people’s civil capacities because of their religious beliefs.

[T]o compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing of him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness.... Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”

— Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**

[James Madison, Jr.](#) attended a convention on interstate trade in Annapolis, Maryland at which a decision was reached to hold convention during the following summer to revise the Articles of Confederation.

Shays' Rebellion, the post-Revolutionary clash between New England farmers and merchants that tested the precarious institutions of the new republic, threatened to plunge the "disunited states" into a civil war. The rebellion arose in Massachusetts in this year, spread to other former colonies, and would culminate in an abortive attack on a federal arsenal. Was the young nation to spin into civil war? The hostilities would wind down in 1787 with the election of a more popular governor, an economic upswing, and the creation of the Constitution of the United States in Philadelphia. Shays' Rebellion troops, calling themselves "The Regulators," passed through Ireland Parish (would eventually become Holyoke). The parish petitioned for separation from Chicopee Parish. In central Massachusetts, Shays' Rebellion forcibly interrupted court systems. Princeton MA was one of the hotbeds of this dissension. Amidst the growing dissatisfaction with the Articles of Confederation, General [George Washington](#) corresponded with [James Madison](#) and others to consider how the federal government might be formally strengthened:

I am mortified beyond expression when I view the clouds that have spread over the brightest morn that ever dawned in any country.... What a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious.

Massachusetts's onetime Revolutionary agitator, Samuel Adams, was of similar opinion. It was OK for him to rebel against others but not-OK for others to rebel against him:

Rebellion against a king may be pardoned, or lightly punished, but the man who dares to rebel against the laws of a republic ought to suffer death.

[Thomas Jefferson](#), abroad, took a philosophical attitude. What's a little bloodshed between brothers?

A little rebellion now and then is a good thing. It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government. God forbid that we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion.

This was largely a class conflict between a merchant class that needed stability in order to profit from trans-Atlantic trade, as represented by Massachusetts's two leading traders, James Bowdoin and John Hancock, who between them would hold the Governor's office for the entire decade of 1780 to 1791, and hard-pressed agrarian producers who were constantly being threatened with foreclosure and high taxation.

May: [Thomas Jefferson](#) took an 8-day trip on the [Canal du Midi](#).



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1787

Thomas Jefferson's NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA rejected Georges Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon's assertion that America's harsh, moist climate stunted the growth of its inhabitants.

"WALKING": Sir Francis Head, – an English traveller, and a Governor General of Canada, – tells us that "in both the northern and southern hemispheres of the new world, Nature has not only outlined her works on a larger scale, but has painted the whole picture with brighter and more costly colors than she used in delineating and in beautifying the old world." "The heavens of America appear infinitely higher – the sky is bluer – the air is fresher – the cold is intenser – the moon looks larger – the stars are brighter – the thunder is louder – the lightning is vividier – the wind is stronger – the rain is heavier – the mountains are higher – the rivers larger – the forests bigger – the plains broader." This statement will do at least to set against Buffon's account of this part of the world and its productions.

SIR FRANCIS HEAD

Jefferson addressed the issue of race, describing Native Americans favorably, African slaves unfavorably.

NOTES ON VIRGINIA

Caspar Wistar and Timothy Matlack informed the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia that they have discovered a "giant's bone" in New Jersey (presumably a dinosaur, but soon afterward, the bone would be lost).

THE SCIENCE OF 1787

Petrus Camper's ON THE ABSURDITY OF THE SUPPOSED UNICORNS pointed out that no land species had a cranial structure that could support a single heavy bone mass above the eyes.

PALEONTOLOGY



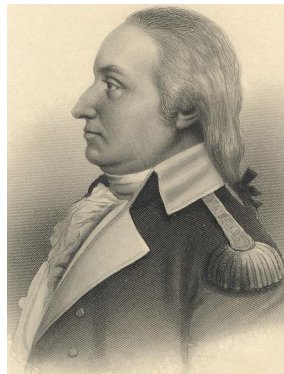
PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

November 13, Tuesday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to William Stevens Smith from Paris, where he was Minister Plenipotentiary, and made his famous comment in regard to Shay's rebellion in central Massachusetts that "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." These words would be on the T-shirt of Timothy McVeigh as he drove away from Oklahoma City on April 19, 1996 — but those words did not any more imply any premonition on Jefferson's part of the bloodiness of the Reign of Terror which was to follow in France than they would have implied any premonition that there would be a federal building blown up in Oklahoma City in 1996 with great loss of life. In this letter to Smith the words were followed by: "It [the blood of patriots and tyrants] is its [the tree of liberty's] natural manure." Lack of premonition does not, however, imply difference in spirit. Although Jefferson did not have either the French Revolution or an American explosion in mind when he originated this remark, when that bloody revolution did finally begin in 1792 he would indeed write about it in his "tree of liberty" spirit, setting virtually no limits to the amounts of other people's blood these revolutionaries might legitimately spill in the pursuit of their agenda to set people free.



Colonel Loammi Baldwin and 36 others had protested against the inaction of their hometown of Woburn MA in the time of this rebellion, when a majority there had voted not to give any encouragement to men called out to go on the present expedition, nor to aid or assist it. Two days after he and his protesters had ridden off to combat the rebellion, his town saw fit to reconsider this vote.





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1788

Philip Mazzei, although he was [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s long-time friend, in a history of American politics which he authored in this year mentioned only incidentally that his Virginian friend had had anything to do with the authoring of the [Declaration of Independence](#).⁴⁸

48. Mazzei, Philip. RESEARCHES ON THE UNITED STATES, ed. and trans. Constance D. Sherman (1788, Reprint: Charlottesville SC, 1976), page 157



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1789

[Thomas Jefferson](#) brought pasta to the United States after a tour of duty as Ambassador to France. Newly installed in our nation's capital, Philadelphia, as the federal Secretary of State, he began a career of plant introduction that would include vanilla, [tea](#), and [tomatoes](#).

PLANTS

The 1st session of Congress met. Elbridge Gerry had renounced his hostility toward the proposed federal constitutional document in time to secure election to that 1st Congress — at which, to the annoyance of the Antifederalists who had raised him to this elevation, he would become a champion of Federalist policies. (This makes him sound a bit like Bill Clinton, doesn't it?)

Now listen to me...



The Judiciary Act specified numbers of Federal courts and judges.

[Thomas Jefferson](#) was in Paris during the capture by the French revolutionaries of the Bastille: “The decapitation of de Launay worked powerfully thro’ the night on the whole aristocratical party [so that they realized] the absolute necessity that the king should give up everything to the States [General].” It may well be that Jefferson utilized in his conversations with the French revolutionaries some version of his earlier “The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants” remark.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

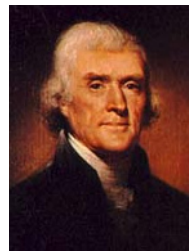
SALLY HEMINGS

At this point the [Declaration of Independence](#) was being considered merely as having been a declaration of war, a notification and a publicity document, a means to bring an end to British rule over its North American colonies, rather than as a powerfully penned beginning for the institutions and principles of American government.⁴⁹ Thus David Ramsay's HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, published in this year, characterized the Declaration merely as the "act of the united colonies for separating themselves from the government of Great-Britain," while ignoring [Jefferson](#) altogether.⁵⁰



William Gordon's history of the American revolutionary war and of our independence, also published in this year, in terming the Declaration an "act of separation from the crown of Great-Britain," identified Jefferson not as having been the author of this document but merely as having been a member of the drafting committee.⁵¹

July 14, Tuesday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) was in [Paris](#) during the capture by some 20,000 French revolutionaries of the Bastille Prison: "The decapitation of de Launay worked powerfully thro' the night on the whole aristocratical party [so that they realized] the absolute necessity that the king should give up everything to the States [General]." It may well be that Jefferson utilized in his conversations with the French revolutionaries some version of his earlier "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants" remark.



FRENCH REVOLUTION, I

FRENCH REVOLUTION, II

Some 80,000 Parisians converged on the Invalides. After some negotiation they forced their way in and liberated the 30,000 muskets therein, along with several cannon. At 1:30PM, without authorization, a citizen cut the drawbridge chains on the Bastille Prison and the 900 citizens demanding its capitulation (and stores of powder) scurried across into the guns of the soldiers within. By 3:30PM, the battle turned into a siege, the citizens reinforced by gardes-françaises companies and cannon from the Invalides. At 5:00PM, the Bastille Prison capitulated as the citizens rushed in. They liberated 7 prisoners (4 forgers, an accomplice to murder, a nobleman who had committed incest, and an Irishman who had gone insane) and 14,000 kilograms of powder. In the battle 98 citizens had been killed and but one soldier. Then, however, three of the defenders, including

49. Maier, AMERICAN SCRIPTURE, pages 154, 160, and 168-9; Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," pages 563-6

50. Ramsay, David. THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Philadelphia PA: 1789, Volume I, pages 340-1

51. Gordon, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. NY: 1789, Volume II, pages 92 and 105



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

the commander Bernard René Jordan, Marquis de Launay, were executed by the mob. The head of the Marquis was carried around on a pike. In the evening, King Louis XVI informed the National Assembly that he would withdraw troops from the center of Paris.

The score of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* arrived in Eisenstadt for the perusal of the local *kapellmeister*, Joseph Haydn.

The expedition led by [Alexander Mackenzie](#) reached the Arctic Ocean, having traversed the river which now bears his name. In 15 days they had traveled to a point about 1,600 kilometers northwest of their starting point at Fort Chipewyan.

THE FROZEN NORTH
CANADA

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1790

During this year [Sally Hemings](#), a very light mulatto [slave](#) woman of [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s [Monticello](#) plantation, "mighty near white," bore her first child, at the age of 17, a child which resembled its owner.

	white	black	mulatto	half	quarter
Pied	5 1/2	7			
Penny	5	7			
Moses 3.	4	5			
Sucky 6.	3 1/2	4			
Nedj	5 1/2	7			
Peter Hem.	5 1/2	7			
Philip.	5 1/2	7		1	
Rachael	5	7			
Eliza 5.	3 1/2	4 1/2			
Ellen 8.	2 3/4	3 1/2			
Sally.	5	7			1
Harriet 1.	4 1/2	5 1/2		1	
Madison 5.	3 1/2	4 1/2			
Eston 8.	2 3/4	3 1/2			1
Samco	5 1/2	7			1

It has been established by the historian Dumas Malone that Jefferson was in the vicinity during the period when this child would have been conceived. (The infant would eventually receive the name Thomas Woodson, courtesy of another white man to whom he would be sold.) If there was no unfaithfulness to the marital partner on the part of any of Dashing Sally’s descendants during the following eight or nine generations, then, genetic tests indicate, this child was not Jefferson’s child. If, however, during any one of the eight or nine succeeding generations, there was an incident of marital unfaithfulness which resulted in fecundation, then the genetic tests which we are capable of today simply **do no indicate one way or the other**, who the father of this child who looked like [Tom](#) had been. (This 1st child was named Tom and Jefferson would upon his own death set him free. Not only general scandal, but also Hemings family history, indicate that he was Jefferson’s son. Also, we do know with a very high degree of reliability from the forensic evidence that **at least one** of slave Sally’s children, Eston, would be sired by her master or perchance by one or another of his male relatives.)

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

But why, if Jefferson had been the daddy, had he not treated his child better? —Because that just wasn't Jeffersonian:

He was not in the habit of showing partiality or fatherly affection to his children.

— [Madison Hemings](#)



A Father of our Country

But why, if Jefferson had been the daddy, had he not married the mommy? —Because this is the [Thomas Jefferson](#) who himself had penned the Virginia statute:

A marriage between a person of free condition and a slave, or between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a mulatto, shall be null.

RACE SLAVERY
RACE POLITICS

"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."

— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Life Among the Lowly.

NUMBER I.

MADISON HEMINGS.

I never knew of but one white man who bore the name of Hemings; he was an Englishman and my greatgrandfather. He was captain of an English trading vessel which sailed between England and Williamsburg, Va., then quite a port. My grandmother was a fullblooded African, and possibly a native of that country. She was the property of John Wales, a Welchman. Capt. Hemings happened to be in the port of Williamsburg at the time my grandmother was born, and acknowledging her fatherhood he tried to purchase her of Mr. Wales, who would not part with the child, though he was offered an extraordinarily large price for her. She was named Elizabeth Hemings. Being thwarted in the purchase, and determining to own his flesh and blood he resolved to take the child by force or stealth, but the knowledge of his intention coming to John Wales' ears, through leaky fellow servants of the mother, she and the child were taken into the "great house" under their master's immediate care. I have been informed that it was not the extra value of that child over other slave children that induced Mr. Wales to refuse to sell it, for slave masters then, as in later days, had no compunctions of conscience which restrained them from parting mother and child of however tender age, but he was restrained by the fact that just about that time amalgamation began, and the child was so great a curiosity that its owner desired to raise it himself that he might see its outcome. Capt. Hemings soon afterwards sailed from Williamsburg, never to return. Such is the story that comes down to me.

Elizabeth Hemings grew to womanhood in the family of John Wales, whose wife dying she (Elizabeth) was taken by the widower Wales as his concubine, by whom she had six children—three sons and three daughters, viz: Robert, James, Peter, Critty, Sally and Thenna. These children went by the name of Hemings.

Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia, and of course it was an aristocratic place, where the "bloods" of the Colony and the new State most did congregate. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was educated at William and Mary College, which had its seat at Williamsburg. He afterwards studied law with Geo. Wythe, and practiced law at the bar of the general court of the Colony. He was afterwards elected a member of the provincial legislature from Albemarle county. Thos. Jefferson was a visitor at the "great house" of John Wales, who had children about his own age. He formed the acquaintance of his daughter Martha (I believe that was her name, though I am not positively sure,) and an intimacy sprang up between them which ripened into love, and they were married. They afterwards went to live at his country seat, Monticello, and in course of time had born to them a daughter whom they named Martha. About the time she was born my mother, the second daughter of John Wales and Elizabeth Hemings was born. On the death of John Wales, my grandmother, his concubine, and her children by him fell to Martha, Thomas Jefferson's wife, and consequently became the property of Thomas Jefferson, who in the course of time became famous, and was appointed minister to France during our revolutionary troubles, or soon after independence was gained. About the time of the appointment and before he was ready to leave the country his wife died, and as soon after her interment as he could at-

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

President [George Washington](#) set duties on [cannabis](#) (hemp) to encourage a domestic industry. [Thomas Jefferson](#) termed this plant “a necessity,” and urged planters to grow it in preference to [tobacco](#).

Here is a [snuffbox](#) that was crafted in approximately this year:



The logo reads “NATURE ET VERITE.” The image is that of [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#). On the base of the box is a view of Rousseau’s island tomb surrounded by tall trees, inscribed “TOMBEAU DE JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU ... MORT A L’AGE DE 66 ENTERRE 4 JUILLET 1778.”

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

In a French memoir of this year we find the following benevolently exploitative racial sentiment:

It is perhaps not impossible to civilize the Negro, to bring him to principles and make a man out of him: there would be more to gain than to buy and sell him.

At about this time, a French captain of a sailing vessel, in reaction to news from Paris that some supporters of free mulatto slavemasters had organized a *Société des Amis des Noirs*, proclaimed himself to be “*l’Ami des Hommes*.” What this captain meant by his self-descriptive phrase we may infer as we peruse his ship’s manifest of cargo: slaves from Africa destined for the cane plantations of the French Caribbean. The man was captain of a negrero engaged in the [international slave trade](#).



The events that shook up Saint-Domingue from 1791 to 1804 constituted a sequence for which not even the extreme political left in France or in England had a conceptual frame of reference. They were “unthinkable” facts in the framework of Western thought. Pierre Bourdieu defines the unthinkable as that for which one has no adequate instruments to conceptualize. He writes: “In the unthinkable of an epoch, there is all that one cannot think for want of ethical or political inclinations that predispose to take it in account or in consideration, but also that which one cannot think for want of instruments of thought such as problematics, concepts, methods, techniques.” The unthinkable is that which one cannot conceive within the range of possible alternatives, that which perverts all answers because it defies the terms under which the questions were phrased. In that sense, the Haitian Revolution was unthinkable in its time: it challenged the very framework within which proponents and opponents had examined race, colonialism, and [slavery](#) in the Americas.

Bear in mind that there was a peculiarity in the situation of the USA and of [Haiti](#) at this time. As has been commented on a number of times, “Americans had recently been rebels, were noted in the world as such, and knew it.” The USA, a democracy in a world still dominated by blood aristocrats, a republic in an era still ruled by absolute monarchs, was being considered an outlaw nation, a pariah state. Haiti, a nation 90% enslaved, by way of extreme contrast was being considered a model of perfect appropriateness and decorum!

In this year the free men of color in [Haiti](#) protested that they were “a class of men born French, but degraded by cruel and vile prejudices and laws.”



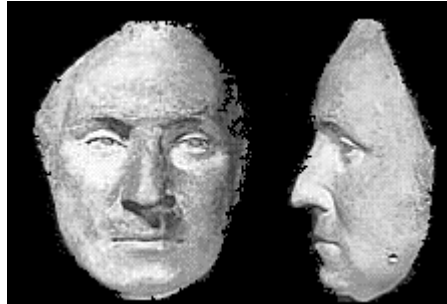
A Frenchman of this *Saint-Domingue* colony, where some 90% of the population was enslaved, wrote home to reassure his wife and, perhaps, to reassure himself:

“There is no movement among our Negroes.... They don’t even think of it. They are very tranquil and obedient. A revolt among them is impossible.”

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

This nation's revolt against French rule gave [George Washington](#) a chance to put our own nation's money where its heart was. The federal administration loaned hundreds of thousands of dollars to the French planters, to help them put down this revolt among their black charges.



Why did we behave in this manner? Well, bear in mind that the officially registered commerce of Haiti with France alone –leaving out of consideration all the trade with all the other countries and leaving out of consideration all smuggling– was equal to the total trade of the USA with all of the world. Haiti was one big deal. The US needed some 500 ships just for its trade with this one island, and that number was on the rise toward 600 and more! Before [Thomas Jefferson](#) imposed his embargo against all American shipping to the new black republic, the US had been this island's most important trading partner. Commerce with this island was foundational to the economic prosperity of the New England and the Middle Atlantic states. This island received at least a tenth of all American exports. Only Great Britain itself received a greater percentage of our foreign commerce.

March 21, Sunday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) arrived in [New-York](#) and reported to President [George Washington](#) to be made Secretary of State.

David Bates Douglass was born in Pompton, New Jersey to Deacon Nathaniel Douglass and Sarah Bates of Newark.

June 2, Wednesday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) moved to 57 Maiden Lane in [New-York](#).

June 20, Sunday: At Secretary of State [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s residence on Maiden Lane in [New-York](#), over dinner, Congressman [James Madison, Jr.](#), Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, and Jefferson agreed to the Compromise of 1790. Hamilton agreed to support the placing of the federal capital on the Potomac in return for Madison's support for the assumption of [Revolutionary War](#) debts of the states by the federal government.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

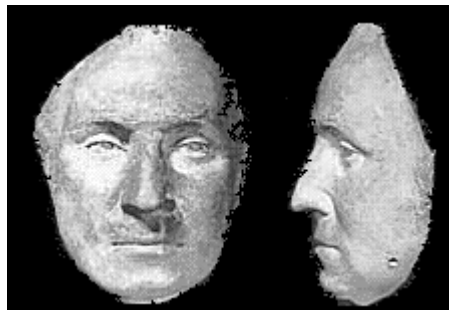
PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Summer: [William Wordsworth](#) and Robert Jones were on a walking tour of France and the Alps. They landed at Calais just before the 1st anniversary of the July 14th liberation of the Bastille. As they sailed on the Rhone, they joined with a group of joyous delegates who were returning from the Federation *fête* in Paris. At this point the French revolution was still all sweetness and light and at this point Bill Wordsworth did not yet look like this:



Bill boy was still all sweetness and light. The American experiment was still all sweetness and light, as well. In the course of this hot season, [George Washington](#) would be eating his way through some \$200.⁰⁰ worth of ice cream brought down specially for him carefully packed in ice, from [New-York City](#).



We don't have any comparable figure for [Thomas Jefferson](#) simply because he had his slaves make up the stuff for him locally, so in his case there aren't such extant invoices. –But note that Jefferson wasn't living low on the hog, either.

July 12, Monday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) outlined a policy to be followed if Spain and Britain went to war over Nootka Sound.

The French National Assembly adopted the Constitution of the Clergy. All church officials would henceforth be employees of the state.

The US Congress voted to move the national capital from [New-York](#) to Philadelphia for 10 years, and then move it again to a new permanent site on the Potomac.

[DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA](#)

La revanche, ou Les deux frères, a comédie by Giuseppe Cambini to words of Dubuisson, was performed for the initial time, at Théâtre du Comte de Beaujolais, Paris.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

August 15, Sunday: President [George Washington](#) and Secretary of State [Thomas Jefferson](#) left [New-York](#) heading for [Rhode Island](#).

Mercy Baker and Sukey Baker, twins, were born in Lincoln, Massachusetts, 6th and 7th children of Jacob Baker, Jr. and Hannah Ball Baker.

September 1, Wednesday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) left [New-York](#) for Monticello.

1791



March: From this point forward into 1796, the Alexander Hamilton/[Thomas Jefferson](#) conflict would be fostering the beginnings of the American party system (Federalists on the one hand, with their national-banking-system ideas, growing the power of the federal government, Democratic-Republicans or Jefferson Republicans on the other, with their less-governmental-intervention-in-the-economy, strict-construction-of-the-Constitution, states-rights ideas). At the 1st federal congress, members of the newly formed House of Representatives anxiously scribbled notes, waiting impatiently to reply to their colleagues. One by one they rose, if they were allowed to speak, to encounter friendly nods or antagonistic scowls. The practice of human enslavement was quickly seen to be the one nonissue on which the bulk of these white propertied politicians would be in concord against an obstreperous minority and on which the very right to speak publicly might therefore be successfully contested. “I am certain,” a South Carolinian exclaimed, “that even talk of abolition will sound an alarm, and blow the trumpet of sedition in the Southern states.” Fellow South Carolinians, Georgians, and increasingly, Virginians, shouted their concurrence with this expressed sentiment. A Georgian inquired whether “it is good policy now to bring forward business which is likely to light the flame of civil discord? For the people of the South will resist one tyranny as soon as another!” Another South Carolinian offered a stark warning about not brooking any interference with the rights of southern white men. “Let me remind men who expect a general emancipation by law,” he declared, “that this would never be submitted to by the Southern States without civil war!” This debate on enslavement, [disunion](#), and the silencing of

“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES....”

: On the other part, appeared the reign of pounds and shillings, and all manner of rage and stupidity; a resistance which drew from Mr. Huddlestone in Parliament the observation, “That a curse attended this trade even in the mode of defending it. By a certain fatality, none but the vilest arguments were brought forward, which corrupted the very persons who used them. Every one of these was built on the narrow ground of interest, of pecuniary profit, of sordid gain, in opposition to every motive that had reference to humanity, justice, and religion, or to that great principle which comprehended them all.”

congressional discussion was transpiring, be it duly noted, not on the eve of our [US Civil War](#) but while the French Revolution was raging in Europe, at the very dawning of our American union. Scholars have long understood slavery’s acceptance in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the impact which this easy acceptance has brought in its train, in delayed and thus intensified North/South clashes. Yet the founding generation did not have to wait very long to grapple over slavery’s place in the new Union. The 1st Federal



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Congress staged the first federal debate on slavery and encountered the first attempt at gag rule. If the Constitutional Convention offered a glimpse of slavery's potentially divisive nature in the new republic, this subsequent event established more concretely its political shape and dynamics. Indeed the most important feature of the early gag debates was the debut of Deep South anti-petition tactics. Fifty years before John Caldwell Calhoun raged about the need for a formal gag rule, our 1st Congress was mollifying South Carolinians and Georgians by creating an informal version of such a monstrosity. In the story of early Deep South extremism lies the larger issue of how liberty and slavery could so tenuously coexist in early national political culture — and why such fatal compromises would some seventy years later come to involve extrapolitical resolutions.



June: [John Quincy Adams](#) anonymously submitted “Publicola: Observations on Paine's Rights of Man in a series of letters” in response to the just-published Part I of [Thomas Paine](#)'s RIGHTS OF MAN: BEING AN ANSWER TO MR. BURKE'S ATTACK ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (the American edition of which had received something of an endorsement, or perceived endorsement, by [Thomas Jefferson](#)).

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



June 13, Monday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) and [James Madison, Jr.](#) rode across Paumanok Long Island's Suffolk County (and that's the long and short of it).

June 15, Wednesday: William Floyd joined [Thomas Jefferson](#) and [James Madison, Jr.](#) in their ride across Long Island.

July 4, Monday: The new Bank of the United States opened its subscription books in Philadelphia, and within a couple of hours all its stock had been subscribed. Among the purchasers was Colonel Smith, backed by the Pulteney interests. (In this year the Bank of North America was abandoning its old system of keeping its accounts in pounds, shillings, and pence and “going modern” with dollars and cents, so we can safely presume that the new bank would also keeping track of the value of such assets in terms of dollars and cents.)

Alexander Hamilton's opinion as to the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States:

READ THE FULL TEXT

[Thomas Jefferson](#)'s opinion as to its constitutionality:

READ THE FULL TEXT

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SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

August 22, Monday-24, Wednesday: The freemen of racially mixed ancestry of the northern province of [Saint-Domingue](#) launched an uprising against French overlordship –led by a short former coachman named François Dominique [Toussaint Louverture](#) who himself from time to time owned black slaves– which during the following 13 years would spread throughout the colony, and which would severely impact the lucrative production of [cane sugar](#).⁵² But do not suppose that this was initially a slave revolt. According to Lester D. Langley's *THE AMERICAS IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION 1750-1850* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1996, page 119),

SLAVERY

The rebellion began not as a struggle for African freedom but as a conflict between whites and free coloreds over social equality. In the beginning the [African] blacks were observers, then participants, sometimes at the behest of whites or free coloreds but always with a different agenda.... Often forgotten are the early phases. Whites and free coloreds had initiated the carnage.



Two years into the French Revolution the marginalized peoples of the island of Santo Domingo in the Caribbean were somehow getting a message of liberty, equality, and fraternity. In the course of their struggle they would defeat, in succession, their local white overlords and the soldiers of the French monarchy, a Spanish invasion, a British expedition of some 60,000 soldiers, and, finally, in 1803, a French expedition of roughly the same size commanded by a brother-in-law of [Napoleon Bonaparte](#). What specifically did they say were their nonnegotiable demands? –They said they were fighting in order to obtain the concession of three days off per week to work in their own gardens –in order to be able properly to feed themselves and their

52.Except for the decline in sugar production which was thus occasioned during the years 1791-1803, the island of [Haiti](#) being the world's largest colonial producer, world production of sugar has not suffered more than an occasional hiccup in the course of five centuries.



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families during their labors— and they added that in addition to that, they preferred not to be punished by the use of whips. The eventual result would be the nation of Haiti, famous for an unofficial and sarcastic motto:

“We oppress ourselves, quite eliminating the middleman.”

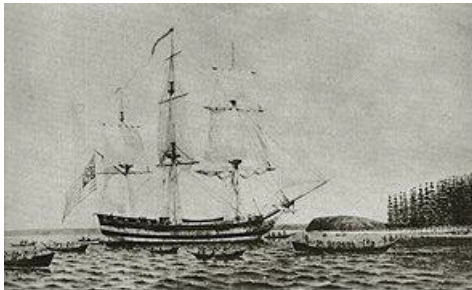
It is important to come to grips with the fact that the world of 1791 was in certain ways now poorly understood quite a big different from the world as it is now. As things now stand, Haiti is a little ruined island where nothing much goes on other than poverty and filth and oppression and political victimization, and Disney factories where local people fabricate cuddly stuffed toys for pennies an hour, whereas the United States of America is the world's only superpower and the home of the free and the brave. In 1791 Haiti was the richest and best-run, most orderly and arranged society one might imagine, entirely regular and autocratic, with a place for everyone and everyone in their place—a sugar-saturated economy— whereas the USA was an outlaw nation, a backwater violent republic in an era in which monarchy was recognized as the righteous condition. Winthrop Jordan expressed the situation as “Americans had recently been rebels, were noted in the world as such, and knew it.” Then, during this night, the situation began to change. The island of Haiti began a second American revolution much like the one which had occurred a decade or two before on the American mainland. Well, but the white people of the United States of America were able to make a significant distinction between that 1st revolution for freedom, on the mainland, and this 2d revolution for freedom, on the island in the Caribbean, because the fight for freedom in the Caribbean would be an “insurrection of the negroes.” As Jordan would put it, the white people would lack any inclination to “admit the exactness of the parallel” between the one struggle for freedom and the other. And this refusal to see the parallel between the 1st and 2d revolutions would “help ... form an ideology” in the USA that would “differ ... significantly from the humanistic traditions of Western civilization.” White freedom righteous black freedom unrighteous. The revolutionary rhetoric of American patriotism was to be held unavailable. The American president, [Thomas Jefferson](#) the strong believer in human liberty, would out of race prejudice become in this circumstance the strongest believer in human illiberty. Although he might well have perceived the revolt in Haiti as representing a heaven-sent opportunity to achieve freedom and justice for all, had he been another sort of person than the person he was, he would not perceive the situation in that way, indeed he would not even become aware that this was an option. He would lock himself and his nation into a knee-jerk hostility. He “grew increasingly silent and depressed about the future of Africans in America” and focused himself upon his “aversion ... to the mixture of color.” Essentially, we proceeded in regard to the island of Haiti in the late 18th Century in the manner in which we would proceed in regard to the island of Cuba at the middle of the 20th Century, by our treating Fidel Castro as if he were a new [Toussaint Louverture](#). As the French general Leclerc resorted to unblinking terrorism (“Since terror is the sole resource left me, I employ it.”), as the French troops imported 1,500 bloodhounds trained to attack any person of black skin and tear him or her to pieces, we stood idly by. We stood idly by in precisely the same manner as white women stood idly by in their finery and watched exhibitions in which blacks were lashed to posts in order to be disemboweled by attack dogs.

1792

Congress designated our unit of currency to be the Dollar (in imitation of the Spanish, who had the strongest currency at that time) as proposed by [Thomas Jefferson](#). The first US mint went into operation in Philadelphia, to supplement and eventually to replace the various foreign coinages in circulation. The only previous coinage in Massachusetts had been the one which the General Court there had authorized in 1652, in direct challenge to English law, a minting which had continued only until about 1682. Political parties were forming; Republicans (to be Democrats) versus Federalists. The Post Office was established by Congress to be a separately functioning entity, not part of this political process. The 2d Congress of the United States added license fees for distilleries and excise taxes on liquors distilled from imported materials (to help retire debts from the [Revolutionary War](#) — this tax would after 8 years be discontinued). Incensed by this action, farmers in Western Pennsylvania mobbed revenue collectors and armed to resist this intrusion by the new Federal Government. It would require 15,000 militia to bring the so-called [Whiskey](#) Rebellion to an end.

April 2, Monday: The US federal congress adopted the plan of Alexander Hamilton and [Thomas Jefferson](#) to establish a bimetallic monetary standard for the United States. The bimetallic mint ratio was set at 15:1.

Captain [Robert Gray](#)'s *Columbia Rediviva* headed south from its winter anchorage at Clayoquot on Vancouver



Island, while his new *Adventurer* went north for trade. It was while on his way back north on this voyage that he found the river, already seen by the Spanish navigator Bruno de Hezeta (AKA Heceta) in 1775, which had not since been noticed. Not being able to get his ship across the bar at the mouth of the river, he sailed farther north.



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September 12, Wednesday: With Secretary of State [Thomas Jefferson](#) undergoing an unprecedented barrage of Federalist opprobrium, in defense his own Republican faction in the government had begun to characterize him as the actual scribe of our independence. The [National Gazette](#), a party organ published in Philadelphia, at this point sought to create public support for this “Tom Jefferson” politician of theirs by asserting that “he composed the Declaration of Independence” as well as by claiming falsely that it had been him who had “moved for it first in Congress.” The opposition faction, Alexander Hamilton’s, was not amused. William Loughton Smith issued a pamphlet titled THE POLITICKS AND VIEWS OF A CERTAIN PARTY, DISPLAYED which while excoriating Jefferson as a self-promoter and a demagogue did allow in passing, quite falsely and quite unnecessarily, that Jefferson had served as “Chairman of the Committee who drew up the Declaration of Independence.” From this point forward the Republicans would use every 4th of July celebration as an occasion for popularizing their man by asserting that it has been he who had drafted the fave declaration of war known as our [Declaration of Independence](#).



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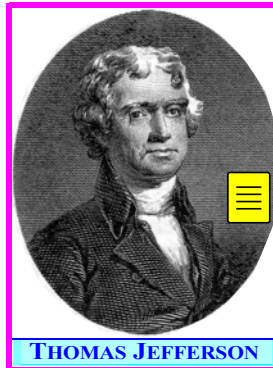
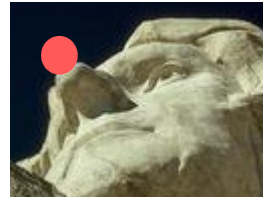
SALLY HEMINGS

Meanwhile, in Paris during this month, the Terror was beginning as Bertrand Barcre made use of a variant of [Jefferson](#)'s remark "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants" in the peroration of a speech calling for the execution of Louis XVI. This terrorist attributed Jefferson's remark to "an ancient author": "The tree of liberty, as an ancient author remarks, flourishes when it is watered with the blood of all varieties of tyrants." In a later context the English historian Macaulay would express doubt (in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1844) as to the actual existence of this "an ancient author" cited by Barcre: "In the course of our own small reading among the Greek and Latin writers, we have not happened to fall in with trees of liberty and watering-pots full of blood, nor can we, such is our ignorance of classical ambiguity, even imagine an Attic or Roman orator employing imagery of that sort."



"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."

– [Kurt Vonnegut](#), *FATES WORSE THAN DEATH*, page 84



THOMAS JEFFERSON

October 1, Monday: Secretary of State [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to [James Madison, Jr.](#) to express the vicious states-rights sentiment that anyone who would attempt to create a national paper currency for the United States of America would be a traitor to his state government, which alone possesses the undelegated authority to issue paper currency — and that the penalty for such a high treason against one's state government ought to be the penalty of death.

The [Virginia] assembly should reason thus. The power of erecting banks & corporations was not given to the general government it remains then with the state itself. For any person to recognize a foreign [Jefferson means "federal"] legislature in a case belonging to the state itself is an act of treason against the state, and whosoever shall do any act under colour of the authority of a foreign legislature whether by signing notes, issuing them or passing them, acting as director, cashier or in any other office relating to it shall be adjudged of high treason & suffer death accordingly, by the judgment of the state

1793



The most important feature of the Patent Act of 1793 was something it did not contain. It provided no protection whatever for foreign intellectual property. Any American citizen could register here any foreign invention by any foreign inventor — and instantly come into possession of all property rights within this nation.⁵³

Our national hagiography of [Thomas Jefferson](#) has led us to assert that just as this man had supposedly been the author of our liberties, in the [Declaration of Independence](#) which in after years he claimed as his own, he also had been the author of the Patent Act passed by the new federal government in this year. Jefferson was, however, merely the 1st administrator of that new US patent system. Edward C. Walterscheid's *TO PROMOTE THE PROGRESS OF USEFUL ARTS: AMERICAN PATENT LAW AND ADMINISTRATION, 1787-1836* (Littleton CO: F.B. Rothman, 1998, page ix) has now confirmed for us the suspicion that during the 20th Century the rulings of the US Supreme Court have consistently misinterpreted the early history of the American Patent System. In their worship of this DWM founding father, the Supremes have “in fact created ‘revisionist’ history.”

In fact there were 15 Patent Bills, Acts and Forms from 1789 to 1836, not merely the ones of 1790, 1793, and 1836, and Jefferson was not remarkably more involved than other politicians in any of these.

January: William Weston arrived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

CANALS

When news arrived from Paris of the September massacres, [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote, ruthlessly,

“Rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated.”



53. We should bear this in mind when we criticize, now, the people on Taiwan for printing pirate cheap editions of American medical textbooks, or criticize, now, the people of mainland China for burning thousands of illicit copies of Hollywood movies on DVD. Our own nation originated as a pirate, conducting itself in the manner which now makes us so utterly indignant.



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1794

[Thomas Jefferson](#) withdrew temporarily from public service and converted his Virginia plantation over from the growing of [tobacco](#) to the growing of wheat as its main cash crop. He redesigned his [Monticello](#) plantation house, enlarging it from 8 to 21 rooms.⁵⁴ To make this expansion possible, he had the upper story removed and the east walls demolished. He then tacked on a series of rooms, a new front, and the famous dome, which happens to have been the initial one added to any American home. He based his design on an illustration in Andrea Palladio's *I QUATTRO LIBRI* depicting the ancient temple of the vestal virgins in Rome, [Italy](#). The image of Monticello that appears on the Jefferson nickel is in fact not the carriage or visiting entrance to the house but its West Front, what we today would call its back door, opening onto its back yard. He had the interiors of this homely edifice prepared according to the standards of Roman neoclassicism.

At some point (perhaps in this year, perhaps not) [Jefferson](#) designed a privy that was indoors at his [Monticello](#) plantation house. His [slaves](#) outdoors were to haul on ropes beneath the flooring in order to empty and reload his earth closet, which consisted of a wooden box having a hole cut in the seat above a hole in the flooring, with a pan of wood ashes on a set of rails beneath the flooring.⁵⁵

The slave whose duty it was to empty the tub of this necessary would have been referred to as the “necessary tubman,” since “necessary” was a euphemism for “privy,” or, shortly, as a “tubman.” In the cities, the wastes termed “night soil,” collected at night by such tubmen, were being sold as fertilizer to nearby farms. This practice would continue until the beginning of the 20th Century. According to Ted Steinberg's *DOWN TO EARTH: NATURE'S ROLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY* (Oxford UP, 2002), as late as 1912 “tubmen in Baltimore cleaned 70,000 privy vaults and cesspools, then sold the night soil in 1000 gallon containers to farmers.” To the very best of my understanding, tubmen might be slaves or they might be free, but were always black due to the degraded nature of the occupation — if anyone should come across even one instance of a non-black tubman, they should publish this finding.⁵⁶

54. [Jefferson](#)'s original drawings of the first version of his ideal plantation house, a structure of relative modesty, demonstrate that he was disfavoring the Georgian architecture then popular in Virginia. He was relying upon his memory of one of the newer townhouses in Paris, the Hotel de Salm, a structure with a dome. In the south of France he had seen the Maison Carrée, which had been a Roman temple, and had been greatly impressed: “Roman taste, genius, and magnificence excite ideas.”

55. [Jefferson](#) would also design two outhouses located at his retreat at Poplar Forest in Virginia which were conventional in function, although octagonal in construction.

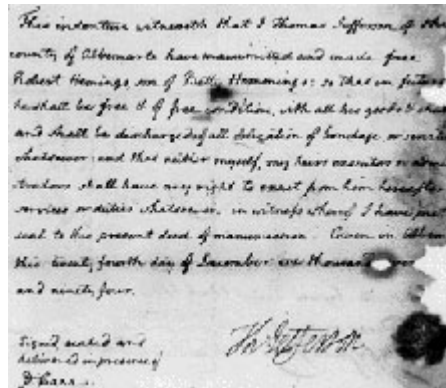
56. This adds an interesting perspective to the noble life of [Harriet Tubman](#). She evidently bore that family name as an occupational name, a synonym for “nightsoil-collector,” in the manner in which a white family might know itself as Cooper (barrel-maker) or Fletcher (arrow-maker). One may imagine that the humor of the situation — that they were being carried north to freedom by a tubman and were therefore analogous to human wastes — would not have been lost on the black escapees whom this Underground Railroad conductor escorted out of the South.



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SALLY HEMINGS

During this year daddy [Thomas manumitted](#) Robert Hemings (1762-1819):⁵⁷



WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF

57. In sum total, during his lifetime Jefferson would manumit this Robert Hemings and, in 1796, James Hemings (1765-1801), and then per the terms of his will in 1826/1827 freedom became available also to Joseph (Joe) Fossett (1780-1858), Burwell Colbert (1783-1850+), Madison Hemings (1805-1856), John Hemings (1776-1833), and Eston Hemings (1808-1856). However, in 1804 and 1822 three other of his slaves would leave Monticello with his tacit consent, to wit James Hemings (1787-????), Beverly Hemings (1798-????), and Harriet Hemings (1801-????). We note that the only slaves Jefferson ever freed were members of the Hemings family and that after his death, at the disposal of his estate, the other 130 slaves at Monticello would be remaindered to the highest bidders. Although [Sally Hemings](#) herself would be able to avoid being sold at this estate sale, since her lover did not free her either during his life or in his will we do not understand how she managed to avoid this final humiliation — perhaps she was able to carry this off through sheer force of presence!

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SALLY HEMINGS

1795

Sally Hemings bore her 2nd of seven children, presumably sired upon her by her owner Thomas Jefferson since, in the one case out of the seven in which we do still have almost perfectly conclusive genetic evidence, that child was indeed Jefferson’s issue.

	born	slav	prob	head	tail
Ned	5 1/2	7			
Penny	5	7			
Moses 3.	4	5			
Sucky 6.	3 1/4	4			
Ned j.	5 1/2	7			
Peter Hem.	5 1/2	7			
Philip.	5 1/2	7		1	
Rachael	5	7			
Eliza 5.	3 1/2	4 1/2			
Ellen 8.	2 3/4	3 1/2			
Sally.	5	7			1
Harriet 1.	4 1/2	5 1/2		1	
Madison 5.	3 1/2	4 1/2			
Esten 8.	2 3/4	3 1/2			1
Samco	5 1/2	7			1

It has been established by the historian Dumas Malone that Jefferson was in the vicinity during the period when this infant would have been conceived. This infant, a daughter, would soon die. Of course, had the infant lived, Jefferson would not have acknowledged her as his own, for:

A marriage between a person of free condition and a slave, or between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a mulatto, shall be null.

Also, had this infant lived, Jefferson would not have shown her any fatherly affection, or cut her any slack on

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SALLY HEMINGS

his plantation, for:

He was not in the habit of showing partiality
or fatherly affection to his children.

– [Madison Hemings](#)



THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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SALLY HEMINGS

1796

[Monticello](#)'s Mulberry Row, a road lined with mulberry trees, the center of the plantation's light industry, at this point had grown to the point that it boasted 17 buildings, such as a stable, joinery, blacksmith shop, nailery, utility sheds, and dwellings for slave and free laborers. One of the surviving structures is now used as a public toilet (it is, and this goes without saying, a racially integrated public toilet).

[Thomas Jefferson](#) hired [Richard Richardson](#) (born *circa* 1775) as a bricklayer (he would send him to Philadelphia to learn stonecutting and the "art of plastering").

Already, in 1794, [Jefferson](#) had [manumitted](#) a [Monticello](#) slave named Robert Hemings (1762-1819). In this year he manumitted also James Hemings (1765-1801), and then per the terms of his will in 1826/1827 freedom would become available also to Joseph (Joe) Fossett (1780-1858), Burwell Colbert (1783-1850+), Madison Hemings (1805-1856), John Hemings (1776-1833), and Eston Hemings (1808-1856). However, in 1804 and 1822 three other of his slaves would leave Monticello with his tacit consent, to wit James Hemings (1787-???), Beverly Hemings (1798-???), and Harriet Hemings (1801-???). We note that the only slaves Jefferson ever freed were members of the Hemings family and that after his death, at the disposal of his estate, the other 130 slaves at Monticello would be remaindered to the highest bidders. Although [Sally Hemings](#) herself would be able to avoid being sold at this estate sale, since her lover did not free her either during his life or in his will we do not understand how she managed to avoid this final humiliation — perhaps she was able to carry this off through sheer force of presence!

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SALLY HEMINGS

Life Among the Lowly.

NUMBER I.

MADISON HEMINGS.

I never knew of but one white man who bore the name of Hemings: he was an Englishman and my greatgrandfather. He was captain of an English trading vessel which sailed between England and Williamsburg, Va., then quite a port. My grandmother was a fullblooded African, and possibly a native of that country. She was the property of John Wales, a Welchman. Capt. Hemings happened to be in the port of Williamsburg at the time my grandmother was born, and acknowledging her fatherhood he tried to purchase her of Mr. Wales, who would not part with the child, though he was offered an extraordinarily large price for her. She was named Elizabeth Hemings. Being thwarted in the purchase, and determining to own his flesh and blood he resolved to take the child by force or stealth, but the knowledge of his intention coming to John Wales' ears, through leaky fellow servants of the mother, she and the child were taken into the "great house" under their master's immediate care. I have been informed that it was not the extra value of that child over other slave children that induced Mr. Wales to refuse to sell it, for slave masters then, as in later days, had no compunctions of conscience which restrained them from parting mother and child of however tender age, but he was restrained by the fact that just about that time amalgamation began, and the child was so great a curiosity that its owner desired to raise it himself that he might see its outcome. Capt. Hemings soon afterwards sailed from Williamsburg, never to return. Such is the story that comes down to me.

Elizabeth Hemings grew to womanhood in the family of John Wales, whose wife dying she (Elizabeth) was taken by the widower Wales as his concubine, by whom she had six children—three sons and three daughters, viz: Robert, James, Peter, Critty, Sally and Thena. These children went by the name of Hemings.

Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia, and of course it was an aristocratic place, where the "bloods" of the Colony and the new State most did congregate. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was educated at William and Mary College, which had its seat at Williamsburg. He afterwards studied law with Geo. Wythe, and practiced law at the bar of the general court of the Colony. He was afterwards elected a member of the provincial legislature from Albemarle county. Thos. Jefferson was a visitor at the "great house" of John Wales, who had children about his own age. He formed the acquaintance of his daughter Martha (I believe that was her name, though I am not positively sure,) and an intimacy sprang up between them which ripened into love, and they were married. They afterwards went to live at his country seat, Monticello, and in course of time had born to them a daughter, whom they named Martha. About the time she was born my mother, the second daughter of John Wales and Elizabeth Hemings was born. On the death of John Wales, my grandmother, his concubine, and her children by him fell to Martha, Thomas Jefferson's wife, and consequently became the property of Thomas Jefferson, who in the course of time became famous, and was appointed minister to France during our revolutionary troubles, or soon after independence was gained. About the time of the appointment and before he was ready to leave the country his wife died, and as soon after her interment as he could at-



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SALLY HEMINGS

Political Parties Then and Now

ROUND 1	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS	FEDERALISTS
1792		Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, et al. representing the North and commercial interests
1796	Thomas Jefferson , James Madison , et al. representing the South and landowning interests	
 1817-1824	James Monroe's "factionless" era of good feelings, ho ho ho	
ROUND 2A	DEMOCRATS	NATIONAL REPUBLICANS
1828		John Quincy Adams , Henry Clay, representing the North and the commercial interests, and in addition the residents of border states
ROUND 2B	DEMOCRATS	WHIGS
1832	Andrew Jackson, representing the South and landowning interests, plus wannabees such as our small farmers, backwoods go-getters, the "little guy on the make" in general	John Quincy Adams , Henry Clay, representing the North and the commercial interests, and residents of border states, and in addition the anti-Jackson Democrats
ROUND 3	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1856		Abraham Lincoln , William Henry Seward , representing Northerners, urbanites, business types, factory workers, and (more or less) the abolitionist movement
ROUND 4	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1932-1960	F.D.R. , representing Northeasterners, urbanites, blue-collar workers, Catholics, liberals, and assorted ethnics	Representing businesspeople, farmers, white-collar types, Protestants, the "Establishment," right-to-lifers, moral majoritarians, and in general, conservatism of the "I've got mine, let's see you try to get yours" stripe.

November 15, Thursday: French troops halted the Austrian advance on Verona at Arcola.

The French created the Transpadane Republic by joining Lombardy, Mantua, Modena, Valtellia, and part of Venetia.

In an attempt to win the presidency for [Thomas Jefferson](#), French minister to the US Pierre Adet announced the suspension of relations with the US. He promised that if Jefferson won, relations would resume.



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SALLY HEMINGS

1797

June 12, Monday: Mary Jefferson Eppes wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “I am not able to tell you whether [Mr. Richardson](#) is going on well, they to day, began to raise the walls of the hall, the other rooms are done. The garden has supplied us better with vegetables and fine lettuce than it has ever yet done although we have been so much in want of rain.”



July 7, Friday, 12, Wednesday, 13, Thursday, and 15, Saturday: Republican partisan efforts to connect [Thomas Jefferson](#) with the [Declaration of Independence](#) had begun in very earnest after their guy’s inauguration as Vice President. They began to raise their glasses to him during their Republican 4th of July banquets and then print these toasts in their political gazettes, such as the [Aurora and General Advertiser](#) and the [Gazette of the United States](#), both published out of Philadelphia. Meanwhile the Federalist partisans had likewise been appropriating the Declaration to enhance the fame of their John Adams and their John Hancock, in their own political organs such as the [Gazette of the United States](#). Federalist historians were always leaving room for doubt of Jefferson’s unique contribution to the creation of our Declaration. In the work of John Lowell, Jefferson had been merely the “reputed framer of the Declaration of Independence,” and Independence Day orators of the Federalist persuasion generally were ignoring any putative link between this national Republican politician, Jefferson, and our nation’s originary charter of freedom. You will read extensively in Federalist birthday oratory without discovering any mention:

- Thomas Fessenden, A SERMON, DELIVERED JULY 4TH, 1802, AT WALPOLE, N.H. IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
- William Emmerson, AN ORATION PRONOUNCED JULY 5, 1802, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF [BOSTON](#), IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
- Nathaniel Emmons, A DISCOURSE DELIVERED, JULY 5, 1802. IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Wrentham MA)
- Joseph Locke, AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED AT BILLERICA, JULY 5, 1802, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE ([Boston](#))
- Asahel Morse, AN ORATION, DELIVERED AT WINSTED, JULY 5TH, A.D. 1802 (Hartford CT)
- The Reverend Samuel Taggart, AN ORATION: SPOKEN AT COLRAIN, JULY 4, 1803 (Greenfield MA)
- Thomas Danforth, AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1804, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF [BOSTON](#), IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
- Ebenezer Moseley, AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED AT NEWBURYPORT, JULY 4, 1804, ON THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE; AT THE REQUEST OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLICANS (Newburyport MA)
- Keating Lewis Simons, AN ORATION, DELIVERED IN THE INDEPENDENT CIRCULAR CHURCH, BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA, ON FRIDAY, THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1806



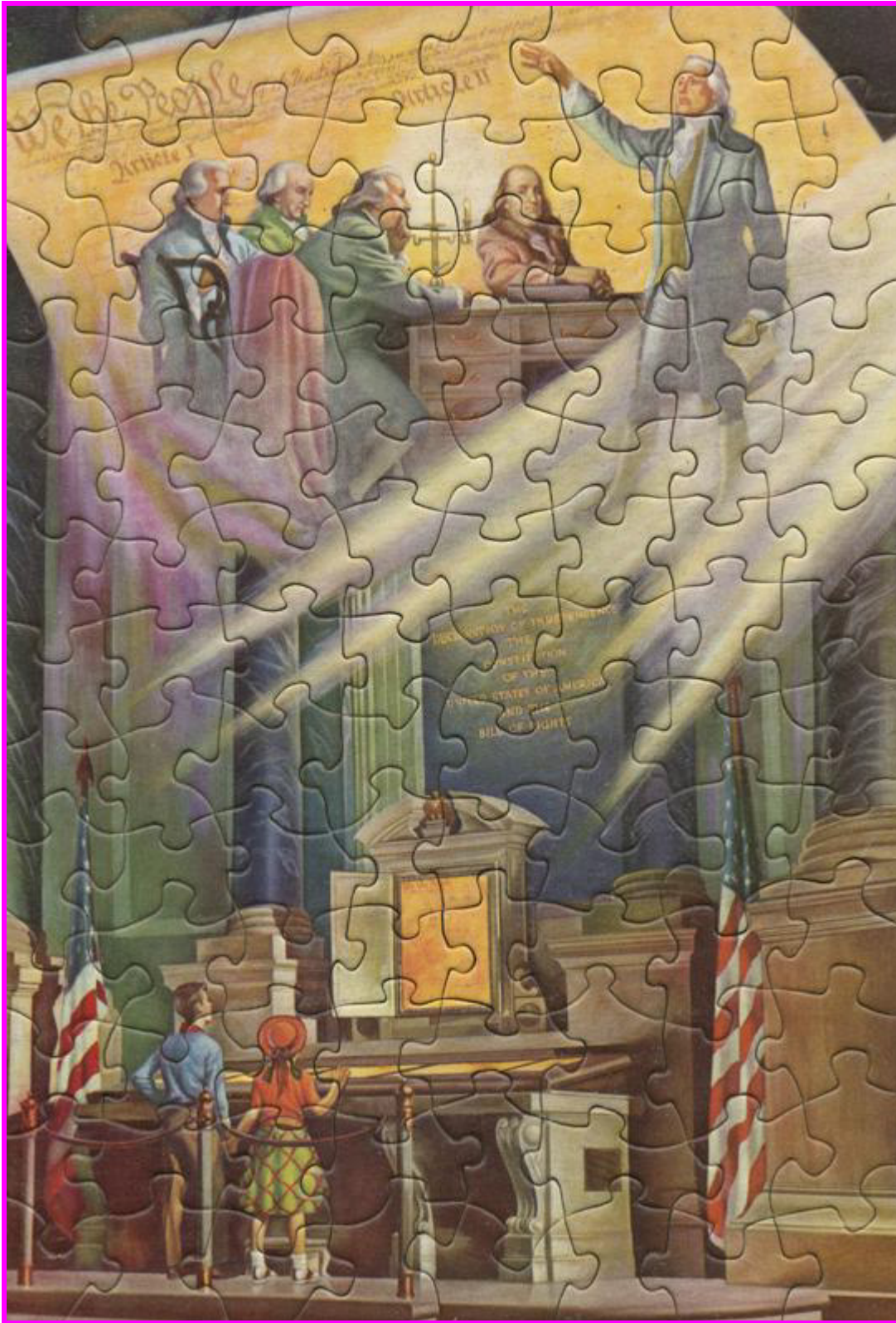
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WHAT?

INDEX

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1798

In this year the dashing house slave Sally Hemings bore her 3rd of seven children, presumably sired upon her by her owner Thomas Jefferson since, in the one case out of the seven in which we do still have almost perfectly conclusive genetic evidence, that child was indeed Jefferson’s issue.

SLAVERY

	Age	Sex	Color	Height	Weight
Ned	5 1/2	7			
Penny	5	7			
Moses 3	4	5			
Sucky 6	3 1/2	4			
Ned j	5 1/2	7			
Peter Hem	5 1/2	7			
Philip	5 1/2	7		1	
Rachael	5	7			
Eliza 5	3 1/2	4 1/2			
Ellen 8	2 3/4	3 1/2			
Sally	5	7		1	
Harriet 1	4 1/2	5 1/2		1	
Madison 5	3 1/2	4 1/2			
Esther 8	2 3/4	3 1/2		1	
Samuel	5 1/2	7		1	

It has been established by the historian Dumas Malone that Jefferson was in the vicinity during the period when this child would have been conceived. This child, a son, was named Beverly and was so light of complexion that, although technically a slave, when mature he would be able to vanish from the Monticello plantation and disappear, uneducated of course,⁵⁸ into the general white population.



I would submit that to understand the above, we need to take into account what the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* had to offer during this year, by way of a description of the black race:

Round cheeks, high cheek-bones, a forehead somewhat elevated, a short, broad, flat noes, thick lips, small ears, ugliness, and irregularity of shape, characterize their external appearance.

58. Well, not entirely uneducated. Jefferson had his slave sons trained, by other of his plantation slaves, in carpentry and in the playing of the violin.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

The negro women have loins greatly depressed, and very large buttocks, which give the back the shape of a saddle. Vices the most notorious seem to be the portion of this unhappy race: idleness, treachery, revenge, cruelty, impudence, stealing, lying, profanity, debauchery, nastiness and intemperance, are said to have extinguished the principles of natural law, and to have silenced the reproofs of conscience. They are strangers to every sentiment of compassion, and are an awful example of the corruption of man when left to himself.

But why, if Jefferson had been the daddy, had he not treated his child better? —Because that just wasn't Jeffersonian:

He was not in the habit of showing partiality
or fatherly affection to his children.
— [Madison Hemings](#)



A Father of our Country

But why, if Jefferson had been the daddy, had he not married the mommy? —Because this is the [Thomas Jefferson](#) who himself had penned the Virginia statute:

A marriage between a person of free condition and a slave, or between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a mulatto, shall be null.

RACE SLAVERY

RACE POLITICS

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Life Among the Lowly.

NUMBER I.

MADISON HEMINGS.

I never knew of but one white man who bore the name of Hemings; he was an Englishman and my greatgrandfather. He was captain of an English trading vessel which sailed between England and Williamsburg, Va., then quite a port. My grandmother was a fullblooded African, and possibly a native of that country. She was the property of John Wales, a Welchman. Capt. Hemings happened to be in the port of Williamsburg at the time my grandmother was born, and acknowledging her fatherhood he tried to purchase her of Mr. Wales, who would not part with the child, though he was offered an extraordinarily large price for her. She was named Elizabeth Hemings. Being thwarted in the purchase, and determining to own his flesh and blood he resolved to take the child by force or stealth, but the knowledge of his intention coming to John Wales' ears, through leaky fellow servants of the mother, she and the child were taken into the "great house" under their master's immediate care. I have been informed that it was not the extra value of that child over other slave children that induced Mr. Wales to refuse to sell it, for slave masters then, as in later days, had no compunctions of conscience which restrained them from parting mother and child of however tender age, but he was restrained by the fact that just about that time amalgamation began, and the child was so great a curiosity that its owner desired to raise it himself that he might see its outcome. Capt. Hemings soon afterwards sailed from Williamsburg, never to return. Such is the story that comes down to me.

Elizabeth Hemings grew to womanhood in the family of John Wales, whose wife dying she (Elizabeth) was taken by the widower Wales as his concubine, by whom she had six children—three sons and three daughters, viz: Robert, James, Peter, Critty, Sally and Thenna. These children went by the name of Hemings.

Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia, and of course it was an aristocratic place, where the "bloods" of the Colony and the new State most did congregate. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was educated at William and Mary College, which had its seat at Williamsburg. He afterwards studied law with Geo. Wythe, and practiced law at the bar of the general court of the Colony. He was afterwards elected a member of the provincial legislature from Albemarle county. Thos. Jefferson was a visitor at the "great house" of John Wales, who had children about his own age. He formed the acquaintance of his daughter Martha (I believe that was her name, though I am not positively sure,) and an intimacy sprang up between them which ripened into love, and they were married. They afterwards went to live at his country seat, Monticello, and in course of time had born to them a daughter whom they named Martha. About the time she was born my mother, the second daughter of John Wales and Elizabeth Hemings was born. On the death of John Wales, my grandmother, his concubine, and her children by him fell to Martha, Thomas Jefferson's wife, and consequently became the property of Thomas Jefferson, who in the course of time became famous, and was appointed minister to France during our revolutionary troubles, or soon after independence was gained. About the time of the appointment and before he was ready to leave the country his wife died, and as soon after her interment as he could at-

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



January 25, day: Thomas Jefferson wrote to Thomas Mann Randolph: "Richardson (whom I expect here daily) wrote me word he had hired 3. hands for me, & expected to get some more. they are to work with John. you will of course take Isaac when you please. I expect some new tools I have sent on for George will be in Richmond by the time you get this. as soon as smith George recieves them, Isaac is to have his anvil, vice and beak iron, as also the large new bellows nearly finished when I left home. I must get you to write a line to Bates, & send Jupiter with it to bring me a certain answer from him whether I am to depend on him for my flooring plank. you will be so good as to send on the answer by post. I am uneasy about it, as I have never heard from him in answer to my letter, inclosing him the bill of the plank."

February 15, day: Thomas Jefferson wrote to Thomas Mann Randolph: "I have to acknolege the receipt of yours of Jan. 28. & 30. & Feb. 3. that of the 30th. came by Richardson. mine to you have been of Jan. 11. & 25. & to Martha Feb. 8. ... the contents of my Ire of Jan. 25. were important. therefore I hope you got that, it imposed on you a commission about Bates; for I begin to feel with great anxiety my houseless situation. I write to Davenport by this post to inform me what he has done & is doing. I expect that according to promise he has kept a strong force sawing sheeting plank, & getting & preparing shingles, & that with the first open weather of the spring he would begin to cover the house, so that I may find that compleat on my return, and begin immediately to floor. as he was to get the sheeting & shingles at Pouncey's, if you can spare mr Duke a day he might go and see what is done. I am not quite certain however whether Davenport did not propose to get the shingles at some other place. is Arnold come to Monticello, & at work? how does Watson answer your purpose? if you could sometimes take the trouble to make John & Davy come to you & bring their written instructions, & question them as to their progress, it would probably keep them to their metal."



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

April 18, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to John Barnes: “Gave order on Barnes in favr. [Richardson](#) for 10.D.”

April 19, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Thomas Mann Randolph: “[A] letter from George Jefferson of the 11th. informs me he had that day forwarded the harpsichord & box of plants by the Milton boats. I am in hopes therefore they are by this time planted at Monticello. since that I have forwarded by another opportunity ... a Windsor sofa with a matras ... I hope mr Davenport is going on with spirit. [Richardson](#) is here under inoculation: he is now in the fever, and so far doing well. his anxiety to learn the art of plaistering induces him to wish to pass as much of the summer here as possible. he was employed in cutting stone till lately, & will return here in the winter to perfect himself in that business. he wishes to send mr Duke a brick from this place as a model, & proof how much too careless our workmen are in making theirs.”

May 1, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to John Barnes: “Gave an order on Barnes in favr. Richd. [Richardson](#) for 10.D.”

May 17, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Martha Jefferson Randolph: “P.S. since writing the above, [Richardson](#) has called on me. he has recieved a letter from mr Duke expressing doubts whether he shall be able to go & do mr Randolph’s work. he has therefore determined to leave this place in the first vessel, and you may expect him in 3. or 4. weeks to be with you ready for work, & much improved, from what he has seen & done here.”

May 20, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to George Jefferson: “[A] workman ([Richardson](#)) to whom I owed 11. D. 72 c wishing to recieve it in Richmond I have given him an order on you. I am afraid I am near the bottom of my funds in your hands....”

November 17, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to James Madison: “[Mr. Richardson](#) has been detained by several jobs indispensable to the progress of the carpenters, & to the securing what is done against the winter. when will Whitton be done with you? or could you by any means dispense with his services till I set out for Philadelphia? my floors can only be laid while I am at home, and I cannot get a workman here. perhaps you have some other with you or near you who could go on with your work till his return to you. I only mention these things that if you have any other person who could enable you to spare him a few weeks, I could employ him to much accomodation till my departure in laying my floors.”

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1799

[Sally Hemings](#) bore her 4th of 7 children, presumably sired upon her by her owner [Thomas Jefferson](#) since, in the one case out of the seven in which we do still have almost perfectly conclusive genetic evidence, that infant was indeed Jefferson’s issue. It has been established by the historian Dumas Malone that Jefferson was in the vicinity during the period when this infant would have been conceived. This infant, a daughter, would soon die. Of course, had the infant lived, Jefferson would not have acknowledged her as his own, for:

A marriage between a person of free condition and a slave, or between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a mulatto, shall be null.



Also, had this infant lived, Jefferson would not have shown her any fatherly affection, or cut her any slack on his plantation, for:

He was not in the habit of showing partiality or fatherly affection to his children.
— [Madison Hemings](#)

	under	child	white	black	total
Ned	5 1/2	7			
Penny	5	7			
Moses 3	4	5			
Suey 6	3 1/4	4			
Ned j	5 1/2	7			
Peter Hom	5 1/2	7			
Philip	5 1/2	7		1	
Rachael	5	7			
Eliza 5	3 1/4	4 1/2			
Ellen 8	2 3/4	3 1/2			
Sally	5	7			1
Harriet 1	4 1/2	5 1/2		1	
Madison 5	3 1/4	4 1/2			
Eston 8	2 3/4	3 1/2			1
Samuel	5 1/2	7			1



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

January 23, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Martha Jefferson Randolph: “I hope you will aid John in his preparations in the garden. I have heard nothing from [mr Richardson](#) about the hiring of labourers & consequently am anxious about my summer operations. Dr. Bache will set out for our neighborhood next month. I have persuaded mrs Bache to let him go first and prepare a gite. in the mean time they are packing their furniture. let George know that the nail rod sent from here in December has, with the vessel in which it was, been cast away at sea; and that another supply was shipped here two or three days ago, and will probably be at Richmond about the 10th. of February.”

March 26, day: George Jefferson wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “We received your letter of the 18th. by [Mr Richardson](#), to whom we paid your draft of five hundred dollars—we send you by him 2 Gross of the best Corks which is all that we can procure of that quality and are doubtful if an inferior kind will answer...”

April 1, day: George Jefferson wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “I intended to have written you by [Mr. Richardson](#) myself ... I have received a bill of lading from Mr. Barnes of 18 Packages shipped for you the 12th. ultimo—yet they have not arrived. The chimney piece is forwarded.”

April 18, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to George Jefferson: “[T]he corks by [mr Richardson](#) are received, & the packages by the little Jim are said to have arrived at Milton last night.... and if my nailrod (which I understand by Richardson is come from Carolina to Richmond) should come in time, I should wish him to have a preference for it....”

July 4, day: Jacob Fisher, a Federalist partisan, in a pamphlet titled AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED AT KENNEBUNK, ON THE FOURTH DAY OF JULY, 1799; BEING THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE published in Portland, Maine, used the [Declaration of Independence](#) document to celebrate not the Republican politician [Thomas Jefferson](#) but instead their own Federalist politicians, John Adams and John Hancock.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1800



By this year [Richard Richardson](#) had become a bricklayer and overseer at [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s primary slave plantation in Virginia, named "Monticello." He proved to be unable to meet his boss's expectations so a new overseer, Gabriel Lilly, was hired, and [Jefferson](#) informed [Richardson](#) that there was "nothing in which I could engage you."

After the Electoral College had hopelessly deadlocked over Aaron Burr, the federal House of Representatives appointed [Jefferson](#), who had been in the revolutionary government, to become the next President:

Our Fearless Leaders

NAME	BORN	INAUGURATED	EX OFFICIO	DIED
GEORGE WASHINGTON		1789		
		1792		
JOHN ADAMS		1796		JULY 4, 1826
THOMAS JEFFERSON	APRIL 13, 1743	1800		DITTO
		1804		
JAMES MADISON		1808		
		1812		
JAMES MONROE		1816		
		1820		
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS		1824		
ANDREW JACKSON		1828		
		1832		
MARTIN VAN BUREN		1836		
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON		1840		
JOHN TYLER		1841		
JAMES K. POLK		1844		
ZACHARY TAYLOR		1848		
FRANKLIN PEIRCE		1852		
JAMES BUCHANAN		1856		
ABRAHAM LINCOLN		1860		
		1864		



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

 January 18, day: Thomas Mann Randolph wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “A person who was born in this Co. & has resided all his life in it with a fair reputation: John Kerr the son of James the Magistrate and neighbour of George Divers, called on me on Wednesday the 15th. inst: to inquire about your Shadwell lands a part of which, not more than 100 acres of arable, he wishes to rent for five years, or longer if you please. ... Your affairs go on well at Mont’o. but Powell has not arrived: [Richardson](#) has, with seven good laborers at an average a little under 20£.”

 February 11, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Martha Jefferson Randolph: “I had one also at the same time from [mr Richardson](#) giving me the details from Monticello.”

 February 19, day: George Jefferson wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “I should before this have sent you Mr. Anthony’s receipt for the 28 bundles of nail-rod that are down, and which I have delivered—but he is from home, and his Clerk refuses to grant a receipt, as he says he has received no instruction upon the subject. ... There are only 40 bundles left on the way which I hope will be shortly down; the balance [Mr. Richardson](#) informs me he has sold Mr. Randolph.”

 February 23, Sunday: [William Jardine](#) was born at Edinburgh, Scotland. He would be educated at home to the age of 15.

The active enforcement of the [Rhode Island](#) law against slavetrading by abolitionist customs collector [William Ellery](#) so infuriated new congressman [John Brown](#), a slavetrader, that he had sponsored a federal bill to split off a customs district separate from [Newport](#), to have its headquarters in [Bristol](#). The Congress therefore on this day authorized a separate new customs house. The letter is predated by one month, and the obvious inferences that a historian can derive from this factoid are that this deal had gone down in secrecy, and that there were some concerned individuals who had not yet learned of it. This might not sound at all remarkable, but there is background information that makes it remarkable indeed, in connecting the establishment of this new federal customs house in Bristol **with the continuation of the trans-Atlantic trade in new slaves**. Here (within blue boxes, on following screens) is this background:

[TRIANGULAR TRADE](#)

1789

July 31, Friday: The federal Congress created the United States Custom Service, as a new branch of the Treasury Department.

1790

June 14, Monday: The federal Congress created the [Rhode Island](#) custom districts of [Providence](#) and [Newport](#). These two districts handled all ship traffic connecting with nine Rhode Island ports, in the Providence district, [Providence](#) and [Pawtuxet](#), and, in the Newport district, [Newport](#), [North Kingstown](#), [East Greenwich](#), [Westerly](#), [Bristol](#), [Warren](#), and Barrington.

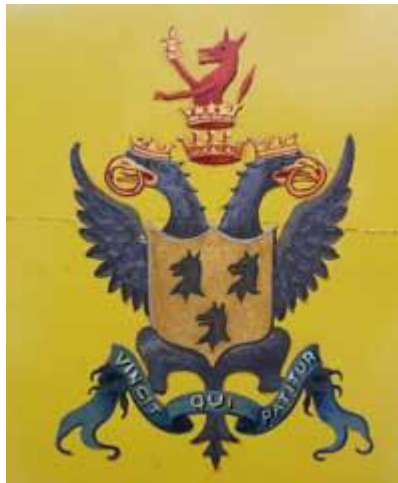
READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

1794

Against his son's will, John Adams arranged for President [George Washington](#) to appoint [John Quincy Adams](#) as Minister to the Netherlands, an appointment that sent him again across the Atlantic.

[Friend Moses Brown](#) and [Friend](#) Samuel Rodman presented to President [George Washington](#) and Vice-President John Adams a memorial in opposition to the [international slave trade](#). The federal Congress passed an act prohibiting the trans-Atlantic trade. (When officials of the [Newport](#) customs district would begin to enforce this law in the subsidiary port of [Bristol](#), this would interfere with the nefarious activities of [Rhode Island](#) slavetraders [James DeWolf](#) and Shearjashub Bourne. The [slavetraders](#) would lobby the government for the establishment of Bristol as a separate customs district and no longer subject to these out-of-control officials of the Newport customs district — who were actually daring to enforce this new law.)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Of the twenty years from 1787 to 1807 it can only be said that they were, on the whole, a period of disappointment so far as the suppression of the slave-trade was concerned. Fear, interest, and philanthropy united for a time in an effort which bade fair to suppress the trade; then the real weakness of the constitutional compromise appeared, and the interests of the few overcame the fears and the humanity of the many.



The DeWolf Crest

1799

The [Rhode Island](#) brigantine *Orange* (or is this a typographic error in regard to a voyage in 1779?) brought a cargo of 120 new [slaves](#) from the coast of Africa.

[William Ellery](#) seized the [DeWolf](#) schooner *Lucy* (Captain Charles Collins) for engaging in the slave trade and put it up for auction in [Bristol](#). Local surveyor Samuel Bosworth was appointed to bid on the vessel on behalf of the government. After [John Brown](#) of [Providence](#) and several other slavers had attempted unsuccessfully to intimidate Bosworth, the DeWolfs simply hired thugs who, costumed as native Americans, kidnapped him and took him several miles up the bay while with a trifling bid the DeWolfs recovered their vessel.

[John Brown](#), as ever a strong defender of the absolute righteousness of the [international slave trade](#), was elected to the US House of Representatives. He would sponsor legislation to create a separate Customs House in [Bristol](#), in facilitation of the international slave trade that was still being conducted through that port by [James DeWolf](#) and Shearjashub Bourne.

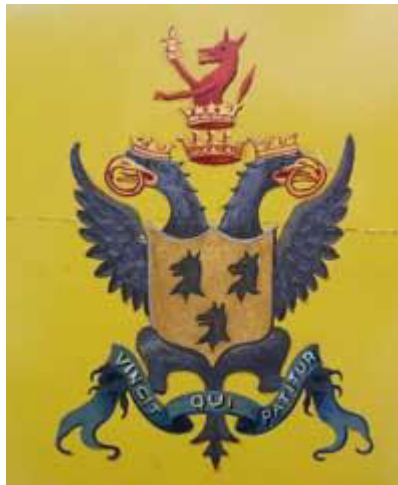


The DeWolf Crest

Taking into account this history that lies hidden behind the Act of February 23, 1800, it is interesting what would happen **next**. Next, Jonathan Russell would be appointed as 1st US customs collector at the new [Bristol](#), [Rhode Island](#) customs house, and Russell would continue to enforce the law against the [international slave trade](#) in the manner in which it had been being enforced while the [Newport](#) customs house was still running the show. Because of this, the [DeWolf](#) family would need to circulate a petition for his removal, and conduct a lobbying campaign in [Washington DC](#). The result would be that in February 1804, President [Thomas Jefferson](#) would fire Jonathan Russell, replacing him with a more cooperative official, a brother-in-law of [James DeWolf](#) who had a major investment in the international slave trade. This man, Charles Collins, would serve as collector at the new Bristol customs house, **and ignore the law at presidential behest and succor the international slave trade at presidential behest, until 1820:**

1804

February: The first customs collector for [Bristol, Rhode Island](#), Jonathan Russell, had been constantly interfering with the [international slave trade](#) in strict application and implementation of official US federal law and policy. The [DeWolfs](#) and the other slave trading families of Bristol therefore arranged with President [Thomas Jefferson](#) to have Russell replaced with a brother-in-law of theirs, Charles Collins, who was captain of one of that family's negrero vessels — a man who could be counted on to not enforce the federal law against the importation of generations of fresh [slaves](#) from Africa into the United States of America.



The DeWolf Crest

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Of the twenty years from 1787 to 1807 it can only be said that they were, on the whole, a period of disappointment so far as the suppression of the slave-trade was concerned. Fear, interest, and philanthropy united for a time in an effort which bade fair to suppress the trade; then the real weakness of the constitutional compromise appeared, and the interests of the few overcame the fears and the humanity of the many.

March 31, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to [Richard Richardson](#): “In your’s of the 21st. you acknolege mine of Feb. 17. since that I wrote to you on the 16th. and 25th. inst: the last was merely to inform you of the departure of a box of plants and 4. casks of plaister of Paris. I would have Fagg’s plank immediately sorted by mr Perry. what is fit for flooring to be kiln-dried directly, that not fit for it to be spread by way of floor in the loft of the dwelling house. mr Perry should proceed with the floors the moment the plank is dry. ... the nail rod is all arrived at Richmond from Monticello. I would not have you delay plaistering the rooms for the plaister of Paris. especially my room which must be ready by the time I get home. tho’ I suppose the plaister will arrive in Richmond certainly in the course of this present week.”



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

 *circa* April 19, day: Thomas Mann Randolph wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “Lillie goes on with great spirit and complete quiet at Mont’o.: he is so good tempered that he can get twice as much done without the smallest discontent as some with the hardest driving possible. He will be in time with every thing [Richardson](#) is lathing your own apartment when he is not dressing and galanting: he made a great parade in preparing tools for the Canal and we fitted him up completely without one moments delay but I can see nothing done worth mentioning.”

 May 17, day: Jonathan Mortan wrote to Meriwether Jones: “You will be good Enough to make some inquiry for a young man of the name of [Richard Richardson](#) who was in New York in the year 1798 and had Come to that place on a visit from Philadelphia with [Thomas Jefferson](#) to learn the Stone Cutting business and said he was a going to Return with him again to Virginia ...”

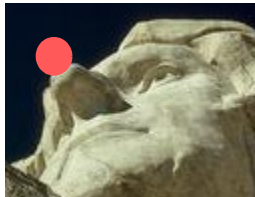
PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

 June 30, Tuesday: According to the Republican Aurora of July 3rd, on this date the Baltimore American published a false report of Thomas Jefferson's death in order to "prevent the author of the Declaration of Independence from being the universal toast" on our nation's upcoming birthday.⁵⁹ However, Thomas

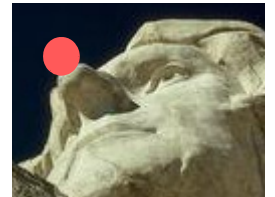


Boylston Adams, youngest son of sitting president John Adams, would brag to his friend William Smith Shaw in this regard on July 3rd that he for one had not been "the Dupe of this story." He noted that he had carefully "refrained from any hasty expressions, which fell from others — Such as 'too good to be true.'"⁶⁰



"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? Thomas Jefferson owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."

– Kurt Vonnegut, FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



59. Warren, Charles. ODD BYWAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Cambridge MA, 1942, 127-35

60. Washburn, Charles Grenfill, comp. "Letters of Thomas Boylston Adams to William Smith Shaw, 1799-1823." Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society XXVII (1917): 118



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: The Republican orator Matthew Livingston Davis, in New-York, addressing the Tammany Society, praised “the capacious mind and nervous pen of Jefferson,” which had communicated “the voice of a free, united and indignant people” by producing a “Manly and energetic” text distinguished by a “Solemn and impressive ... sound.”⁶¹ Meanwhile the Republican orator John J. Pringle, in Charleston SC, was extolling “JEFFERSON, in whose perspicuous and energetic language is expressed that sublime memorial of the rights, and the spirit of free-born Americans.”⁶² How bad was this cult of personality getting? –Was it getting as bad as the cult of personality in regard to Hitler that was exhibited by Germans during the Third Reich? –Was it getting as bad as the cult of personality in regard to Mussolini that was exhibited by Italians under Fascism? –Was it getting as bad as the cult of personality in regard to Hirohito that was exhibited by the Japanese in the era of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere? –Was it getting as bad as the cult of personality in regard to Mao that has been exhibited by the Chinese of the PRC? –Was the cult of personality in the young United States of America getting as bad as the adoration of Uncle Joe Stalin that had been put on display by the ever-so-loyal commie symps of the USSR? It must have been getting pretty damned annoying, for in Philadelphia at this point a couple of Federalist schoolmasters got up and stomped out of a patriotic celebration when one of their own pupils stood up to recite the [Declaration of Independence!](#)

THOMAS JEFFERSON

In [New-York](#) the first local advertisements for fireworks appeared and at the Mount Vernon Garden there was a display of “a model of Mount Vernon, 20 feet long by 24 feet high, illuminated by several hundred lamps.” In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania the [U.S. Marine Band](#), directed by Colonel William Ward Burrows, provided music for the Society of the Cincinnati celebration held at the City Tavern. At [Dartmouth College](#) in Hanover, New Hampshire a student named [Daniel Webster](#) delivered what would turn out not to be his last Fourth of July oration.



Etienne-Nicolas Mehul lent Ignace Pleyal 10,000 francs, to expand his business.

61. AN ORATION, DELIVERED IN ST. PAUL’S CHURCH, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1800 (NY, 1800)

62. AN ORATION, DELIVERED IN ST. PHILIP’S CHURCH, BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1800 (Charleston SC, 1800)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

As TIME Magazine has pointed out on its cover, American kids were being given a very new and very divisive idea of the 4th of July:

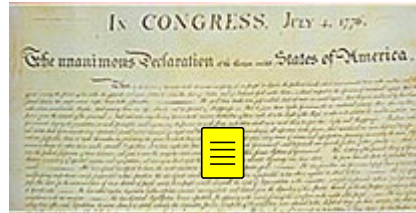


PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

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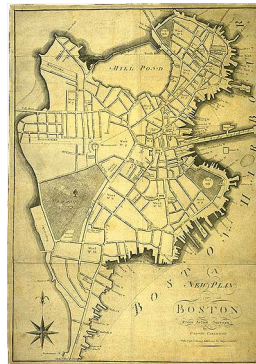
 July 9, Wednesday: The Republic of Lucca was reestablished by the French. Modena and Reggio were attached to the Cisalpine Republic.

The Gazette of the United States worried that “the frequent mention that Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence” during our 4th of July patriotic celebrations might lead “ignorant people ... to doubt whether others, who were esteemed patriots, approved of the measure.”



 July 19, Saturday: The Columbian Centinel and Massachusetts Federalist, a Boston gazette, pointed up the fact that if “a foreigner were to judge” the state of American politics on the basis of toasts made at our 4th-of-July banquets of this year, “he would conclude that JEFFERSON was President.”

THOMAS JEFFERSON



 August 14, Thursday: Thomas Jefferson wrote to Jeremiah Moor in regard to certain religious leaders who were opposing the separation of church and state:

The clergy, by getting themselves established by law and ingrafted into the machinery of government, have been a very formidable engine against the civil and religious rights of man.

Timothy Dexter wrote to the editor of a local newspaper:

I'me Now Come fored to speak of mi selfe of Infermeties of bodey I have more then one I say the gout never head Ake and the gravel for many years and I Cant help it and a very Colding wife is pison to me and I wish to be still and be master of my Cash and therefore it is Rite for my Littel familey to Leave the hous foulley and I wish fore one very good housekeeper very good and them that know me will know the kind of woman will Doue Now I will say what kind of a passon one from thirtey to forty year old a good gade that will trott pase and gallop not to heave one of (off) but Rather of the two heave on I meane right well now stop I goaks I got out of the parth now I am onest I wish for a middling woman for size with



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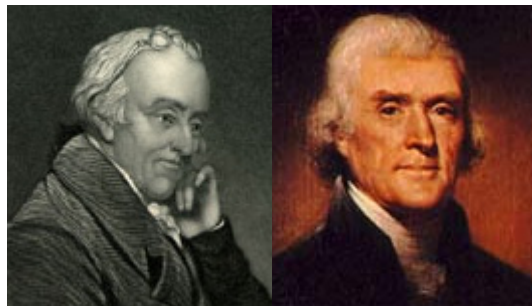
a nose like mine Not black Eyes a good seamster and know
houe to Cook I meane so as to order to have a good made
to tend on you and me as for money the hous keeper and
made will have A nouf if the Rite sort they must be sens
Abel & onest & Comly & know when to speak & when to be
silent then I shall please my Littel familey and the
peopel at Large and to have the best of health to have
good Rekomendason and if one or both Lives with me to
my Decease thay will have a serting sum for Every year
I Live Not Less then the wages upon the strickest
honner.

August 14
Dat 1800

I a firme by the honer
TIMOTHY DEXTER



September 23, Tuesday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Dr. Benjamin Rush, the Treasurer of the US Mint, from Monticello.



We note that in this letter the President—who is currently being honored by some vocal members of our “Moral Majority” political grouping as one of the Christian founders of our Christian nation— neglected to capitalize the name of God:

Dear Sir, — I have to acknolege the receipt of your favor of Aug. 22, and to congratulate you on the healthiness of your city. Still [Baltimore](#), Norfolk [Virginia] & [Providence](#) [[Rhode Island](#)] admonish us that we are not clear of our new scourge. When great evils happen, I am in the habit of looking out for what good may arise from them as consolations to us, and Providence has in fact so established the order of things, as that most evils are the means of producing some good. The [yellow fever](#) will discourage the growth of great cities in our nation, & I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man. True, they nourish some of the elegant arts, but the useful ones can thrive elsewhere, and less perfection in the others, with more health, virtue & freedom, would be my choice.

I agree with you entirely, in condemning the mania of giving names to objects of any kind after persons still living. Death alone can seal the title of any man to this honor, by putting it out of his power to forfeit it. There is one other mode of recording merit, which I have often thought might be introduced, so as to gratify the living by praising the dead. In giving, for instance, a commission of chief justice to Bushrod Washington, it should be in consideration of his integrity, and science in the laws. and of the services rendered to our country by his illustrious relation, &c. A commission to a descendant of Dr. Franklin, besides being in consideration of the proper qualifications of the person, should add that of the great

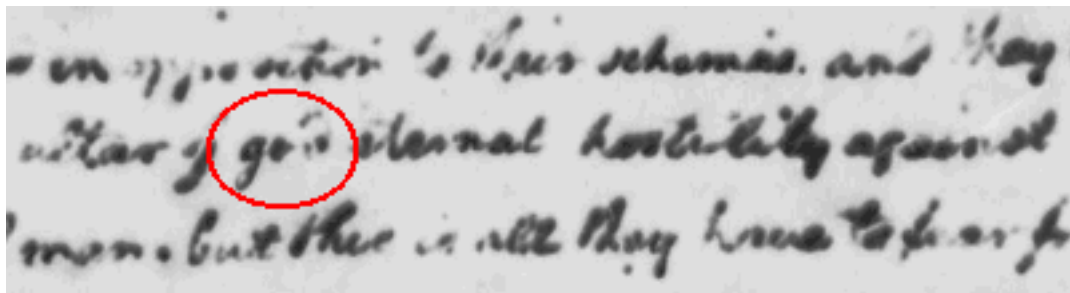




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services rendered by his illustrious ancestor, Bn Fr, by the advancement of science, by inventions useful to man, &c. I am not sure that we ought to change all our names. And during the regal government, sometimes, indeed, they were given through adulation; but often also as the reward of the merit of the times, sometimes for services rendered the colony. Perhaps, too, a name when given, should be deemed a sacred property. I promised you a letter on Christianity, which I have not forgotten. On the contrary, it is because I have reflected on it, that I find much more time necessary for it than I can at present dispose of. I have a view of the subject which ought to displease neither the rational Christian nor Deists, and would reconcile many to a character they have too hastily rejected. I do not know that it would reconcile the genus irritabile vatum who are all in arms against me. Their hostility is on too interesting ground to be softened. The delusion into which the X.Y.Z. plot shewed it possible to push the people; the successful experiment made under the prevalence of that delusion on the clause of the constitution, which, while it secured the freedom of the press, covered also the freedom of religion, had given to the clergy a very favorite hope of obtaining an establishment of a particular form of Christianity thro' the U.S.; and as every sect believes its own form the true one, every one perhaps hoped for his own, but especially the Episcopalians & Congregationalists. The returning good sense of our country threatens abortion to their hopes, & they believe that any portion of power confided to me, will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly; for I have sworn upon the altar of god, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man. But this is all they have to fear from me: & enough too in their opinion, & this is the cause of their printing lying pamphlets against me, forging conversations for me with Mazzei, Bishop Madison, &c., which are absolute falsehoods without a circumstance of truth to rest on; falsehoods, too, of which I acquit Mazzei & Bishop Madison, for they are men of truth.



But enough of this: it is more than I have before committed to paper on the subject of all the lies that has been preached and printed against me. I have not seen the work of Sonnoni which you mention, but I have seen another work on Africa, (Parke's,) which I fear will throw cold water on the hopes of the friends of freedom. You will hear an account of an attempt at insurrection in this state. I am looking with anxiety to see what will be it's effect on our state. We are truly to be pitied. I fear we have little chance to see you at the Federal city or in Virginia, and as little at Philadelphia. It would be a great treat to receive you here. But nothing but sickness could effect



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SALLY HEMINGS

*that; so I do not wish it. For I wish you health and happiness,
and think of you with affection. Adieu.*

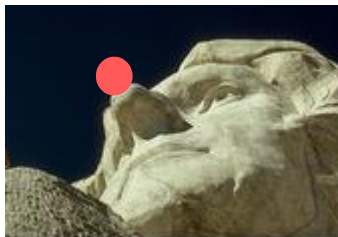
SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Noting that nowadays, on the marble walls of the Jefferson Memorial in [Washington DC](#), appears a carved panel proclaiming [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s boast to have been "I have sworn eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man"—silently eliding the problematic phrase "upon the altar of god"—James W. Loewen has commented, on page 142 of his *LIES MY TEACHER TOLD ME: EVERYTHING YOUR AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOK GOT WRONG* (NY: New Press, 1995), "Perhaps asking a marble memorial to tell the truth is demanding too much."

The same quote now appears on the right front door of a Unitarian Universalist church, with the problematic Jeffersonian lack of capitalization of "god" suppressed through the utilization of all-caps lettering:



Please consider: leaving aside the issue of what Jefferson meant by "upon the altar of god"—whether by "god" he meant what we mean by sincerely "before God," or meant something less than that, perhaps fulsomely "upon the altars of the gods"—was it true, or was it false, that this man was hostile to every form of tyranny over the mind of man? This is a gentleman who had some little children scampering about his estate who were perhaps 1/16th black, perhaps 1/32nd black, who was refusing to provide a proper education for these children of his own loins. —Is it not a form of tyranny over the mind, to keep it in the dark in such a manner?



I think it is! Such a man is not to be credited, in his fulsome pronouncements, to any greater extent than we would credit the fulsome pronouncements of any other deadbeat dad.

All this Virginia slavemaster **meant** was "Nobody gets to fuck with my mind." What this Virginia slavemaster



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SALLY HEMINGS

did not mean was “I’m going to refrain from fucking with other people’s minds.”

(The reference in Jefferson’s letter to a writing that would “throw cold water on the hopes of the friends of freedom” was to Mungo Park’s 1795 TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR DISTRICTS OF AFRICA: PERFORMED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND PATRONAGE OF THE AFRICAN ASSOCIATION, IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797.... Jefferson frequently misspelled names. The London edition of the Scottish explorer’s account of his journey up the Niger River appears to be that of W. Bulmer and Co. in 1799, though it may have appeared first in 1797. It was published in Philadelphia in 1800.)



December 22, day: [Richard Richardson](#) wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “Mr powel has Been up, he Came some few days after you, left this, to see you Before you left this, But you Being gone he mentioned he was at a loss to know, wheather he was to Come as a maried man or singel, which I told him it was to his own Choice, But that you had Expected him since the death of his wife to come as a single man, which he said he would and went Back to Bord out his Children I Carryed Mr lilley to the Shop this morning and told the Boys they was to Be under his direction till I see Mr powel or hear wheather he is a Comeing. if he does not I will Return directly after Christmas, the prospect of geting of hands for labour another year, is not a veary good one I fear they Cant Be had In this part of the County.... the Job mentioned when you left this is not all Compleat, we took down the two Collums, that was to take down, and Raised one and a half of the two that was down, But, I find they was not marked, when taken down, I never Experience so troublesone a Job In my life, and found they must Be put together Before they are put up, to marke them, as they are to stand.”



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1801



[Richard Richardson](#) sailed to Jamaica to inherit an uncle's sugar plantation. He would return to the US a few years later and succeed in persuading [Thomas Jefferson](#) to re-employ him.

[President Jefferson](#) made a plan for a garden and stone wall around the President's residential mansion in [Washington DC](#), the one that would come to be known, after a fresh coat of whitewash, as the [White House](#). Having hired Meriwether Lewis as his personal secretary, he housed Lewis in the mansion's East Room. He would bring with him the mockingbird Dick, two bear cubs, and his horse Caractacus. However, he would not bring Dashing Sally with him into the executive mansion. She would need to remain back home at Monticello.

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In this year the [negrero](#) *Sally* of Norfolk, [Virginia](#) was in some manner “libelled and acquitted,” with its owners becoming able to claim damages (AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION, I, No. 128).



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

President [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to James Monroe in regard to the accusations being leveled against him by James Thomson Callender, which had not at that point yet risen to the level of newspaper denunciations: “He knows nothing of me which I am not willing to declare to the world myself.”



(One wonders what that meant.)

During this year Jefferson’s mulatto house slave, dashing [Sally Hemings](#) at [Monticello](#), “mighty near white,” was bearing the 5th of her seven children, presumably sired upon her by her owner since, in the one case out of the seven in which we do still have almost perfectly conclusive genetic evidence, that child was indeed Jefferson’s issue.

	number	color	hair	eyes	teeth
Red	5 1/2	7			
Penny	5	7			
Moses 3	4	5			
Sucky 6	3 1/2	4			
Nedj	5 1/2	7			
Peter Hem	5 1/2	7			
Philip	5 1/2	7			1
Rachael	5	7			
Eliza 5	3 1/2	4 1/2			
Ellen 8	2 3/4	3 1/2			
Sally	5	7			1
Harriet 1	4 1/2	5 1/2			1
Madison 5	3 1/2	4 1/2			1
Estlin 8	2 3/4	3 1/2			1
Samuel	5 1/2	7			1

It has been established by the historian Dumas Malone that Jefferson was in the vicinity during the period when this child would have been conceived. This child, a daughter, would be given the name Harriet and was so much more improved racially than her “mighty near white” mama that, although technically a slave, when mature she would be able simply to vanish from the Monticello plantation and be absorbed, uneducated of course, into the general white population of Virginia.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

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But why, if Jefferson had been the daddy, had he not treated his child better? —Because that just wasn't Jeffersonian:

He was not in the habit of showing partiality
or fatherly affection to his children.
— [Madison Hemings](#)



A Father of our Country

But why, if Jefferson had been the daddy, had he not married the mommy? —Because this is the [Thomas Jefferson](#) who himself had penned the Virginia statute:

A marriage between a person of free condition and
a slave, or between a white person and a negro,
or between a white person and a mulatto, shall be null.

RACE SLAVERY
RACE POLITICS



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."

— Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141



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SALLY HEMINGS

Life Among the Lowly.

NUMBER I.

MADISON HEMINGS.

I never knew of but one white man who bore the name of Hemings; he was an Englishman and my greatgrandfather. He was captain of an English trading vessel which sailed between England and Williamsburg, Va., then quite a port. My grandmother was a fullblooded African, and possibly a native of that country. She was the property of John Wales, a Welchman. Capt. Hemings happened to be in the port of Williamsburg at the time my grandmother was born, and acknowledging her fatherhood he tried to purchase her of Mr. Wales, who would not part with the child, though he was offered an extraordinarily large price for her. She was named Elizabeth Hemings. Being thwarted in the purchase, and determining to own his flesh and blood he resolved to take the child by force or stealth, but the knowledge of his intention coming to John Wales' ears, through leaky fellow servants of the mother, she and the child were taken into the "great house" under their master's immediate care. I have been informed that it was not the extra value of that child over other slave children that induced Mr. Wales to refuse to sell it, for slave masters then, as in later days, had no compunctions of conscience which restrained them from parting mother and child of however tender age, but he was restrained by the fact that just about that time amalgamation began, and the child was so great a curiosity that its owner desired to raise it himself that he might see its outcome. Capt. Hemings soon afterwards sailed from Williamsburg, never to return. Such is the story that comes down to me.

Elizabeth Hemings grew to womanhood in the family of John Wales, whose wife dying she (Elizabeth) was taken by the widower Wales as his concubine, by whom she had six children—three sons and three daughters, viz: Robert, James, Peter, Critty, Sally and Thenna. These children went by the name of Hemings.

Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia, and of course it was an aristocratic place, where the "bloods" of the Colony and the new State most did congregate. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was educated at William and Mary College, which had its seat at Williamsburg. He afterwards studied law with Geo. Wythe, and practiced law at the bar of the general court of the Colony. He was afterwards elected a member of the provincial legislature from Albemarle county. Thos. Jefferson was a visitor at the "great house" of John Wales, who had children about his own age. He formed the acquaintance of his daughter Martha (I believe that was her name, though I am not positively sure,) and an intimacy sprang up between them which ripened into love, and they were married. They afterwards went to live at his country seat, Monticello, and in course of time had born to them a daughter whom they named Martha. About the time she was born my mother, the second daughter of John Wales and Elizabeth Hemings was born. On the death of John Wales, my grandmother, his concubine, and her children by him fell to Martha, Thomas Jefferson's wife, and consequently became the property of Thomas Jefferson, who in the course of time became famous, and was appointed minister to France during our revolutionary troubles, or soon after independence was gained. About the time of the appointment and before he was ready to leave the country his wife died, and as soon after her interment as he could at-



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 January 8, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to [Richard Richardson](#): “I recieved a few days ago your letter of Dec. 22. and on the 5th. inst. I wrote to mr Jefferson, and now inclose you an order on him for 550.16 D say £165–1. to be applied as follows. for Henry Duke for Simon £21-10 [for] Stepney 20-10, [to] Edmd. Goodwin admr. of Dickeson's estate [for] John 16-6 [for] Isaac 16-1, [to] the widow Duke for Mat 20-0, [to] Hendrick's estate for Moses 20-0, [to] yourself for Joe 19-0, do. on account 31-4 [total =] 165-1 = 550.16 D the last sum was intended to have been £30. exact as you desired I have not yet heard of Powell’s going up to stay: but have written to mr Eppes to press him off. I am not yet able to give you information as to Journey work here.”

 February 11, Wednesday: Because of our Electoral College system the incumbent president, John Adams, who would have been returned to office had the principle of one-voter-one-vote been followed, had gained only 65 votes in the Electoral College, not enough to continue his presidency, while the Electoral College had deadlocked because [Thomas Jefferson](#) and Aaron Burr had each gained 73 Electoral College votes. Under the Constitution, the House of Representatives was called upon to break such a deadlock in the Electoral College. It would take the House 7 days and 36 ballots to finally settle upon the Southern slavemaster Thomas Jefferson as our next president. Jefferson would be chosen on the basis of a calculus that counted an enslaved person as 3/5ths of a person for the purpose of establishing a state's representation in the House, and consequently in the Electoral College. The owner of one slave in effect had 1 3/5ths vote, and the owner of 500 slaves was in effect allowed 300 extra votes in Congress by virtue of his ownership of 500 human beings. Jefferson had received 73 Electoral College votes, 8 more than President Adams, simply because at least 12 of his Electoral College votes had been based upon the political attitudes of Southern slavemasters like himself who were being assigned extra weight in our political process, rather than upon voting citizens who could express their own political will.

 February 16, Monday: [Richard Richardson](#) wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “... But not having of my helth so as to admit of my going from home till now has ocasioned it my not writing to you Before now I was at your place since I wrote you or as I may say since new years day to know why Mr lilley did not Come down as he told me he would. his Reply was he depend on Mr [paiton] for Eight hands In which he disappointed him In they Could have Been got By me if he had of Come froward as I Requested of him to do Mr powel has gone froward or not you will Be good Enough to Informe me....”

 February 17, Tuesday: L’irato, ou l’emporté, a comédie-parade by Etienne-Nicolas Méhul to words of Marsollier des Vivetières, was performed for the initial time at the Opéra-Comique, Paris. This was extremely popular and would receive over 100 performances during the composer’s lifetime.

After 7 days and 36 ballots, the federal House of Representatives broke an electoral tie between [Thomas Jefferson](#) and Aaron Burr by selecting Jefferson as the US president (the prize went to this southern slavemaster by virtue of each of the numerous black slaves of the south casting 3/5ths of a vote in his favor).

To the victor belong the spoils, so upon his father President John Adams’s reelection defeat by vote of the House of Representatives, [John Quincy Adams](#), serving as ambassador to Berlin, would be obliged to return across the Atlantic.



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 February 25, Wednesday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to [Richard Richardson](#): “Your’s of the 16th. has been duly recieved. it has not been in my power to enquire the price of journeymen here, as I have been very closely confined by business, and the buildings are so scattered here, that one does not know where to go for enquiry. I believe there will be a good deal of work done the ensuing season at this place, and am told workmen are more in demand here than at Philadelphia, where the demand is said to be very dull: I suppose therefore they will flock from there to this place. As I am to be fixed in this place, I give up all idea of carrying on any more stone or brick work myself. I have therefore accepted Whately’s proposal to undertake my shop &c himself, out & out, he to do the quarrying, hauling & every thing. of course I have nothing in which I could engage you. Lilly succeeded in getting as many hands as I wanted, and after finishing the clearing for mr Craven, will be employed this summer on the canal—I believe there will be little public work done here this summer: it will be chiefly private.”

**THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT
CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE
HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE,
A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A
MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH
WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL
CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT.
THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS
EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.**

 March: The new American president, [Thomas Jefferson](#), wrote to [Thomas Paine](#) in France, offering to bring him back to America on an American warship.

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March 4, Wednesday: Prince Alyeksandr Borisovich Kurakin replaced Stepan Alyeksyevich Kolychev as State Chancellor of Russia.

[Alexander Wilson](#) delivered an address that would be immediately printed up as ORATION ON THE POWER AND VALUE OF NATIONAL LIBERTY, DELIVERED TO A LARGE ASSEMBLY OF CITIZENS, AT MILESTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA, ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1801 (Philadelphia: H. Maxwell).



At noon [Thomas Jefferson](#) replaced John Adams as President of the United States (eight hours earlier, at 4AM, Adams had departed from Washington DC by public conveyance, along with two assistants). At our nation's puzzle palace [Washington DC](#), [Thomas Jefferson](#) and Aaron Burr were inaugurated, and the new President delivered his 1st Inaugural Address. (Yet another of our Virginia slavemasters becoming the President of all the people — go figure!) The new Cabinet consisted of James Madison for the Department of State, Samuel Dexter for the Department of the Treasury, Henry Dearborn for the Department of War, Benjamin Stoddert for the Department of the Navy, Gideon Granger as Postmaster General, and Levi Lincoln as Attorney General. When Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert would order a radical decrease in the size of the Navy, Midshipman [Oliver Hazard Perry](#) would be one of the 150 midshipmen who would be retained.



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	Prexy		Veep	
1789-1797	<u>George Washington</u>	No party	John Adams	1789-1797
1797- 1801	John Adams	Federalist	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u>	1797- 1801
1801-1809	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u>	Democratic-Republican	Aaron Burr George Clinton	1801-1805 1805-1809
1809-1817	<u>James Madison</u>	Democratic-Republican	George Clinton [No “Veep”] Elbridge Gerry [No “Veep”]	1809-1812 April 1812-March 1813 1813-1814 November 1814-March 1817
1817-1825	James Monroe	Democratic-Republican	Daniel D. Tompkins	1817-1825
1825-1829	John Quincy Adams	Democratic-Republican	John Caldwell Calhoun	1825-1829
1829-1837	Andrew Jackson	Democrat	John Caldwell Calhoun [No “Veep”] Martin Van Buren	1829-1832 December 1832-March 1833 1833-1837
1837-1841	Martin Van Buren	Democrat	Richard M. Johnson	1837-1841
1841	William Henry Harrison	Whig	John Tyler	1841
1841-1845	John Tyler	Whig	[No “Veep”]	1841-1845
1845-1849	James Knox Polk	Democrat	George M. Dallas	1845-1849
1849-1850	Zachary Taylor	Whig	Millard Fillmore	1849-1850
1850-1853	Millard Fillmore	Whig	[No “Veep”]	1850-1853
1853-1857	<u>Franklin Pierce</u>	Democrat	William R. King [No “Veep”]	1853 April 1853-March 1857
1857-1861	James Buchanan	Democrat	John C. Breckinridge	1857-1861
1861-1865	Abraham Lincoln	Republican	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson	1861-1865 1865
1865-1869	Andrew Johnson	Democrat / National Union	[No “Veep”]	1865-1869

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



May: [General Toussaint Louverture](#)'s army of Creole former slaves defeated the Spanish forces that had held the eastern portions of *Hispaniola*.⁶³ Louverture became Governor-General and a Constitution was enacted.⁶⁴



This Caribbean island would be safe for a year, until First Consul [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), subsequent to the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire, with a pledge by our President [Thomas Jefferson](#) that there would be no US interference (a reversal of our federal diplomatic policy), would be able to send an expedition to attack his allies of color and thus restore order and [slavery](#). —Welcome to your dream of American empire, M. Napoleon; when it comes down to black-and-white issues, we white people are all in the same boat!⁶⁵

The harbor at Le Cap emptied of American vessels so swiftly that Toussaint was moved to ask sarcastically “if the change in administrations had destroyed all the American ships.” ... Race was at the root of all these ironies. Race drove all these Jeffersonian retreats. Race overrode all other considerations for Jefferson whenever it was salient at all.... Jefferson was a man

63. the Dominican Republic.

64. Concord, [Waldo Emerson](#) would be urging [Frederick Douglass](#) to make himself into a Governor of the French Republic Brèda Toussaint-Louverture for the continent of North America, and eventually would be of this —despite the fact that Emerson would attempt to cover it up by suppressing information as to the presence of the black man— because Thoreau had rushed off and gotten Emerson’s inflammatory recommendation printed up in Boston and distributed before it could be suppressed.

65. When [Jefferson](#) heard the motto “Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God,” he thought

“Yes, of course that’s true if you are a white man — but if you are a black man of course it is false.”



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

intellectually undone by his negrophobia.... He was the foremost racist of his era in America. And St. Domingue constituted the crisis in which all this came clear.

— Michael Zuckerman, *ALMOST CHOSEN PEOPLE: OBLIQUE BIOGRAPHIES IN THE AMERICAN GRAIN*, 1993, pages 194-6

Having placed himself in a position of permanent dictatorial control over [Haiti](#), François-Dominique Brèda Toussaint-Louverture re-legalized the slave trade and invited the white planters to return and take control over their abandoned sugar plantations. He stipulated, however, that anyone who returned would need to be a practitioner of family values, who would encourage his slaves to marry and to produce legitimate offspring -- because, he suggested, only with the family as its basis would a stable and just social order be able to evolve. He also stipulated that whipping was in the future going to be forbidden, and that these white planters would need to be out in the fields with their slaves and would need to share the profits from the sugar with their slave workforces. He wrote to his own former manager of the Brèda estate, in exile in the USA, asking him in particular to return, and advised him:

Be just and unbending, make the blacks work hard, so as to add by the prosperity of your small interests to the general prosperity of the administration of the first of the blacks, the General-in-Chief of St. Domingue.

 May 12, day: James Traquair wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “Yours of the 8th. instant I have just received:—if you should want a stone cutter in July you could not have applied in a better time,—I do not believe there ever was a better sett of Stone Cutters employed by one Man on this side the Atlantic than I have at present;—and by that time the Bank of Pennsa. will be near finished, so that it will be no inconveniency to me to spare you one of the best of them; and by that means R. Richardson may learn as much as I wished him when with me.— I expect you have recieved my last inclosing Mr. Stewarts Agreement.”

 May 17, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to New York governor George Clinton, explaining his decision to remove some federal appointees due to their violent character.

 May 18, day: [Richard Richardson](#) wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “[A] letter addrested to mr Jones of this place I think Consens me. I think I must be the person to whome the inquirey makes mention of as I no of no one Else by my name who was with you at that time and of no person being at philadelphia with you about that time and after takeing leave of you In Philadelphia I went on to new york and saw this man whome it is said is dead I should be glad to have your advice on this subject it is worthey of my attention Should you think proper to give me your advice I on this subject you will be good Enough to send me a Certificate to Certify that I was on with you to Philadelphia and about that time.... Ps you will be good Enough to remit me the balance due me as I shall be in great want.”

 May 20, Wednesday: Spanish troops entered Portugal and occupied Olivença.

 May 21, Thursday: Rodrigo Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Teixeira de Andrade, conde de Linhares replaced Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho, visconde de Balsemão as Secretary of State (prime minister) of Portugal.

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SALLY HEMINGS





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



May 29, Friday: In Vienna, Franz Joseph Haydn directed the first public performance of his oratorio Die Jahreszeiten in the Redoutensaal. This had had a great success in a private performance on April 24th, but on this evening the hall was only half filled.

“Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute” may have been a nice newspaper catch phrase and eventually would become official US policy, but [Thomas Jefferson](#) had never heard of such a thing. He wrote on this date to James Monroe that he was upset at the US having failed to pay up its tribute to the [Barbary pirates](#). With the US treasury full, Adams nevertheless was destabilizing US relations with that region of the world by failing to cough up the money: “Tripoli has probably commenced depredations on us. This is totally without cause. Algiers threatens and has a right, there being 3 years arrears of tribute due to her, while our Treasury has been overflowing with money.”

THE BARBARY TREATIES



June 1, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to [Richard Richardson](#): “I have duly recieved yours of May 18. and sincerely congratulate you on the legacy which has fallen to you from your relation in Jamaica. it would certainly be prudent for you to go without delay to recieve it. according to your desire I inclose you an order on Gibson and Jefferson for £40. ... I have ordered a passport in the usual form to be made out for you [in the] Secretary of state’s office, which I expect to recieve from the office in time to inclose herein.”

[Thomas Jefferson](#) sent the following to [Richard Richardson](#): “I Thomas Jefferson do hereby certify that Richard Richardson to whom this paper is delivered is a native citizen of the state of Virginia, was brought up a bricklayer, that he came into my service as such in the year 1796. being then as I supposed about 21. or 22. years of age; and worked for me at my house in Virginia as a bricklayer every season from that to the close of the season of the year 1800. that in the autumn of 1797. he went by my advice to Philadelphia to learn the business of stonecutting and plaistering, and returned from thence again to work for me some time in the summer of 1798. [I have seen an] advertisement in the Virginia paper entitled the Examiner, published by Meriwether Jones at Richmond, notifying the death of a person of the name of Joseph Richardson in Jamaica, & that he had left his estate to the above named Richard Richardson who is therein designated by [such circumstances] as apply with great exactness to him, & to no other person. I further certify that the said Richard Richardson is a person of sobriety, industry, honesty & good demeanor”





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Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: The Republican orator James Kennedy, displaying a spirit of bipartisanship uncommon in Charleston SC, honored “that celebrated declaration, penned by the enlightened, dignified and patriotic Jefferson, and advocated by the firm, honest and sagacious Adams.” He was allowing, in effect, that although his party’s politician [Thomas Jefferson](#) had drawn, penned, traced, and phrased the famed document, the idea of independence also had required advocacy by others.⁶⁶

In [Rhode Island](#) this President of the United States was so mistrusted, that when a toast was offered, it was expressed in the form of a hope that he “might prove true to the constitution and the country.”

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Without pronouncing Jefferson’s name, the Federalist Ezekiel Whitman of Massachusetts noted that from “the pen of one of these Sages, and from the hearts of all his Copatriots, issued that memorable instrument ... known by the name of ‘The Declaration of American Independence’.”⁶⁷ This notice of the fact that the writing up of the Declaration did not equate with the authorization of independence reflects the traditional understanding of the document as a corporate statement, but leaves in question the provenance of the various noble assertions of the document such as “all men are created equal” — sentiments which seem so utterly strange when they appear (through ventriloquy?) to be coming out of the mouth of that Virginia slavemaster who was keeping a dusky sex slave.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

During this year, Martin Van Buren was a delegate to the Republican Party (that’s the old Republican Party) caucus in Troy, New York. He would avidly support the Jeffersonian principles of that party for the remainder of his life.

This was the year of the initial public 4th-of-July reception at the [Executive Mansion](#) in [Washington DC](#). In Marblehead, Massachusetts an oration was delivered by Joseph Story at the New Meeting House. In Boston, Massachusetts the frigates USS *Constitution* and USS *Boston* and the French corvette *Berceau* fired salutes.



July 6, Monday: When the Royal Navy engaged French ships and Spanish shore batteries off Algeiras, Spain the French beat off the British attackers, but more than 400 people were killed.

The pro-administration [National Intelligencer](#) commented upon the “patriotic gratitude” that an enthusiastic Independence Day crowd had showered upon the “first magistrate... whose pen had traced, whose councils had recommended, and whose firmness and talents had co-operated to establish the [Declaration of Independence](#).” In this news story, clearly, the reporter was treating the document in question as something quite a bit more than a mere declaration of war and, clearly, was making a distinction between the passive and diffuse role of the Continental Congress as a whole and [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s role in that Congress — which had allegedly been both active and singular although somehow at the time that had been very much overlooked.



July 20, day: [Richard Richardson](#) wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “I think I Shall Return this fall let the Consequence be what it may as I find a disagreeableness I will write you when I get setteld as you may know where to address me a line from you at any time will be thankfully Received by your Humble St.”

66. AN ORATION, DELIVERED IN ST. PHILIP’S CHURCH, BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1801 (Charleston, 1801)

67. AN ORATION, COMMEMORATIVE OF THE DAY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Portland ME, 1801)



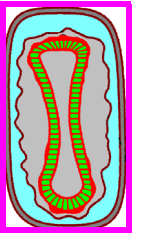
PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

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September 17, Thursday: [Edward William Lane](#) was born in Hereford, England, 3d son of the Reverend Dr.Theophilus Lane.

[Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse that he had completed the variolation against the [small pox](#) of several hundred people, including the Monticello slaves, his sons-in-law, and some of his neighbors, with the kine pox.



THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



December 1, Tuesday: Muzio Clementi reported that he had received the right to print music composed by Jan Ladislav Dussek in England.



December 8, Tuesday: President [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s 1st Annual Message.

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1802

Thomas Jefferson communicated with native American leaders, for whom he would have assured you he had the greatest respect and admiration:

Made by the same Great Spirit and living in the same land with our brothers, the red men, we consider ourselves as the same family; we wish to live with them as one people, and to cherish their interests as our own.

—Thomas Jefferson’s “To the Miamis, Powtewatamies, and Weeauks,” as quoted on page 539 of William Least Heat-Moon’s PrairyErth (a deep map) [Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1991].

He might have added: “And we desire to clutch their wives and their daughters to our bosom, in order once and for all in the most effective possible manner to gradually lighten the burden which you represent in our midst — by the lightening of your race.”



“...the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.”

— Declaration of Independence





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January 1, Friday: [Ceylon](#) became a Crown Colony of Britain.

Incidental music to Kotzebue's play *Die Kreuzfahrer* by Johann Friedrich Reichardt was performed for the initial time, in the Nationaltheater, Berlin.

[Thomas Jefferson](#) replied to an alarmed letter he had received from the Danbury Baptist Association of Danbury, Connecticut. The congregation had heard a rumor that the new national government was going to enact Congregationalism as the official national religion and Jefferson quieted their alarm by correctly advising them that such a course of action would be unconstitutional on account of the 1st Amendment:

I contemplate with solemn reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should "make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus building a wall of separation between Church and State.

Jefferson and his contemporaries, you see, considered this "Bill of Rights" not at all as a "Bill of the Rights of the Citizens of the United States of America" but as a "Bill of the Rights of the Several Sovereign States of the American Union," not at all as any guarantee of individual rights but as a guarantee of the entitlements of the state governments. The 1st Amendment to the US Constitution had guaranteed to the state governments that the federal government could not interfere with their religious enactments. It had denied to the US Congress any authority to enact any "law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Purely negative, it had not placed any positive requirement on the federal government at all. In particular, it had not enacted any "wall of separation between church and state," since it didn't have anything at all to do with state government — this federal constitution pertained to the federal government, not to state governments. This had left perfect freedom and authority to reside in any and all the state governments, to enact any establishment-of-religion laws they wanted, for their own state, or to prohibit any free exercise of religion by citizens, for their own state. A perfect freedom and authority retained by the pre-existing state governments was of course de facto a right entirely withheld from any arm of the federal government.

Jefferson, however, was using this letter not as an expression of the current situation, but as an expression of the direction in which he personally desired that the current situation be altered. To that end, he carefully circulated the drafts of his letter through various officials in advance, seeking their advice as to his most careful wording. The letter must not be taken as an expression of the situation in 1802. It most specifically was not descriptive of the situation in 1802. Being emphatically prescriptive rather than descriptive, the letter is a heads-up, that the situation in 1802 was **not** one which favored the creation of a wall of separation between church and government. Here is the relevant, most carefully worded sentence:

Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between Man & his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legitimate powers of government reach actions only, & not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that **their** legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between Church & State. Adhering to this expression of the supreme will of the nation in behalf of the rights of conscience, I shall see with sincere satisfaction the progress of those sentiments which tend to restore to man all his natural rights, convinced he has no natural right in opposition to his social duties.



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It is to be noted that Jefferson had not separated “religion & government.” He had employed, instead, carefully, the term “the Church.” It was the institution, the institutional infrastructure, which was to be separate, rather than religion itself.

It is to be noted, also, that Jefferson was writing as an official of the federal government, not of any state government, and that therefore the term of art “State” in his letter refers not to government at the state level, but exclusively to government at the federal level.

Therefore Jefferson could not have been deploying this “wall of separation” metaphor to announce any sort of universal principle. He was merely separating out the respective legitimate jurisdictions of the federal apparatus and the state apparatuses on matters religious. He was elaborating, to these Danbury Baptists, on the nature of federalism, not on the nature of church/state relations. He was alerting them to the fact that although the federal government of which he was a spokesperson might be constitutionally barred from interfering in religion, they should beware of the state governments, which indeed were authorized to accommodate and even prescribe religious exercises.

He was simply suggesting that they go bark at somebody else’s dog.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

 January 8, Friday: A convention regarding Articles 6 and 7 of the Jay Treaty and Article 4 of the Definitive Treaty of Peace between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America was signed in [London](#).

READ THE FULL TEXT

 Fall: For partisan reasons, President [Thomas Jefferson](#) deposed Arthur St. Clair as governor of the [Ohio](#) Territory.

 Fall: By this point President [Thomas Jefferson](#) had become aware that the army the French had sent to subdue the island of [Haiti](#) had succumbed to the [yellow fever](#), and that the army the French had intended for the Louisiana territory had been redirected toward that island.



 Fall: By this point Meriwether Lewis had been made aware, by President [Thomas Jefferson](#), that he was to be sent on an expedition to the Pacific Ocean.

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SALLY HEMINGS



September 1, Wednesday: James Thomson Callender, in a gazette known as the Richmond Recorder (the Drunge Report of that era), outed the sexual relationship between [Thomas Jefferson](#) and [Sally Hemings](#), one of his lighter-skinned young house slaves in his [Monticello](#) plantation house, who, although fully enslaved, was actually, through the misbehavior of the preceding generation, a half-sister of Jefferson's dead wife, sired upon one of the black women there (by Jefferson's father-in-law John Wayles).



Callender, it seems, was disgruntled at not receiving federal employment after having done some pamphlets for the Jeffersonians, and had switched to the opposite political camp, taking with him some privileged



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

information as to private affairs and accommodations.



In defense of the widower Jefferson for thus sexually using a dependent person, it has been offered by suckup historians that “Dashing Sally” must have looked quite a bit like his dead wife, causing him to adore her, and, that since this widower had promised his wife that he would never remarry, it was understandable that the man would need to seek sexual gratification through one or another illicit liaison.



As Joseph J. Ellis recently pointed out, “Our heroes –and especially Presidents– are not gods or saints, but flesh-and-blood humans, with all of the frailties and imperfections that this entails.” (And yes, since you ask, Professor Ellis **was** speaking of President Jefferson rather than of President William Jefferson Clinton!)



The president would never need to make any public response to these accusations, which he was well aware were widespread, since no Special Prosecutor would ever be appointed by his Department of Justice. Also, what the hey, it wasn't like slavery was against the law or anything. (Under the law of the time it was even impossible to commit rape upon a woman of color, whether she belonged to you or to some other white man or, for that matter, even if she was a free black person possessing [manumission](#) papers. A black woman simply had no right to bodily privacy which any white man was bound to respect.)

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

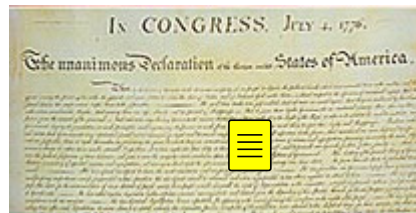
SALLY HEMINGS

 September 1, Wednesday: Upon the invitation of [Thomas Jefferson](#), [Thomas Paine](#) sailed aboard an American warship from Europe for the United States of America.



 September 8, Wednesday: Die Harmoniemesse by Franz Joseph Haydn was performed for the initial time, at Eisenstadt for the nameday of Princess Maria Hermenegild.

 September 10, Friday: A Federalist partisan signing himself pseudonymously “A Buckskin” commented bitterly in the [Virginia Gazette](#) that Republican partisans were using the [Declaration of Independence](#) “as a weapon in favor of the election of a man to the first office under our government.”



By this point, other commentators were taking it for granted that it was accurate to say that [Thomas Jefferson](#) had drafted the document, but “A Buckskin” asserted that Jefferson had not been “the draftsman of the declaration of American independence.” Instead, this politician had merely been one member of a committee and was now blowing himself up like a balloon. According to the reconstruction of events offered by “A Buckskin,” a reconstruction which he claimed he had obtained “from the mouths of two of the venerable sages and patriots who composed that congress,” after “an instrument to that effect had been drawn by the committee, not by Mr. Jefferson,” Congress made “essential alterations.”

 September 24, Friday: John Barnes of Georgetown wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#) at Monticello that the “uprising of Negroes in [Washington](#) has subsided.”

SERVILE INSURRECTION

 September 29, Wednesday: The Richmond VA [Recorder](#) reprinted the article from [Virginia Gazette](#) of September 10th, according to which [Thomas Jefferson](#) had not been “the draftsman of the declaration of American independence,” but had been merely been one member of a committee. According to the reconstruction of events offered by the pseudonymous “A Buckskin,” a reconstruction which he claimed he had obtained “from the mouths of two of the venerable sages and patriots who composed that congress,” after “an instrument to that effect had been drawn by the committee, not by Mr. Jefferson,” Congress made “essential alterations.”

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



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SALLY HEMINGS

 October 30, Saturday: [Thomas Paine](#) arrived back in America, landing aboard an American warship in the port of [Baltimore](#). His friends had taken good care of his property and he was still considered very wealthy. People had forgotten his work as a revolutionist and because of his AGE OF REASON he came to be regarded as an atheist, and nevertheless President [Thomas Jefferson](#) (who had personally arranged the free passage aboard that warship) would invite Paine to the White House. Paine would live in seclusion in his cottage in New Rochelle NY,⁶⁸ concentrating on his writings against the Federalists (such as several attacks upon the deceased [George Washington](#)) and against religious superstitions.

 December 15, Wednesday: President [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s 2d Annual Message.

68. The cottage is now occupied by the Huguenot and New Rochelle Historical Association, and the Thomas Paine National Historical Association has a museum nearby at which if you should for some reason want to, you can view Paine's wallets, his glasses, his watch, and his gloves.

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1803

January 18, Tuesday: In a secret communication to the Congress, [Thomas Jefferson](#) sought authorization for an expedition of exploration, the 1st official exploration of unknown spaces undertaken by United States government. He predicted the sum of \$2,500 (the total cost of the expedition would be \$38,000, way over an order of magnitude higher).

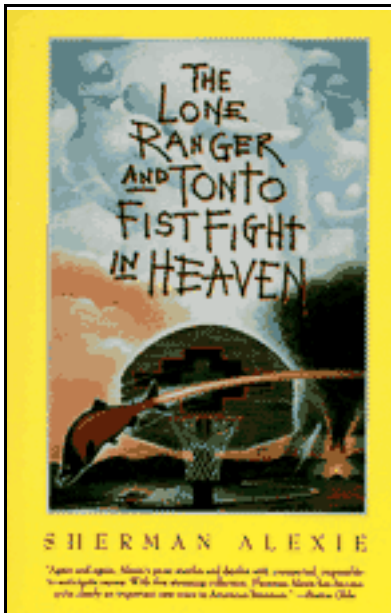


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SALLY HEMINGS

February 27, Sunday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote confidentially to William Henry Harrison very differently from the manner in which he had in the previous year officially addressed Miami, Powtewatamie, and Weeauh leaders,

Made by the same Great Spirit and living in the same land with our brothers, the red men, we consider ourselves as the same family; we wish to live with them as one people, and to cherish their interests as our own.



exposing his own public utterance as utterly hypocritical while explaining how the “Northwest Ordinance” (1787, ratified in 1789), which seemed ostensibly to be for the protection of native tribalists,

The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent.



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actually was to do its work for their political control and for their economic exploitation by white people:

...but this letter being unofficial and private, I may with safety give you a more extensive view of our policy respecting the Indians, that you may better comprehend the parts dealt to you in detail through the official channel, and observing the system of which they make a part, conduct yourself in unison with it in cases where you are obliged to act without instruction.... When they withdraw themselves to the culture of a small piece of land, they will perceive how useless to them are their extensive forests, and will be willing to pare them off from time to time in exchange for necessaries for their farms and families. To promote this disposition to exchange lands, which they have to spare and we want, for necessaries which we have to spare and they want, we shall push our trading houses, and be glad to see the good and influential individuals among them run in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by cession of lands.... In this way our settlements will gradually circumscribe and approach the Indians, and they will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States, or remove beyond the Mississippi. The former is certainly the termination of their history most happy for themselves; but, in the whole course of this, it is essential to cultivate their love. As to their fear, we presume that our strength and their weakness is now so visible that they must see we have only to shut our hand to crush them...

In other words, just between you and me as white guys, we can take it for granted that these native leaders are smart enough to figure out what the meaning of "is" is: we can count on it that they do understand full well that when we have spoken to them in this pleasant manner, we were lying through our teeth and are entirely to be feared and not at all to be trusted. Understanding this so well, they will behave themselves as good little client leaders of ours, and not overreact to the various provocations which from time to time we shall create.



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"...the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."

— Declaration of Independence



"...The conflicts of Europeans with American-Indians, Maoris and other aborigines in temperate regions ... if we judge by the results we cannot regret that such wars have taken place ... the process by which the American continent has been acquired for European civilization [was entirely justified because] there is a very great and undeniable difference between the civilization of the colonizers and that of the dispossessed natives...."

— Bertrand Russell,

THE ETHICS OF WAR, January 1915

Bertrand Russell



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SALLY HEMINGS

 April 19, Tuesday: Under King George III and King George IV of England, [Edward Jesse](#) would hold at Windsor Palace the sinecure post “gentleman of His Majesty’s ewry.”⁶⁹



[Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Edward Dowse, on the topic of religious liberty, that:

I never will, by any word or act, bow to the shrine of intolerance, or admit a right of enquiry into the religious opinions of others. On the contrary, we are bound, you, I, and every one, to make common cause even with error itself, to maintain the common right of freedom of conscience.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

 April 21, Thursday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Benjamin Rush, on the topic of religious liberty, that:

It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

69. This gentleman supervised the sergeant and assistant and mistress who were responsible for serving up water in the silver ewers after dinner (hence the name “ewry”), and in addition for providing and storing linen for the royal tables. The post had been established in 1660 and Edward Jesse would be the final one as the post would be discontinued in 1832.

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 April 30, Saturday: The United States, under President [Thomas Jefferson](#), paid to France \$12,000,000.⁰⁰ to abandon whatever claim the French might have upon the Louisiana Territory. “Rights” to a general territory of 828,000 square miles⁷⁰ which was still going under the name “Louisiana,” that is, “Land of Louis XV, King of France” despite the fact that whatever paltry “rights of ownership” Louis XV had had to this real estate, which had always been debatable, had passed to his erstwhile heir Bonaparte, were sold to the national government of the United States of America for the paltry sum of \$0.⁰⁴ per acre.⁷¹ Once that government had procured that land from the peoples who actually lived on it, such as the Dakota nation, that land would belong to them!⁷²

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

70. It sounds better to say 828,000 square miles than 914 miles square, since in the conversion from square miles to miles square—as in the conversion from a red nation to our human nation—the relationship is of a power.

71. This was actually a better price per acre than that obtained by the Long Island Canarsie native who had “sold” his nonexistent rights to Manhattan Island to Peter Minuit in 1626 for some cloth, some beads, some hatchets, and some other trade goods worth in total some 60 Dutch guilders, or the equivalent of about a pound and a half of silver. In the case of Manhattan Island, the Dutch would still need to negotiate with the tribespeople who were actually living on the island and in possession of it, whose villages were in the vicinity of what is now Washington Heights, and in the case of Louisiana, the European-Americans would still need to negotiate with the tribespeople who were actually living in this territory and in possession of it.

72. However, when the national government of the United States of America subsequently went about purchasing rights to such territories from weaker people, they weren’t in the habit of paying nearly as much as this per acre, even when the rights to the real estate were far more real than whatever rights had devolved from King Louis of France.

SALLY HEMINGS

Armes du Roy telle
qu'elles ont été gravées
sur l'Escorce d'un
Chêne à l'endroit
marqué A

Missions des
Recollets

Nadouessans

Lac
A. B. C.

Chongaskabé ou
Nation des Forts

Les Hanctons

Où de Battons où gens de Rivière

Tadoussac

Quebec

Mont Real

Fort de
Frontenac

Fort de
Conty

Lac de
Conty, ou
Erie

Fort de
la Reine

Portage
des
amis

Portage
des
Recollets

Fort de
Creuecœur

Mission des
Recollets

Soignilay

Les Illinois

Portage
des
Ouisconsin

Portage
des
Piquets

Meilimaxinac

Lac de Conde, ou
Superieur

Sault de St.
Antoine de Padoüe

Lac des Pleurs

Issati

Tinthonha où
gens des Prairies

La Louisiane

Virginie

Thomas Jefferson would draft a special amendment to the federal Constitution intended to legitimate his purchase.

READ THE FULL TEXT

Upon the occasion of the Louisiana Purchase, the government of Mexico made an interesting immigration solicitation to certain disenfranchised citizens of its new northern neighbor: any person whom the *Norteamericanos* considered a “slave,” who could make it as far as the border of Mexico, would be **free**.



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Summer: In order to disprove [Erasmus Darwin](#)'s ideas about spontaneous generation, the [Reverend Joseph Priestley](#) experimented with the growth of algae. He also contested Erasmus Darwin's evolutionary ideas, thinking that plants and animals could arise only from pre-existing germs of the same matter. Priestley's beliefs that various kinds of animal and vegetable matter not visible to the naked eye floated in the atmosphere were later validated by Pasteur. Among Priestley's most influential friends and colleagues in America were Benjamin Rush, Thomas Cooper, [Benjamin Franklin](#), and [Thomas Jefferson](#).



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: An Italian band of musicians performed for President [Thomas Jefferson](#) at the Executive Mansion.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



October 17, Monday: President [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s 3d Annual Message.

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

17th of 10 Mo 1803 Spent part of the evening at D Rodmans shop, when my mind was in a degree humbled under divine influence, which continued till after I went to bed, I desire to be made thankful for every such season & be found in a state worthy to receive more

Renewed trials present to my view often feeling very low on account of my outward circumstances seeing no way to get along with reputation, as they have been very dull for a long time.

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 December 20, Tuesday: [Samuel Hopkins](#) died in [Newport](#). He had been aware that he was dying, and preached a sermon about his own anticipated demise.

ON HIS OWN DEATH

Though he had begun as a slaveholder, he had been the 1st of the Congregational ministers of New England to renounce human enslavement. He had been one of the sponsors of the enactment of 1774 which had interdicted the importation of negro slaves into [Rhode Island](#), and of the enactment of 1784 which had declared that all children of slaves born in Rhode Island after the following March should be born free.

The obituary oration would be delivered by the Reverend Levi Hart, D.D.

OBITUARY ORATION

In a move that more than doubled the land surface of the nation, the United States of America paid France approximately \$20 per square mile to extinguish its claim to approximately 1,000,000 square miles of “Louisiana.” “Rights” to a general territory of 828,000 square miles⁷³ which went under the name “Louisiana,” that is, “Land of Louis XV, King of France” (although whatever paltry “rights of ownership” Louis XV had had to this real estate, which had always been debatable, had passed to his erstwhile heir [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)) were sold to the national government of the United States of America for the paltry sum of \$0.⁰⁴ per acre.



73. It sounds much more impressive to say 828,000 **square miles** than 914 **miles square**, since in the conversion from square miles to miles square—as in the conversion from a **red nation** to our **human nation**—the relationship is of a power.



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Once President [Thomas Jefferson](#) had procured that land doubling the size of the United States (14 new states would eventually be formed) from the peoples who actually lived on it, such as the Dakota nation, that land would belong to them! (However, when the national government of the United States of America subsequently went about purchasing rights to such territories from weaker people, they weren't in the habit of paying nearly as much as this per acre, even when the rights to the real estate were far more real than whatever rights had devolved from King Louis of France.)⁷⁴

READ THE FULL TEXT

74. Since we've spoken above about "rights" to this land, we should also say something about the "rights" of the peoples who were living on this land. Joseph J. Ellis has pointed out in *AMERICAN CREATION* that President Jefferson set us up for the extension of slavery westward, and for the removal of native American tribes from east of the Mississippi River, on this day December 20, 1803, when he specified that in these new federal territories, rights were granted only to the "white" inhabitants (we're not saying that Jefferson had any real option other than to play the game out in this way, we're only saying that this one word was in fact the critical juncture, the pivot point on which the world has turned, the thingie that would set us up for a whole lot of our subsequent agony).



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1804

 The Reverend [Clement Clarke Moore](#) attacked [Thomas Jefferson](#) anonymously in OBSERVATIONS UPON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN MR. JEFFERSON'S NOTES ON VIRGINIA, WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE A TENDENCY TO SUBVERT RELIGION AND ESTABLISH A FALSE PHILOSOPHY. He reported that he had been made suspicious, when this deep thinker started writing about mountains. It was clear that he was going to make an attempt to use the facts of geology to argue that the BIBLE contained incorrect information as to the age of the earth: "Whenever modern philosophers talk about mountains, something impious is likely to be near at hand."

READ JEFFERSON TEXT

It was presumably necessary for the Reverend to issue this tract anonymously, since although he was accusing the President of racism for his remark that "among the blacks there is misery enough, God knows, but not poetry," his own family, a family that was immensely wealthy, owned the black slaves Thomas, Charles, Ann, and Hester and was in no hurry to set them free.



"Philosophers like to practice philosophical thinking on me-too subjects that other philosophers call philosophy, and they leave their minds at the door when they are outside these subjects.... Spending time with these people, whose curiosity is focused on regimented on-the-shelf topics, feels stifling."



— Nassim Nicholas Taleb, *THE BLACK SWAN: THE IMPACT OF THE HIGHLY IMPROBABLE* (NY: Random House, 2007, pages 289-90)



 January 1, Sunday: In Vienna, the concerto for trumpet and orchestra by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was performed for the initial time, for Prince Esterházy.

Commander Jean-Jacques Dessalines declared [Haiti](#) to be an independent republic, the 2d independent nation of the New World. All [slaves](#) were freed and any whites who did not flee would be killed. Many of the surviving whites would wind up in [Baltimore, Maryland](#). With the Consulate having abandoned its campaign to re-subdue Haiti, with the new nation having proclaimed its independence, the party of [Thomas Jefferson](#) would urge that we intercept and forbid all trade with "that unfortunate island." The attitude of the Republicans in Congress could not be accounted for on the basis of Francophilia, as France was no longer on the scene — this was racism pure and simple. One American Congressman declared that he "would venture to pledge the treasury of the United States that the negro government should be destroyed."

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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SALLY HEMINGS

It is first of the week, first of the Mo, & first of the Year 1804

And I trust so far the Year has begun well, for it hath been to me a precious day. I dont know that ever my mind was more sincerely devoted I rose with it from my bed this Morning, & it hath continued with me through the day, Our Meetings to me were favored in an eminent degree, tho' Silence was kept thro' each of them, but I trust the Great Minister of the Sanctuary was near the Spirits of some, & Ministered of his Good Spirit to their Souls. My desires are to be preserved in thankfulness for all his Mercies Vouchsafed to me, who at time feels the most unworthy of all Mortals. May the Year continue in progressive improvement, as I trust it hath begun — is on my part greatly to be craved, & even if I should not live to see the close of 1804 I pray it may not be as with those who are spending their time in unwarrantable persuits, laboring after that which perisheth with the using, to their souls wounding. My mind has been brought to reflect on the uncertainty of time & how short our stay here is even the longest Some are taken in Old Age others cut down in Youthful prime & summoned to the Silent Awful Grave whether prepared or unprepared. Death Makes no stay, but when the pale Messenger is sent to assail our dwelling, we must quit this earthly tabernacle to appear before the Awful Judge & Governor of the Universe to render our accounts of the Deeds done in the Body, there to receive a reward Accordingly. How Awful must this change be to them who have had their tallents committed for their improvement, & from neglect feel a conciousness, of not having done their part toward the improvement of them. Surely when on a languishing bed with no hope of being permitted to try again, their Anguish must be Great. Oh how it behoves us to be up & doing while time & opportunity is yet lengthened out. I desire to proffit by those reflections myself therefore I write them that I may remember them in times when life may be low. And to take a view on the other hand of those who have been faithful & run their course well, How comfotable do we find them in their closing days, looking back on the time past without remorse, & indued [embued?] with streangth to say to those about them "follow me as I have Christ tho I have passed thro" [???]is disappointments & trials of various kinds, yet they were all permitted for my refinement to profit & bring me to the much desired haven of peace & rest. Here is encoragement to press forward in humility of heart, in those things allotted by the Master for our portion on earth, tho' ever so counter to the will of the creature yet being consistent with the will of the Creator our reward is Sure⁷⁵

75. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1803-1805: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 5 Folder 2 for October 17, 1803-May 4, 1804, Folder 3 for May 5, 1804-October 18, 1804, and Folder 4 for October 23, 1804-May 31, 1805. Series 7 Microfilm Reel #2, positive, is made up of Friend Stephen Wanton Gould's Diaries #2-10, 1803-1812 (October 17, 1803-June 30, 1812) (Reel #11 is the negative copy of Reel #2)



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January 20, Friday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) ordered, from a bookstore in Philadelphia, 2 copies of the King James version of the New Testament. Not satisfied with claiming to have authored our [Declaration of Independence](#) (promoting himself from junior member of the committee, delegated to consolidate overnight the committee members' notes from the day), he was going to also author our American version of the Good News. Using his razor, he would slash away the portions of which he disapproved, decimating the 4 gospels and retaining only about 10% of the text. His THE PHILOSOPHY OF JESUS OF NAZARETH would depict Jesus as having been a sort of T-J-in-a-toga dude who had gone around being unchallenging 24 7 365.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

20th of 1 M 1804/ Twenty days of the Month & Year hath now passed away And I sensibly feel the loss of it from reflections upon my very great remissness in many respects. Though my outward conduct is in good measure regular, & my appearance among men accounted exemplary, yet that is not all that is required inward faithfulness & dedication of the Spirit; to the Will of the Lord in all things is what I stand in need of in order to my groth & establishment in the Truth, it is this I stand in need of & for the want of it I feel inward poverty & leanness to assail my mind. How am I sometimes apprised & borne down with weakness when I consider what a profession I am making & how little of the seasoning Virtue of Truth I am in possession of, yea I am discouraged & ready to say I may as well give over the race as I shall never win the prise, but nevertheless sometimes the light of the fathers countenance is raised & fresh courage is given, for which I desire to be thankful & render renewed thanks to the dispencer of every blessing. My situtation is humiliating & calls loud for watchfulness, & an increasing concern to Center down deep into the Spirit of Truth, which is lasting support to the mind thro' every trying dispensation whether from within or without. May this be my engagement to seek after & in the end[?] my happy experience to find I do desire it more than the increase of wealth; tho a small portion of that comes to my share at present insomuch that at times I am very much discouraged & ready to think my proceedings in business has all been wrong, & that I had better never set up my trade, so conclude that my outward circumstances are but Poor & my inward ones trying, tho' perhaps it is all for the best, & permitted to teach me that true help is not to be derived from Man, but from the countain & sorce of all Good

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 22, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

22nd of 1 M first day / Attended meetings in which I was favored to feel some life & receive some instruction from a lengthy Sermon delivered by David Buffum, from the text "seek peace and persue it" he intimated, the reason why we did not receive true peace was that we were persueing the wrong motive & did not ask aright to be instructed where to find it

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February: The first customs collector for [Bristol, Rhode Island](#), Jonathan Russell, had been constantly interfering with the [international slave trade](#) in strict application and implementation of official US federal law and policy. The [DeWolfs](#) and the other slave trading families of Bristol therefore arranged with President [Thomas Jefferson](#) to have Russell replaced with a brother-in-law of theirs, Charles Collins, who was captain of one of that family's negrero vessels — a man who could be counted on to not enforce the federal law against the importation of generations of fresh [slaves](#) from Africa into the United States of America.



The DeWolf Crest



The DeWolf Carriage

President [Jefferson](#) must have been doing something that Republicans liked, for in this month a Republican congressional caucus nominated him for re-election as president. (New York governor George Clinton was nominated to run as the Republican candidate for vice-president.)

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 April 19, Thursday: When Thomas and Martha Wayles Jefferson's daughter Maria died, President [Thomas Jefferson](#) of course came home to [Monticello](#) to attend her funeral, which was held when he arrived on this day. His dusky love slave [Sally Hemings](#) was in attendance on him there, and so, on January 19, 1805, exactly nine months later, she would be giving birth to the 6th of the total of seven slave children she would bear for her owner.

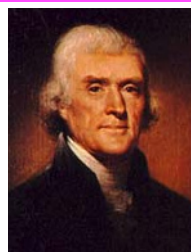
	Age	Sex	Color	Notes
Red	5 1/2	7		
Penny	5	7		
Moses 3	4	5		
Sucky 6	3 1/2	4		
Ned	5 1/2	7		
Peter Hem	5 1/2	7		
Philip	5 1/2	7		1
Rachael	5	7		
Eliza 5	3 1/2	4 1/2		
Ellen 8	2 3/4	3 1/2		
Sally	5	7		1
Harriet 1	4 1/2	5 1/2		1
Madison 5	3 1/2	4 1/2		1
Esther 8	2 3/4	3 1/2		1
Samuel	5 1/2	7		1

(Tom was at the time busy re-writing the Gospels, slashing about 90% of the materials out of the text of the King James Version — so between this daytime activity at the mansion and his night-time activities, he must have been one busy dude.) The proud father of our nation would name this new enslaved son after his vice-president, [James Madison](#) — another Virginia slavemaster.

PATRIOTS' DAY

This product of amalgamation was the [Madison Hemings](#) who later would write of his father, that:

He was not in the habit of showing partiality or fatherly affection to his children.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

19 of 4 M 1804 / I've often seen that to argue with those who are possessed with a disposition to oppose whether right or wrong, & determination not to adhere to any thing that is advanced counter to their opinion, is altogether vain and ineffectual the best way that I am acquainted with is to let our words (to such) be few savoring of divine life which may do much more good than a long argument, I have some times suffered loss of strength by entering into many words with such people, & thereby injure the very cause we are trying to promote The reason of my inserting this is there hath been several of that description in my shop this morning [see note] conversing on religious subjects & altho' I said but little yet for the



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*want of care said rather more than now feels salutary
If there was any hope of it I would say "let the time past
suffice," but I am so frequently in errors that it renders it
allmost an hopeless prospect
Attended Meeting the fist was silent, but thro' weakness of body
& mind I could not enjoy the fruits of solitude as at some times,
but in the last was more comfortable (preparative Meeting Arnold
Buffum sent his intentions of Marriage with Rebecca Gould which
was all the business [note that the same "intentions"
were, without doubt, brought up at the Women's
Preparative Meeting]*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May: For [Alexander von Humboldt](#) to have taken a detour into continent of North America, on his way home from his five-year expedition into South and Central America and the islands of the Caribbean, he took risks that have been described as astounding: over and above nearly losing everything in a hurricane and shipwreck off the Georgia coast), Humboldt was gambling with the British fleet, which he knew to be blockading the US coast. In his letter of introduction to President of the United States [Thomas Jefferson](#), Humboldt had offered that he "could not resist the moral obligation to see the United States and enjoy the consoling aspects of a people who understand the precious gift of Liberty." But in addition to witnessing the American experiment in democracy in point of comparison with the political systems of New Spain, Humboldt said he wished to pay his respects because Jefferson's writings, actions, and liberal ideas had "inspired me from my earliest youth."

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Life Among the Lowly.**NUMBER I.**

MADISON HEMINGS.

I never knew of but one white man who bore the name of Hemings: he was an Englishman and my greatgrandfather. He was captain of an English trading vessel which sailed between England and Williamsburg, Va., then quite a port. My grandmother was a fullblooded African, and possibly a native of that country. She was the property of John Wales, a Welchman. Capt. Hemings happened to be in the port of Williamsburg at the time my grandmother was born, and acknowledging her fatherhood he tried to purchase her of Mr. Wales, who would not part with the child, though he was offered an extraordinarily large price for her. She was named Elizabeth Hemings. Being thwarted in the purchase, and determining to own his flesh and blood he resolved to take the child by force or stealth, but the knowledge of his intention coming to John Wales' ears, through leaky fellow servants of the mother, she and the child were taken into the "great house" under their master's immediate care. I have been informed that it was not the extra value of that child over other slave children that induced Mr. Wales to refuse to sell it, for slave masters then, as in later days, had no compunctions of conscience which restrained them from parting mother and child of however tender age, but he was restrained by the fact that just about that time amalgamation began, and the child was so great a curiosity that its owner desired to raise it himself that he might see its outcome. Capt. Hemings soon afterwards sailed from Williamsburg, never to return. Such is the story that comes down to me.

Elizabeth Hemings grew to womanhood in the family of John Wales, whose wife dying she (Elizabeth) was taken by the widower Wales as his concubine, by whom she had six children—three sons and three daughters, viz: Robert, James, Peter, Critty, Sally and Thena. These children went by the name of Hemings.

Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia, and of course it was an aristocratic place, where the "bloods" of the Colony and the new State most did congregate. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was educated at William and Mary College, which had its seat at Williamsburg. He afterwards studied law with Geo. Wythe, and practiced law at the bar of the general court of the Colony. He was afterwards elected a member of the provincial legislature from Albemarle county. Thos. Jefferson was a visitor at the "great house" of John Wales, who had children about his own age. He formed the acquaintance of his daughter Martha (I believe that was her name, though I am not positively sure,) and an intimacy sprang up between them which ripened into love, and they were married. They afterwards went to live at his country seat, Monticello, and in course of time had born to them a daughter, whom they named Martha. About the time she was born my mother, the second daughter of John Wales and Elizabeth Hemings was born. On the death of John Wales, my grandmother, his concubine, and her children by him fell to Martha, Thomas Jefferson's wife, and consequently became the property of Thomas Jefferson, who in the course of time became famous, and was appointed minister to France during our revolutionary troubles, or soon after independence was gained. About the time of the appointment and before he was ready to leave the country his wife died, and as soon after her interment as he could at-

Here is how Professor Laura Dassow Walls has described the social whirl of Boswash, the best accounts of



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which in English, she points out, have been provided by Helmut De Terra:⁷⁶

But before Jefferson could satisfy his “lively desire” to hear Humboldt’s information, it was Philadelphia’s turn. Charles Willson Peale and the American Philosophical Society treated Humboldt and his companions, Aimé Bonpland and Don Carlos Montúfar, to a round of visits with the area’s leading scientists and intellectuals: Alexander Wilson, the Bartrams, John Bachman, and others. Peale and two other members of the American Philosophical Society accompanied the party to Washington DC, where Peale had arranged the social agenda. Humboldt stayed with Jefferson in [Monticello](#) for some days; in Washington he began friendships as well with [Albert Gallatin](#) (the Secretary of State) and [James Madison](#) (Secretary of the Treasury), among others. Upon Humboldt’s return to Philadelphia, Peale had him sit for a hurried portrait. By late June, Humboldt was back at the dockside, waiting to sail to Bordeaux; the ship, delayed one week, finally sailed on July 6. Thus Humboldt’s visit to the United States lasted only six weeks.

WILLIAM BARTRAM

Humboldt would spend the remainder of his life, and the remainder of his fortune, in publishing the results of his expedition, including a popular account, translated as PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF TRAVELS TO THE EQUINOCTIAL REGIONS (1814, 1819, 1825).

 August 5, day: [Richard Richardson](#) wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “I Shall Be glad to hear how far advanced you have got your house and what has Become of James Dinsmore....”

 August 18, day: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to [Richard Richardson](#): “I recieved last night your favor of Aug. 5. and am glad to find you have got safely back, & have been succesful in your expedition to Jamaica. from your long silence we had begun to conclude you were dead. your resolution to sell out in that island is undoubtedly wise, and your choice of the Orleans territory for your destination is equally so. you will find the purchase however of Sugar lands there high.... if you go before hand and select a spot of sugarlands, a great deal of which is now vacant, & be on the alert to get a grant of it, you may probably get the lands cheap the progress in my buildings, after which you enquire also, has been steady. you had finished all the bricklayer’s work before you left it.”

 August 24, day: [Richard Richardson](#) wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “I Received yours of August the 15 which gave Me some Information Respecting new orleans ... Respecting your house and Its progress are highly pleasing to Me I wish you had Some of the Mahogganey that lays waisting with us for the Inside of your house.”

76. “Alexander von Humboldt’s Correspondence with Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin.” Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 103(1959): 783-806; “Studies of the Documentation of Alexander von Humboldt.” Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 102(1958): 136-41, 560-89.



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September 25, Tuesday: Near what is now Pierre, South Dakota the Teton Sioux (the Lakota) demanded that the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition surrender to them of their boats, as a toll for moving farther upriver. This almost brought a fight, until headman Black Buffalo interceded.

Yellow fever broke out in Livorno.

The 12th Amendment established a new and more appropriate procedure for voting by electors for president and vice-president. Each elector had been casting two ballots for president, with the candidate obtaining the highest number of votes (assuming that candidate received a simple majority of more than half of the total votes) becoming president, and with the second highest vote-getter becoming vice-president. In case of ties, as had happened in 1800, an election decision had to be made in the House of Representatives. When [Thomas Jefferson](#) and Aaron Burr, running as a ticket for the republicans, tied in electoral votes, the lame duck congress had to cast 36 ballots before it determined to award the presidential office to Jefferson, and the decision reached was owing mostly to the rules about voting by state in the House of Representatives. Because the fear among republicans was that the federalists were going to appoint the senate president pro tem while calling for a new election, or award the presidential office to Burr, when the republicans took over the Congress they passed the 12th Amendment to require electors to vote for a president and a vice president simultaneously and separately, in order to prevent a repeat of one of the last acts of the “reign of witches” — as Jefferson termed the Adams administration.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 25 of 9 m 1804 / I have been reflecting this afternoon, on What I now am & what I might have been, if I had faithfully yealded to bear the Cross which was laid upon me in my childhood. And find that I have made but little progress, as by this time I might have been a strong Man in the Lord, & now am but a weak one —

My mind has been humbled under those reflection, & been brought to consider how many there are, who have been tenderly visited & revisited & at time been ready to say with David “If I forget thee O Jerusalem let my right hand forget her cunning, if I do not remember thee let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer(?) not Jerusalem leave(?) my chief joy” But now Alas find themselves sitting by the Rivers of Babylon; unable to sing the Lord’s Song, being in a strange land, often remembering with sorrowful & fearful acusations the days when they were encircled round about by the Walls of the Lion. Through weakness unable to trace back the steps which they have taken from that city whose Walls are Salvation & whose Gates are praise; being sorrowfully captivated with the fascinating fictions of the Mock City of Babylon, with whose Merchandize many who have been highly favored of the Lord are now become drunken. — And have great need to turn unto him who will, on the grounds of obedience, graciously assist us, again to make straight steps & finally become inheritors of his most desirable City.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 8, Thursday: President [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s 4th Annual Message.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 8 of 11 M 1804 / Attended Meeting which we passed in Silence, & some degree of solemnity cover’d my mind. Altho my meeting was some what comparable to a confused dream yet I trust some part of it was acceptable. — What I mean by confused dream,



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is, — my mind would sometimes be in one place, & sometimes in another & hard to be kept to the center & sorce of life. — Confusion of this kind is often my experience, the Adversary is very buisy [?] to insinuate worldly concerns when we attempt to turn our thought inward, & it is astonishing to see how subtilly, & at what unsuspected quarters he will bring in his vain thoughts, to divert our attention from silent, & acceptable Worship of God, even when, I have the most desirious to overcome him, he has tried the harder, but thankfully may I say the sometimes I have been favored to overcome & lay waste his designs. —

My mind has bee seriously concerned for some days, on account of the Inhabitance of our Town, especially those who are in low circumstances. a cold & prehaps [sic] hard Winter is now approaching, & there is but very little Wood to be sold, & what there is, is so very dear, as to render it impossible for them to procure a sufficiency to keep them comfortable, & what is greatly to be fear'd is that it is not likely to be any better. perhaps what has led me into this sympathy, is that I am something in their condition, & there is nothing can bring us to realise things like experience

I view it as a very great calamity & no doubt is designed to to bring us nearer to the true & living faith. Indeed it has been a remarkable time, this Year throughout the whole continent, what of pestilence, Severe Storms, Drough &c, all of which the kind hand of the Almighty has evidently been in. — I am ready to conclude that it is time for us to be up & doing for ourselves. —

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December 5, Wednesday: The incumbent President, [Thomas Jefferson](#), was reelected as President. The Vice-President (George Clinton) was elected separately for the 1st time.

At Neckinger House, Bermondsey, a third examination of the prophecies of [Joanna Southcott](#) was to be staged before 24 clerical judges and 24 jurors. The presenting attorney was to be John Scott of Devon. No clergy having made their appearance, at nine o'clock on the seventh day following, Joanna would seal a Great Box to be kept till after her death, and this would be delivered to one of the Sealed attenders. A prophesy was given out, that unless this Great Box was properly opened in the presence of 24 Bishops of the Church by the end of the year 2004 — there was going to be all hell to pay.

MILLENNIALISM



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SALLY HEMINGS

1805



[Thomas Green Fessenden](#)'s DEMOCRACY UNVEILED stupidly equated American democrats with the Illuminists and Jacobins of Europe, attacking for all the wrong reasons President [Thomas Jefferson](#) among other national politicians of the era (it is almost as if this author had memorized a formula for attracting undue attention through outrageous and preposterous allegations).

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SALLY HEMINGS

January 19, Saturday: [Sally Hemings](#) bore her 6th of seven children, presumably sired upon her by her owner [Thomas Jefferson](#) since, in the one case out of the seven in which we do still have almost perfectly conclusive genetic evidence, that child was indeed Jefferson's issue. Our President would name this new slave he had engendered after his vice-president, [James Madison](#), another Virginia slavemaster. It has been established by the historian Dumas Malone that Jefferson was in the vicinity during the period when this child would have been conceived. Unfortunately, this product of amalgamation, poor boy, would not turn out to be as light in complexion as his brother Beverly or as his sister Harriet, and when mature would be unable to disappear into the general white population. He thus would be required to remain enslaved during the lifetime of his father.

	white	black	half	three-quarters	four-quarters
Ned	5 1/2	7			
Penny	5	7			
Moses 3	4	5			
Sucky 6	3 1/2	4			
Ned	5 1/2	7			
Peter Hem	5 1/2	7			
Philip	5 1/2	7			1
Rachael	5	7			
Eliza 5	3 1/2	4 1/2			
Ellen 8	2 3/4	3 1/2			
Sally	5	7			1
Harriet 1	4 1/2	5 1/2			1
Madison 5	3 1/2	4 1/2			1
Estlin 8	2 3/4	3 1/2			1
Samuel	5 1/2	7			1

[Madison Hemings](#) would write of his father, whose total involvement in his preparation for life had been to have him trained by other of the plantation slaves in carpentry and in the playing of the violin, that:

He was not in the habit of showing partiality or fatherly affection to his children.



"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz?"

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Life Among the Lowly.**NUMBER I.**

MADISON HEMINGS.

I never knew of but one white man who bore the name of Hemings: he was an Englishman and my greatgrandfather. He was captain of an English trading vessel which sailed between England and Williamsburg, Va., then quite a port. My grandmother was a fullblooded African, and possibly a native of that country. She was the property of John Wales, a Welchman. Capt. Hemings happened to be in the port of Williamsburg at the time my grandmother was born, and acknowledging her fatherhood he tried to purchase her of Mr. Wales, who would not part with the child, though he was offered an extraordinarily large price for her. She was named Elizabeth Hemings. Being thwarted in the purchase, and determining to own his flesh and blood he resolved to take the child by force or stealth, but the knowledge of his intention coming to John Wales' ears, through leaky fellow servants of the mother, she and the child were taken into the "great house" under their master's immediate care. I have been informed that it was not the extra value of that child over other slave children that induced Mr. Wales to refuse to sell it, for slave masters then, as in later days, had no compunctions of conscience which restrained them from parting mother and child of however tender age, but he was restrained by the fact that just about that time amalgamation began, and the child was so great a curiosity that its owner desired to raise it himself that he might see its outcome. Capt. Hemings soon afterwards sailed from Williamsburg, never to return. Such is the story that comes down to me.

Elizabeth Hemings grew to womanhood in the family of John Wales, whose wife dying she (Elizabeth) was taken by the widower Wales as his concubine, by whom she had six children—three sons and three daughters, viz: Robert, James, Peter, Critty, Sally and Thenna. These children went by the name of Hemings.

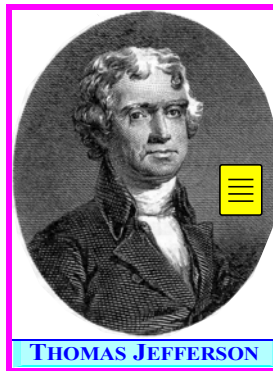
Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia, and of course it was an aristocratic place, where the "bloods" of the Colony and the new State most did congregate. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was educated at William and Mary College, which had its seat at Williamsburg. He afterwards studied law with Geo. Wythe, and practiced law at the bar of the general court of the Colony. He was afterwards elected a member of the provincial legislature from Albemarle county. Thos. Jefferson was a visitor at the "great house" of John Wales, who had children about his own age. He formed the acquaintance of his daughter Martha (I believe that was her name, though I am not positively sure,) and an intimacy sprang up between them which ripened into love, and they were married. They afterwards went to live at his country seat, Monticello, and in course of time had born to them a daughter, whom they named Martha. About the time she was born my mother, the second daughter of John Wales and Elizabeth Hemings was born. On the death of John Wales, my grandmother, his concubine, and her children by him fell to Martha, Thomas Jefferson's wife, and consequently became the property of Thomas Jefferson, who in the course of time became famous, and was appointed minister to France during our revolutionary troubles, or soon after independence was gained. About the time of the appointment and before he was ready to leave the country his wife died, and as soon after her interment as he could at-

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK.”

– [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



 March 4, Monday: President [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s 2d Inaugural Address.



 Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July:⁷⁷ The toasts at a Republican 4th of July banquet in Washington DC described their politician [Thomas Jefferson](#) as “the penman of the declaration of Independence” and noted that it was their candidate’s “hand that drew the declaration of Independence.” The [National Intelligencer](#)’s lowercasing of this word “declaration” (on July 6th and then again on July 16th) suggests that the task of inscribing the words on the face of the document itself was being regarded as separate from the creation of the revolutionary idea of national autonomy, was being regarded as a clerical honor rather than as a full authorship.

Meanwhile, however, in Boston, Ebenezer French, at a gathering of “Young Democratic Republicans,” was praising President Jefferson as “the immortal author of the DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.” French was granting to this politician far more than scribal status and also was reifying

77. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s, or [Hathorne](#)’s, 1st birthday.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

the [Declaration of Independence](#) document Jefferson allegedly had authored by conflating it with the achievement of American autonomy. He was coming perilously close to averring that his politician had by a stroke of a pen won for us our [Revolutionary War](#).⁷⁸

As a follow-up for this amplitude and grandeur, on this night Boston offered its 1st municipal fireworks display.

In Charleston, South Carolina on this day, the American Revolution Society and the Society of the Cincinnati met at St. Philips Church.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 4 of 7 M 1805 / I feel so poor & barran that I hardly know how to write any thing respecting the day – I had a prospect before meeting of being favord with a good time, but from some cause or another, help was very much withheld It has been a day of much noise, of Drum & fife, being Independence day as I was walking to meeting, I met the Solders under parade, & thought I was livingly sensible that their conduct was an offence to the Almighty, & that he took no delight in what they were doing Oh may my mind be more & more drawn from the spirit & perishing things of this world, for sure I am, yea indubitably clear, that there is no other way to reach the haven of rest than by an entire surrender of all which the controversy of heaven is against –

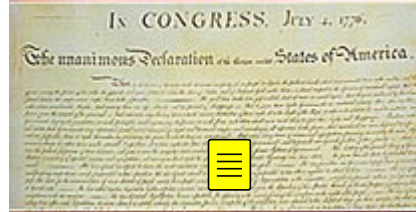
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

78. AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4TH, 1805, BEFORE THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS, OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

 September 30, Monday: Earlier in this month Jame Hubbard, a black [slave](#) in [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s plantation nail factory, had attempted to file a personal declaration of independence — but had soon been recaptured.⁷⁹



Clearly, by this point in time the proponents of this Jefferson [slaveholding](#) plantation master as a national politician were exaggerating the uniqueness and importance of his role in the creation of the [Declaration of Independence](#) for the Continental Congress, for John Adams, who had served on that drafting committee, had



begun wondering: “Was there ever a *coup de theatre* that had so great effect as Jefferson’s penmanship of the Declaration of Independence?”⁸⁰ From Adams’s point of view Jefferson’s role had been a mere scribal one and had not come anywhere close to sole authorship. In his biography of [George Washington](#) which began to be released volume by volume during this year, while discussing the proceedings at the Continental Congress, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court John Marshall buried in a footnote a tepid recognition that in regard to the Declaration “the draft reported by the committee has been generally attributed to Mr. Jefferson.”⁸¹

 December 3, Tuesday: President [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s 5th Annual Message.

The Emperor Franz I of Austria called on the Emperor [Napoléon](#), to sue for peace.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3 day of 12 M 1805 / Tho’ I have been much engaged in outward business for some days past, yet the pure witness has often in the midst of it been raised, so that when my hands have been on my labor my heart has enjoyed the life, & thanks be to the Author of every blessing, things as to an outward living seems to

79. During [Jefferson](#)’s floruit as an adult [slaveholder](#), more than 40 such escapes from his hilltop plantation [Monticello](#) would be attempted!

80. This was in a letter to Benjamin Rush which appears in Schultz, John A. and Douglass Adair, eds., THE SPUR OF FAME: DIALOGUES OF JOHN ADAMS AND BENJAMIN RUSH, 1805-1813 (San Marino CA: 1966), page 43

81. Marshall, John. THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. Philadelphia PA, 1805-1807, Volume II, footnote to page 377



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

increase, & I desire that the lure of wealth may not draw my mind from an entire dependance on the Lord, & that my feet may never stray from the holy enclosure, that neither heights nor depths or any thing else may lay waste the seed of life in my heart.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1806

➡ The embargo recommended by [President Thomas Jefferson](#) was instituted against the island of [Haiti](#). Our President's attitude, about people of color thus seizing their freedom, was "Never was so deep a tragedy presented to the feelings of man." He sent muskets to his fellow white slavemasters. Our policy would be to destroy the new republic there through the severest possible economic pressure. Freedom was for white people. Freedom included the freedom to enslave.

➡ When [Alexander Wilson](#) attempted to convince his friend Alexander Lawson to take on the task of engraving the plates for the proposed [ORNITHOLOGY](#), the engraver, aware that the project had no financial backing, backed away. Hearing of President [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s proposal for a government Red River expedition beyond the Mississippi banks, Wilson offered his services as a traveling naturalist, describing himself as "accustomed to the hardships of travelling, without a family, and an enthusiast in the pursuit of Natural History," but nothing would come of this because the president had already offered that position to [William Bartram](#).

➡ January: Aaron Burr plotted the establishment of the Louisiana Territory, recently purchased by [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s administration from [Napoléon](#), as a separate nation.

➡ January 14, Tuesday: [Matthew Fontaine Maury](#) was born in Spotsylvania County, Virginia. His mother's ancestors, of the "Minor" family, had come to Virginia from Holland, and his father Richard Maury's ancestors had been [Huguenots](#) (his granddaddy the Reverend James Maury had taught [Thomas Jefferson](#), [James Madison](#), and James Monroe).

➡ February: [William Bartram](#) declined President [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s offer to serve as naturalist on the Red River expedition.



➡ Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July:⁸² Ebenezer French caused the attention of an assembly of Maine Republicans to focus on "the glorious instrument written by the illuminous JEFFERSON, called the 'Declaration of American Independence.'"⁸³ Although other speechmakers of this year were merely crediting the hand of [Thomas Jefferson](#) with having drawn up the document, these Republican partisans were averring that their guy's thoughts had conceived it. During this year, however, the murder of Jefferson's friend and mentor George Wythe, poisoned by an angry relative,⁸⁴ was attracting additional attention in regard to the authorship of the [Declaration of Independence](#), for among the Wythe papers was discovered a copy of a draft of the document that, to appearances, Jefferson had sent him at the time.⁸⁵ Already the easy assumption was being made, that whatever differed from this draft was the work of others in the Continental Congress and that whatever was in this draft had been created by Mr. Jefferson alone, ignoring the stated fact that in the preparation of this draft Mr. Jefferson had not only been acting under instruction but also had taken at least a part of that instruction back to his chamber that night with him in writing. The nuance, that what was in this

82. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s 2d birthday.

83. AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN INHABITANTS, OF PORTLAND, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1806, BEING THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Portland ME: 1806)

84. Boyd, Julian P. "The Murder of George Wythe," [William and Mary Quarterly](#), 3rd Series, [XII](#) (1955):513-74

85. Boyd, Julian P. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXT AS SHOWN IN FACSIMILES OF VARIOUS DRAFTS BY ITS AUTHOR, THOMAS JEFFERSON. Princeton NJ: 1945, 43-45



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

rough draft might be or might not have been the originaive thought of Jefferson himself, was already being lost on everyone.

In Bennington, Vermont a couple of elderly Revolutionary officers marched in the town parade.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



British forces defeated the French at Maida in Calabria and then returned to Sicily.

The Lord Commissioners of the “Delicate Investigation” ruled that [George, Prince of Wales](#) did not have grounds for divorce from [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#), because they had produced no evidence of her having committed any actual crime. They did consider, however, that her indiscreet conduct entitled him to severely limit her further contact with their daughter, [Princess Charlotte Augusta Hanover of Wales](#) (henceforward she would be able to see her daughter only once a week at most, and only in the presence of her mother –her daughter’s grandmother– Her Grace the Dowager Duchess of Brunswick).



December 2, Tuesday: The US Congress voted to end importation of slaves, after 1807, sort of.

President [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s 6th Annual Message to the federal congress.

See ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress, 1st session, pages 97-98.
HOUSE JOURNAL (reprint of 1826), 9th Congress, 2d session, V. 468.

SLAVERY

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The first great goal of anti-slavery effort in the United States had been, since the Revolution, the suppression of the slave-trade by national law. It would hardly be too much to say that the Haytian revolution, in addition to its influence in the years from 1791 to 1806, was one of the main causes that rendered the accomplishment of this aim possible at the earliest constitutional moment. To the great influence of the fears of the South was added the failure of the French designs on Louisiana, of which Toussaint L’Ouverture was the most probable cause. The cession of Louisiana in 1803 challenged and aroused the North on the slavery question again; put the Carolina and Georgia slave-traders in the saddle, to the dismay of the Border States; and brought the whole slave-trade question vividly before the public conscience. Another scarcely less potent influence was, naturally, the great anti-slavery movement in England, which after a mighty struggle of eighteen years was about to gain its first victory in the British Act of 1807.

President Jefferson, in his pacificatory message of December 2, 1806, said:

“I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day."⁸⁶

In pursuance of this recommendation, the very next day Senator Bradley of Vermont introduced into the Senate a bill which, after a complicated legislative history, became the Act of March 2, 1807, prohibiting the African slave-trade.⁸⁷

Three main questions were to be settled by this bill: first, and most prominent, that of the disposal of illegally imported Africans; second, that of the punishment of those concerned in the importation; third, that of the proper limitation of the interstate traffic by water.

The character of the debate on these three questions, as well as the state of public opinion, is illustrated by the fact that forty of the sixty pages of officially reported debates are devoted to the first question, less than twenty to the second, and only two to the third. A sad commentary on the previous enforcement of State and national laws is the readiness with which it was admitted that wholesale violations of the law would take place; indeed, Southern men declared that no strict law against the slave-trade could be executed in the South, and that it was only by playing on the motives of personal interest that the trade could be checked. The question of punishment indicated the slowly changing moral attitude of the South toward the slave system. Early boldly said, "A large majority of people in the Southern States do not consider slavery as even an evil."⁸⁸ The South, in fact, insisted on regarding man-stealing as a minor offence, a "misdemeanor" rather than a "crime." Finally, in the short and sharp debate on the interstate coastwise trade, the growing economic side of the slavery question came to the front, the vested interests' argument was squarely put, and the future interstate trade almost consciously provided for.

From these considerations, it is doubtful as to how far it was expected that the Act of 1807 would check the slave traffic; at any rate, so far as the South was concerned, there seemed to be an evident desire to limit the trade, but little thought that this statute would definitively suppress it.

86. HOUSE JOURNAL (reprinted 1826), 9th Congress 2d session, V. 468.

87. Cf. below, § 59.

88. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 238.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1807



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July:⁸⁹ In AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED AT BROOKFIELD, UPON THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1807; BEFORE A NUMEROUS ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLICANS OF THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER, Levi Lincoln, Jr. applauded [Thomas Jefferson](#), “the sublimity of whose mind first ken’d American Independence and whose pen impressed the solemn Declaration.”

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Richmond, Skelton Jones delivered a funeral oration over the men of the USS *Chesapeake* who two weeks earlier had lost their lives due to an attack by the British warship *Leopard*.

In Petersburg VA, people marched through the streets with an “effigy of George III on a pole” and later burned their effigy on Centre Hill.

The new eagle decoration crowning the gate of the Navy Yard in [Washington DC](#) was unveiled to a federal salute and the sound of music.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



In Nizza near Nice, which at the time was part of the French empire, [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) was born (he would be baptized as “Joseph Marie Garibaldi le” at the church of Saint-Martin-Saint-Augustin in the district Vieux-Nice).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7 day 4 of 7 M 1807 / There has been much noise about our Streets of Guns, Drums &c as they have passed along my mind was affected with Seriousness under the consideration of the depravity of the human mind. I consider all this parade & extravagance as the result of depraved minds, & many times when I have Seen Such conduct I have Said in my soul "Surly [Surely] the Lord taketh no delight herein" - Towards evening walked to Portsmouth & lodged at Cousin Z Chases. - The next mornng walked up to P Lawtons where I found my precious H in good health & satisfied that she is in her right place, which to me is cause of greatful acknowledgements of thanksgiving - from there to meeting where I sat under much leaness & want of ability to get to the right sorce till a few minutes before it concluded when the precious life arose & was like a Sweet morsel to my poor roving mind, & I concluded I was not Sent quite empty away. I dined at Joseph Motts & after dinner went into the chamber to see my dear old cousin Elizabeth whom I have long wanted to see, for She is one that I loved when a boy & well remember her when I lived with my Aunt Martha Gould, & also her excellent testimonies in our public meetings She recited Some Anecdote of my boyhood which were very interesting

89. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s 3rd birthday.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

to my feelings, her conversation in general was very instructing which made my visit a truly proffitable Season. She Said she was thinking of me the day before but did not expect so soon to see me. She appeared to be much pleased with my coming, & I am Sure I'm glad I went & hope Some of her excellent remarks may never be forgotten but treasured up in my mind as long as I live Spent the remainder of the afternoon with my precious H & in the evening walked home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 28, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day / Nothing material to insert, all the family have heavy cold but myself. I desire to be thankful for the escape. - In the evening called to see my dear Aunts Martha, Mary & Hannah in their new abode, & found them all down with the Influenza —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Brunswick, Hildesheim, and Hesse were joined to become the Kingdom of Westphalia under King Jérôme Bonaparte.

President [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, who was the primary administrator of Indian affairs during his administration, instructing that “if we are constrained to lift the hatchet against any tribe, we will never lay it down until that tribe is exterminated.” (Try explaining this away.)

On second thought, don't even bother trying to explain it away — if you are one of those who suppose that



**Bloodthirsty Savages awaiting extermination
by decent God-fearing white people**

this Thomas Jefferson is the guy who penned our Declaration of Independence:

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



"...the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."

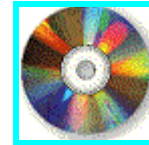
— [Declaration of Independence](#)



This Jefferson theme would be being constantly repeated:

"The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlers will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians."

— L. Frank Baum, author of the Oz books



October 27, Tuesday: President [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s 7th Annual Message.

France and Spain signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Spain agreed to cooperate with French troops in the conquest of Portugal and allow French garrisons along their supply route. In return France granted Spain the southern third of Portugal. Meanwhile, King Carlos IV and Queen María Luisa detained Prince Fernando in the royal palace and launched an investigation into his affairs, fearful he was leading a plot against them.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 27th of 10th M 1807 / I seem to have to bewail myself
as seperated from the divine harmony, I can neither See hear of*

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

[or] feel any thing of the precious influence, but am dead dry & allmost a burden to myself – however this afternoon I became acquainted with a young man from Pomfret in Connecticut whose name was Daniel Clapp Junr – his countenance seems remarkably solid & his company was very pleasant, & I thought was of some use to my lifeless mind

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

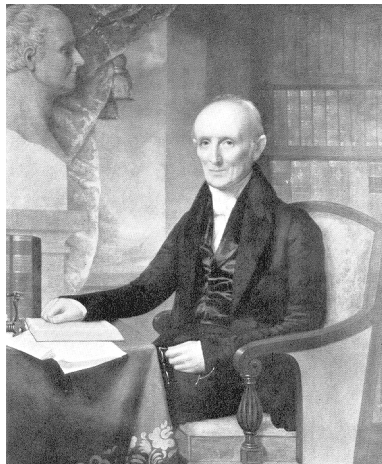


December: Robert Fulton attempted again to interest President [Thomas Jefferson](#) and the Secretary of the Navy in using his torpedoes to destroy British shipping. He left [Washington DC](#) for [New-York](#).

Young [Amos Lawrence](#) had done a satisfactory job of settling the accounts of the Boston firm that had failed, on behalf of that firm's creditors, and was able to rent a shop on Cornhill and create a dry-goods establishment on his own account.



December 14, Monday: In the early morning hours, a huge fireball streaked from north to south over New England at a speed of three miles per second and an altitude of some 18 miles, exploding with the noise of a small cannon above Weston, Connecticut. Remnants would be collected and studied by Yale College. Shown a rocky fragment that weighed nearly 200 pounds, President [Thomas Jefferson](#) remained skeptical of the supposition that stony matter might be originating anywhere else than from down here upon the surface of the earth (like extinct dinosaurs, this was something that just didn't fit into his mental universe). We owe the calculations of the speed and altitude of this [meteor](#) to Nathaniel Bowditch, who throughout his life was in constant search for instances which would succumb to the tools of mathematical analysis.



SKY EVENT

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 14 of 12 M / A severe struggle between flesh & spirit. I never more sensibly felt that truth of the assertion that there is no temptation so great but that with the temptation there, was, or is a way made for an escape. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1808

➡ The political conservatism of [William Cullen Bryant](#)’s family stimulated the 14-year-old to write a poem “The Embargo” demanding the resignation of President [Thomas Jefferson](#).

➡ During this year in which our participation in the [international slave trade](#) ended –or, rather, during this year in which **its legality** ended– [Sally Hemings](#), President [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s mulatto house slave at [Monticello](#), was bearing for him while he was in the presidential residence in [Washington DC](#) the last of her seven [slave](#) children, [Eston Hemings Jefferson](#).

	Wm	John	Mad	Sally
Red	5 1/2	7		
Penny	5	7		
Moses 3	4	5		
Sucky 6	3 1/2	4		
Nedj	5 1/2	7		
Peter Hem	5 1/2	7		
Philip	5 1/2	7	1	
Rachael	5	7		
Eliza 5	3 1/2	4 1/2		
Ellen 8	2 3/4	3 1/2		
Sally	5	7		1
Harriet 1	4 1/2	5 3/4	1	
Madison 5	3 1/2	4 1/2		
Eston 8	2 3/4	3 1/2		1
Samuel	5 1/2	7		1

It has been established by the historian Dumas Malone that Jefferson was in the vicinity during the period when this infant would have been conceived. The President was 65 years of age and apologist historians have been insisting that at this point he was totally impotent and devoted to the world of ideas. This infant looked like her other babies had, that is, it also resembled Jefferson — and it was indeed, in all likelihood, on the basis of recent forensic evidence of the greatest reliability, Jefferson’s issue. (In regard to the other six of Dashing Sally’s children this genetic testing is either entirely impossible now, or has turned out to provide inconclusive evidence, able to determine the controversy neither in one way nor in the other.) Unfortunately for this Eston, he was not quite so light in complexion as had been his brother Beverly or his sister Harriet, for he had more of the coloration of his brother Madison, and so when mature he like Madison would be unable to disappear into the general white population. He thus would be required to remain enslaved during the lifetime of his father, and as his brother would point out in regard to their father,

He was not in the habit of showing partiality or fatherly affection to his children.

— [Madison Hemings](#)

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

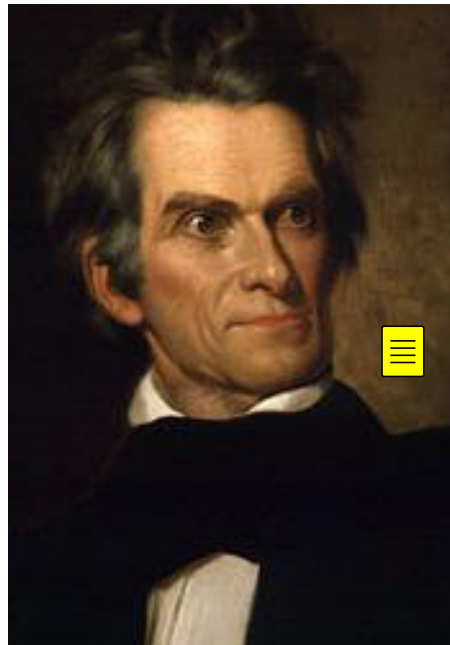
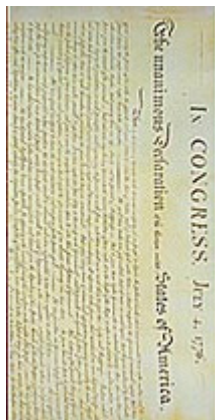
In Virginia it has been against the law for a good long while, for a white man to marry a woman of color such as Sally, even were she were a free woman rather than a mere house slave. This law had flowed from the pen of Jefferson himself:

A marriage between a person of free condition and a slave, or between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a mulatto, shall be null.



During this year a similar elaboration was being added to the civil code of Louisiana: LOUISIANA CIVIL CODE 1808, page 24, Article 8: “Free persons and slaves are incapable of contracting marriage together; the celebration of such marriages is forbidden, and the marriage is void; it is the same with respect to the marriages contracted by free white persons with free people of color.”

John Caldwell Calhoun –the [self-privileging](#) white man who said of the [Declaration of Independence](#)’s phrase “all men are created equal” that “it is utterly untrue”– was elected to the South Carolina legislature.



SELF-PRIVILEGER



January 23, Saturday: Samuel Wesley was admitted to Somerset House Masonic Lodge.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7 day 23 of 1 M / At trade thro' the day. In the evening, at R Taylor & Aunt M Goulds –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

[Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Samuel Miller in regard to government-sponsored prayer and other religious worship:

I do not believe it is for the interest of religion to invite the civil magistrate to direct its exercises, its discipline, or its doctrines; nor of the religious societies, that the General Government should be invested with the power of effecting any uniformity of time or matter among them. Fasting and prayer are religious exercises; the enjoining them an act of discipline. Every religious society has a right to determine for itself the times for these exercises, and the objects proper for them, according to their own particular tenets; and the right can never be safer than in their hands, where the Constitution has deposited it.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE



March 1, Tuesday: American slaver captains like La Coste of South Carolina, caught red-handed and convicted, were usually at the last moment the beneficiaries of “executive clemency” by the President of the United States. For instance, on this date President [Thomas Jefferson](#), whose house slave [Sally Hemings](#) was six or seven months pregnant with his 5th child, pardoned Phillip M. Topham after a conviction for “carrying on an illegal slave-trade.” Go thou and sin some more: Mr. Topham’s “I’m so sorry I got caught” routine must have been of true eloquence, for this gentleman would benefit not once but twice from such clemency (PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9).

The [Emperor Napoléon](#) created a new Imperial Nobility.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 1 of 3rd M 1808 / It has been a day of deep seriousness of mind, a search has been made in the camp & alas Saith my soul, several things have been discovered that are very offensive, & as sense of my wicked heart hath so affected my mind that I can scarcely assume confidence to lift my heart in prayer to God for Strength to remove whatsoever is still retained that is an impediment to my religious progress –



May 21, Saturday: [Sally Hemings](#) gave birth to the last of the five children she would bear for [Thomas Jefferson](#). President Jefferson named this son after the traditional hometown of his Jefferson family in England, Eston. The Virginia State Legislature would vote a special dispensation for the mother, after Jefferson died. Jefferson’s three older children by Sally having previously disappeared from the pages of history (presumably by changing their names, moving elsewhere, and passing as white), only Sally, Madison, and Eston would remain at Monticello while all of the other 187 plantation slaves were being disbursed.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 21st of 5 M 1808 / Pretty dilligent at trade, the close of the afternoon read in the life of C J Fox – In the evening

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Life Among the Lowly.**NUMBER I.**

MADISON HEMINGS.

I never knew of but one white man who bore the name of Hemings: he was an Englishman and my greatgrandfather. He was captain of an English trading vessel which sailed between England and Williamsburg, Va., then quite a port. My grandmother was a fullblooded African, and possibly a native of that country. She was the property of John Wales, a Welchman. Capt. Hemings happened to be in the port of Williamsburg at the time my grandmother was born, and acknowledging her fatherhood he tried to purchase her of Mr. Wales, who would not part with the child, though he was offered an extraordinarily large price for her. She was named Elizabeth Hemings. Being thwarted in the purchase, and determining to own his flesh and blood he resolved to take the child by force or stealth, but the knowledge of his intention coming to John Wales' ears, through leaky fellow servants of the mother, she and the child were taken into the "great house" under their master's immediate care. I have been informed that it was not the extra value of that child over other slave children that induced Mr. Wales to refuse to sell it, for slave masters then, as in later days, had no compunctions of conscience which restrained them from parting mother and child of however tender age, but he was restrained by the fact that just about that time amalgamation began, and the child was so great a curiosity that its owner desired to raise it himself that he might see its outcome. Capt. Hemings soon afterwards sailed from Williamsburg, never to return. Such is the story that comes down to me.

Elizabeth Hemings grew to womanhood in the family of John Wales, whose wife dying she (Elizabeth) was taken by the widower Wales as his concubine, by whom she had six children—three sons and three daughters, viz: Robert, James, Peter, Critty, Sally and Thenna. These children went by the name of Hemings.

Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia, and of course it was an aristocratic place, where the "bloods" of the Colony and the new State most did congregate. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was educated at William and Mary College, which had its seat at Williamsburg. He afterwards studied law with Geo. Wythe, and practiced law at the bar of the general court of the Colony. He was afterwards elected a member of the provincial legislature from Albemarle county. Thos. Jefferson was a visitor at the "great house" of John Wales, who had children about his own age. He formed the acquaintance of his daughter Martha (I believe that was her name, though I am not positively sure,) and an intimacy sprang up between them which ripened into love, and they were married. They afterwards went to live at his country seat, Monticello, and in course of time had born to them a daughter, whom they named Martha. About the time she was born my mother, the second daughter of John Wales and Elizabeth Hemings was born. On the death of John Wales, my grandmother, his concubine, and her children by him fell to Martha, Thomas Jefferson's wife, and consequently became the property of Thomas Jefferson, who in the course of time became famous, and was appointed minister to France during our revolutionary troubles, or soon after independence was gained. About the time of the appointment and before he was ready to leave the country his wife died, and as soon after her interment as he could at-



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at O Williams, a pleasant time & a good or comfortable degree of favor of mind, sent a letter to Patience Austin which I wrote yesterday - So closes another Week -

 July: [New York](#)'s US Senator Samuel Latham Mitchell requested that [Thomas Jefferson](#) grant permission for stranded Chinese businessman Punqua Wingchong to slip through the embargo to return to Asia aboard John Jacob Astor's ship *Beaver*. Local merchants suspected, however, that this was a ruse, so Astor could ship goods to [China](#). Permission was not obtained, for this businessman's servant Quak Te to travel back home with him, and eventually this stranded Chinese servant, in despair in a rented room in Nantucket, would hang himself.

 November 8, Tuesday: President [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s 8th Annual Message.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 8th of 11 M 1808 / James & Matthew Barker with their wives Spent the Afternoon with us, in the course of the eveng my mind was Sweetly Saluted with the remembrance of some things that are past & particularly touched with tender feelings towards Dear Matthew who tho' perhaps not far advanced in religion, hath been brought to take a Serious view of it & seen the eminent beauty thereof - May he, may all, with mine own self become more & more devoted to the precious cause

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December: [Monticello](#) advocated intermarriage between Indians and whites, in part because this would involve the white acquisition of Indian territory without resort to the expense and chanciness of warfare. In a speech to a group of Delawares, Mohicans, and Munsees in this month he offered that "you will unite yourselves with us, join in our Great Councils and form one people with us, and we shall all be Americans; you will mix with us by marriage, your blood will run in our veins, and will spread with us over this great island."⁹⁰ Notice now how the slave Isaac Jefferson described [Sally Hemings](#), Jefferson's mistress at [Monticello](#) who had borne Jefferson's mulatto slave child during this year, as "mighty near white," "very handsome," with "long straight hair down her back." Straight hair might well indicate that she was part native American rather than or in addition to being part black African. We can consider Hemings to have been not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ th colored, possibly $\frac{1}{8}$ th, on the basis of the probable frequency of general master/slave sexual contact. Had it not been for her enslaved status, this woman might even have been able to qualify under

90. Is the earliest beginning of the [Eugenics](#) agenda in America to be traced to this supposition that eventually the offspring of the American tribes would become so "amalgamated" by the mingling of white "squaw men" with their native "squaws" (never of course the mingling of white women with native men, which would by way of invidious contrast amount to an abomination), that eventually the tribes would be treatable as if they were groups of white people?



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Virginia statutes as legally white. However, a man in Jefferson's position would have been unable to publicly acknowledge having taken a mistress regardless of his mistress's coloration, which may help us understand Jefferson's comment on his sexual situation in 1801 in a letter to James Monroe. Of the accusations being leveled against him by Callender, which had not at that point yet risen to the level of newspaper denunciations, he wrote: "He knows nothing of me which I am not willing to declare to the world myself." There is here an unexplored possibility that [Thomas Jefferson](#) was able to allow himself to miscegenate with Hemings because he was regarding her as part Indian rather than as part African, and that the situation has been artificially simplified for us by generation after generation of white historian to whom any person not entirely white fell into the same pot category of "other." I am not myself inclined to that theory, but I do suggest that if possible it should be checked out — rather than merely ignored.



1809

→ **Tomatoes** had been purchased in 1806 for Presidential dinners, and evidently had caught on. In this year **Thomas Jefferson** became a pioneer grower of “tomatas” in North America — or rather, get a clue, the man’s slaves. They would be being planted every year, usually in square X near the midpoint of his **Monticello** garden. This was presumably the ribbed and flattened “Spanish tomato (very much larger than the common kinds).” Jefferson credited Dr. John de Sequeyra, who had practiced medicine in Williamsburg from 1745 until his death in 1795, with having introduced the tomato into Virginia. In an 1824 speech before the Albemarle Agricultural Society, Jefferson’s son-in-law Thomas Mann Randolph would mention that tomatoes, which had been virtually unknown ten years earlier, were being accepted because of the idea that they “kept one’s blood pure in the heat of summer.”

→ **Thomas Jefferson** was asked for a pledge of federal aid to build a **canal** along the Mohawk River valley, from Lake Erie to the Atlantic Ocean:

It is a splendid project and may be executed a century hence, but it is little short of madness to think of it at this day.



New York engineer James Geddes surveyed a possible route for a state canal (this would eventually be adopted).

ERIE CANAL

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



December 27, Wednesday: Burgess Griffin wrote to [Thomas Jefferson](#): “[mr Richerson](#) thinks it will take him 2 weekes yet to finnish the plastering he has never loste one day Since he began thar was not more than halfe lathes suffisiant for the work I think by keeping good fiers thare will not be any danger of the plastering....”

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 12 Mo 27// The day has Passed as usual except that I took dinner at my fathers being so rainy that I thought best not to go home – I have felt heavey hearted, on various accounts today I hope all will work togteher for my good. Oh that I may center in Spirit on that sure foundation which cannot be shaken by fluctuations of human events, but learn in the School of probation to be still & know that my dependence should not be placed on things here –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

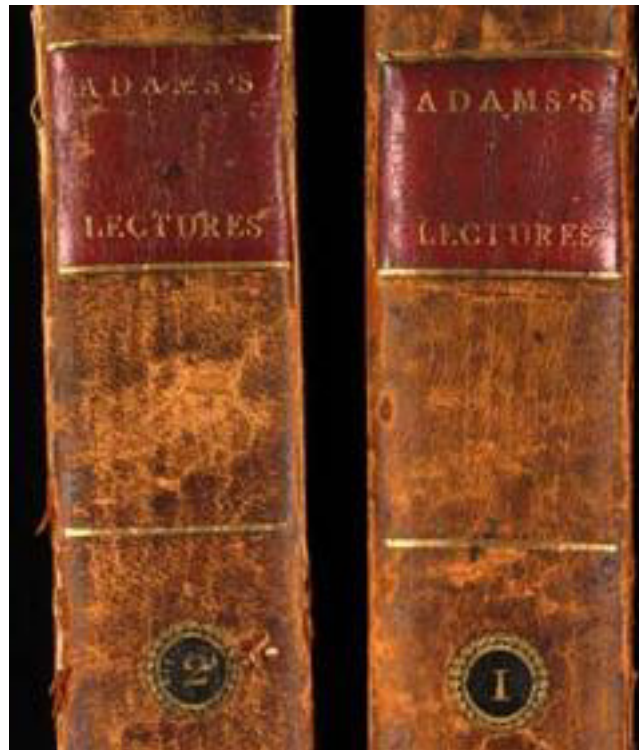
1810

➡ [Harvard College](#) awarded an honorary Bachelor's Degree to [William Elliott](#) of South Carolina, who had been forced to withdraw in 1808 allegedly due to ill health.



[Lemuel Capen](#) graduated from [Harvard](#). He would go on to study theology under Reverend Professors Henry Ware, Sr. and Andrews Norton.

Publication of Professor [John Quincy Adams](#)'s LECTURES ON RHETORIC AND ORATORY, DELIVERED TO THE CLASSES OF SENIOR AND JUNIOR SOPHISTERS IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY (Cambridge: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1810).



Professor Adams's father, John Adams, would send the volumes to [Thomas Jefferson](#), describing them as "Two Pieces of Homespun." The volumes would be in Jefferson's library as sold to the government in 1815 to help cover the former president's debts and to create a [Library of Congress](#). The original volumes, as above, are now on view in the reconstruction of Jefferson's library in the Northwest Gallery of the capitol building in [Washington DC](#).



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THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



 Jame Hubbard, the black slave who worked in [Thomas Jefferson's Monticello](#) nail factory, who had attempted an escape in 1805 but had been recaptured, again attempted to escape and would this time make his escape effective for about one year.

(He would be hiding out in Lexington, Massachusetts.)

There are some problems with the following table. The first problem is that it makes it appear that there were considerably fewer persons of color in [Concord](#), than there actually were, because it counts only heads of households. The second problem, more important, is that it makes the magic date 1780 of the “Massachusetts Bill of Rights” far more significant, in the elimination of Northern slavery, than actually it was. Precious little seems actually to have happened to improve the lives of persons of color in Massachusetts, or their societal standing, in that year.

Concord MA Population

1679	?	480 whites
1706	?	920 whites
1725	6 slaves	1,500 whites
1741	21 slaves	?
1754	19 slaves	?
1780: Passage of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights		
1783	15 blacks	1,306 whites
1790	29 blacks	1,556 whites
1800	38 blacks	1,641 whites
1810	28 blacks	1,605 whites
1820	34 blacks	1,754 whites
1830	28 blacks	1,993 whites



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July:⁹¹ Steele White of Georgia marveled at the skill with which [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s "illuminated mind could pen a 'Declaration of Independence'."⁹²

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

An entertainment headlined as "Columbias Independence" was presented at the Washington Theatre in Washington City.

After a delay in Albany, [New York](#) for the proper celebration of our Independence Day, DeWitte Clinton's party departed at 4 PM, getting precisely as far as Willard's Tavern in the city's 3rd ward.

In Connecticut, New Haven's citizens had a "plowing match."

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Reviewing [Ludwig van Beethoven](#)'s Symphony no.5 for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, E.T.A. Hoffmann wrote that Beethoven's instrumental music "opens up to us the kingdom of the gigantic and the immeasurable. Glowing beams shoot through this kingdom's deep night, and we become aware of gigantic shadows that surge up and down, enclosing us more and more narrowly and annihilating everything within us, leaving only the pain of that interminable longing, in which every pleasure that had quickly arisen with sounds of rejoicing sinks away and founders, and we live on, rapturously beholding the spirits themselves, only in this pain, which, consuming love, hope, and joy within itself, seeks to burst our breast asunder with a full voiced consonance of all the passions." He sure had enjoyed the heck out of the performance! Don't you wish you could have been there?

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4th of 7th Mo// It has been a day of much noise & parade about streets, being what is called Independance but no accident has happened that I have heard off from any of the Military exercises - A little boy fell from a Chamber Window (Gilbert Chases Son) but was not very much hurt - My H spent the day out at Jonathon Dennis's with Sister Joanna, I took tea with them. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

91. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 6th birthday.

92. AN ORATION, COMMEMORATIVE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, DELIVERED ON THIS FOURTH OF JULY, 1810 (Savannah GA)



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1811



Jame Hubbard, the black slave who in the previous year had escaped from [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s plantation nail factory, was detected in the vicinity of Lexington, Massachusetts and Jefferson sent a slavecatcher north to take him into custody. Jefferson's slavecatcher, Isham Chisolm, was initially unsuccessful, but when Jefferson offered him an additional bounty of \$25.⁰⁰ to catch up with Hubbard, Chisolm dutifully returned to Lexington and this time did succeed in taking the fugitive. He took him back to Virginia in irons, where, Jefferson noted, "I had him severely [flogged](#) in the presence of his old companions." –Jefferson's plan was to sell him off before he could escape again but after this flogging Hubbard defeated our former President's plan by disappearing from [Monticello](#) and from the pages of history.

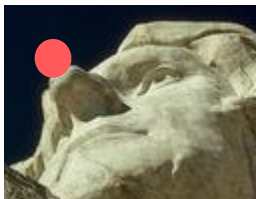
PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

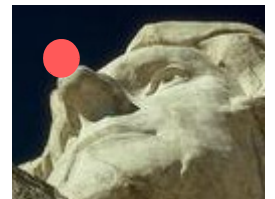


June 21, Friday: After a siege of six weeks, French forces began the final assault on Tarragona.

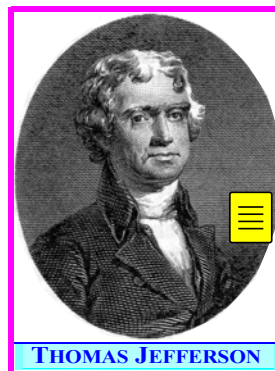
John Adams, who had served on the drafting committee of the Continental Congress for the preparation of a [Declaration of Independence](#) along with [Thomas Jefferson](#) and others, was feeling resentful at the claims that were being made that Jefferson had authored the document. "The Declaration of Independence I always considered as a theatrical show," he wrote at this point. "Jefferson ran away with all the stage effect ... and all the glory of it."⁹³



"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."



- [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 21 of 6 Mo// There is a meeting at [Portsmouth](#) today which R Mott, Phebe & Hannah G Field attends - Our friend Susanna Horn & Thos Scattergood have commenced a little family visit about town this morning, & were at tea with us this Afternoon Thomas's testimony was cautionary & encouraging he hoped we should be

93. Schultz, John A. and Douglass Adair, eds. THE SPUR OF FAME: DIALOGUES OF JOHN ADAMS AND BENJAMIN RUSH, 1805-1813. San Marino CA: 1966, page 182

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

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able to with stand temptations & endure Baptisms, Susanna was principally encouraging, & a very sweet & precious visit it was. Susannah is truly a precious Woman – In the evening I went to Thos Robinsons & after they had agreed on the familys they would visit tomorrow, I took the list & inform'd them all of it over night



December 15, Sunday: That night Seraphine, an opera by Jan Vaclav Tomásek to words of Dambek, was performed for the initial time, in the Prague Estates Theater. It was well received.



In Kentucky, while drunk, Lilburn Lewis became enraged over the breaking of a pitcher, bound his 17-year-old slave George, and in front of the assembled household's other slaves, dismembered him piece by piece with an axe. The details of the incident are variously recounted, but perhaps have most poetically been recounted by Robert Penn Warren in 1953 in the long poem "Brother to Dragons: A Tale in Verse and Voices."⁹⁴

SLAVERY

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15 of 12 M // I watched with E W Lawton last night & in the night wrote to D Smith. Being not very smart this mornng I went to bed & lay till past noon – Went to meeting in the Afternoon & felt Dull Set the evening at home & went to bed early

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

94. The case has especial historical relevance not because of the extreme brutality of the incident, but because the perpetrator was a relative of President [Thomas Jefferson](#), and hopefully therefore Jefferson's reaction or lack of reaction might allow us to extrapolate as to Jefferson's state of mind in regard to race.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1812



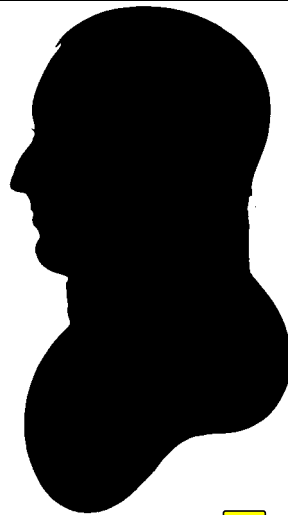
January 1, Wednesday: For four days, [Mount Vesuvius](#) would be in eruption: “Effusiva — Lava ad W verso Torre del Greco.”

The Austrian Empire’s new Civil Code went into effect.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, a mutual friend, had been attempting to get former President John Adams to reconcile with former President [Thomas Jefferson](#). Adams had been bitterly resentful of Jefferson’s claim that he was of uniquely importance as the author of a foundational document, the [Declaration of Independence](#). That document had in fact not been a foundational document of the United States of America at all, but a mere piece of political theatre, nor in fact had Jefferson, low man on the totem pole, had that much of a hand in the creation of it. “The Declaration of Independence I always considered as a theatrical show,” he wrote at this point. “Jefferson ran away with all the stage effect ... and all the glory of it.” However, on this day for the first time in 11 years, Adams did send off a letter to Jefferson.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st of 1 Mo 1812// I commence the new Year under feelings of depression, & seriousness on various subjects - And a concern renewed on my mind this evening, that I may double my dilligence in labor to dwell near the life & not suffer it to be lessened by neglect. Altho I have not expressed much for a long time in my journal relative to my progress in religious matters yet I have not been unmindful of them, but there is Such a Sameness in each days experience that it seems like unnecessary repitition to express how it is with me daily - When I do well I feel peace & in proportion to my neglect of duty in my condemnation⁹⁵



95. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1812-1815: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 10 for May 1, 1809-June 30, 1812 and Folder 11 for July 1, 1812-August 20, 1815. Series 7 Microfilm Reel #3, positive, is made up of Friend Stephen Wanton Gould’s Diary #11, 1812-1815 (July 1, 1812-August 20, 1815, of which the original is held by the Quaker Collection of Haverford College)

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December 10, Thursday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) reached Warsaw on his way back to Paris.

[Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Robert Richardson: "I have occasion for some iron backs for my fire places at this place, of a particular size & form.... I have to request you to have 7. cast as soon as convenient ... as my waggon can bring them here [Poplar Forest] as a return load."

Samuel Tully was [hanged](#) as a [pirate](#) on Nook's Hill in South [Boston](#). His accomplice, John Dalton, received a reprieve on the gallows (this is of course not the [Friend John Dalton](#) who introduced atomic theory into chemistry).⁹⁶



96. THE LAST WORDS OF S. TULLY WHO WAS EXECUTED FOR PIRACY, AT SOUTH BOSTON, DECEMBER 10, 1812. Boston, Printed by N. Coverly, 1812

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1814

➡ A young Virginian, having inherited some [slaves](#), considered [manumitting](#) them. Edward Coles wrote to a family friend about this, [Thomas Jefferson](#), and received a tongue-lashing. What did this young man think he was pulling off, “abandoning this property, and your country with it”? No, young man, face up to your responsibility to the white race, and your responsibility to the black race, and **own those slaves!** (Coles would ignore this advice from his mentor. Although you will not learn this in any of your textbooks, he **did** free his slaves.)



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”

– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141



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SALLY HEMINGS

While the mulatto slave boy Eston Hemings Jefferson was six years old, just about old enough to leave behind his childish amusements and begin his life of labor for his slavemaster white father, this father wrote “The amalgamation of whites with blacks produces a degradation to which no lover of his country, no lover of excellence in the human character, can innocently consent.” Did [Thomas Jefferson](#) mean that his mulatto son whom he had sired upon his house slave [Sally Hemings](#) amounted to a living degradation of the white race? Of course not; Jefferson’s attitude was a “directional” or “Me White You Wrong” attitude. What he meant was that the amalgamation of a black man with a white woman would decidedly degrade the white race **but that by the same token** the amalgamation of a white man with a black woman would be a sperm donation decidedly improving that breed (in contradistinction to the term “degradation” employed by Jefferson, we can hypothecate some such unexpress term as “amelioration of blackness,” or perhaps “demelanization”).



“Don’t think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed.”

— [Dwight David Eisenhower](#)

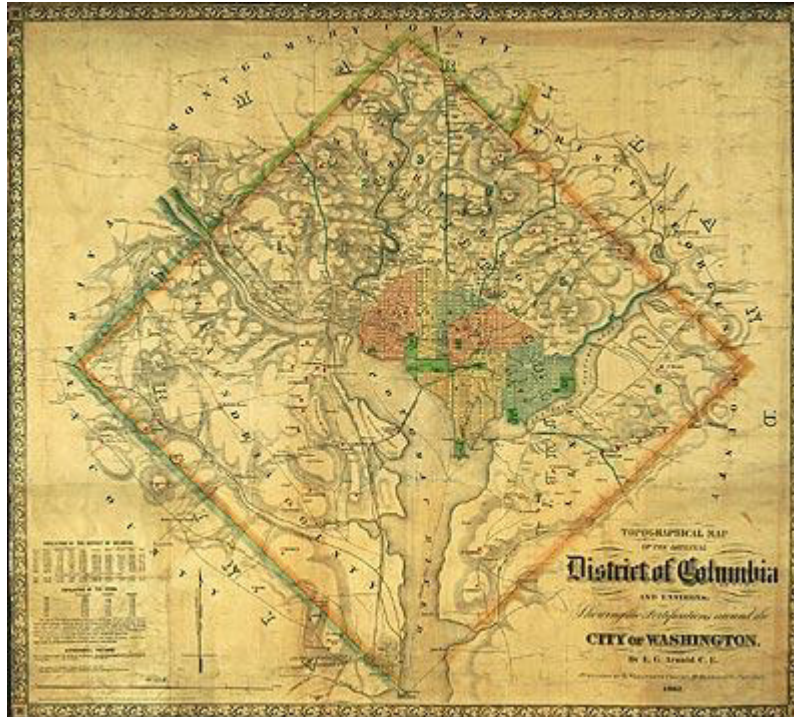


[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

It would be in this year that British forces would burn [Washington DC](#) (August 24th). Of course they had no good reason for attempting to restore our national capital to the pristine swamp it had been before!



[DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA](#)

Further to the south, in North Carolina, the Quaker Yearly Meeting had been coping with the illegality of [manumission](#) by continually petitioning the state legislature, while formally transferring ownership of slaves from the individual [Friend](#) to the monthly meeting and appointing the former enslaver meanwhile as the former slave's "guardian." In this year the North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically "owned" almost all the slaves of its members, and this had come to amount to 350 individuals:

Though Friends in other states also resettled, the experience of [North Carolina](#) Friends was perhaps the most profound. From an early point, the yearly meeting had argued against enslavement. In a 1779 petition to the state assembly protesting legislation that curbed the rights of people of African descent, the yearly meeting declared not only that such acts violated the nation's founding documents but called into question the assembly's authority to govern. "Being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind," the petition stated, "we fully believe [them] to be a contradiction of the Declaration and Bill of Rights on which depends your authority to make laws." North Carolinians generally accused the Quakers of inciting ill feeling and action: in 1791 a grand jury declared that the "great peril and danger" of insurrection was a consequence of Quakers" who "corrupt" the enslaved, turn them against the enslavers, and protect fugitives. Once North Carolina Friends began to manumit those they enslaved, they encountered several significant impediments. First, until 1830 anyone freed could be seized legally and resold. Second, enslavers who manumitted people were required to post a high bond: in 1830 it stood at one thousand dollars, and only the wealthier enslavers could afford such action. As a consequence of these restrictions, William Gaston, a sympathetic Catholic European American judge, suggested that Friends begin to record



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ownership of the people they wanted to free in the name of the yearly meeting. Thus, enslaved people could be protected from kidnapping, and the need to post a bond was obviated. The idea of the meeting assuming ownership for this purpose was well received; even some non-Quakers asked Friends to act similarly on their behalf. In 1803 the yearly meeting appointed the former enslavers as guardians, while North Carolina Friends continued to petition the legislature to allow manumission. When granted, those people the yearly meeting held would legally be free. Even as it followed this course, North Carolina Yearly Meeting became convinced that manumitted people had to be moved from the southern states. In 1808 it established a committee of seven to act as its agents in managing the care of the newly freed and an "African Fund" to help with resettlement costs. By 1814 North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically held 350 enslaved people, almost all of those whom its members then enslaved. To counter the Friends actions, the state's courts offered a reward to anyone bringing in a "Quaker Free Negro," the description for those who had been turned over to the yearly meeting. The meeting hired lawyers to defend those who had been seized. This "cat and mouse game" continued for years. In 1827 North Carolina's Supreme Court declared the Friends tactic illegal on the grounds that because wages were being paid to people of African descent held by the meeting, they must have been freed; therefore Friends had acted illegally. In the meantime the yearly meeting committee had studied the laws of the new territories to find potential resettlement locations. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were deemed to be the most suitable. Meeting members devoted most of their time to writing letters, consulting with agents of the various meetings, negotiating with Friends who lived in potential destinations, and appearing in court. Even before the 1827 court ruling, the committee had removed some African Americans to the Midwest, but afterward the committee moved more speedily. By 1828, the Africa Fund contained \$13,500. The yearly meeting sent 1,700 formerly enslaved people to various locations in the 1820s and early 1830s; by 1836, the meeting held only 18 people. Not all of the enslaved people held by North Carolina Yearly Meeting wished to emigrate. In 1826, when 600 were technically the meeting's property, 99 wished to remain in North Carolina, 316 stated another state, and 101 said they were willing to go to the West. When some decided not to leave, at least some Friends stayed behind to protect them, as did about twenty families of Core Sound Meeting in 1825. Stephen Grellet, a French Quaker who traveled widely in North America as a missionary, wrote:

I felt tenderly for the few members of our Society who continue in this corner. Some of them think it is their religious duty to remain, to protect many of the people of colour, who formerly belonged to those Friends who moved away; and who, unprotected by them, might be reduced again to slavery.

The task of resettlement was a formidable one for North Carolina Quakers; European American Friend Nathan Mendenhall described it as "expensive, troublesome and hard." Friends had to identify and enroll those who wished to move, raise money, make certain that each had the proper documents, find means of transport, outfit them with appropriate equipment, utensils, and clothing



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

(often made by Quaker women) and ultimately move them. They also provided religious tracts, Bibles, and school books. In the move of 135 African Americans to the Midwest in 1835, Friends paid most of the costs for 13 wagons and carts and for warm clothing. That trip alone cost \$2,490 (about \$60,000 in 2007 dollars). By 1830 the yearly meeting had helped 652 African Americans resettle in the free states, and its expenses grew from between one and two thousand to \$13,000. Friends from Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and London responded to requests for financial assistance, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was especially supportive, sending some \$7,500 in 1826 and 1827. The settlers received mixed receptions in their new Midwestern homes. In 1826 Friends in North Carolina learned that some Friends of European ancestry in Indiana "were resentful toward North Carolina Friends for sending so many blacks there." European American William Parker, who had moved to Indiana from North Carolina, wrote in 1826 that African Americans "are not wanted here. Friends do not want them and they fear they will be brought into difficulties whereby the ... people do threaten to have it a slave state if blacks do continue to flood in." Persons who had brought African Americans into the state, Parker held, should be willing to move them out. Parker stated that another Friend in the area declared that "he would give \$20 to get them out of Wayne County." The clerk of the meeting for sufferings in Indiana wondered privately if, "in view of the attitudes" of European Americans in Indiana, it might perhaps be better to start "a colony for blacks somewhere in the Southwest." Yet European American Friend David White "met with no opposition" when he arrived in Ohio and Indiana from the South with fifty-three African Americans in 1835. Farmers there, he found, were quite willing "to have the coloured people settle on their lands." Drawn by the prospect of lands free of enslavement, southern Quakers themselves also moved to the Midwest. The trek for Virginians and North Carolinians usually ran over the Appalachians and could last seven weeks or more. If Friends were traveling with people of African descent they were compelled to take more difficult routes to avoid the slave state of Tennessee. A "fringe" of this westward migration spread into Upper Canada. Southerners arriving in the Midwest joined Friends who had already moved there from New England and Pennsylvania. By 1835 Quakers had moved in such numbers that more Friends lived west of the Alleghenies than east. The new settlers had created a yearly meeting in Ohio in 1813 and in Indiana by 1821. By 1843 Ohio Yearly Meeting had 18,000 members and Indiana, 30,000; the two made up 57 percent of all Quakers in the United States. By 1850 the Orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting was the largest Quaker meeting in the world. African Americans relocated to the Midwest, probably aware of Friends' efforts to resettle those they had enslaved, often chose to settle near Quaker communities in the belief that doing so would enhance their chances of comfortable existence on the frontier. Nearly all the early settlers of Calvin Township in Cass County in southwestern Michigan were Friends who had migrated from the South in the 1820s and 1830s, and their presence attracted African American settlement there. In the 1840s North Carolina Friends helped freed people settle near Newport, Now Fountain City, Indiana, home at that time to well-known abolitionist Friend Levi Coffin.



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As many as one hundred African American families lived just over the border in Ohio, not far from the Greenville Settlement and its integrated school in Indiana, the Union Literary Institute. Family groups, many of whom were racially mixed, settled by 1830 in Rush County, Indiana, near the Quaker villages of Carthage and Ripley, in what became known as the Beech settlement. By 1835 a group of these settlers moved again to the Roberts settlement in Jackson, Hamilton County, Indiana. Formerly enslaved people threatened with recapture also sought refuge with Friends in Salem, Iowa. A recent study of these African American communities found that the settlers were drawn by the presence of Quakers because of Friends "well-deserved reputation among free blacks as a people who were far more empathetic and tolerant than most other whites."⁹⁷



September 26, Monday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Miles King in regard to religious tolerance:

Our particular principles of religion are a subject of accountability to our God alone. I inquire after no man's, and trouble none with mine; nor is it given to us in this life to know whether yours or mine, our friends or our foes, are exactly the right. Nay, we have heard it said that there is not a Quaker or a Baptist, a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian, a Catholic or a Protestant in heaven; that on entering that gate, we leave those badges of schism behind, and find ourselves united in those principles only in which God has united us all.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

97. Pages 114-118 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

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1815

➡ Former president [Thomas Jefferson](#) drew up his famous genetic chart, with its sickening white-racist imputation that “a third cross clears the blood.”⁹⁸



➡ January 30, Monday: The 6,487 volumes of ex-president-in-bad-need-of-some-ready-cash [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s library, purchased on this day by the federal congress for \$23,950 to replace volumes burned by the British during the War of 1812, would be arriving in [Washington DC](#) by horse and wagon.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 30th of 1st M / Confined within doors with the Ague & the soreness of my Blister, my mind much turned towards the ensuing Quarterly Meeting at [Providence](#) had made calculations to attend it, but such are my infirmities that I fear to attempt it, at this very cold spell of weather would be an imprudent risk, several of my friends have been in this Afternoon & offered me a seat in Their Chaises, which is very kind & a renew’d insentive to dedication for I have often believed that way is made for those who are devoted to discharge their duty where no way appears. As I have no way left but the expence of the Mail stage the river being shut, no less than three offers of conveyance has felt very greatful. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

98. Is the earliest beginning of the [Eugenics](#) agenda in America to be traced to this hot conceit of white slavemasters such as Jefferson — that they might inseminate mulatto females who were their property, and inseminate them progressively through generations of less and less dusky little girls, until eventually their offspring would become treatable as if they were white?

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SALLY HEMINGS

1816

→ Lieutenant [Francis Hall](#) met [Thomas Jefferson](#): “His [Jefferson’s] deportment was exactly such as the Marquis de Chastellux describes it, above thirty years ago: “At first serious, nay even cold, but in a very short time relaxing into a most agreeable amenity; with an unabated flow of conversation on the most interesting topics, discussed in the most gentlemanly and philosophical manner.” (Francis Hall, a lieutenant in the British Army, would publish in 1818 his TRAVELS IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES IN 1816 AND 1817. This is neither the same person as the Captain Charles Francis Hall who would later explore in the Arctic, nor the American businessman Francis Hall who would relocate to exotic Japan.)

Although he had been reared by religious parents, after his marriage to a young woman from Vermont the New Yorker [William Miller](#) had become a skeptic, and then a follower of the deism of [Jefferson](#). During the [War of 1812](#), he had attained the rank of captain. In this year, however, he testified, one day he happened to let go with a blast of blasphemy, that was so rank that he shocked even himself. This would be the last time he would take the name of God in vain. He began to study the BIBLE, focusing on Daniel in the Old Testament and Revelation in the New Testament. He converted to a belief in the literal truth of the BIBLE as the word of God. –Except, in some contexts, God had used one word in place of another, such as meaning “kingdoms” when he had said “beasts,” meaning “governments” when he had said “mountains,” meaning “people” when he had said “waters,” and meaning “years” when he had said “days.” “A clear light dawned from the pages of the BIBLE that Christ Almighty was about to return to the earth.”⁹⁹

99. There is one master myth which drives all our ideology. It is that there is, and that it is necessary for us to discover, the one right way, The Solution, and that if we then hew to this one right way, everything will start to work, and the world will be all set to turn out all right:



It seems, however, that although we are prepared to defend to the death our right to trust in this master myth which drives all our ideology –that there is a right way and all that is necessary is for us to discover and hew to it– this really is not so. This is simply a false description of reality. Our world, actually, is not like this, not like this at all. We’re not living on a Rubik’s Cube and ultimately, things are not going to turn out to our liking. Meanwhile, we’re going to just have to get used to our muddling along, and we’re going to just have to continue, as long as it still seems feasible, to put up with each other as we do our muddle-along thingie.

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Within the next couple of years in accordance with this coding scheme and what he knew of the Jewish calendar, Miller would have decoded the entire message and would find himself in the private knowledge that the [Second Coming](#) was but 25 years in the future.

[MILLENNIALISM](#)

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"I would not run round a corner
to see the world blow up."
— [Henry Thoreau](#),
"LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE"



 January 9, Tuesday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Charles Thomson that



*I am a **real Christian**, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrine of Jesus, very different from the Platonists, who call **me** infidel and **themselves** Christians and preachers of the Gospel, while they draw all their characteristic dogmas from what its author never said nor saw. They have compounded from the heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man, of which the great reformer of the vicious ethics and deism of the Jews, were he to return to earth, would not recognize one feature.*

Sir Humphrey Davy's safety lamp for miners was successfully tested.

Wilhelm replaced Friedrich Wilhelm as Prince and co-ruler of Nassau.

[Ludwig van Beethoven](#) won custody of his nephew Karl van Beethoven, in opposition to the lad's mother.

At some point in early January, the head and torso of the statue known then as "younger Memnon" was removed from the complex of ruins in ancient [Thebes](#) known as the "Memnonium" (it would appear from the condition of the piece that someone had once attempted to detach the head and torso from the base of the statue by the use of explosives).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 9 of 1st N 1816 / John has been very smart today & yesterday.



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August 16, Friday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Mrs. Harrison Smith in regard to religious tolerance:

I never told my own religion, nor scrutinized that of another. I never attempted to make a convert, nor wished to change another's creed. I have ever judged of the religion of others by their lives, and by this test, my dear Madam, I have been satisfied yours must be an excellent one, to have produced a life of such exemplary virtue and correctness. For it is in our lives, and not from our words, that our religion must be read.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE



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Christmas Season: During this holiday season at our nation's puzzle palace in [Washington DC](#), Virginia congressman Charles Fenton Mercer was founding what we now refer to as the American Colonization Society, the "American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States." Africa for Africans, America for Americans — what an excellent [Christmas](#) present from the Christ child! As the Reverend Robert Finley of [Princeton University](#) put the matter, "Every thing connected with their condition, including their colour, is against them, nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly ameliorated, while they continue among us." The Brits had done this, in Sierra Leone, so why couldn't we? The movers and shakers in this new benevolent association included:

The American Colonization Society

Speaker of the House of Representatives	Henry Clay
Representative from Virginia	John Randolph
Representative of New Hampshire	Daniel Webster
Secretary of the Treasury	William Harris Crawford
Attorney General	Richard Rush
Author of "The Star-Spangled Banner"	Francis Scott Key
General	Andrew Jackson
Justice of the Supreme Court	Bushrod Washington



The agenda of this association was the lightening of America.



The plan had been urged by [Thomas Jefferson](#), who knew the value of enlightenment, as early as 1777, and the legislature of Virginia had been advocating it since 1801. Supreme Court Justice Bushrod Washington would function as the 1st president of the society and his immediate successors would be signer Charles Carroll, signer [James Madison](#), and Speaker of the House Henry Clay.



Congress appropriated ten millions to the sinking fund.

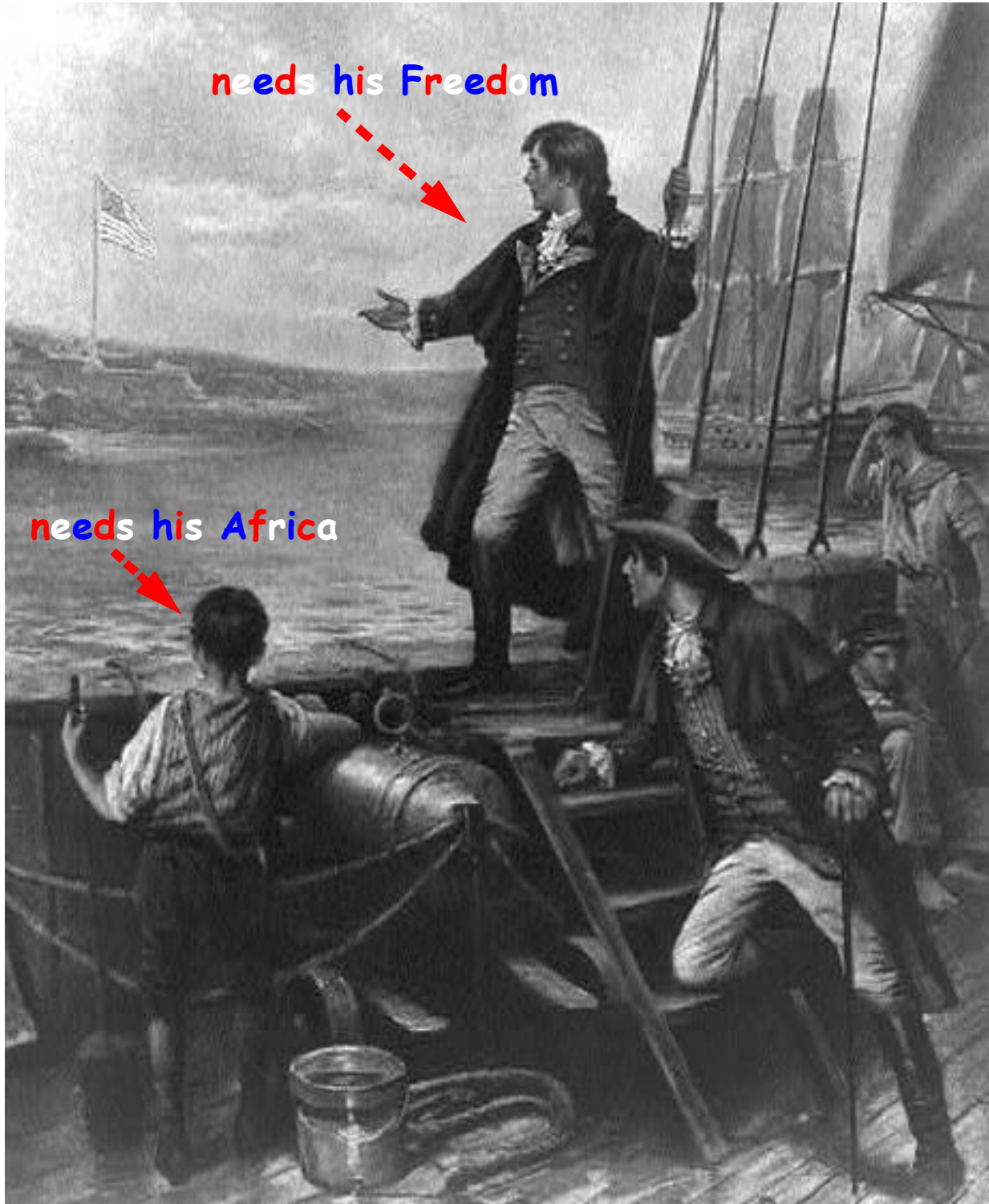
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The city of [Baltimore](#) had begun, in this year, to illuminate (lighten?) some city streets with gas lights on light poles. By December some night streets in [London](#) were also being thus brightened, and the envoy [John Quincy Adams](#), witnessing this, has recorded that the illumination seemed “almost too dazzling for my eyes.”

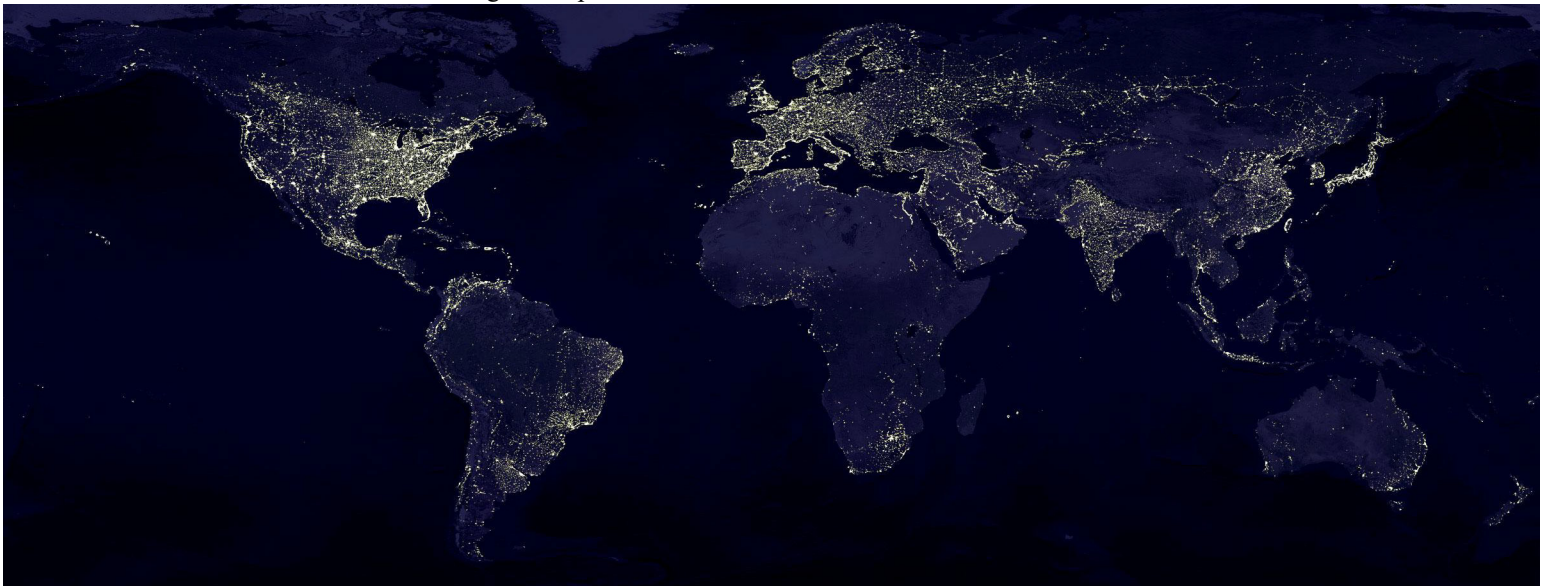
The police in particular liked this lighting and began to explore the ever-popular project of relocating crime from well-to-do districts which could afford street lamps to poor districts which could not. As one authority of this period put the matter:



Without presuming to play on words, I regard gas as essential to an enlightened police.

The first theatres to be presumably mainly lit by [coal-gas](#) rather than oil or candles are said to have been the East London Theatre and a theatre in Philadelphia. Gas of course offered a measure of dimming control, but it also generated heat, and toxic gases which caused headaches, eye discomfort, and sore throats.

So now we have an enlightened planet:



The talk of [New-York](#) and Boston during this month was an arson-for-profit scheme that had just been exposed in the course of a lawsuit against an [insurance](#) company that had been refusing to pay out on a policy. A New Jersey judge was suing in regard to the supposedly accidental loss of his home, and the insurance company was responding in court that it believed the home had been set on fire by a slave at the judge's instigation. The legal outcome was hinging on the admissibility of the testimony of that black man. When this black was allowed to testify, the judge “fell lifeless,” the report had it, and for the remainder of the trial he appeared “much agitated.” The court concluded that this judge had indeed ordered his own home to be torched, and released the insurer from obligation. (We know about the case by way of a letter from Henry Dwight Sedgwick to Jane Minot dated December 9, 1816 and completed on the following day, in Box 8.9 of the Henry Dwight Sedgwick V Papers, and by way of a letter from Robert Sedgwick to Catharine Maria Sedgwick dated December 12, 1816, in Box 3.7, at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston.)



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1817

 January 17, Friday: [Lieutenant Francis Hall](#), having visited President [Thomas Jefferson](#) at Monticello, left Richmond, Virginia heading toward Charleston, South Carolina.

The [negrero Eugene](#), an armed Mexican schooner, was captured while attempting to smuggle [slaves](#) into the United States (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 15th Congress, 1st session II, No. 12, page 22).



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 November 25, Tuesday: [Harland Coultas](#) was christened at the Wesleyan Methodist church in Brigg, Lincoln, England. He would attend the Shoreditch parish Wesleyan Theological Institution, St. Leonard, Middlesex County, England.

[Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote [George Ticknor](#), [Harvard College](#)'s new Smith Professor of French and Spanish Languages and Literatures, about the need of the Republic for an informed citizenry, repeating among other old wisdoms the [Baconian](#) trope that

Knowledge is Power.

(We may note that in this year of 1817 [Harvard](#), using funding obtained through the selling of slaves in the sugarcane fields of Antigua, was creating its new Law School.)



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1818



John Adams wrote [Thomas Jefferson](#) and mentioned that Jesuits were traveling the country “in as many shapes and disguises as ever a king of the gypsies, [Bampfylde-Moore Carew](#) himself, assumed.”

MUMPERY

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

Retailers’ and distillers’ licenses no longer bore a federal tax. The distilling industry began to enjoy a tax-free era which would endure until 1862. [Jefferson](#) would rejoice –“as a moralist”– explaining that:

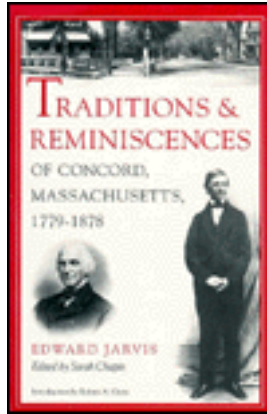
It is an error to view a tax on that liquor as merely a tax on the rich. It is a prohibition of its use in the middling class of our citizens, and a condemnation of them to the poison of [whiskey](#), which is desolating their houses. No nation is drunken where [wine](#) is cheap; and none sober, where the only antidote is the bane of whisky.



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According to Dr. [Edward Jarvis](#)'s TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF [CONCORD](#), MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878, pages 155-169:





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There were nine stores in Concord in which spirit of various kinds—West Indian and New England rum, brandy, gin and wine—were kept for sale. These stores were Jonathan Hildreth's (who died in 1818; afterward George Hildreth's) on the road to Westford one mile from the village; Deacon White's (afterward Col. Shattuck's) [at the] north-west end of the square in the block where now L. Surette lives; Daniel Smith's for a few years on the spot where the Town Hall now is; the green store where is now the Catholic church kept successively by Abel Barrett, Francis Jarvis (my father) and Hammond, Isaac Hurd, Burr and Prichard, L. Bascom and J.P. Hayward; [a] store [at the] corner of the Lexington road and the Common, kept by John Adams and afterward by Moses Davis; [a] store southeast of the Common kept, 75 to 80 years ago by Richardson and Wheeler, [by] Jonathan Davis who died in 1815, Ebenezer Woodward [who] died in 1820 and Cyrus Davis, successively; [the] store on the northwest side of the mill dam north-east of the brook, kept by Stephen Wood till his death in 1820; [the] store of Tilly Merrick afterward of Phineas How where now is the front yard of Judge Brooks. Josiah Davis's store stood where is now the barn of Mrs. Calvin Damon. This was opened about 1812 to 1814 and continued until about 1836. These were all miscellaneous stores keeping everything wanted in the country, [and] spirits and wines were included. New rum [colored with caramel and aged] or New England rum constituted the far greater part of the spirits that were sold. This was used by work people, by those who loved it, and by the self-indulgent. West India rum, brandy, gin and wine were kept in families for company, but not used by the work people in fields or mechanics' shops nor by the toppers. New Rum was what was called by the traders a *leading article*, and on this they based their competition. It was called for much more frequently than any other article and generally the first in order of the customers' wants. People generally knew its cost and first inquired the price, and if it was satisfactory, the purchasers would take it and then ask for other matters that they wanted, with the value of which they were not so familiar, and took these with less care as to the price to be charged. It was the object of the trader to make this leading article as attractive as possible, and therefore it was generally retailed by the gallon and the quart, at the cost by the hogshead in Boston and transportation to Concord. Besides the quantity of spirits sold to be carried away and used at houses elsewhere, all these stores sold liquor by the glass to be drunk on the premises. They all had on the counter near the spirit barrel or hogshead a tin shallow pan one or two inches deep, 12 to 18 inches long and 10 to 12 inches wide with a wine grating over it. On this grating stood the tumbler to drain into the pan below. Close by stood a pitcher of water and a bowl of sugar and spoons. Thus it was easy to mix a glass of grog for any caller.



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It was not the general intention to sell grog in this manner to all or any merely thirsty person, but mainly to purchasers of other goods, some of whom wanted and claimed a treat gratuitously from the merchant in consideration of this gain from his other and profitable sales. More frequently it was probably offered voluntarily by the traders in gratitude for the opportunity of satisfactorily dispensing other goods, and in some stores, especially the ones on the dam, grog was freely sold to any who wanted it, and thirsty men and toppers resorted hither to gratify their desire for rum at probably a cheaper rate than at the tavern. Yet I believe that generally the drinkers independent of other purchases were unacceptable to the traders. From my earliest recollections and from tradition that went much farther back, there were three taverns in the village. They were all in their several ways respectably kept according to the ideas of the time and held in good esteem by the people and the classes of travellers that went to them. All the taverns in those days had a bar, and the public room was called the bar room, which very hospitably opened its doors and in cool weather offered its great fire and comfortable seats to all.... The oldest is now the Middlesex Hotel near the courthouse (by some in former years called the jail tavern).... The tavern on the main street on Groton road next above the burial ground and where now (1877) the house of Mr. Reuben N. Rice stands has ever been, and was until the death of its late proprietor Hartwell Bigelow, the home of teamsters, people who were contented with a coarser fare and at a lesser cost, but it had a larger bar custom than either of the others. It was more the resort of those who were in the habit of drinking spirit and especially of those who were given to frequent indulgence and even intoxication. This was the tradition and my early observation from the beginning to my final removal from town in 1837. There were constant gatherings of these dissipated fellows in the evenings until late, sometimes very late, at night. Passing by to my house in my last years of residence there, after dark, I could commonly hear the toddy stick in its frequent work, stirring up the rum and sugar and water for the thirsty customers.... The upper tavern, called sometimes the coffee house or Shepherd's coffee house, was the resort of more wealthy or genteel travellers. It was the stage tavern, where the passengers from Boston going to the country had breakfast. This was in my early day the place for the more cultivated assemblages for the dancing schools, balls etc. The whole style of the house and management was more refined than that of the others and of course more costly to the customer. It was more quiet, although there was a bar, and liquor was offered to such as wanted it. Yet these were mainly travellers, and very few townspeople went there to drink. There was no gathering of the low and rowdy element, none of the intoxication that the others presented. Such as these certainly in Mr. Shepherd's day were very unwelcome, and they were not drawn to this house....



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Before my day or observation, it was the custom to set out decanters of brandy, rum etc. at the funerals, for all who would partake. It is impossible to say now how many or what proportion of the people drank, but tradition said that many did so, and the weak-headed and lovers of spirit often became intoxicated on these occasions, and some were supposed [presumed] to attend for this purpose only. The custom of offering spirit to the bearers, who had a separate room for themselves, was continued unbroken certainly until April 1826. At my mother's funeral in that month, I proposed to my father than no spirit should be put in the bearers' chamber. My father was full of grief and felt grateful to these friends for coming to do this last office for my mother, and felt disinclined to withhold this mark of hospitality. He said they were old men and accustomed to the occasional use of spirit especially at funerals, yet he saw the propriety of my proposal and wished me to consult Dr. Ripley. I went then to Dr. R. and laid the matter before him. He, like my father, was pleased with the plan, yet he said it was new; spirit had always been given, and it might be considered a mark of unkind inhospitality to withhold it. He asked the names of the bearers who were invited. Then he said, "Perhaps they may think it strange, yet they are all sober men and not in the habit of drinking, I think they will approve the measure. It requires some courage to make this innovation but you can take the responsibility; it is known that in this matter, your father leaves the whole management to you. You are in college, you are of age and can bear any odium that may come from it." No spirit was then offered, and I never heard any complaint of our want of hospitality. I do not know that this example was followed immediately and generally, but I think that soon thereafter the practice was discontinued. ...The military companies all had toddy carried out in pails to them. All drank freely out of tin cups. This was offered once or more in a half-day's parade. I do not recollect that any one became intoxicated, although each had as much as he desired. It is probable that in the militia company, which included all that were not in the infantry and artillery and some that were prone to excessive drinking, some were overcome with the spirit and unfitted to do military duty in the rest of that day.... There were a few drunkards in town, lost to all sense of self-respect, who might be seen, at any time, intoxicated, staggering with difficulty in the road, or even lying powerless on the ground. Chief among them was Breed, the barber, with whom rum was the all-absorbing want and motive of action. He would do anything, try every art, to get it. Regardless of health, of home, duty, rum only affected [attracted] him. If he could get a chance to shave or cut hair and thus earn six cents, he would expend one cent for a cracker and five for rum. It was a frequent sight to see him lying dead drunk in the highway, and if in the carriage path and in danger of injury, people would haul him to the grassy side, as they would a log or any other obstacle to travel, and then leave him to recover consciousness and power of motion sufficient to carry him home. He was found dead on the road, Sept. 1824, died of drunkenness....



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The records of death in the town state that intemperance was wholly or in part the cause of death of eleven in the period 1779 to 1800, of nine in the period 1801 to 1820, eighteen 1821 to 1830 and ten in the years 1831 to 1850, and four from 1850 to 1878.

Intemperance

Period	Deaths
1779-1800	11
1801-1820	9
1821-1830	18
1831-1850	10
1850-1878	4



May 28, Thursday: The Tariff Reform Act abolished internal duties in Prussia and created uniform tariffs throughout the kingdom.

In [Concord](#), Deacon White's house caught fire but the fire was put out.¹⁰⁰

Provision Against Fire. — The Fire Society was organized May 5, 1794, and holds its annual meetings on the 2d Monday in January. The Presidents have been, Jonathan Fay, Esq., Dr. Joseph Hunt Tilly Merrick, Esq., Dr. Isaac Hurd, Deacon Francis Jarvis, Hon. Samuel Hoar, and Joseph Barrett, Esq. The Engine Company was formed, and the first engine procured, in 1794. A new engine was obtained in 1818.

A Volunteer Engine Company was organized in 1827, who procured by subscription a new engine in 1831.¹⁰¹

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 28th 5 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting this day held in Town - the first meeting was silent & solid & to me a pretty good time -in the last we progressed in buisness (I thought) rather better than common -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Rabbi Mordecai M. Noah in regard to religious tolerance:

Your sect, by its sufferings, has furnished a remarkable proof of the universal spirit of religious intolerance inherent in every sect, disclaimed by all while feeble, and practiced by all when in power. Our laws have applied the only antidote to the vice, protecting our religious as they do our civil rights, by

100. Although we know that during this year the [Concord](#) Fire Society obtained a new fire engine to replace or supplement the one it had had since 1794, we do not know whether that new engine was in place prior to this fire and contributed to its extinguishment, or whether, on the other hand, the fires of this year prompted the purchase of the new equipment.

101. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

putting all men on an equal footing.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

1819

 News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- In the July issue of the *Analectic*, the lithographic process was introduced in the USA. A stone from München had been presented to the American Philosophical Society, and it was used by Bass Otis to make a “lithograph,” meaning inscribed-on-stone, portrait of an otherwise undistinguished but pretty and restful mill home on a pond.
- And meanwhile America’s 1st great BIBLE interpreter, who happened also to be a paleontologist, got out his King James Version and a pair of scissors, and went to work rearranging the Gospels for the American mind. He pasted, into a blank notebook, all and only the “diamonds” which he suspected had actually come out of the mouth of Jesus, discarding the slips of paper he characterized as “dunghills” which must have been produced by “very inferior minds.” The BIBLE interpreter’s name was [Thomas Jefferson](#). You can now see what the ex-President produced in this manner, because it has recently been published by the Beacon Press (it is also included in this database :). Among the Americans who have attempted this feat, one of the most recent, the poet and translator Stephen Mitchell, considers Thomas Jefferson’s attempt to have been particularly “dazzling,” although in Mitchell’s new version THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JESUS he has excised a considerably greater number of the dunghills that were produced by the internal struggles and the external struggles of the early Christian communities than ex-President Jefferson had been historically equipped to detect.

ELECTRIC
WALDEN

HISTORY OF
THE BIBLE

 January 17, Sunday: [Simón Bolívar](#) proclaimed Columbia to be a republic.

Former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) notified one of the overseers of his [slaves](#), Joel Yancey, that the soap Dick¹⁰² produced this year weighed merely 38 pounds whereas in the previous year it had weighed 45 (elsewhere we find a notation that hard soap was to be made by boiling 3 pounds of grease in 3 gallons of water with a box of Babbitt concentrated lye for 3 hours, pouring it into a tub and letting it remain 2 days, cutting it into bars, and putting it to dry).

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 17th of 1st M 1819 / In our Morning meeting J Dennis & Abigail Sherman appeard in short testimonys & D Buffum concluded in a very lively & pathetic communication. – In the Afternoon we were both Silent – both meetings were good favord Seasons to me. – In the evening Set the evening with my H at Abigail Robinsons. –

102. Dick was a son of Will Smith and Abby, born in 1781 (Jefferson had also at one time had a pet northern mockingbird *Mimus polyglottos*, one of perhaps four he had owned and kept about the house, that he called “Dick”).



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SALLY HEMINGS

 January 24, Sunday: Former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote from Monticello to Richard Duke that
“The duties of a Proctor for the Central college are of two characters so distinct, that it is difficult to find them associated in the same person. the one part of these duties is to make contracts with workmen, superintend their execution, see that they are according to the plan, performed faithfully and in a workman like manner; settle their accounts, and pay them off. the other part is to hire common laborers, overlook them, provide subsistence, and do whatever also is necessary for the institution. for this latter part mr Barksdale is fully qualified: but the other part we have thought would be better done by a person more accustomed to that sort of business, and mr Garrett has given me a hope you would undertake this part. if you could devote two days in the week to it, it would be quite sufficient, but if this is incompatible with your other business, one day in the week would do. whatever agreement as to these particulars, or as to compensation, shall be arranged between mr Garrett and yourself, will be confirmed, and we should wish your entrance on your branch of the office as soon as we learn that the bill for the establishment of the University at the site of the Central College has passed both houses of legislature.”

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 24th 1st M / In the Mornng meeting Abigail Sherman appeared in a short testimony – In the Afternoon H Dennis was also short.
– I was favord with a degree of life in both meetings but they were rather dull times on the whole. –
Set the evening at home a little unwell with a pain in my side. –*

 January 25, Monday: Largely through the behind-the-scenes lobbying of former President [Thomas Jefferson](#), the Commonwealth of Virginia chartered the University of Virginia in Charlottesville (this university’s faculty would in 1892 vote to allow a female to take the examinations required for a Bachelor’s Degree in mathematics, making Caroline Preston Davis the first white female graduate despite the fact that she had not been allowed to take courses; then, when forced to the wall by a lawsuit which they knew would be accepted by the Supreme Court no matter how many times it was rejected in the lower courts, this university would in 1950 admit a male black, Gregory H. Swanson, into its law school).

 February 28, Sunday: Former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) presided over the foundation of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. (He had designed the first buildings of the campus. The first classes would not begin until 1825.)

[Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) left [Naples](#).

At Vienna’s Redoutensaal, Die Huldigung, a cantata by Johann Baptist Schenk to words of Hölty, was performed for the initial time.

Schäfers Klagelied D.121 to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), the first of [Franz Schubert](#)’s lieder to be presented in public, was performed for the initial time, in the Gasthof “zum römischen Kaiser.”

A total of 66 students were registered at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 28th of 2nd M 1819 / Our morning Meeting was silent & rather smaller than usual owing to a number of friends & attenders of our meeting having gone to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the funeral of Mary Mott daughter of our late friend Jacob Mott who departed this life the 26th inst at the old Mansion house, her remains were carried to friends Meeting house & after Meeting interd



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*In the Afternoon father Rodman deliverd a few words very
appropriate & to me savory. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

CONTINGENCY

**ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST
THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.**

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Summer: It was being reported in any number of newspapers during this summer, that former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) was spending the season in Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania (actually he was spending it at his plantation "Poplar Forest," in Virginia, and we do not know how this misunderstanding arose).



_____ she with the sylvan pen
Of rural lovers this confession carved,
Which soon her Damon kiss'd with weeping joy:

S U M M E R .

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1820

➡ Baring Brothers & Company, in [London](#), the “House of Baring,” a 58-year-old banking empire which had among other things financed [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s purchase of the Louisiana territory from Napoleon and had helped finance the British Army during the Napoleonic wars, was characterized by a French writer as “Europe’s sixth great power.”

➡ April 13, Thursday: Former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) was hard at work revising the Gospels. He wrote to William Short –his secretary and protégé– about [Jesus Christ](#):

Among the sayings and discourses imputed to him by his biographers, I find many passages of fine imagination, correct morality, and of the most lovely benevolence; and others, again, of so much ignorance, so much absurdity, so much untruth, charlatanism and imposture, as to pronounce it impossible that such contradictions should have proceeded from the same being.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 13th of 4th M 1820 / Our first meeting was silent & to me a pretty good season. – At the close of it was held our Select Meeting for Ministers & Elders, which was to me a Solemn time, especially towards the close, when some feeling & pertinent remarks were made on the State of Society by our friends D Buffum & Hannanh Dennis – Our friend Abigail Robinson attended the first meeting but was unable from her delicate state of health to Sit in the last & this is the first time she has been out to meeting since last summer. – Susannah Hathaway dined with us

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1820

➡ Baring Brothers & Company, in [London](#), the “House of Baring,” a 58-year-old banking empire which had among other things financed [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s purchase of the Louisiana territory from Napoleon and had helped finance the British Army during the Napoleonic wars, was characterized by a French writer as “Europe’s sixth great power.”

➡ April 22, Saturday: The obituary of former [Concord slave](#) Zilpah White appeared in the Middlesex [Gazette](#).

[WALDEN](#): Here, by the very corner of my field, still nearer to town, Zilpha, a colored woman, held her little house, where she spun linen for townsfolk, making the Walden Woods ring with her shrill singing, for she had a loud and notable voice. At length, in the war of 1812, her dwelling was set on fire by English soldiers, prisoners on parole, when she was away, and her cat and dog and hens were all burned up together. She led a hard life, and somewhat inhumane. One old frequenter of these woods remembers, that as he passed her house one noon he heard her muttering to herself over her gurgling pot, -“Ye are all bones, bones!” I have seen bricks amid the oak copse there.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

ZILPAH WHITE

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 22 of 4th M / Favor'd this morning with precious sensations for which I desire to be Thankful

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote about the Missouri Compromise, without calling it that, and the Negro Problem, without calling it that:

I thank you, dear Sir, for the copy you have been so kind as to send me of the letter to your constituents on the Missouri question. It is a perfect justification to them. I had for a long time ceased to read newspapers, or pay any attention to public affairs, confident they were in good hands, and content to be a passenger in our bark to the shore from which I am not distant. But this momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. I can say, with conscious truth, that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any practicable way. The cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected; and gradually, and with due sacrifices, I think it



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might be. But as it is, we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other. Of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one State to another, would not make a slave of a single human being who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier, and proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation, by dividing the burthen on a greater number of coadjutors. An abstinence too, from this act of power, would remove the jealousy excited by the undertaking of Congress to regulate the condition of the different descriptions of men composing a State. This certainly is the exclusive right of every State, which nothing in the constitution has taken from them and given to the General Government. Could Congress, for example, say, that the non-freemen of Connecticut shall be freemen, or that they shall not emigrate into any other State?

I regret that I am now to die in the belief, that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness to their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons, and that my only consolation is to be, that I live not to weep over it. If they would but dispassionately weigh the blessings they will throw away, against an abstract principle more likely to be effected by union than by scission, they would pause before they would perpetrate this act of suicide on themselves, and of treason against the hopes of the world.

To yourself, as the faithful advocate of the Union, I tender the offering of my high esteem and respect.

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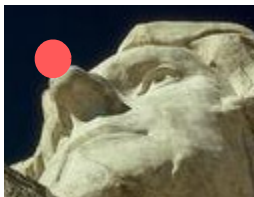
1821

 January 6-July 29: [Thomas Jefferson](#) sketched out the events of his life up to his service as Secretary of State, taking care to mention of course that in 1776, as a member of the committee appointed by the Continental Congress to “prepare a declaration of independence,” his colleagues had “desired me to do it. It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the house on Friday the 28th of June.”

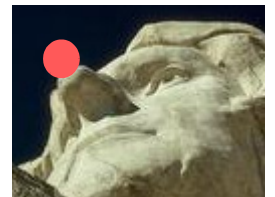


Because “the sentiments of men are known not only by what they receive, but what they reject also,” Jefferson included in this sketch not only the draft approved by Congress but also the “parts struck out” by its members and “those inserted by them.” Since “erroneous statements of the proceedings on the declaration of independence” had appeared “before the public in latter times,” he alleged forcefully that his lengthy description of the genesis of the Declaration document had been derived not from memory but from notes he had taken on the spot (immensely valuable notes which, if actually they ever had existed, unfortunately we have never been able to place into the hands of our historians). In this memoir, however, he made no overt claim to authorship, either sole or otherwise.¹⁰³

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



“The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn’t that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK.”



– [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



103. “Autobiography.” Peterson, Merrill D., ed. THOMAS JEFFERSON: WRITINGS. NY: 1984

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At some point during this year [Thomas Jefferson](#) sat for a portrait by Thomas Sully:



(In France, this portrait would be used as the basis for a statue of him, that would stand seven-and-a-half-foot tall exclusive of pedestal for many years before the [White House](#).)



October 24, Wednesday: According to an article in the [Caledonian Mercury](#) of Edinburgh, Scotland for December 6th, on October 24th the army of the United Kingdom had placed a number of its officers on half-pay. Among those were the officers of the 37th Regiment of Foot: “Captain J. Thoreau; Lieutenant C. Vincent; Ensign Hon. A.C.J. Brown.”

[CAPTAIN JOHN THOREAU](#)

[Thomas Jefferson](#)’s proposal for a revision of the laws of Virginia was approved. This self-described “author of the [Declaration of Independence](#)” had an understanding of race “treason” that would create a “treason” law of aiding and abetting a [servile insurrection](#), which after several revisions would become the deadly Virginia “treason” statute under which Captain [John Brown](#) would be hanged:

On the subject of the Criminal law, all were agreed that the punishment of death should be abolished, except for treason and murder; and that, for other felonies should be substituted hard labor in the public works, and in some cases, the Lex talionis. How this last revolting principle came to obtain our approbation, I do not remember. There remained indeed in our



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laws a vestige of it in a single case of a slave. it was the English law in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, copied probably from the Hebrew law of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," and it was the law of several antient people. But the modern mind had left it far in the rear of its advances.



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1822

 August 22, Thursday: King George IV began a visit to [Scotland](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 22 of 8 M / Life with me was low at Meeting yet I trust
it was not so with all – a short testimony from father Rodman –
No buisness in the Preparative Meeting*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

By this point a new conception of what it meant to be an author was seizing the American mind, and this new conception, the conception of sole authorship and inspiration, was exposing [Thomas Jefferson](#), as the alleged perpetrator of our [Declaration of Independence](#), whose claims had always been regarded in some quarters as exaggerated and selfserving, to suspicions of plagiarism.¹⁰⁴ John Adams therefore wrote to Timothy



Pickering¹⁰⁵ pointing out that “there is not an idea” in that document that had not “been hackneyed in Congress for two years before.”



You inquire why so young a man as Mr. Jefferson was placed at the head of the committee for preparing a Declaration of Independence? I answer: It was the Frankfort advice, to place Virginia at the head of everything. Mr. Richard Henry Lee might be gone to Virginia, to his sick family, for aught I know, but that was not the reason of Mr. Jefferson's appointment. There were three committees appointed at the same time, one for the Declaration of Independence, another for preparing articles of

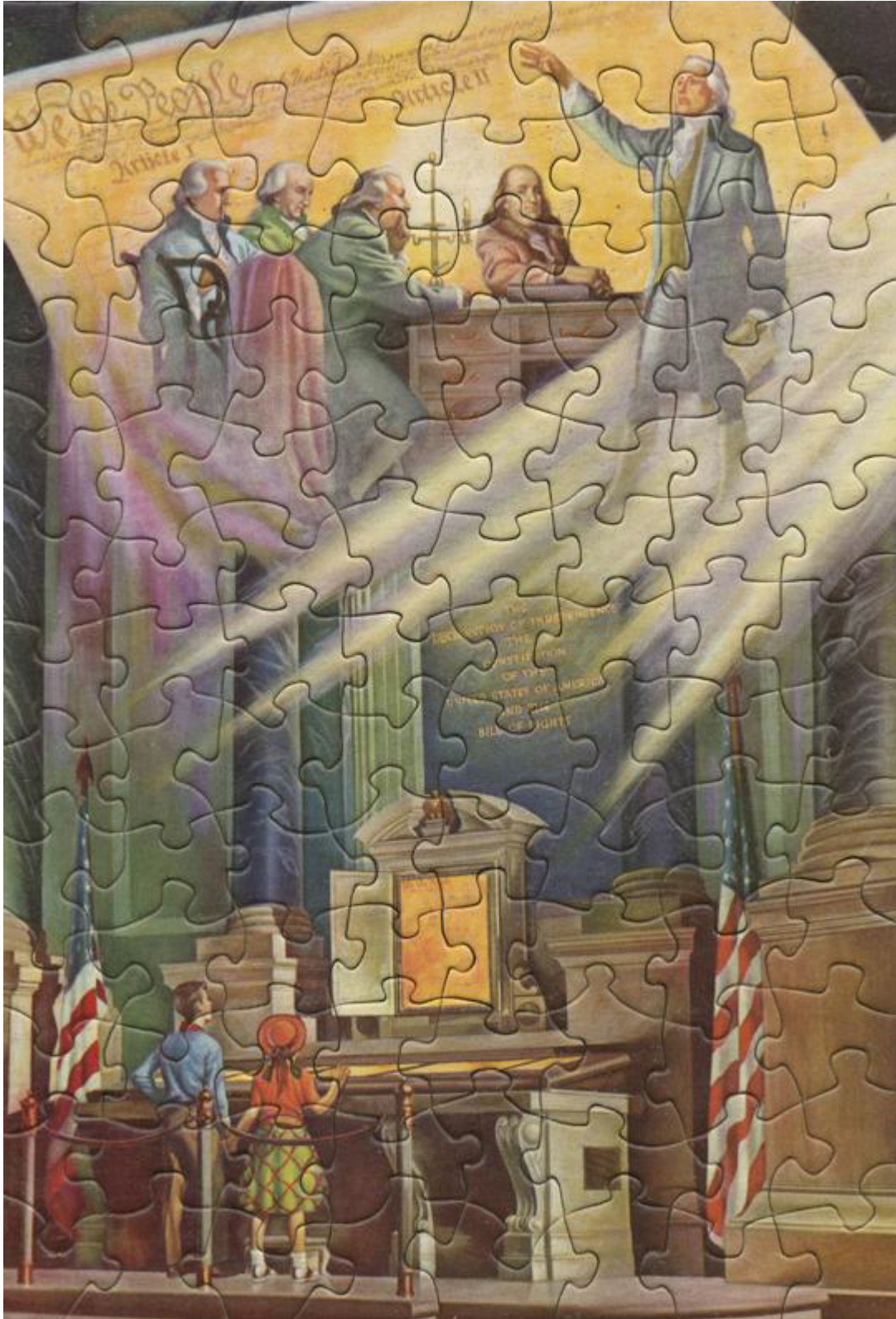
¹⁰⁴. Imagine a **slavemaster** being guilty of **plagiarizing** — this goes against the very Latin etymology of the word!

¹⁰⁵. Charles Francis Adams ed. The Works of John Adams, Volume II, The Diary (1850).

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confederation, and another for preparing a treaty to be proposed to France. Mr. Lee was chosen for the Committee of Confederation, and it was not thought convenient that the same



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person should be upon both. Mr. Jefferson came into Congress in June, 1775, and brought with him a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition. Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression. Though a silent member in Congress, he was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive upon committees and in conversation - not even Samuel Adams was more so - that he soon seized upon my heart; and upon this occasion I gave him my vote, and did all in my power to procure the votes of others. I think he had one more vote than any other, and that placed him at the head of the committee. I had the next highest number, and that placed me the second. The committee met, discussed the subject, and then appointed Mr. Jefferson and me to make the draft, I suppose because we were the two first on the list. The subcommittee met. Jefferson proposed to me to make the draft. I said, "I will not," "You should do it." "Oh! no." "Why will you not? You ought to do it." "I will not." "Why?" "Reasons enough." "What can be your reasons?" "Reason first, you are a Virginian, and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason second, I am obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason third, you can write ten times better than I can." "Well," said Jefferson, "if you are decided, I will do as well as I can." "Very well. When you have drawn it up, we will have a meeting." A meeting we accordingly had, and conned the paper over. I was delighted with its high tone and the flights of oratory with which it abounded, especially that concerning Negro slavery, which, though I knew his Southern brethren would never suffer to pass in Congress, I certainly never would oppose. There were other expressions which I would not have inserted if I had drawn it up, particularly that which called the King tyrant. I thought this too personal, for I never believed George to be a tyrant in disposition and in nature; I always believed him to be deceived by his courtiers on both sides of the Atlantic, and in his official capacity, only, cruel. I thought the expression too passionate, and too much like scolding, for so grave and solemn a document; but as Franklin and Sherman were to inspect it afterwards, I thought it would not become me to strike it out. I consented to report it, and do not now remember that I made or suggested a single alteration. We reported it to the committee of five. It was read, and I do not remember that Franklin or Sherman criticized anything. We were all in haste. Congress was impatient, and the instrument was reported, as I believe, in Jefferson's handwriting, as he first drew it. Congress cut off about a quarter of it, as I expected they would; but they obliterated some of the best of it, and left all that was exceptionable, if anything in it was. I have long wondered that the original draft had not been published. I suppose the reason is the vehement philippic against Negro slavery. As you justly observe, there is not an idea in it but what had been hackneyed in Congress for two years before. The substance of it is contained in the declaration of rights and the violation of those rights in the Journals of Congress in 1774. Indeed, the essence of it is contained in a pamphlet, voted and printed by the town of Boston, before the first Congress met, composed by James Otis, as I suppose, in one of his lucid intervals, and pruned and polished by Samuel Adams."



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November 8, Friday-14, Thursday: According to Anita Haya Patterson's FROM EMERSON TO KING: DEMOCRACY, RACE, AND THE POLITICS OF PROTEST (NY: Oxford UP, 1997, pages 131-2), at this point [Waldo Emerson](#)'s journal demonstrates that Emerson was so thoroughly bemused by the scientific legitimations of prejudice common in his era that he went with that sort of crap even when it contradicted the very principles upon which our republic ostensibly had been founded, as to be discovered for instance in such foundational documents as the [Declaration of Independence](#):

I believe that nobody now regards the maxim "that all men are born equal," as any thing more than a convenient hypothesis or an extravagant declamation.... For all the reverse is true, — that all men are born unequal in personal powers and in those essential circumstances, of time, parentage, country, fortune. The least knowledge of the natural history of man adds another important particular to these; namely, of what class of men he belongs to — European, Moor, Tartar, African? Because nature has plainly assigned different degrees of intellect to these different races, and the barriers between are insurmountable. This inequality is an indication of the design of Providence that some should lead, and some should serve.... If we speak in general of the two classes Man and Beast, we say that they are separated by the distinction of Reason, and the want of it.... I saw ten, twenty, a hundred large lipped, lowbrowed black men in the streets who, except in the mere matter of language, did not exceed the sagacity of the elephant. Now is it true that these were created superior to this wise animal, and designed to controul [sic] it? And in comparison with the highest orders of men, the Africans will stand so low as to make the difference which subsists between themselves & the sagacious beasts inconsiderable. It follows from this, that this is a distinction which cannot be much insisted on. [I'll cut Emerson's musings short here, and leap to his conclusion:]...are not they an upper order of inferior animals?

She points out that like so many of his contemporaries who were presuming their own race to be inherently and intrinsically superior, Emerson was wont to speculate bloodily that the inferior races, those which could not achieve national status, would most likely be exterminated, but that it would be a serious mistake for us simply to disregard what Emerson has to say on the basis of such a repellent race politics — as we have such a great deal to learn in the process of considering and considering and reconsidering and reconsidering the manner in which his thinking was wrong, and viciously wrong:

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The sheer weight of evidence that proves the fact of [Waldo Emerson](#)'s racism is disturbing. However, we would miss the focus of this discussion -namely, the historical **function** of racism in Emerson's writings- were we simply to dismiss him for exhibiting the racist perceptions of his time.... Emerson's racism is central to his vision of American nationality - a compelling, myopic vision that must be viewed in the context of a violent policy of westward expansion that prevailed in nineteenth-century America. In *NATURE*, Emerson's unmistakable reference to the raciality of the American self allows him to situate that self at the brink of egocentric absolutism: at the same time he expresses a near disavowal of human society represented by ties to the liberal-democratic state in *NATURE*, Emerson's racist imagination of the white, male body of Columbus is a framework for social cohesion. For Emerson, race functions to express both a threat to and an affirmation of social order. Generally speaking, Emerson's racist vision of the representative self is essential for his articulation of a call to revolution - what [Henry Thoreau](#) (and, much later, [the Reverend] [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#)) would designate as "civil disobedience."



"[Waldo Emerson](#)'s profound racism abated over time, but it never disappeared, always hovering in the background and clouding his democratic vision. Like all too many of his fellow intellectuals, throughout his life and works Emerson remained convinced that the characteristics that made the United States, for all its flaws, the great nation of the world were largely the product of its Saxon heritage and history. Here, alas, Ralph Waldo Emerson's democratic imagination largely failed him."



— Peter Field

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YOU SEE, I'M A WHITE MAN



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1823



June 25, Wednesday: Initially the [Declaration of Independence](#) document was being celebrated not as a guarantor of civil rights but merely as a solidarity document having to do with secession and danger and independence, in other words, with nationalistic chauvinism. It was, after all, a declaration of war, and how many declarations of war do you know of that become famous and are celebrated? It would not be until the 1850s that Abraham Lincoln would begin instead to mine the polite generalities of the introduction to the Declaration for the work they might do in support of individual rights — were we to begin to take these polite generalities seriously. In that vein, [Thomas Jefferson](#) responded on this day to a letter from John Winn, William C. Rives, Daniel M. Railey, John Ormond, Horace Branham, and George W. Nichols, refusing to provide them as requested with the date of his birth: “The only birthday I ever commemorate is that of our Independence, the Fourth of July.”

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 25th of 6th M 1823 / My Mind has for days & weeks been under the presure of a Concern, which has bourne with much weight. I feel desirous, & humbly beg in mental supplication that the thing may appear with greater brightness than it now does tho' it is on account of another whom I dearly love yet, I want to feel different. —

Have read this Afternoon a manuscript account of Joanna Hazard wife of Benjn of S Kingstown, who died 4th of 1st M 1820 Aged 24 Years, a view of her pious short life, & triumphant close, excited no small emotion in my heart. — I may acknowledge with gratitude the reading was proffitable

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: An elaborate ceremony took place at Mount Vernon with Vice President Daniel D. Tompkins in attendance.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Timothy Pickering publicly repeated the charge that John Adams had communicated to him on August 22, 1822, of [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s plagiarism of ideas placed in the [Declaration of Independence](#).¹⁰⁶



Hezekiah Prince Jr., in the small port town (for the coasting trade) of Thomaston, Maine, in his journal of 1822-1828 (published by the Maine Historical Society in 1965) described a July 4th celebration. He reported more of a formal celebration this year than the previous one, but:¹⁰⁷

There being considerable division, the parties divided and the Federalists had this meetinghouse and the Republicans the Brick Meetinghouse at the Meadow. I of course joined the Republicans. The Brick Meetinghouse was very neatly and handsomely decorated. The clerical services were performed by Rev. Job Washburn. The Declaration of Independence was read by William Farley of Waldoboro and an oration by John Ruggles, Esq. which was received with universal applause. [Later] a company of about 300 took dinner with all the usual ceremonies. The party broke up about four o'clock and every one retired to their homes, well pleased with what they had seen, heard, and tasted.



Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN (edited by Count Gallatin with an introduction by Viscount Bryce and published in London by William Heinemann in 1916):

A horrible day here [New-York]; the noise of the July 4 celebration intolerable. I have to rub my eyes to see if I am awake, that it is true I am not in the Rue de l'Université. How I regret it. Father is going alone to see the new house in Western Virginia-also to Washington. I take mamma and Frances to [Baltimore](#) to-morrow. We are stopping right in the country at a nice old house which belongs to the Montgomery family. But the difference in everything; only about three private coaches in New York- no means of getting about. The streets absolutely filthy and the heat horrible. I have been nearly every night for a long walk. No roads-no paths. I never realized the absolutely unfinished state of the American cities until I returned. The horrible chewing of tobacco- the spitting; all too awful. We have had a charming and hospitable reception, but all is so

106. COL. PICKERING'S OBSERVATIONS INTRODUCTORY TO READING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AT SALEM, JULY 4, 1823. Richard Henry Lee had already suggested that Jefferson had "copied from [John] Locke's treatise on government."

107. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 19th birthday.

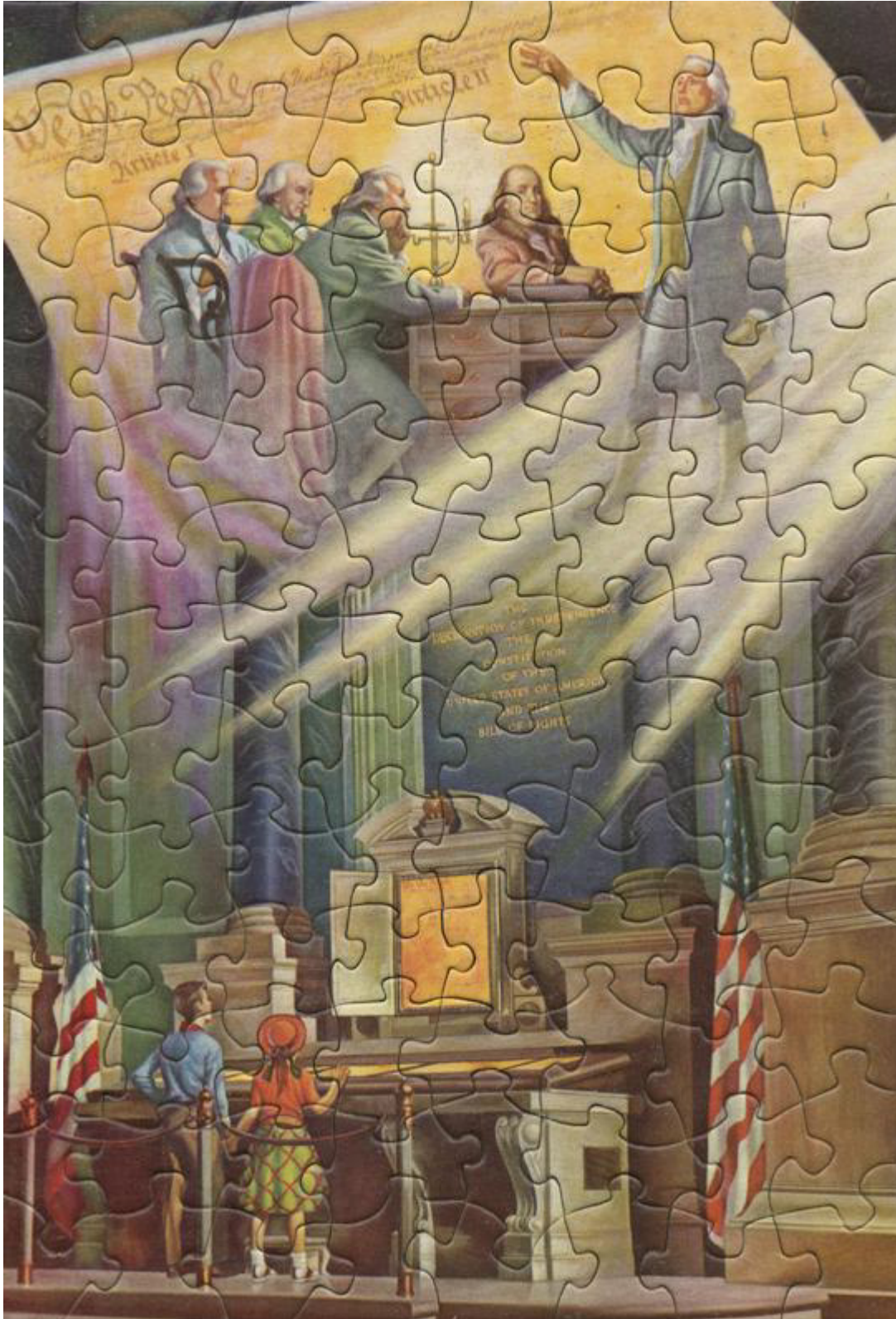
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crude.

In England, the suicide law sponsored by Sir James MacKintosh (4 George IV.c 52) was enacted by the House of Commons. The new suicide arrangements decreed that bodies of suicides could in the future be interred in churchyards or public burial places, so long as the interment took place within 24 hours of the coroner's inquest and certificate, was after 9PM and before midnight, and was bereft of any accompanying Christian religious observance. (This law would be altered in 1882 to allow interment in churchyards at any time of day and to allow the interment to be accompanied by a religious observance. Then, in 1961, suicide would be declared to be no longer a criminal offence in England.) All goods and chattels still were of course forfeit to the Crown (some things don't change).



August 30, Saturday: [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) arrived back at Fort St. Anthony. He would continue down the Mississippi River toward his original destination, New Orleans, Louisiana.



The recollection of John Adams was that the 5-person committee for the preparation of a [Declaration of Independence](#) document (John Adams, [Benjamin Franklin](#), [Thomas Jefferson](#), Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman) had appointed Jefferson and him to produce a draft document. Jefferson wrote to [James Madison](#) on this date, however, insisting that to the contrary, this 5-person committee actually had “unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draught.” Jefferson had always been willing to admit that, in promoting himself as the sole author of the Declaration, he had not meant to give anybody the idea he had been in any way original or creative: “I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether and to offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before,” he had communicated to Adams as early as 1819.¹⁰⁸ The accusations that the principles contained within the Declaration had been previously voiced in Congress and set into print by writers such as John Locke “may all be true,” he wrote to Madison at this point, but “whether I had gathered my ideas from reading or reflection I do not know. I know only that I turned to

108. Cappon, Lester J., ed. THE ADAMS-JEFFERSON LETTERS: THE COMPLETE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JOHN AND ABIGAIL ADAMS. Chapel Hill NC: 1959, Volume II, pages 543-4



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neither book or pamphlet while writing it.”¹⁰⁹ (At some point in these early 1820s, R.H. Lee’s grandson and namesake had struck a raw nerve with Jefferson concerning authorship of the Declaration of Independence by insisting that a “small part of that memorable instrument” should be attributed to Jefferson,” since the remainder of it “he stole from LOCKE’S ESSAYS.” Jefferson had attempted to explain in response that his goal had been “not to find out new principles, or new arguments never before thought of, not merely to say things which had never been said before; but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent.... Neither aiming at originality of principles or sentiments, nor yet copied from any particular or previous writing, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind.... All its authority rests then on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke.”)



September 6, Saturday: [James Madison](#) responded reassuringly to [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s letter of August 30th, assured him that “Nothing can be more absurd than the cavil that the [Declaration](#) contains known and not new truths. The object was to assert not to discover truths, and to make them the basis of the Revolutionary Act. The merit of the Draught,” Madison offered, “could consist only in a lucid communication of human rights, a condensed enumeration of the reasons for such an exercise of them,” and prose “in a style and tone appropriate to the great occasion, and to the spirit of the American people.”¹¹⁰

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 6th of 9 M 1823 / In consequence of my being under necessity of attending the Proprietors Meeting I could bot go to aunt Martha Goulds [Aunt Patty} as early in the day as usual but at 4 OC in the afternoon when the Meeting broke up [-] lled in with a view to perform my daily labour & found her too low to be moved. She seemed past notice of any thing but after a little while revived & seemed in much distress & if she knew me at all it was not long at a time. - I procured two good Watchers for the night [-] Knowles & James Mitchells Wife, which was all I could do for her

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

109. Smith, James Morton, ed. THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS: THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JAMES MADISON, 1776-1826. NY: 1995, Volume III, pages 1875-6

110. Smith, James Morton, ed., THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS: THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JAMES MADISON, 1776-1826. NY, 1995, Volume III, page 1877

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1824



Pioneers from Virginia and New York founded Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[George Long](#) was chosen professor of ancient languages in the new University of Virginia at Charlottesville, Virginia (until becoming professor of Greek at University College in London in 1828). While in the United States of America, he would be the frequent guest of President [Thomas Jefferson](#), rector of that university.¹¹¹

During [Lafayette](#)'s visit to Virginia, James Armistead Lafayette was able to bask once again in a white man's reflected glory. (A recognized veteran of the Revolutionary struggle, and a free man in a free land, we need to bear in mind that still as a black this man was not being considered as or treated as a citizen.)



In Florida, a fourth mulatto child was born to the union of the white planter Zephaniah Kingsley with his black wife Anna Kingsley. Since in 1811 Kingsley had made out [manumission](#) papers in the name of Anna, this fourth child was of course born free. Kingsley also would acknowledge paternity of five children by two other of his enslaved or formerly enslaved mistresses, "Flora Kingsley" and "Sarah Kingsley," and those of these five who had not been born free, he would likewise manumit. Kingsley had been up to, in Florida what [Jefferson](#) had been up to, in Virginia. Eventually the racial situation would harden and Kingsley would need to urge his mulatto heirs to emigrate "to some land of liberty and equal rights, where the conditions of society are governed by some law less absurd than that of color."

111. With his 1st wife Harriet Gray of Virginia, widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Selden, a judge of the Supreme Court of Arkansas, he would produce four sons and a daughter who would die in infancy. (Harriet had brought two daughters with her into her new marriage. She would die in 1841 and George Long would marry two more times.)



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Our former president [Thomas Jefferson](#) was a guy who really knew how to think with a sharp pencil. (For instance, faced with the problem of homosexuality, he saw no reason to go around hanging people: sodomites surely had some sort of sexual malfunction, so we have the opportunity to approach their problem directly — why hang them when we can simply cut their balls off?)

In that tradition of sharp-pencil thinking, during this year former president [Tommy-lad](#) was doing some simple math and pointing out that since there were at this point all of a million and a half Americans in [slavery](#), it could never become “practicable for us, or expedient for them,” to get them transported out of the country: “Their estimated value as property, in the first place, (for actual property has been lawfully vested in that form, and who can lawfully take it from the possessors?) at an average of two hundred dollars each ... would amount to six hundred millions of dollars which must be paid or lost by somebody. To this add the cost of their transportation by land and sea to Mesurado [the west coast of Liberia], a year’s provision of food and clothes, implements of husbandry and of their trades, which will amount to three hundred millions more ... and it is impossible to look at the question a second time.”



[COMPARE THIS WITH EMERSON’S SPURIOUS CALCULATION]

Conor Cruise O’Brien has commented that:

It is precisely [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s status as the oracle of liberty within the American civil religion that is becoming unsustainable in a postracist America. Consider the implications of the story of Jame Hubbard. Hubbard’s sole offense was to claim liberty for himself and try to win it. For that offense Jefferson had him “severely flogged in the presence of his old companions.” For many Americans today (I would hope for most Americans, and most other people), the hero of liberty in that story is not the famous Thomas Jefferson but the otherwise unknown Jame Hubbard.

In related mathematical news, in this year Neils Henrick Abel (1802-1829) was providing a proof that it is impossible to derive the root of a polynomial of higher than the fourth degree. Abel’s calculations were more complex than Jefferson’s, but equivalently conclusive.

In this year, believing that the colonial agent had allocated town lots and rationed provisions unfairly, a few of the settlers of Liberia armed themselves and forced the society’s representative to flee the colony. The disagreements were resolved temporarily when an American Colonization Society representative came to investigate the colony’s problems and persuaded Ashmun to return. Steps were initiated to spell out a system of local administration and to codify the laws. This would result, a year later, in the Constitution, Government, and Digest of the Laws of Liberia. In this document, sovereign power continued to rest with the American Colonization Society’s agent but the colony was to operate under common law. Slavery and participation in the slave trade were forbidden. The settlement that had been called Christopolis would be renamed Monrovia after the American president, James Monroe, and the colony as a whole would be formally designated Liberia (the free land).



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July 12, Saturday: On the 8th day after our national celebration, according to the journal of Hezekiah Prince



Jr., news of the simultaneous deaths of two Founding Fathers and ex-Presidents during that anniversary came to the small port town of Thomaston in Maine:

Papers brought the news that Presidents Old Adams and Jefferson both died on the 4th of July past.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



George Gordon, Lord Byron's funeral.

Horatio Gates Spafford registered his A POCKET GUIDE FOR THE TOURIST AND TRAVELLER ALONG THE LINE OF THE CANALS AND THE INTERIOR COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK and subsequently would publish this.

1825

 The Italian count Carlo Vidua would note after touring America in this year that “the document [the [Declaration of Independence](#)] has become a national memorial which is publicly read each year,” its “framed facsimile is found in almost every home,” and its “author is regarded as the living Patriarch of the American Republic.”¹¹²



THOMAS JEFFERSON

112. Cometti, Elizabeth and Veleria Gennaro-Lerda. “The Presidential Tour of Virginia of Carlo Vidua with Letters on Virginia.” Virginia Magazine of History and Biography LXXVII (1969):398

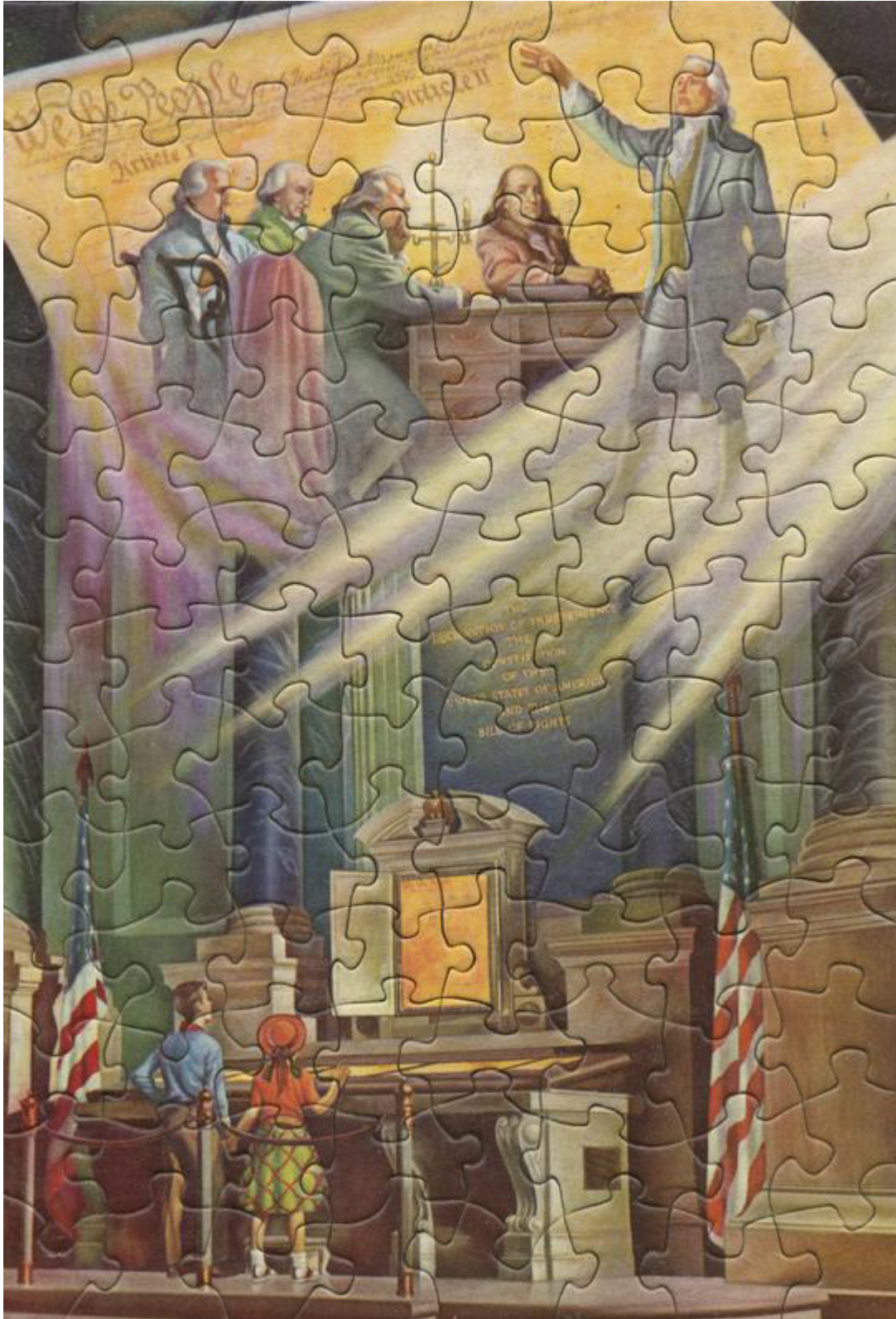
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 February: [Waldo Emerson](#) visited ex-President John Adams:¹¹³

To-day, at Quincy, with my brother, by invitation of Mr. Adams's family. The old President sat in a large stuffed arm-chair, dressed in a blue coat, black small-clothes, white stockings, and a cotton cap covered his bald head. We made our compliment, told him he must let us join our congratulations to those of the nation on the happiness of his house. He thanked us, and said, "I am rejoiced, because the nation is happy. The time of gratulation and congratulations is nearly over with me: I am astonished that I have lived to see and know of this event. I have lived now nearly a century: [he was ninety in the following October:] a long, harassed, and distracted life."— I said, "The world thinks a good deal of joy has been mixed with it."— "The world does not know," he replied, "how much toil, anxiety, and sorrow I have suffered."— I asked if Mr. Adams's letter of acceptance had been read to him.— "Yes," he said, and added, "My son has more political prudence than any man that I know who has existed in my time; he never was put off his guard: and I hope he will continue such; but what effect age may work in diminishing the power of his mind, I do not know; it has been very much on the stretch, ever since he was born. He has always been laborious, child and man, from infancy."— When Mr. J.Q. Adams's age was mentioned, he said, "He is now fifty-eight, or will be in July" and remarked that "all the Presidents were of the same age: General Washington was about fifty-eight, and I was about fifty-eight, and [Mr. Jefferson](#), and Mr. Madison, and Mr. Monroe."— We inquired, when he expected to see Mr. Adams.— He said, "Never: Mr. Adams will not come to Quincy, but to my funeral. It would be a great satisfaction to me to see him, but I don't wish him to come on my account."— He spoke of Mr. Lechmere, whom he "well remembered to have seen come down daily, at a great age, to walk in the old townhouse,"— adding, "And I wish I could walk as well as he did. He was Collector of the Customs for many years, under the Royal Government."— E. said, "I suppose, Sir, you would not have taken his place, even to walk as well as he."— "No," he replied, "that was not what I wanted."—



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He talked of Whitefield, and "remembered, when he was a Freshman in college, to have come in to the Old South, [I think,] to hear him, but could not get into the house;— I, however, saw him," he said, "through a window, and distinctly heard all. He had a voice such as I never heard before or since, he cast it out so that you might hear it at the meeting-house, [pointing towards the Quincy meeting-house,] and he had the grace of a dancing master, of an actor of plays. His voice and manner helped him more than his sermons. I went with Jonathan Sewall."— "And you were pleased with him, Sir?"— "Pleased! I was delighted beyond measure."— We asked, if at Whitefield's return the same popularity continued.— "Not the same fury," he said, "not the same wild enthusiasm as before, but a greater esteem, as he became more known. He did not terrify, but was admired."



113. The Reverend [George Whitefield](#) had been the great evangelical preacher of the 18th Century. He had been opposed by the pastor of Boston's First Church, the Reverend Charles Chauncy, who was a rationalist, and after whom the Reverend William Emerson, who succeeded him at First Church in 1799, named his firstborn son: Charles Chauncy Emerson.





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We spent about an hour in his room. He speaks very distinctly for so old a man, enters bravely into long sentences, which are interrupted by want of breath, but carries them invariably to a conclusion, without ever correcting a word. He spoke of the new novels of [Cooper](#), and "Peep at the Pilgrims," and "Saratoga," with praise, and named with accuracy the characters in them. He likes to have a person always reading to him, or company talking in his room, and is better the next day after having visitors in his chamber from morning to night. He received a premature report of his son's election, on Sunday afternoon, without any excitement, and told the reporter he had been hoaxed, for it was not yet time for any news to arrive. The informer, something damped in his heart, insisted on repairing to the meeting-house, and proclaimed it aloud to the congregation, who were so overjoyed that they rose in their seats and cheered thrice. The Reverend Mr. Whitney dismissed them immediately. We were told that his son Judge Adams can at any time excite him in a moment to great indignation. He mentioned to us that he had spoken to the President of the late Plymouth oration & said Mr Everett had ambition enough to publish it doubtless. The old gentleman exclaimed with great vehemence "I would to God there were more ambition in this country, ambition of that laudable kind to excel."



 March 7, Monday: Representative Joel Roberts Poinsett became US Minister to [Mexico](#).

The University of Virginia, its buildings and curriculum designed by [Thomas Jefferson](#), opened to students (the buildings would be completed in the following year).

 November 14, Monday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) gave to the husband of his all-white granddaughter, Ellen Wayles Coolidge, the lap desk on which he had drafted the [Declaration of Independence](#), emphasizing "the part it has borne in history" and predicting that such objects might soon "acquire a superstitious value because of their connection with particular persons." "Mr. Coolidge must do for me the favor of accepting this," he told Ellen. "Its imaginary value will increase with the years, and if he lives to my age, or another half century, he may yet see it carried in the procession of our nation's birthday, as the relics of the saints are in those of the church."¹¹⁴

This is as good a context as any, into which to introduce a correction of historical misinformation about what Jefferson did and did not accomplish with his will. Jefferson did not as Rachel Findley believes leave his slaves to his white daughter. As a standard element of probate law all one's debts must be settled—in this case through the sale of valuable assets such as slaves—before anything at all might become unencumbered and therefore inheritable by any family inheritor such as his white daughter. In effect Jefferson by accumulating debt willed his slaves not to his white daughter but to white creditors.

**JOHN WOOLMAN AND THOMAS JEFFERSON,
per Rachel Findley <rafindley@EARTHLINK.NET>**



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Friend [John Woolman](#), a generation or so earlier than Thomas Jefferson, faced a related problem as a twenty-three year old: his boss asked him, in his role as clerk, to write out a bill of sale, selling the boss's woman slave to another member of the Society of Friends. Woolman, taken by surprise, complied "through weakness," though he did tell his boss and the Friend that he believed slavekeeping to be inconsistent with Christianity.

He refused all further requests to write instruments of sale or wills that left slaves to others rather than freeing him. In so doing, he faced the disapproval of respected members of his community as well as the possible loss of his means of livelihood.

In later years he wrote a great deal about the practices that made slavekeepers feel that they were trapped in slaveholding, and that their children needed them to pass slaves on to them when they died.

People through riches and power became accustomed to consuming more than was necessary for a comfortable and convenient way of living. Thus instead of everyone living in "sweetness and satisfaction," some lived in superfluity and others in poverty or slavery.

The desire to pass on an unjust way of life to one's children, while understandable as an outgrowth of parental affection, was inconsistent with universal love.

Woolman addressed himself directly to the Quaker slaveholders of his day. I don't know whether Jefferson ever heard of him or read any of his essays or his JOURNAL. I believe that he would have understood how Jefferson got caught by his intellectual curiosity, desire for a gracious life, and preference for leisure to do politics and philosophy rather than labor. Jefferson failed to keep his expenses in line with his income, and wound up in debt; by leaving his slaves to his white daughter rather than freeing them, he chose to let the slaves bear the burden of the debt.

Woolman wrote, "In our care for our children, should we give way to partiality in things relating to what may be when we are gone, yet after death we cannot look at partiality with pleasure. If by our wealth we make them great without a full persuasion that we could not bestow it better, and then give them power to deal hardly with others more virtuous than they, it can, after death, give us no more satisfaction than if by this treasure we had raised these others above our own and given them power to oppress ours. "...to be redeemed from all the remains of selfishness, to have a universal regard to our fellow creatures, and love them as our Heavenly Father loves them, we must constantly attend to the influence of his Spirit."

Both Woolman and Jefferson knew that slavery was evil. Jefferson wrote, "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, and that his justice will not sleep forever." Woolman chose to act from the heart of that knowledge. Jefferson did not. It might be well for us to ask ourselves what we may be ensnared in that will look as strange to those who come after us as Jefferson's actions do to us.



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Another point that needs to be made in regard to this analysis by Rachel Findley would be that although Jefferson did understand slavery as evil, he considered that this evil was something that was forced upon us by the fact that there were Negroes in the world, inferior human beings with whom we were required to deal: one way to fix this problem as perceived by Jefferson would be to create a world in which there were no Negroes, or at least a world in which negritude had been so utterly diluted with white blood (such as his own) as to be no longer detectable.



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1826



When [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote that “[T]he mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately,” he was quoting the words of [Leveler](#) Richard Rumbold.¹¹⁵

[William Blake](#) and Catherine Blake completed the set of illustrations commissioned for the Book of Job, and received a reward of £150. Not only was this the largest sum of money they had ever seen, but in addition they were given a set of 22 plates.

WILLIAM BLAKE

A Methodist preacher, the Reverend Humphrey Billups, having been elected to Virginia’s House of Delegates, [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s Statute for Religious Freedom of 1786 was put to the test and failed. By a vote of 179 over 2 the Reverend Billups was prevented from taking the seat to which he had been elected. The argument that had proven persuasive was an argument to the effect that what Jefferson had been struggling to accomplish was to prevent domination of the state government by any one religious sect.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: Construction was initiated at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on the [Main Line Canal](#).

The cornerstone was laid for the first lock of the [Oswego Canal](#).

About noon, [Stephen Collins Foster](#) was born in Lawrenceville (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, the 9th child of William Barclay Foster, a businessman, and Eliza Clayland Tomlinson, daughter of a fairly well-off farmer.

[Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) and Eugene Scribe met in Paris to discuss Robert le diable for perhaps the 1st time.

English newspapers picked up and translated, word for word, the hoax or invention that had appeared in the *Journal du Commerce de Lyon* about an Englishman, one [Roger Dodsworth](#), who had apparently been frozen in a Mount Saint Gothard glacier since an avalanche in 1654, and had on July 4th been recovered and

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reanimated “by the usual remedies” by a Dr. Hotham of Northumberland. [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) read this newspaper account and by October would produce her THE REANIMATED MAN.



The newspapers of 1826 abounded with descriptions of solemn odes, processions, orations, toasts, and other such commemoratives of July 4th, the 50th anniversary of the [Declaration of Independence](#). One reflection of the public conception of the Declaration was Royall Tyler’s “Country Song for the Fourth of July,” a poem that describes a New England celebration of the [Brother Jonathan](#) type, where neighbors gather for food, fun, and festivities. A clear view of just how the political ideals of the Declaration were received by the masses shines through Tyler’s rhymed directions for the country dance. Here is how his dance appeared in an 1841 publication (although Tyler, who would die on August 26, 1826 from cancer of the face, could only have composed this in a considerably earlier timeframe).

Squeak the fife and beat the drum,
Independence day is come!!
Let the roasting pig be bled,
Quick twist off the cockerel’s head.
Quickly rub the pewter platter.
Heap the nutcakes, fried in butter.
Set the cups, and beaker glass,
The Pumpkin and the apple sauce.

Send the keg to shop for brandy;
Maple sugar we have handy,
Independent, staggering Dick,
A noggin mix of swingeing thick,
Sal, put on your russet skirt,
Jotham, get your **boughten** shirt,
To-day we dance to tiddle diddle.
—Here comes Sambo with his fiddle;

Sambo, take a dram of whiskey,
And play up Yankee doodle frisky.
Moll, come leave your witched tricks,
And let us have a reel of six;
Father and mother shall make two;
Sal, Moll, and I, stand all a-row,
Sambo, play and dance with quality;
This is the day of blest equality,

Father and **mother** are but **men**,
And Sambo — is a citizen.
Come foot it, Sal, — Moll, figure in.
And, mother, you dance up to him;
Now saw fast as e’er you can do
And father, you cross o’er to Sambo,
—Thus we dance, and thus we play,
On glorious Independence Day. —



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[2 more verses in like manner]

In Salem, Massachusetts, 4th-of-July orator the Reverend [Henry Root Colman](#) delivered the necessary oration. This would be printed by the town as AN ORATION DELIVERED IN SALEM, JULY 4, 1826, AT THE REQUEST OF THE TOWN, ON THE COMPLETION OF A HALF CENTURY SINCE THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. Meanwhile, elsewhere, 4th-of-July orator [George Bancroft](#) was alerting an audience to the fact that his attitudes about government were coming to tend toward the democratic.

On this 50th anniversary of our American independence, which at the time we were referring to as our “Jubilee of Freedom” event, on the 22d birthday of [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), both former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) and former President John Adams died.¹¹⁶ This was taken at the time to constitute a sign of national favor from Heaven, although why death ought to be regarded as a sign of favor remains untheorized — perhaps once again we Americans were “pushing the envelope” of what it is to be a human being. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: [Jefferson](#): “Is it the 4th?” —Ah.” John Adams: “Thomas Jefferson still survives” (actually Jefferson had died at 12:50PM and then Adams died at 5:30PM.)

Even before news of Jefferson’s demise had reached [Washington DC](#), Mayor Roger C. Weightman was having his final letter read aloud at that city’s Independence Day national-birthday festivities. The most stirring words in that former president’s missive –his assertion that the mass of mankind had not been born “with saddles on their backs” nor a favored few “booted and spurred” to “ride” them– had of course originated in the speech delivered by the leveler Colonel Richard Rumbold on the scaffold moments before his execution for treason against the English monarchy, at the conclusion of the English Civil War, in the Year of Our Lord 1685.¹¹⁷ Those who noticed that the former President had intentionally or unknowingly been borrowing sentiments did not see fit to record that fact in writing.¹¹⁸

116. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic. Refer to L. H. Butterfield, “The Jubilee of Independence, July 4, 1826,” [Virginia Magazine of History and Biography](#), LXI (1953), pages 135-38; Joseph J. Ellis, [Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams](#) (NY, 1993), pages 210-16; Robert P. Hay, “The Glorious Departure of the American Patriarchs: Contemporary Reactions to the Deaths of Jefferson and Adams,” [Journal of Southern History](#), XXXV (1969), pages 543-55; Merrill D. Peterson, [The Jefferson Image in the American Mind](#), 1960, pages 3-14.

117. Macaulay’s HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Chapter V; Adair, Douglass. “Rumbold’s Dying Speech, 1685, and Jefferson’s Last Words on Democracy, 1826,” [William and Mary Quarterly](#), 3rd Series, IX (1952): pages 526, 530:

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready bootied and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.

Rumbold was not merely being [hanged](#) but being hanged, drawn, and quartered — the penalty for an attempt upon the monarch. This trope about horses, saddles, boots, and spurs was taken at the time to have been originated by Jefferson, in John A. Shaw’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 and in Henry Potter’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED IN FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH-CAROLINA, JULY 20TH, 1826 and in John Tyler’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, JULY 11, 1826 in A SELECTION OF EULOGIES, PRONOUNCED IN THE SEVERAL STATES, IN HONOR OF THOSE ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOTS AND STATESMEN, JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON (Hartford CT: 1826). See also THE LAST LETTER OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS STATESMAN, THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ. AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: BEING HIS ANSWER TO AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE CITIZENS OF WASHINGTON IN CELEBRATING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: MONTICELLO, JUNE 24, 1826 (Washington DC: 1826).

That 17th-Century incident was not the first one in our history to conform to the dictum “there must be none higher than us, though of course there must always be some lower than us,” for in the 14th Century the Reverend John Ball had been [hanged](#) for preaching against public toleration of privileged classes:

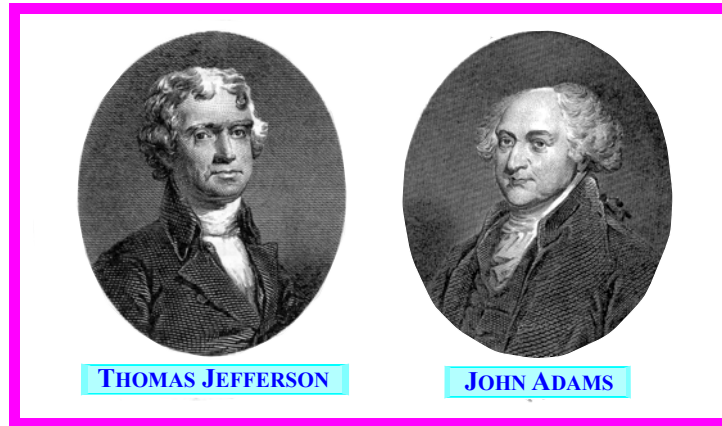
*“When Adam dalf [digged] and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?”*

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Former president Jefferson's death at [Monticello](#) ("All my wishes and where I hope my days will end — at Monticello.") would be followed shortly by the auction of his 90 black slaves over 12 years of age —along with his 12 black slaves between 9-12 years of age, his 73 cows of unknown coloration, and his 27 horses also of unknown coloration— for he had been living quite beyond his means, bringing back with him for instance from France no fewer than 86 large crates of civilized goodies. Jefferson did, however, set free his mulatto blood relatives. Jefferson, one might say, in allowing that after a certain number of crosses with white daddies, an infant ought to be considered to be white, had "pushed the envelope" of what it meant to be a human being. Yeah, right.



[Mary Moody Emerson](#) entered into her Almanack a comment that this was the day on which her Country had thrown the gage (thrown down the gauntlet, issued a challenge to a duel of honor):

*tho' the revolution gave me to slavery of poverty
& ignorance & long orphanship, — yet it gave my
fellow men liberty*

HOLOGRAPHIC IMAGES

118. Note that we have here an American author who is establishing his claim to fame upon his being the author of the memorable phrases of our foundational document, and who is attempting incautiously to do so by appropriating phrases originated by someone else. Also, we have here an American public so stupid or so patriotic that it lets him get away with it. Witness John A. Shaw, EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 in [A Selection of Eulogies, Pronounced in the Several States, in Honor of Those Illustrious Patriots and Statesmen, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson](#) (Hartford, Conn., 1826), 163; Henry Potter, "Eulogy, Pronounced in Fayetteville, North-Carolina, July 20th, 1826," [A Selection of Eulogies](#)...., 130; John Tyler, "Eulogy, Pronounced at Richmond, Virginia, July 11, 1826," [A Selection of Eulogies](#)...., 7-8; [National Intelligencer](#), July 4, 1826; [Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot](#), July 12, 1826; [Philadelphia Gazette](#), July 5, 1826; [Commercial Chronicle and Baltimore Advertiser](#), July 11, 1826; [The last letter of the illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson, Esq. author of the Declaration of Independence: Being his answer to an invitation to join the citizens of Washington in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of American independence: Monticello, June 24, 1826](#) (Washington, D.C., 1826).

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Isabella ([Sojourner Truth](#)), who would have been approximately 29 years old, had in this year borne another daughter, whom she had named Sophia, who would need to grow up laboring as an indentured servant, by the husband Thomas to whom she had been assigned by her master who would not admit that he was a husband. She had once again increasing the prosperity of the master race! The remaining slaves of New York State were to be freed one year from this date, and John Dumont had solemnly promised Isabella in some earlier period that he would free her and her husband “a year early” and set them up in a nearby log cabin. So it had come time for the white race to be true to its word. However, since the master had made that commitment to this enslaved woman, she had carelessly chopped off one of her fingers while working for him –so he figured she couldn’t work as productively with only nine fingers as she had with ten, and so –he figured she must still owe him some work. Fair’s fair, right? No freedom, no cabin, not yet, instead work some more for nothing. (But don’t lose heart, as maybe later I’ll be able to keep my solemn promise.)

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



In New Harmony, Indiana, Robert Dale Owen gave a speech he called his “Declaration of Mental Independence.”

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), four of those who had participated in the capture of the British armed schooner *Gaspe* during the [Revolution](#) rode in a parade.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Major John Handy read the [Declaration of Independence](#) “on the identical spot which he did 50 years ago,” in the presence of Isaac Barker of [Middletown](#), “who was at his side in the same place fifty years before.” Patriotic fun and games! Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) protested to his journal:

3rd day 4th of 7th M 1826 / This is what is called Independence Day - & an exceeding troublesome one it is to all sober Minded people - The expence of this day given to the poor or appropriated to public school would school all the poor children in town for some time. - Last night, we were the whole night greatly troubled & kept Awake, by the firing of squibs & crackers, great Bonfire in the middle of the Parade & tar Barrells, with various noises which were kept up all night & consequently kept us & many others awake, to our great discomfiture - in addition to which is the bitter reflection of the discipation & corruption of habits & morals to which our youth are exposed. - & today we have had numerous scenes of



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*drunkness both among the Aged & Youth, & many act of wickedness
-besides the pomp & vain show apparant in all parts of the Town
-This evening again we are troubled with noise & tumult & what
kind of a night we are to have cannot be told. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In New-York, 4 gold medals had been ordered to be struck by the Common Council: 3 were for surviving signers of the [Declaration of Independence](#), and the 4th was given to the son of Robert Fulton as a memorial of “genius in the application of steam.”

In a celebration at Lynchburg, Virginia, among the “aged patriots of ’76” were General John Smith and Captain George Blakenmore.

At the South Meeting House of Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas stood on the spot from which he had read the [Declaration of Independence](#) in 1776.

The [Frederick-Town Herald](#) of Frederick, [Maryland](#) announced that it would no longer be publishing the usual round of “generally dull, insipid” dinner toasts, “about which few feel any interest.”

In Salem, [North Carolina](#), the Moravian Male Academy was dedicated.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, Miss Caroline Whitney delivered an address on the occasion of the presentation of a flag to the Quincy Light Infantry.

In Arlington, Virginia, General Washington’s tent, the very same tent that the General had been using at the heights of Dorchester in 1775, was re-erected near the banks of the Potomac River for purposes of celebration.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1821	John Keats	dying of TB in Rome	"Severn ... I am dying ... I shall die easy ... don't be frightened ... be firm and thank God it has come."
1825	Phebe Walker Bliss Emerson Ripley	died in Concord	"Don't call Dr. Ripley his boots squeak so, Mr. Emerson used to step so softly, his boots never squeaked."
1826	Thomas Jefferson	died at 12:50PM	"Is it the 4th? —Ah."
1826	John Adams	died at 5: 30PM — Jefferson actually had, in Virginia, predeceased him	"Thomas Jefferson still surv..."
1830	King George IV	early one morning in Windsor Castle	"Good God, what is this? — My boy, this is death."
1832	Sam Sharpe	being hanged after an unsuccessful slave revolt on the island of Jamaica	"I would rather die on yonder gallows than live in slavery."
... other famous last words ...			



August 2, Wednesday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 2 of 8 m 1826 / Rode rode to [Portsmouth](#) [from [Newport](#)] this morning with my H to attend our Select Quarterly Meeting — Stopped on the way at Uncle Stantons & after meeting dined at

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Uncle Peter Lawtons, & in the Afternoon went to Benj Freeborns to meet with the Trustees of O Browns Benevolent Fund, & then to Benj Motts & took tea & was invited to sit with the Y Meeting Committee who met there we Lodged at Uncle P Lawtons -

At [Boston](#)'s Faneuil Hall, the eulogy on former Presidents [Thomas Jefferson](#) and John Adams was delivered by [Daniel Webster](#) (who of course rose to the occasion).¹¹⁹



The anonymous speech against the [Declaration of Independence](#) that Webster cited, and the speech in support of it ascribed to John Adams, were not records that had been taken down at the time, but were recreations out of the imagination of the orator after the manner of ancient historians.

This is an unaccustomed spectacle. For the first time, fellow-citizens, badges of mourning shroud the columns and overhang the arches of this hall. These walls, which were consecrated, so long ago, to the cause of American liberty, which witnessed her infant struggles, and rung with the shouts of her earliest victories, proclaim, now, that distinguished friends and champions of that great cause have fallen. It is right that it should be thus. The tears which flow, and the honors that are paid, when the founders of the republic die, give hope that the republic itself may be immortal. It is fit that, by public assembly and solemn observance, by anthem and by eulogy, we commemorate the services of national benefactors, extol their virtues, and render thanks to God for eminent blessings, early given and long continued, through their agency, to our favored country.

ADAMS and JEFFERSON are no more; and we are assembled, fellow-citizens, the aged, the middle-aged, and the young, by the spontaneous impulse of all, under the authority of the municipal government, with the presence of the chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, and others its official representatives, the University, and the learned societies, to bear our part in those manifestations of respect and gratitude which pervade the whole land. ADAMS and JEFFERSON are no more. On our fiftieth anniversary, the great day of national jubilee, in the very hour of public rejoicing, in the midst of echoing and re-echoing voices of thanksgiving, while their own names were on all tongues, they took their flight together to the world of spirits.

If it be true that no one can safely be pronounced happy while he lives, if that event which terminates life can alone crown its honors and its glory, what felicity is here! The great epic of their lives, how happily concluded! Poetry itself has hardly terminated illustrious lives, and finished the career of earthly

119. Edwin P. Whipple's THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER WITH AN ESSAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MASTER OF ENGLISH STYLE (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879).



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renown, by such a consummation. If we had the power, we could not wish to reverse this dispensation of the Divine Providence. The great objects of life were accomplished, the drama was ready to be closed. It has closed; our patriots have fallen; but so fallen, at such age, with such coincidence, on such a day, that we cannot rationally lament that that end has come, which we knew could not be long deferred.

Neither of these great men, fellow-citizens, could have died, at any time, without leaving an immense void in our American society. They have been so intimately, and for so long a time, blended with the history of the country, and especially so united, in our thoughts and recollections, with the events of the Revolution, that the death of either would have touched the chords of public sympathy. We should have felt that one great link, connecting us with former times, was broken; that we had lost something more, as it were, of the presence of the Revolution itself, and of the act of independence, and were driven on, by another great remove from the days of our country's early distinction, to meet posterity, and to mix with the future. Like the mariner, whom the currents of the ocean and the winds carry along, till he sees the stars which have directed his course and lighted his pathless way descend, one by one, beneath the rising horizon, we should have felt that the stream of time had borne us onward till another great luminary, whose light had cheered us and whose guidance we had followed, had sunk away from our sight.

But the concurrence of their death on the anniversary of Independence has naturally awakened stronger emotions. Both had been Presidents, both had lived to great age, both were early patriots, and both were distinguished and ever honored by their immediate agency in the act of independence. It cannot but seem striking and extraordinary, that these two should live to see the fiftieth year from the date of that act; that they should complete that year; and that then, on the day which had fast linked for ever their own fame with their country's glory, the heavens should open to receive them both at once. As their lives themselves were the gifts of Providence, who is not willing to recognize in their happy termination, as well as in their long continuance, proofs that our country and its benefactors are objects of His care?

ADAMS and JEFFERSON, I have said, are no more. As human beings, indeed, they are no more. They are no more, as in 1776, bold and fearless advocates of independence; no more, as at subsequent periods, the head of the government; no more, as we have recently seen them, aged and venerable objects of admiration and regard. They are no more. They are dead. But how little is there of the great and good which can die! To their country they yet live, and live for ever. They live in all that perpetuates the remembrance of men on earth; in the recorded proofs of their own great actions, in the offspring of their intellect, in the deep-engraved lines of public gratitude, and in the respect and homage of mankind. They live in their example; and they live, emphatically, and will live, in the influence which their lives and efforts, their principles and opinions, now exercise, and will continue to exercise, on the affairs of men, not only in their own country, but throughout the civilized world. A superior and commanding human intellect, a truly great man, when Heaven vouchsafes so rare a gift, is not a temporary flame,



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burning brightly for a while, and then giving place to returning darkness. It is rather a spark of fervent heat, as well as radiant light, with power to enkindle the common mass of human mind; so that when it glimmers in its own decay, and finally goes out in death, no night follows, but it leaves the world all light, all on fire, from the potent contact of its own spirit. Bacon died; but the human understanding, roused by the touch of his miraculous wand to a perception of the true philosophy and the just mode of inquiring after truth, has kept on its course successfully and gloriously. Newton died; yet the courses of the spheres are still known, and they yet move on by the laws which he discovered, and in the orbits which he saw, and described for them, in the infinity of space.

No two men now live, fellow-citizens, perhaps it may be doubted whether any two men have ever lived in one age, who, more than those we now commemorate, have impressed on mankind their own sentiments in regard to politics and government, infused their own opinions more deeply into the opinions of others, or given a more lasting direction to the current of human thought. Their work doth not perish with them. The tree which they assisted to plant will flourish, although they water it and protect it no longer; for it has struck its roots deep, it has sent them to the very centre; no storm, not of force to burst the orb, can overturn it; its branches spread wide; they stretch their protecting arms broader and broader, and its top is destined to reach the heavens. We are not deceived. There is no delusion here. No age will come in which the American Revolution will appear less than it is, one of the greatest events in human history. No age will come in which it shall cease to be seen and felt, on either continent, that a mighty step, a great advance, not only in American affairs, but in human affairs, was made on the 4th of July, 1776. And no age will come, we trust, so ignorant or so unjust as not to see and acknowledge the efficient agency of those we now honor in producing that momentous event. We are not assembled, therefore, fellow-citizens, as men overwhelmed with calamity by the sudden disruption of the ties of friendship or affection, or as in despair for the republic by the untimely blighting of its hopes. Death has not surprised us by an unseasonable blow. We have, indeed, seen the tomb close, but it has closed only over mature years, over long-protracted public service, over the weakness of age, and over life itself only when the ends of living had been fulfilled. These suns, as they rose slowly and steadily, amidst clouds and storms, in their ascendant, so they have not rushed from their meridian to sink suddenly in the west. Like the mildness, the serenity, the continuing benignity of a summer's day, they have gone down with slow-descending, grateful, long-lingering light; and now that they are beyond the visible margin of the world, good omens cheer us from "the bright track of their fiery car"!

There were many points of similarity in the lives and fortunes of these great men. They belonged to the same profession, and had pursued its studies and its practice, for unequal lengths of time indeed, but with diligence and effect. Both were learned and able lawyers. They were natives and inhabitants, respectively, of those two of the Colonies which at the Revolution were the largest and most powerful, and which naturally had a lead in the political affairs of the times. When the Colonies became in some degree united, by the assembling of



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a general Congress, they were brought to act together in its deliberations, not indeed at the same time, but both at early periods. Each had already manifested his attachment to the cause of the country, as well as his ability to maintain it, by printed addresses, public speeches, extensive correspondence, and whatever other mode could be adopted for the purpose of exposing the encroachments of the British Parliament and animating the people to a manly resistance. Both were not only decided, but early, friends of Independence. While others yet doubted, they were resolved; where others hesitated, they pressed forward. They were both members of the committee for preparing the Declaration of Independence, and they constituted the sub-committee appointed by the other members to make the draft. They left their seats in Congress, being called to other public employments, at periods not remote from each other, although one of them returned to it afterwards for a short time. Neither of them was of the assembly of great men which formed the present Constitution, and neither was at any time a member of Congress under its provisions. Both have been public ministers abroad, both Vice-Presidents and both Presidents of the United States. These coincidences are now singularly crowned and completed. They have died together; and they died on the anniversary of liberty.

When many of us were last in this place, fellow-citizens, it was on the day of that anniversary. We were met to enjoy the festivities belonging to the occasion, and to manifest our grateful homage to our political fathers. We did not, we could not here, forget our venerable neighbor of Quincy. We knew that we were standing, at a time of high and palmy prosperity, where he had stood in the hour of utmost peril; that we saw nothing but liberty and security, where he had met the frown of power; that we were enjoying every thing, where he had hazarded every thing; and just and sincere plaudits rose to his name, from the crowds which filled this area, and hung over these galleries. He whose grateful duty it was to speak to us [Hon. Josiah Quincy], on that day, of the virtues of our fathers, had, indeed, admonished us that time and years were about to level his venerable frame with the dust. But he bade us hope that "the sound of a nation's joy, rushing from our cities, ringing from our valleys, echoing from our hills, might yet break the silence of his aged ear; that the rising blessings of grateful millions might yet visit with glad light his decaying vision." Alas! that vision was then closing for ever. Alas! the silence which was then settling on that aged ear was an everlasting silence! For, lo! in the very moment of our festivities, his freed spirit ascended to God who gave it! Human aid and human solace terminate at the grave; or we would gladly have borne him upward, on a nation's outspread hands; we would have accompanied him, and with the blessings of millions and the prayers of millions, commended him to the Divine favor.

While still indulging our thoughts, on the coincidence of the death of this venerable man with the anniversary of Independence, we learn that Jefferson, too, has fallen; and that these aged patriots, these illustrious fellow-laborers, have left our world together. May not such events raise the suggestion that they are not undesigned, and that Heaven does so order things, as sometimes to attract strongly the attention and excite the thoughts of men? The occurrence has added new



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interest to our anniversary, and will be remembered in all time to come.

The occasion, fellow-citizens, requires some account of the lives and services of JOHN ADAMS and THOMAS JEFFERSON. This duty must necessarily be performed with great brevity, and in the discharge of it I shall be obliged to confine myself, principally, to those parts of their history and character which belonged to them as public men.

JOHN ADAMS was born at Quincy, then part of the ancient town of Braintree, on the 19th day of October (old style), 1735. He was a descendant of the Puritans, his ancestors having early emigrated from England, and settled in Massachusetts. Discovering in childhood a strong love of reading and of knowledge, together with marks of great strength and activity of mind, proper care was taken by his worthy father to provide for his education. He pursued his youthful studies in Braintree, under Mr. Marsh, a teacher whose fortune it was that Josiah Quincy, Jr., as well as the subject of these remarks, should receive from him his instruction in the rudiments of classical literature. Having been admitted, in 1751, a member of Harvard College, Mr. Adams was graduated, in course, in 1755; and on the catalogue of that institution, his name, at the time of his death, was second among the living Alumni, being preceded only by that of the venerable Holyoke. With what degree of reputation he left the University is not now precisely known. We know only that he was distinguished in a class which numbered Locke and Hemmenway among its members. Choosing the law for his profession, he commenced and prosecuted its studies at Worcester, under the direction of Samuel Putnam, a gentleman whom he has himself described as an acute man, an able and learned lawyer, and as being in large professional practice at that time. In 1758 he was admitted to the bar, and entered upon the practice of the law in Braintree. He is understood to have made his first considerable effort, or to have attained his first signal success, at Plymouth, on one of those occasions which furnish the earliest opportunity for distinction to many young men of the profession, a jury trial, and a criminal cause. His business naturally grew with his reputation, and his residence in the vicinity afforded the opportunity, as his growing eminence gave the power, of entering on a larger field of practice in the capital. In 1766 he removed his residence to Boston, still continuing his attendance on the neighboring circuits, and not unfrequently called to remote parts of the Province. In 1770 his professional firmness was brought to a test of some severity, on the application of the British officers and soldiers to undertake their defence, on the trial of the indictments found against them on account of the transactions of the memorable 5th of March. He seems to have thought, on this occasion, that a man can no more abandon the proper duties of his profession, than he can abandon other duties. The event proved, that, as he judged well for his own reputation, so, too, he judged well for the interest and permanent fame of his country. The result of that trial proved, that, notwithstanding the high degree of excitement then existing in consequence of the measures of the British government, a jury of Massachusetts would not deprive the most reckless enemies, even the officers of that standing army quartered among them, which they so perfectly abhorred, of any



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part of that protection which the law, in its mildest and most indulgent interpretation, affords to persons accused of crimes. Without following Mr. Adams's professional course further, suffice it to say, that on the first establishment of the judicial tribunals under the authority of the State, in 1776, he received an offer of the high and responsible station of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. But he was destined for another and a different career. From early life the bent of his mind was toward politics; a propensity which the state of the times, if it did not create, doubtless very much strengthened. Public subjects must have occupied the thoughts and filled up the conversation in the circles in which he then moved; and the interesting questions at that time just arising could not but seize on a mind like his, ardent, sanguine, and patriotic. A letter, fortunately preserved, written by him at Worcester, so early as the 12th of October, 1755, is a proof of very comprehensive views, and uncommon depth of reflection, in a young man not yet quite twenty. In this letter he predicted the transfer of power, and the establishment of a new seat of empire in America; he predicted, also, the increase of population in the Colonies; and anticipated their naval distinction, and foretold that all Europe combined could not subdue them. All this is said, not on a public occasion or for effect, but in the style of sober and friendly correspondence, as the result of his own thoughts. "I sometimes retire," said he, at the close of the letter, "and, laying things together, form some reflections pleasing to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above." This prognostication so early in his own life, so early in the history of the country, of independence, of vast increase of numbers, of naval force, of such augmented power as might defy all Europe, is remarkable. It is more remarkable that its author should live to see fulfilled to the letter what could have seemed to others, at the time, but the extravagance of youthful fancy. His earliest political feelings were thus strongly American, and from this ardent attachment to his native soil he never departed.

While still living at Quincy, and at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Adams was present, in this town, at the argument before the Supreme Court respecting **Writs of Assistance**, and heard the celebrated and patriotic speech of JAMES OTIS. Unquestionably, that was a masterly performance. No flighty declamation about liberty, no superficial discussion of popular topics, it was a learned, penetrating, convincing, constitutional argument, expressed in a strain of high and resolute patriotism. He grasped the question then pending between England and her Colonies with the strength of a lion; and if he sometimes sported, it was only because the lion himself is sometimes playful. Its success appears to have been as great as its merits, and its impression was widely felt. Mr. Adams himself seems never to have lost the feeling it produced, and to have entertained constantly the fullest conviction of its important effects. "I do say," he observes, "in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Otis's Oration against Writs of Assistance breathed into this nation the breath of life."¹²⁰

120. Nearly all that was known of this celebrated argument, at the time the present Discourse was delivered, was derived from the recollections of John Adams, as preserved in Minot's History of Massachusetts, Vol. II. p. 91. See Life and Works of John Adams, Vol. II. p. 124, published in the course of the past year (1850), in the Appendix to which, p. 521, will be found a paper hitherto unpublished, containing notes of the argument of Otis, "which seem to be the foundation of the sketch published by Minot." Tudor's Life of James Otis, p. 61.



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In 1765 Mr. Adams laid before the public, anonymously, a series of essays, afterwards collected in a volume in London, under the title of "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law."¹²¹ The object of this work was to show that our New England ancestors, in consenting to exile themselves from their native land, were actuated mainly by the desire of delivering themselves from the power of the hierarchy, and from the monarchical and aristocratical systems of the other continent; and to make this truth bear with effect on the politics of the times. Its tone is uncommonly bold and animated for that period. He calls on the people, not only to defend, but to study and understand, their rights and privileges; urges earnestly the necessity of diffusing general knowledge; invokes the clergy and the bar, the colleges and academies, and all others who have the ability and the means to expose the insidious designs of arbitrary power, to resist its approaches, and to be persuaded that there is a settled design on foot to enslave all America. "Be it remembered," says the author, "that liberty must, at all hazards, be supported. We have a right to it, derived from our Maker. But if we had not, our fathers have earned and bought it for us, at the expense of their ease, their estates, their pleasure, and their blood. And liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people, who have a right, from the frame of their nature, to knowledge, as their great Creator, who does nothing in vain, has given them understandings and a desire to know. But, besides this, they have a right, an indisputable unalienable, indefeasible, divine right, to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge, I mean of the characters and conduct of their rulers. Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, and trustees for the people; and if the cause, the interest and trust, is insidiously betrayed, or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority that they themselves have deputed, and to constitute abler and better agents, attorneys, and trustees."

The citizens of this town conferred on Mr. Adams his first political distinction, and clothed him with his first political trust, by electing him one of their representatives, in 1770. Before this time he had become extensively known throughout the Province, as well by the part he had acted in relation to public affairs, as by the exercise of his professional ability. He was among those who took the deepest interest in the controversy with England, and, whether in or out of the legislature, his time and talents were alike devoted to the cause. In the years 1773 and 1774 he was chosen a Councillor by the members of the General Court, but rejected by Governor Hutchinson in the former of those years, and by Governor Gage in the latter.

The time was now at hand, however, when the affairs of the Colonies urgently demanded united counsels throughout the country. An open rupture with the parent state appeared inevitable, and it was but the dictate of prudence that those who were united by a common interest and a common danger should protect that interest and guard against that danger by united efforts. A general Congress of Delegates from all the Colonies having been proposed and agreed to, the House of Representatives, on the 17th of June, 1774, elected James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, delegates from Massachusetts. This appointment was

121. See Life and Works of John Adams, Vol. II. p. 150, Vol. III. p. 447, and North American Review, Vol. LXXI. p. 430.



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made at Salem, where the General Court had been convened by Governor Gage, in the last hour of the existence of a House of Representatives under the Provincial Charter. While engaged in this important business, the Governor, having been informed of what was passing, sent his secretary with a message dissolving the General Court. The secretary, finding the door locked, directed the messenger to go in and inform the Speaker that the secretary was at the door with a message from the Governor. The messenger returned, and informed the secretary that the orders of the House were that the doors should be kept fast; whereupon the secretary soon after read upon the stairs a proclamation dissolving the General Court. Thus terminated, for ever, the actual exercise of the political power of England in or over Massachusetts. The four last-named delegates accepted their appointments, and took their seats in Congress the first day of its meeting, the 5th of September, 1774, in Philadelphia.

The proceedings of the first Congress are well known, and have been universally admired. It is in vain that we would look for superior proofs of wisdom, talent, and patriotism. Lord Chatham said, that, for himself, he must declare that he had studied and admired the free states of antiquity, the master states of the world, but that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress. It is hardly inferior praise to say, that no production of that great man himself can be pronounced superior to several of the papers published as the proceedings of this most able, most firm, most patriotic assembly. There is, indeed, nothing superior to them in the range of political disquisition. They not only embrace, illustrate, and enforce every thing which political philosophy, the love of liberty, and the spirit of free inquiry had antecedently produced, but they add new and striking views of their own, and apply the whole, with irresistible force, in support of the cause which had drawn them together.

Mr. Adams was a constant attendant on the deliberations of this body, and bore an active part in its important measures. He was of the committee to state the rights of the Colonies, and of that also which reported the Address to the King.

As it was in the Continental Congress, fellow-citizens, that those whose deaths have given rise to this occasion were first brought together, and called upon to unite their industry and their ability in the service of the country, let us now turn to the other of these distinguished men, and take a brief notice of his life up to the period when he appeared within the walls of Congress.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, descended from ancestors who had been settled in Virginia for some generations, was born near the spot on which he died, in the county of Albemarle, on the 2d of April (old style), 1743. His youthful studies were pursued in the neighborhood of his father's residence until he was removed to the College of William and Mary, the highest honors of which he in due time received. Having left the College with reputation, he applied himself to the study of the law under the tuition of George Wythe, one of the highest judicial names of which that State can boast. At an early age he was elected a member of the legislature, in which he had no sooner appeared than he distinguished himself by knowledge, capacity, and promptitude. Mr. Jefferson appears to have been imbued with an early love of



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letters and science, and to have cherished a strong disposition to pursue these objects. To the physical sciences, especially, and to ancient classic literature, he is understood to have had a warm attachment, and never entirely to have lost sight of them in the midst of the busiest occupations. But the times were times for action, rather than for contemplation. The country was to be defended, and to be saved, before it could be enjoyed. Philosophic leisure and literary pursuits, and even the objects of professional attention, were all necessarily postponed to the urgent calls of the public service. The exigency of the country made the same demand on Mr. Jefferson that it made on others who had the ability and the disposition to serve it; and he obeyed the call; thinking and feeling in this respect with the great Roman orator: "Quis enim est tam cupidus in perspicienda cognoscendaque rerum natura, ut, si ei tractanti contemplantique res cognitione dignissimas subito sit allatum periculum discrimenque patriae, cui subvenire opitularique possit, non illa omnia relinquat atque abjiciat, etiam si dinumerare se stellas, aut metiri mundi magnitudinem posse arbitretur?"¹²²

Entering with all his heart into the cause of liberty, his ability, patriotism, and power with the pen naturally drew upon him a large participation in the most important concerns. Wherever he was, there was found a soul devoted to the cause, power to defend and maintain it, and willingness to incur all its hazards. In 1774 he published a "Summary View of the Rights of British America," a valuable production among those intended to show the dangers which threatened the liberties of the country, and to encourage the people in their defence. In June, 1775, he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, as successor to Peyton Randolph, who had resigned his place on account of ill health, and took his seat in that body on the 21st of the same month.

And now, fellow-citizens, without pursuing the biography of these illustrious men further, for the present, let us turn our attention to the most prominent act of their lives, their participation in the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Preparatory to the introduction of that important measure, a committee, at the head of which was Mr. Adams, had reported a resolution, which Congress adopted on the 10th of May, recommending, in substance, to all the Colonies which had not already established governments suited to the exigencies of their affairs, **to adopt such government as would, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general.**

This significant vote was soon followed by the direct proposition which Richard Henry Lee had the honor to submit to Congress, by resolution, on the 7th day of June. The published journal does not expressly state it, but there is no doubt, I suppose, that this resolution was in the same words, when originally submitted by Mr. Lee, as when finally passed. Having been discussed on Saturday, the 8th, and Monday, the 10th of June, this resolution was on the last-mentioned day postponed for further consideration to the first day of July; and at the same time it was voted, that a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of the resolution. This committee was elected by ballot, on the following day, and consisted of

122. Cicero de Officiis, Lib. I. § 43.



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Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

It is usual, when committees are elected by ballot, that their members should be arranged in order, according to the number of votes which each has received. Mr. Jefferson, therefore, had received the highest, and Mr. Adams the next highest number of votes. The difference is said to have been but of a single vote. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, standing thus at the head of the committee, were requested by the other members to act as a subcommittee to prepare the draft; and Mr. Jefferson drew up the paper. The original draft, as brought by him from his study, and submitted to the other members of the committee, with interlineations in the handwriting of Dr. Franklin, and others in that of Mr. Adams, was in Mr. Jefferson's possession at the time of his death.¹²³ The merit of this paper is Mr. Jefferson's. Some changes were made in it at the suggestion of other members of the committee, and others by Congress while it was under discussion. But none of them altered the tone, the frame, the arrangement, or the general character of the instrument. As a composition, the Declaration is Mr. Jefferson's. It is the production of his mind, and the high honor of it belongs to him, clearly and absolutely.

It has sometimes been said, as if it were a derogation from the merits of this paper, that it contains nothing new; that it only states grounds of proceeding, and presses topics of argument, which had often been stated and pressed before. But it was not the object of the Declaration to produce any thing new. It was not to invent reasons for independence, but to state those which governed the Congress. For great and sufficient causes, it was proposed to declare independence; and the proper business of the paper to be drawn was to set forth those causes, and justify the authors of the measure, in any event of fortune, to the country and to posterity. The cause of American independence, moreover, was now to be presented to the world in such manner, if it might so be, as to engage its sympathy, to command its respect, to attract its admiration; and in an assembly of most able and distinguished men, THOMAS JEFFERSON had the high honor of being the selected advocate of this cause. To say that he performed his great work well, would be doing him injustice. To say that he did excellently well, admirably well, would be inadequate and halting praise. Let us rather say, that he so discharged the duty assigned him, that all Americans may well rejoice that the work of drawing the title-deed of their liberties devolved upon him.

With all its merits, there are those who have thought that there was one thing in the Declaration to be regretted; and that is, the asperity and apparent anger with which it speaks of the person of the king; the industrious ability with which it accumulates and charges upon him all the injuries which the Colonies had suffered from the mother country. Possibly some degree of injustice, now or hereafter, at home or abroad, may be done to the character of Mr. Jefferson, if this part of the Declaration be not placed in its proper light. Anger or resentment, certainly much less personal reproach and invective, could not properly find place in a composition of such high

123. A facsimile of this ever-memorable state paper, as drafted by Mr. Jefferson, with the interlineations alluded to in the text, is contained in Mr. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. I. p. 146. See, also, in reference to the history of the Declaration, the Life and Works of John Adams, Vol. II. p. 512 *et seq.*



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dignity, and of such lofty and permanent character.

A single reflection on the original ground of dispute between England and the Colonies is sufficient to remove any unfavorable impression in this respect.

The inhabitants of all the Colonies, while Colonies, admitted themselves bound by their allegiance to the king; but they disclaimed altogether the authority of Parliament; holding themselves, in this respect, to resemble the condition of Scotland and Ireland before the respective unions of those kingdoms with England, when they acknowledged allegiance to the same king, but had each its separate legislature. The tie, therefore, which our Revolution was to break did not subsist between us and the British Parliament, or between us and the British government in the aggregate, but directly between us and the king himself. The Colonies had never admitted themselves subject to Parliament. That was precisely the point of the original controversy. They had uniformly denied that Parliament had authority to make laws for them. There was, therefore, no subjection to Parliament to be thrown off.¹²⁴ But allegiance to the king did exist, and had been uniformly acknowledged; and down to 1775 the most solemn assurances had been given that it was not intended to break that allegiance, or to throw it off. Therefore, as the direct object and only effect of the Declaration, according to the principles on which the controversy had been maintained on our part, were to sever the tie of allegiance which bound us to the king, it was properly and necessarily founded on acts of the crown itself, as its justifying causes. Parliament is not so much as mentioned in the whole instrument. When odious and oppressive acts are referred to, it is done by charging the king with confederating with others "in pretended acts of legislation"; the object being constantly to hold the king himself directly responsible for those measures which were the grounds of separation. Even the precedent of the English Revolution was not overlooked, and in this case, as well as in that, occasion was found to say that the king had **abdicated** the government. Consistency with the principles upon which resistance began, and with all the previous state papers issued by Congress, required that the Declaration should be bottomed on the misgovernment of the king; and therefore it was properly framed with that aim and to that end. The king was known, indeed, to have acted, as in other cases, by his ministers, and with his Parliament; but as our ancestors had never admitted themselves subject either to ministers or to Parliament, there were no reasons to be given for now refusing obedience to their authority. This clear and obvious necessity of founding the Declaration on the misconduct of the king himself, gives to that instrument its personal application, and its character of direct and pointed accusation. The Declaration having been reported to Congress by the committee, the resolution itself was taken up and debated on the first day of July, and again on the second, on which last day

124. This question, of the power of Parliament over the Colonies, was discussed, with singular ability, by Governor Hutchinson on the one side, and the House of Representatives of Massachusetts on the other, in 1773. The argument of the House is in the form of an answer to the Governor's Message, and was reported by Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Hawley, Mr. Bowers, Mr. Hobson, Mr. Foster, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Thayer. As the power of the Parliament had been acknowledged, so far at least as to affect us by laws of trade, it was not easy to settle the line of distinction. It was thought, however, to be very clear, that the charters of the Colonies had exempted them from the general legislation of the British Parliament. See Massachusetts State Papers, p. 351. The important assistance rendered by John Adams in the preparation of the answer of the House to the Message of the Governor may be learned from the Life and Works of John Adams, Vol. II. p. 311 *et seq.*



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it was agreed to and adopted, in these words:-

"Resolved, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

Having thus passed the main resolution, Congress proceeded to consider the reported draught of the Declaration. It was discussed on the second, and third, and FOURTH days of the month, in committee of the whole; and on the last of those days, being reported from that committee, it received the final approbation and sanction of Congress. It was ordered, at the same time, that copies be sent to the several States, and that it be proclaimed at the head of the army. The Declaration thus published did not bear the names of the members, for as yet it had not been signed by them. It was authenticated, like other papers of the Congress, by the signatures of the President and Secretary. On the 19th of July, as appears by the secret journal, Congress **"Resolved,** That the Declaration, passed on the fourth, be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and style of 'THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA'; and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress." And on the SECOND DAY OF AUGUST following, "the Declaration, being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members." So that it happens, fellow-citizens, that we pay these honors to their memory on the anniversary of that day (2d of August) on which these great men actually signed their names to the Declaration. The Declaration was thus made, that is, it passed and was adopted as an act of Congress, on the fourth of July; it was then signed, and certified by the President and Secretary, like other acts. The FOURTH OF JULY, therefore, is the ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION. But the signatures of the members present were made to it, being then engrossed on parchment, on the second day of August. Absent members afterwards signed, as they came in; and indeed it bears the names of some who were not chosen members of Congress until after the fourth of July. The interest belonging to the subject will be sufficient, I hope, to justify these details.¹²⁵

The Congress of the Revolution, fellow-citizens, sat with closed doors, and no report of its debates was ever made. The discussion, therefore, which accompanied this great measure, has never been preserved, except in memory and by tradition. But it is, I believe, doing no injustice to others to say, that the general opinion was, and uniformly has been, that in debate, on the side of independence, JOHN ADAMS had no equal. The great author of the Declaration himself has expressed that opinion uniformly and strongly. "JOHN ADAMS," said he, in the hearing of him who has now the honor to address you, "JOHN ADAMS was our colossus on the floor. Not graceful, not elegant, not always fluent, in his public addresses, he yet came out with a power, both of thought and of expression, which moved us from our seats."

For the part which he was here to perform, Mr. Adams doubtless was eminently fitted. He possessed a bold spirit, which disregarded danger, and a sanguine reliance on the goodness of the cause, and the virtues of the people, which led him to

125. The official copy of the Declaration, as engrossed and signed by the members of Congress, is framed and preserved in the Hall over the Patent-Office at Washington.



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overlook all obstacles. His character, too, had been formed in troubled times. He had been rocked in the early storms of the controversy, and had acquired a decision and a hardihood proportioned to the severity of the discipline which he had undergone.

He not only loved the American cause devoutly, but had studied and understood it. It was all familiar to him. He had tried his powers on the questions which it involved, often and in various ways; and had brought to their consideration whatever of argument or illustration the history of his own country, the history of England, or the stores of ancient or of legal learning, could furnish. Every grievance enumerated in the long catalogue of the Declaration had been the subject of his discussion, and the object of his remonstrance and reprobation. From 1760, the Colonies, the rights of the Colonies, the liberties of the Colonies, and the wrongs inflicted on the Colonies, had engaged his constant attention; and it has surprised those who have had the opportunity of witnessing it, with what full remembrance and with what prompt recollection he could refer, in his extreme old age, to every act of Parliament affecting the Colonies, distinguishing and stating their respective titles, sections, and provisions; and to all the Colonial memorials, remonstrances, and petitions, with whatever else belonged to the intimate and exact history of the times from that year to 1775. It was, in his own judgment, between these years that the American people came to a full understanding and thorough knowledge of their rights, and to a fixed resolution of maintaining them; and bearing himself an active part in all important transactions, the controversy with England being then in effect the business of his life, facts, dates, and particulars made an impression which was never effaced. He was prepared, therefore, by education and discipline, as well as by natural talent and natural temperament, for the part which he was now to act.

The eloquence of Mr. Adams resembled his general character, and formed, indeed, a part of it. It was bold, manly, and energetic; and such the crisis required. When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech farther than as it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire to it; they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-



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devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object,—this, this is eloquence; or rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence,—it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action.

In July, 1776, the controversy had passed the stage of argument. An appeal had been made to force, and opposing armies were in the field. Congress, then, was to decide whether the tie which had so long bound us to the parent state was to be severed at once, and severed for ever. All the Colonies had signified their resolution to abide by this decision, and the people looked for it with the most intense anxiety. And surely, fellow-citizens, never, never were men called to a more important political deliberation. If we contemplate it from the point where they then stood, no question could be more full of interest; if we look at it now, and judge of its importance by its effects, it appears of still greater magnitude.

Let us, then, bring before us the assembly, which was about to decide a question thus big with the fate of empire. Let us open their doors and look in upon their deliberations. Let us survey the anxious and careworn countenances, let us hear the firm-toned voices, of this band of patriots.

HANCOCK presides over the solemn sitting; and one of those not yet prepared to pronounce for absolute independence is on the floor, and is urging his reasons for dissenting from the Declaration.

"Let us pause! This step, once taken, cannot be retraced. This resolution, once passed, will cut off all hope of reconciliation. If success attend the arms of England, we shall then be no longer Colonies, with charters and with privileges; these will all be forfeited by this act; and we shall be in the condition of other conquered people, at the mercy of the conquerors. For ourselves, we may be ready to run the hazard; but are we ready to carry the country to that length? Is success so probable as to justify it? Where is the military, where the naval power, by which we are to resist the whole strength of the arm of England,—for she will exert that strength to the utmost? Can we rely on the constancy and perseverance of the people? or will they not act as the people of other countries have acted, and, wearied with a long war, submit, in the end, to a worse oppression? While we stand on our old ground, and insist on redress of grievances, we know we are right, and are not answerable for consequences. Nothing, then, can be imputed to us. But if we now change our object, carry our pretensions farther, and set up for absolute independence, we shall lose the sympathy of mankind. We shall no longer be defending what we possess, but struggling for something which we never did possess, and which we have solemnly and uniformly disclaimed all intention of pursuing, from the very outset of the troubles. Abandoning thus our old ground, of resistance only to arbitrary acts of oppression, the nations will believe the whole to have been mere pretence, and they will look on us, not as injured, but as ambitious subjects. I shudder before this responsibility. It will be on us, if, relinquishing the ground on which we have stood so long, and stood so safely, we now proclaim independence, and carry on the war for that object, while these



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cities burn, these pleasant fields whiten and bleach with the bones of their owners, and these streams run blood. It will be upon us, it will be upon us, if, failing to maintain this unseasonable and ill-judged declaration, a sterner despotism, maintained by military power, shall be established over our posterity, when we ourselves, given up by an exhausted, a harassed, a misled people, shall have expiated our rashness and atoned for our presumption on the scaffold."

It was for Mr. Adams to reply to arguments like these. We know his opinions, and we know his character. He would commence with his accustomed directness and earnestness.

"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning we aimed not at independence. But there's a Divinity which shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why, then, should we defer the Declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life and his own honor? Are not you, Sir, who sit in that chair,—is not he, our venerable colleague near you,—are you not both already the proscribed and predestined objects of punishment and of vengeance? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency, what are you, what can you be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws? If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up, the war? Do we mean to submit to the measures of Parliament, Boston Port Bill and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we ourselves shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust? I know we do not mean to submit. We never shall submit. Do we intend to violate that most solemn obligation ever entered into by men, that plighting, before God, of our sacred honor to Washington, when, putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him, in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives? I know there is not a man here, who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground. For myself, having, twelve months ago, in this place, moved you, that George Washington be appointed commander of the forces raised, or to be raised, for defence of American liberty,¹²⁶ may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I hesitate or waver in the support I give him.

"The war, then, must go on. We must fight it through. And if the war must go on, why put off longer the Declaration of Independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us, which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects, in arms against our sovereign. Nay, I maintain that England herself will sooner treat for peace with us on the footing of independence, than consent, by repealing her acts, to acknowledge that her whole conduct towards us has been a course of injustice and oppression. Her pride will be less wounded by submitting to that course of things which now predestinates our

126. See *Life and Works of John Adams*, Vol. II. p. 417 *et seq.*



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independence, than by yielding the points in controversy to her rebellious subjects. The former she would regard as the result of fortune; the latter she would feel as her own deep disgrace. Why, then, why then, Sir, do we not as soon as possible change this from a civil to a national war? And since we must fight it through, why not put ourselves in a state to enjoy all the benefits of victory, if we gain the victory?

"If we fail, it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies; the cause will create navies. The people, the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves, gloriously, through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these Colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts and cannot be eradicated. Every Colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead. Sir, the Declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for the restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this Declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered, to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

"Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly, through this day's business. You and I, indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time when this Declaration shall be made good. We may die; die colonists; die slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of Heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready, at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may. But while I do live, let me have a country, or at least the hope of a country, and that a free country.

"But whatever may be our fate, be assured, be assured that this Declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, and it may cost blood; but it will stand, and it will richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present, I see the brightness of the future, as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our children will honor it. They will celebrate it with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires, and illuminations. On its annual return they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy. Sir, before God, I believe the hour is come. My judgment approves this measure, and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope, in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off as I begun, that live or die, survive or



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perish, I am for the Declaration. It is my living sentiment, and by the blessing of God it shall be my dying sentiment, Independence **now**, and INDEPENDENCE FOR EVER."

And so that day shall be honored, illustrious prophet and patriot! so that day shall be honored, and as often as it returns, thy renown shall come along with it, and the glory of thy life, like the day of thy death, shall not fail from the remembrance of men.

It would be unjust, fellow-citizens, on this occasion, while we express our veneration for him who is the immediate subject of these remarks, were we to omit a most respectful, affectionate, and grateful mention of those other great men, his colleagues, who stood with him, and with the same spirit, the same devotion, took part in the interesting transaction. HANCOCK, the proscribed HANCOCK, exiled from his home by a military governor, cut off by proclamation from the mercy of the crown,—Heaven reserved for him the distinguished honor of putting this great question to the vote, and of writing his own name first, and most conspicuously, on that parchment which spoke defiance to the power of the crown of England. There, too, is the name of that other proscribed patriot, SAMUEL ADAMS, a man who hungered and thirsted for the independence of his country, who thought the Declaration halted and lingered, being himself not only ready, but eager, for it, long before it was proposed; a man of the deepest sagacity, the clearest foresight, and the profoundest judgment in men. And there is GERRY, himself among the earliest and the foremost of the patriots, found, when the battle of Lexington summoned them to common counsels, by the side of WARREN; a man who lived to serve his country at home and abroad, and to die in the second place in the government. There, too, is the inflexible, the upright, the Spartan character, ROBERT TREAT PAINE. He also lived to serve his country through the struggle, and then withdrew from her councils, only that he might give his labors and his life to his native State, in another relation. These names, fellow-citizens, are the treasures of the Commonwealth; and they are treasures which grow brighter by time.

It is now necessary to resume the narrative, and to finish with great brevity the notice of the lives of those whose virtues and services we have met to commemorate.

Mr. Adams remained in Congress from its first meeting till November, 1777, when he was appointed Minister to France. He proceeded on that service in the February following, embarking in the frigate Boston, from the shore of his native town, at the foot of Mount Wollaston. The year following, he was appointed commissioner to treat of peace with England. Returning to the United States, he was a delegate from Braintree in the Convention for framing the Constitution of this Commonwealth, in 1780.¹²⁷ At the latter end of the same year, he again went abroad in the diplomatic service of the country, and was employed at various courts, and occupied with various negotiations, until 1788. The particulars of these interesting and important services this occasion does not allow time to relate. In 1782 he concluded our first treaty with Holland. His negotiations with that republic, his efforts to persuade the States-General to recognize our independence, his incessant and

127. In this Convention he served as chairman of the committee for preparing the draft of a Constitution.



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indefatigable exertions to represent the American cause favorably on the Continent, and to counteract the designs of its enemies, open and secret, and his successful undertaking to obtain loans on the credit of a nation yet new and unknown, are among his most arduous, most useful, most honorable services. It was his fortune to bear a part in the negotiation for peace with England, and in something more than six years from the Declaration which he had so strenuously supported, he had the satisfaction of seeing the minister plenipotentiary of the crown subscribe his name to the instrument which declared that his "Britannic Majesty acknowledged the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent." In these important transactions, Mr. Adams's conduct received the marked approbation of Congress and of the country.

While abroad, in 1787, he published his "Defence of the American Constitutions"; a work of merit and ability, though composed with haste, on the spur of a particular occasion, in the midst of other occupations, and under circumstances not admitting of careful revision. The immediate object of the work was to counteract the weight of opinions advanced by several popular European writers of that day, M. Turgot, the Abbé de Mably, and Dr. Price, at a time when the people of the United States were employed in forming and revising their systems of government.

Returning to the United States in 1788, he found the new government about going into operation, and was himself elected the first Vice-President, a situation which he filled with reputation for eight years, at the expiration of which he was raised to the Presidential chair, as immediate successor to the immortal Washington. In this high station he was succeeded by Mr. Jefferson, after a memorable controversy between their respective friends, in 1801; and from that period his manner of life has been known to all who hear me. He has lived, for five-and-twenty years, with every enjoyment that could render old age happy. Not inattentive to the occurrences of the times, political cares have yet not materially, or for any long time, disturbed his repose. In 1820 he acted as Elector of President and Vice-President, and in the same year we saw him, then at the age of eighty-five, a member of the Convention of this Commonwealth called to revise the Constitution. Forty years before, he had been one of those who formed that Constitution; and he had now the pleasure of witnessing that there was little which the people desired to change.¹²⁸ Possessing all his faculties to the end of his long life, with an unabated love of reading and contemplation, in the centre of interesting circles of friendship and affection, he was blessed in his retirement with whatever of repose and felicity the condition of man allows. He had, also, other enjoyments. He saw around him that prosperity and general happiness which had been the object of his public cares and labors. No man ever beheld more clearly, and for a longer time, the great and beneficial effects of the services rendered by himself to his country. That liberty which he so early defended, that independence of which he was so able an advocate and supporter, he saw, we trust, firmly and securely established. The population of the country thickened around him faster, and extended wider, than his own sanguine predictions

128. Upon the organization of this body, 15th November, 1820, John Adams was elected its President; an office which the infirmities of age compelled him to decline. For the interesting proceedings of the Convention on this occasion, the address of Chief Justice Parker, and the reply of Mr. Adams, see Journal of Debates and Proceedings in the Convention of Delegates chosen to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, p. 8 *et seq.*



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had anticipated; and the wealth, respectability, and power of the nation sprang up to a magnitude which it is quite impossible he could have expected to witness in his day. He lived also to behold those principles of civil freedom which had been developed, established, and practically applied in America, attract attention, command respect, and awaken imitation, in other regions of the globe; and well might, and well did, he exclaim, "Where will the consequences of the American Revolution end?"

If any thing yet remain to fill this cup of happiness, let it be added, that he lived to see a great and intelligent people bestow the highest honor in their gift where he had bestowed his own kindest parental affections and lodged his fondest hopes. Thus honored in life, thus happy at death, he saw the JUBILEE, and he died; and with the last prayers which trembled on his lips was the fervent supplication for his country, "Independence for ever!"¹²⁹

Mr. Jefferson, having been occupied in the years 1778 and 1779 in the important service of revising the laws of Virginia, was elected Governor of that State, as successor to Patrick Henry, and held the situation when the State was invaded by the British arms. In 1781 he published his Notes on Virginia, a work which attracted attention in Europe as well as America, dispelled many misconceptions respecting this continent, and gave its author a place among men distinguished for science. In November, 1783, he again took his seat in the Continental Congress, but in the May following was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, to act abroad, in the negotiation of commercial treaties, with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams. He proceeded to France, in execution of this mission, embarking at Boston; and that was the only occasion on which he ever visited this place. In 1785 he was appointed Minister to France, the duties of which situation he continued to perform until October, 1789, when he obtained leave to retire, just on the eve of that tremendous revolution which has so much agitated the world in our times. Mr. Jefferson's discharge of his diplomatic duties was marked by great ability, diligence, and patriotism; and while he resided at Paris, in one of the most interesting periods, his character for intelligence, his love of knowledge and of the society of learned men, distinguished him in the highest circles of the French capital. No court in Europe had at that time in Paris a representative commanding or enjoying higher regard, for political knowledge or for general attainments, than the minister of this then infant republic. Immediately on his return to his native country, at the organization of the government under the present Constitution, his talents and experience recommended him to President Washington for the first office in his gift. He was placed at the head of the Department of State. In this situation, also, he manifested conspicuous ability. His correspondence with the ministers of other powers residing here, and his instructions to our own diplomatic agents abroad, are among our ablest state papers. A thorough knowledge of the laws and usages of nations, perfect acquaintance with the immediate subject before him, great felicity, and still greater facility, in writing, show themselves in whatever effort his official situation called on him to make. It is believed by competent judges, that the diplomatic intercourse of the government of the

129. For an account of Mr. Webster's last interview with Mr. Adams, see March's Reminiscences of Congress, p. 62.



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United States, from the first meeting of the Continental Congress in 1774 to the present time, taken together, would not suffer, in respect to the talent with which it has been conducted, by comparison with any thing which other and older governments can produce; and to the attainment of this respectability and distinction Mr. Jefferson has contributed his full part.

On the retirement of General Washington from the Presidency, and the election of Mr. Adams to that office in 1797, he was chosen Vice-President. While presiding in this capacity over the deliberations of the Senate, he compiled and published a Manual of Parliamentary Practice, a work of more labor and more merit than is indicated by its size. It is now received as the general standard by which proceedings are regulated, not only in both Houses of Congress, but in most of the other legislative bodies in the country. In 1801 he was elected President, in opposition to Mr. Adams, and re-elected in 1805, by a vote approaching towards unanimity.

From the time of his final retirement from public life, in 1809, Mr. Jefferson lived as became a wise man. Surrounded by affectionate friends, his ardor in the pursuit of knowledge undiminished, with uncommon health and unbroken spirits, he was able to enjoy largely the rational pleasures of life, and to partake in that public prosperity which he had so much contributed to produce. His kindness and hospitality, the charm of his conversation, the ease of his manners, the extent of his acquirements, and, especially, the full store of Revolutionary incidents which he had treasured in his memory, and which he knew when and how to dispense, rendered his abode in a high degree attractive to his admiring countrymen, while his high public and scientific character drew towards him every intelligent and educated traveller from abroad. Both Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson had the pleasure of knowing that the respect which they so largely received was not paid to their official stations. They were not men made great by office; but great men, on whom the country for its own benefit had conferred office. There was that in them which office did not give, and which the relinquishment of office did not, and could not, take away. In their retirement, in the midst of their fellow-citizens, themselves private citizens, they enjoyed as high regard and esteem as when filling the most important places of public trust.

There remained to Mr. Jefferson yet one other work of patriotism and beneficence, the establishment of a university in his native State. To this object he devoted years of incessant and anxious attention, and by the enlightened liberality of the Legislature of Virginia, and the co-operation of other able and zealous friends, he lived to see it accomplished. May all success attend this infant seminary; and may those who enjoy its advantages, as often as their eyes shall rest on the neighboring height, recollect what they owe to their disinterested and indefatigable benefactor; and may letters honor him who thus labored in the cause of letters!¹³⁰

Thus useful, and thus respected, passed the old age of Thomas

130. Mr. Jefferson himself considered his services in establishing the University of Virginia as among the most important rendered by him to the country. In Mr. Wirt's Eulogy, it is stated that a private memorandum was found among his papers, containing the following inscription to be placed on his monument.— "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statutes of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." Eulogies on Adams and Jefferson, p. 426.



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Jefferson. But time was on its ever-ceaseless wing, and was now bringing the last hour of this illustrious man. He saw its approach with undisturbed serenity. He counted the moments as they passed, and beheld that his last sands were falling. That day, too, was at hand which he had helped to make immortal. One wish, one hope, if it were not presumptuous, beat in his fainting breast. Could it be so, might it please God, he would desire once more to see the sun, once more to look abroad on the scene around him, on the great day of liberty. Heaven, in its mercy, fulfilled that prayer. He saw that sun, he enjoyed its sacred light, he thanked God for this mercy, and bowed his aged head to the grave. "Felix, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis."

The last public labor of Mr. Jefferson naturally suggests the expression of the high praise which is due, both to him and to Mr. Adams, for their uniform and zealous attachment to learning, and to the cause of general knowledge. Of the advantages of learning, indeed, and of literary accomplishments, their own characters were striking recommendations and illustrations. They were scholars, ripe and good scholars; widely acquainted with ancient, as well as modern literature, and not altogether uninstructed in the deeper sciences. Their acquirements, doubtless, were different, and so were the particular objects of their literary pursuits; as their tastes and characters, in these respects, differed like those of other men. Being, also, men of busy lives, with great objects requiring action constantly before them, their attainments in letters did not become showy or obtrusive. Yet I would hazard the opinion, that, if we could now ascertain all the causes which gave them eminence and distinction in the midst of the great men with whom they acted, we should find not among the least their early acquisitions in literature, the resources which it furnished, the promptitude and facility which it communicated, and the wide field it opened for analogy and illustration; giving them thus, on every subject, a larger view and a broader range, as well for discussion as for the government of their own conduct.

Literature sometimes disgusts, and pretension to it much oftener disgusts, by appearing to hang loosely on the character, like something foreign or extraneous, not a part, but an ill-adjusted appendage; or by seeming to overload and weigh it down by its unsightly bulk, like the productions of bad taste in architecture, where there is massy and cumbrous ornament without strength or solidity of column. This has exposed learning, and especially classical learning, to reproach. Men have seen that it might exist without mental superiority, without vigor, without good taste, and without utility. But in such cases classical learning has only not inspired natural talent; or, at most, it has but made original feebleness of intellect, and natural bluntness of perception, something more conspicuous. The question, after all, if it be a question, is, whether literature, ancient as well as modern, does not assist a good understanding, improve natural good taste, add polished armor to native strength, and render its possessor, not only more capable of deriving private happiness from contemplation and reflection, but more accomplished also for action in the affairs of life, and especially for public action. Those whose memories we now honor were learned men; but their learning was kept in its proper place, and made subservient to the uses and objects



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of life. They were scholars, not common nor superficial; but their scholarship was so in keeping with their character, so blended and inwrought, that careless observers, or bad judges, not seeing an ostentatious display of it, might infer that it did not exist; forgetting, or not knowing, that classical learning in men who act in conspicuous public stations, perform duties which exercise the faculty of writing, or address popular, deliberative, or judicial bodies, is often felt where it is little seen, and sometimes felt more effectually because it is not seen at all.

But the cause of knowledge, in a more enlarged sense, the cause of general knowledge and of popular education, had no warmer friends, nor more powerful advocates, than Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. On this foundation they knew the whole republican system rested; and this great and all-important truth they strove to impress, by all the means in their power. In the early publication already referred to, Mr. Adams expresses the strong and just sentiment, that the education of the poor is more important, even to the rich themselves, than all their own riches. On this great truth, indeed, is founded that unrivalled, that invaluable political and moral institution, our own blessing and the glory of our fathers, the New England system of free schools.

As the promotion of knowledge had been the object of their regard through life, so these great men made it the subject of their testamentary bounty. Mr. Jefferson is understood to have bequeathed his library to the University of Virginia, and that of Mr. Adams is bestowed on the inhabitants of Quincy.

Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, fellow-citizens, were successively Presidents of the United States. The comparative merits of their respective administrations for a long time agitated and divided public opinion. They were rivals, each supported by numerous and powerful portions of the people, for the highest office. This contest, partly the cause and partly the consequence of the long existence of two great political parties in the country, is now part of the history of our government. We may naturally regret that any thing should have occurred to create difference and discord between those who had acted harmoniously and efficiently in the great concerns of the Revolution. But this is not the time, nor this the occasion, for entering into the grounds of that difference, or for attempting to discuss the merits of the questions which it involves. As practical questions, they were canvassed when the measures which they regarded were acted on and adopted; and as belonging to history, the time has not come for their consideration.

It is, perhaps, not wonderful, that, when the Constitution of the United States first went into operation, different opinions should be entertained as to the extent of the powers conferred by it. Here was a natural source of diversity of sentiment. It is still less wonderful, that that event, nearly contemporary with our government under the present Constitution, which so entirely shocked all Europe, and disturbed our relations with her leading powers, should be thought, by different men, to have different bearings on our own prosperity; and that the early measures adopted by the government of the United States, in consequence of this new state of things, should be seen in opposite lights. It is for the future historian, when what now remains of prejudice and misconception shall have passed away,



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to state these different opinions, and pronounce impartial judgment. In the mean time, all good men rejoice, and well may rejoice, that the sharpest differences sprung out of measures which, whether right or wrong, have ceased with the exigencies that gave them birth, and have left no permanent effect, either on the Constitution or on the general prosperity of the country. This remark, I am aware, may be supposed to have its exception in one measure, the alteration of the Constitution as to the mode of choosing President; but it is true in its general application. Thus the course of policy pursued towards France in 1798, on the one hand, and the measures of commercial restriction commenced in 1807, on the other, both subjects of warm and severe opposition, have passed away and left nothing behind them. They were temporary, and, whether wise or unwise, their consequences were limited to their respective occasions. It is equally clear, at the same time, and it is equally gratifying, that those measures of both administrations which were of durable importance, and which drew after them momentous and long remaining consequences, have received general approbation. Such was the organization, or rather the creation, of the navy, in the administration of Mr. Adams; such the acquisition of Louisiana in that of Mr. Jefferson. The country, it may safely be added, is not likely to be willing either to approve, or to reprobate, indiscriminately, and in the aggregate, all the measures of either, or of any, administration. The dictate of reason and of justice is, that, holding each one his own sentiments on the points of difference, we imitate the great men themselves in the forbearance and moderation which they have cherished, and in the mutual respect and kindness which they have been so much inclined to feel and to reciprocate.

No men, fellow-citizens, ever served their country with more entire exemption from every imputation of selfish and mercenary motives, than those to whose memory we are paying these proofs of respect. A suspicion of any disposition to enrich themselves or to profit by their public employments, never rested on either. No sordid motive approached them. The inheritance which they have left to their children is of their character and their fame.

Fellow-citizens, I will detain you no longer by this faint and feeble tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. Even in other hands, adequate justice could not be done to them, within the limits of this occasion. Their highest, their best praise, is your deep conviction of their merits, your affectionate gratitude for their labors and their services. It is not my voice, it is this cessation of ordinary pursuits, this arresting of all attention, these solemn ceremonies, and this crowded house, which speak their eulogy. Their fame, indeed, is safe. That is now treasured up beyond the reach of accident. Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored. Marble columns may, indeed, moulder into dust, time may erase all impress from the crumbling stone, but their fame remains; for with AMERICAN LIBERTY it rose, and with AMERICAN LIBERTY ONLY can it perish. It was the last swelling peal of yonder choir, "THEIR BODIES ARE BURIED IN PEACE, BUT THEIR NAME LIVETH EVERMORE." I catch that solemn song, I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph, "THEIR NAME



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LIVETH EVERMORE."

Of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence there now remains only CHARLES CARROLL. He seems an aged oak, standing alone on the plain, which time has spared a little longer after all its contemporaries have been levelled with the dust. Venerable object! we delight to gather round its trunk, while yet it stands, and to dwell beneath its shadow. Sole survivor of an assembly of as great men as the world has witnessed, in a transaction one of the most important that history records, what thoughts, what interesting reflections, must fill his elevated and devout soul! If he dwell on the past, how touching its recollections; if he survey the present, how happy, how joyous, how full of the fruition of that hope which his ardent patriotism indulged; if he glance at the future, how does the prospect of his country's advancement almost bewilder his weakened conception! Fortunate, distinguished patriot! Interesting relic of the past! Let him know that, while we honor the dead, we do not forget the living; and that there is not a heart here which does not fervently pray that Heaven may keep him yet back from the society of his companions.

And now, fellow-citizens, let us not retire from this occasion without a deep and solemn conviction of the duties which have devolved upon us. This lovely land, this glorious liberty, these benign institutions, the dear purchase of our fathers, are ours; ours to enjoy, ours to preserve, ours to transmit. Generations past and generations to come hold us responsible for this sacred trust. Our fathers, from behind, admonish us, with their anxious paternal voices; posterity calls out to us, from the bosom of the future; the world turns hither its solicitous eyes; all, all conjure us to act wisely, and faithfully, in the relation which we sustain. We can never, indeed, pay the debt which is upon us; but by virtue, by morality, by religion, by the cultivation of every good principle and every good habit, we may hope to enjoy the blessing, through our day, and to leave it unimpaired to our children. Let us feel deeply how much of what we are and of what we possess we owe to this liberty, and to these institutions of government. Nature has, indeed, given us a soil which yields bounteously to the hand of industry, the mighty and fruitful ocean is before us, and the skies over our heads shed health and vigor. But what are lands, and seas, and skies, to civilized man, without society, without knowledge, without morals, without religious culture; and how can these be enjoyed, in all their extent and all their excellence, but under the protection of wise institutions and a free government? Fellow-citizens, there is not one of us, there is not one of us here present, who does not, at this moment, and at every moment, experience, in his own condition, and in the condition of those most near and dear to him, the influence and the benefits of this liberty and these institutions. Let us then acknowledge the blessing, let us feel it deeply and powerfully, let us cherish a strong affection for it, and resolve to maintain and perpetuate it. The blood of our fathers, let it not have been shed in vain; the great hope of posterity, let it not be blasted.

The striking attitude, too, in which we stand to the world around us, a topic to which, I fear, I advert too often, and dwell on too long, cannot be altogether omitted here. Neither individuals nor nations can perform their part well, until they understand and feel its importance, and comprehend and justly appreciate



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all the duties belonging to it. It is not to inflate national vanity, nor to swell a light and empty feeling of self-importance, but it is that we may judge justly of our situation, and of our own duties, that I earnestly urge upon you this consideration of our position and our character among the nations of the earth. It cannot be denied, but by those who would dispute against the sun, that with America, and in America, a new era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly awakened and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown and unheard of. America, America, our country, fellow-citizens, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests. If they fall, we fall with them; if they stand, it will be because we have maintained them. Let us contemplate, then, this connection, which binds the prosperity of others to our own; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness. Auspicious omens cheer us. Great examples are before us. Our own firmament now shines brightly upon our path. WASHINGTON is in the clear, upper sky. These other stars have now joined the American constellation; they circle round their centre, and the heavens beam with new light. Beneath this illumination let us walk the course of life, and at its close devoutly commend our beloved country, the common parent of us all, to the Divine Benignity.

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August 3, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote in his journal about having on the previous day been present at Faneuil Hall to hear [Daniel Webster](#)'s eulogy for the deceased [Thomas Jefferson](#) and John Adams:

Yesterday I attended the funeral solemnities in Faneuil Hall in honor of John Adams & Thomas Jefferson. The Oration of Mr Webster was worthy of his fame & what is much more was worthy of the august occasion.



[Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) traveled to Bad Reinerz in Lower Silesia accompanied by his sisters Emilia and Ludwika and his mother. They were there for treatment, especially for Emilia, who was showing symptoms of [tuberculosis](#) and was probably contagious. Fryderyk, although ill himself, possibly contracted the disease from her. They would remain there for five weeks.

The family of Samuel Ringgold Ward arrived in New-York, and lodged for the first night with their relatives, the parents of the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet:

We lived several years at Waldron's Landing, in the neighbourhood of the Reeves, Woods, Bacons, and Lippineutts, who were among my father's very best friends, and whose children were among my schoolfellows. However, in the spring and summer of 1826, so numerous and alarming were the depredations of kidnapping and slave-catching in the neighbourhood, that my parents, after keeping the house armed night after night, determined to remove to a place of greater distance and greater safety. Being accommodated with horses and a waggon by kind friends, they set out with my brother in their arms for New York City, where they arrived on the 3rd day of August, 1826, and lodged the first night with relations, the parents of the Rev. H.H. Garnett, now of Westmoreland, Jamaica. Here we found some 20,000 coloured people. The State had just emancipated all its slaves – viz., on the fourth day of the preceding month – and it was deemed safer to live in such a city than in a more open country place, such as we had just left. Subsequent events, such as the ease with which my two relatives were taken back in 1828 – the truckling of the mercantile and the political classes to the slave system – the large amount of slaveholding property



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owned by residents of New York – and, worst, basest, most diabolical of all, the cringing, canting, hypocritical friendship and subserviency of the religious classes to slavery – have entirely dissipated that idea.

I look upon Greenwich, New Jersey, the place of my earliest recollections, very much as most persons remember their native place. There I followed my dear father up and down his garden, with fond childish delight; the plants, shrubs, flowers, &c., I looked upon as of his creation. There he first taught me some valuable lessons – the use of the hoe, to spell in three syllables, and to read the first chapter of John's Gospel, and my figures; then, having exhausted his literary stock upon me, he sent me to school. There I first read the BIBLE to my beloved mother, and read in her countenance (what I then could not read in the book) what that BIBLE was to her. Were my native country free, I could part with any possession to become the owner of that, to me, most sacred spot of earth, my father's old garden. Had I clung to the use of the hoe, instead of aspiring to a love of books, I might by this time have been somebody, and the reader of this volume would not have been solicited by this means to consider the lot of the oppressed American Negro.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day – Our public Meeting was large & favoured Our frd Wm Almy was alone in service & was large acceptable & edifying – in the last the appointment of Hannah Almy from our Moy [Monthly] Meeting & Jos Metcalf & Lydia Smith from [Providence](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting to the Station of Elders was confirmed. – After Meeting & dined at B Freeborns, & went on to [Providence](#) in the Waggon with Nicholas Congdon to attend the [School Committee](#), & arrived at the School House about dark – found John well & spent the evening pleasantly with him & friends there & there lodged –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON**SALLY HEMINGS****1827**

➡ January: The brown children of [Sally Hemings](#), Eston and Madison, who had not like the very light Beverly and Harriet been able to steal themselves away into white anonymity, were [manumitted](#) in the will of [Thomas Jefferson](#).¹³¹ During this month Jefferson's estate went on the market at an asking price of \$70,000 for the mansion with its 5,682 acres.

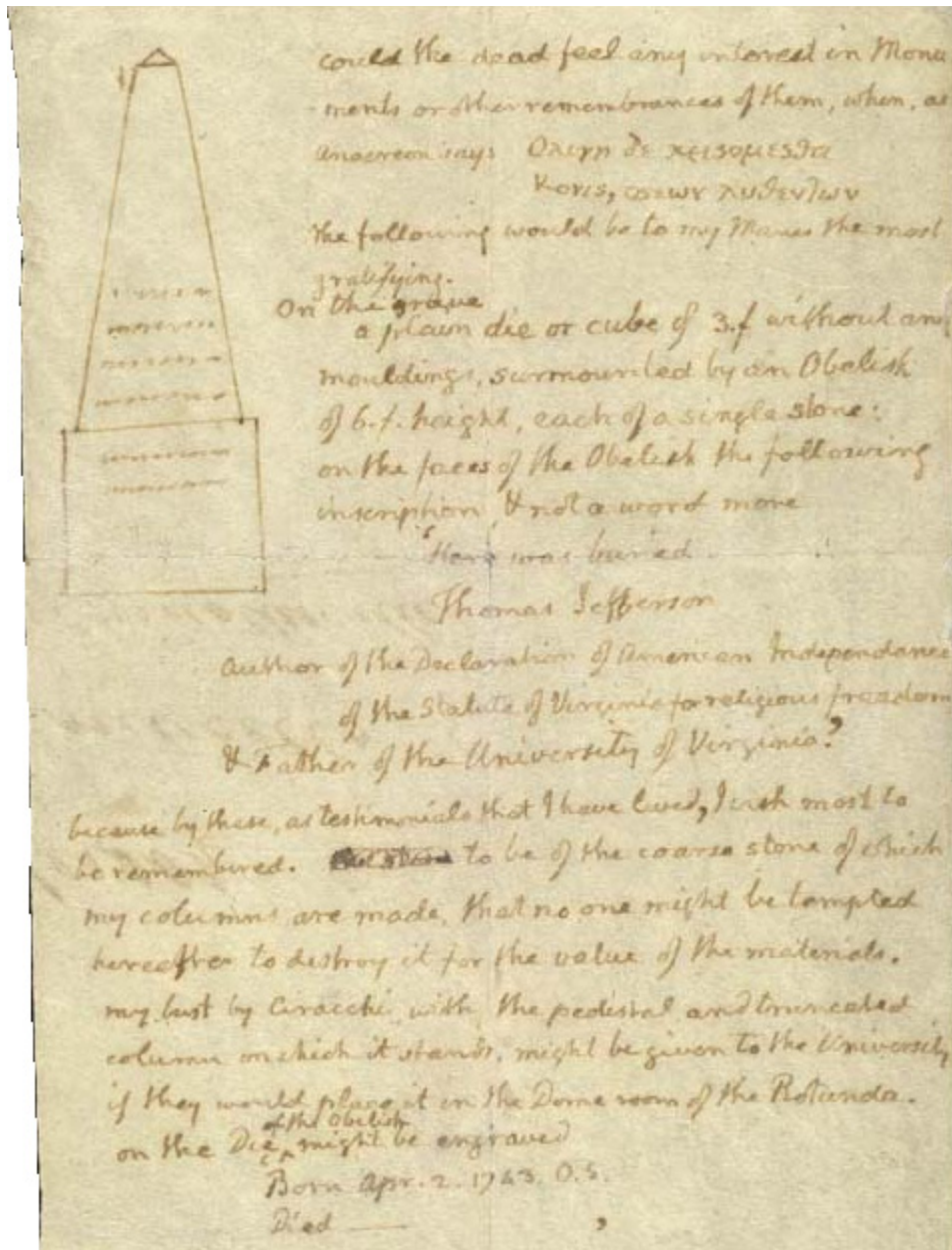


[Monticello](#)'s furnishings and slaves were auctioned, and in the years that followed various sightseers would visit the home, finding “souvenirs” of Jeffersoniana among any remaining items, including plants, architectural elements, and chips off his limestone gravestone.

131. Jefferson had lived so profligately that he could not afford to be similarly generous with those of his slaves who were not his relatives or personal progeny — even had he so desired.

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After his death a family member would discover the above sketch prepared by Jefferson, containing instructions for his tombstone. Jefferson had desired that his grave be marked by an obelisk inscribed with the three accomplishments for which he most wished to be remembered, “and not a word more.” This original limestone tombstone is now on Francis Quadrangle at the University of Missouri. It is about 3 feet high. No inscription which had been carved on it is any longer legible. A question of interest is, what was the inscription if any on this original tombstone? (The photographs which follow were taken by my niece Zakiyyah binte Wahab, who is currently a student at the University of Missouri. The bronze tablet she has photographed and photo-enhanced for me is obviously nothing more than a stone lie, since the blocks of material it points itself at are clearly not limestone at all and clearly have not been chipped away at by generations of souvenir-seeking Monticello tourists, and since the inscription this bronze plaque alleges to have copied from the original headstone is not that at all, but is instead a mere copy of what appears now on the belated grave marker at Monticello, which was based on Jefferson’s instructions discovered only after the fact and thus could not have been on that original limestone gravestone. You mustn’t believe every touristy attraction you see in a public place!) Another question of interest is, in precisely what year was the present tall celebratory “grave marker” installed at Monticello?

Eston and Madison would live for a time in the mixed-race community of Charlottesville, Virginia, until forced out of the state during its campaign to rid itself of free persons of color. They would emigrate to Ohio, and then Eston would move on from there to Wisconsin, where he would transform himself into the white man “E.H. Jefferson.” Some of his descendants, finding out belatedly about their family’s heritage, would take the opportunity of the 2000 census to declare themselves “black.” Recently, when asked why a middle-class woman who had lived all her life as a white would check “black” on the census, Julia Jefferson Westerinen has responded “Because I can.”

I want to show people I am not afraid to be black.

During this month Emerson jotted in his journal:

We generalize very fast. I very readily learned the Jew face.



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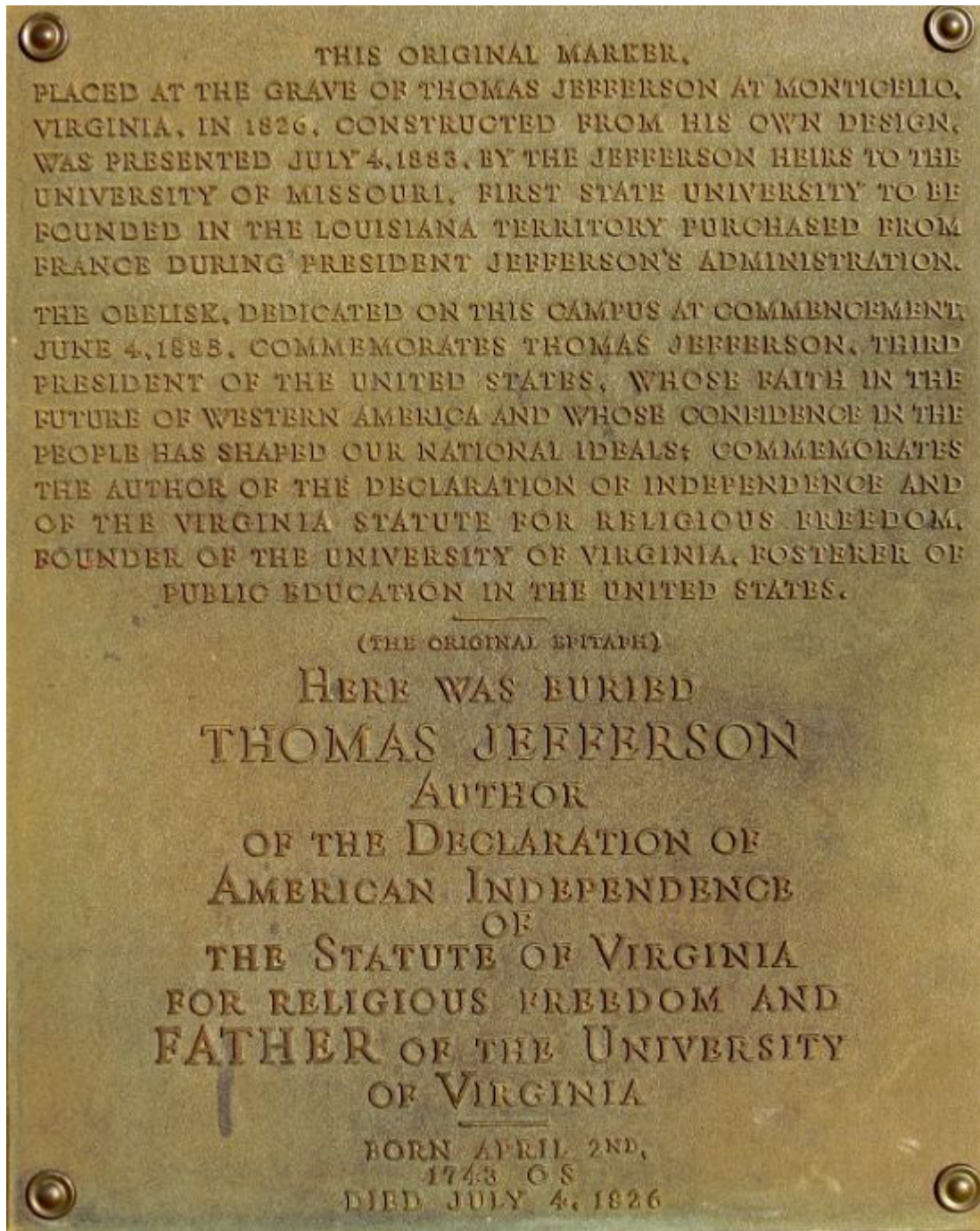
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SALLY HEMINGS

1829

→ [James Madison](#) was proposing a modest proposal before the Virginia Constitutional Convention, which consisted of slavemasters and race bigots, that the institution of human chattel bondage be abolished peacefully through reimbursement of all former slavemasters for property interest thus abandoned.¹³²

SLAVERY



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

Speaking of Virginia slavemasters in need of help: [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s 1821 autobiography,¹³³ containing his assertion of his authorship of the [Declaration of Independence](#), made its first public appearance during this year as part of his all-white grandson¹³⁴ Thomas Jefferson Randolph's THE MEMOIRS, CORRESPONDENCE AND PRIVATE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.



Meanwhile, the Methodist David Walker was speaking with frankness, in his APPEAL, of the last resort to which it might be necessary to descend in order to destroy the peculiar institution of human chattel bondage:

"[O]ne good black man can put to death six white men."

ABOLITIONISM

132. For some strange reason nobody was proposing a modest proposal that the institution of human chattel bondage be abolished peacefully through reimbursement of all former slaves for the personal abuses and loss of wage income which they had endured. Since this would have been a very real-world compensation and fairness issue, one wonders why no-one brought it up!

133. "Autobiography." Peterson, Merrill D., ed. THOMAS JEFFERSON: WRITINGS. NY, 1984

134. Yes indeed, Jefferson had some children who were 100% white.



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1830



The 5th national census.

The following table exhibits the appropriations for several objects at different periods in the town of Acton:¹³⁵

	1750	1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
Minister	£50	£52	£70	£3,562	£80	\$353	\$353	\$363	—
Schools	13	12	24	2,000	49	333	450	450	450
Roads	26	70	60	800	120	400	500	600	800
Incidental	20	12	80	10,000	100	500	1,000	1,400	600

The Population [of Acton] in 1764 was 611; in 1790, including Carlisle, 853; in 1800, 901; in 1810, 885; in 1820, 1047; and in 1830, 1128.¹³⁶

In the census at [Monticello](#), [Sally Hemings](#) was listed as white.

The New York [Times](#) once had an editorial about the [Thomas Jefferson](#)/Hemings controversy, which included the sentence “Jefferson is buried beneath an imposing monument in the family graveyard at Monticello, surrounded by the graves of his white descendants only.” I have been unable to ascertain in what year this “imposing monument” with its grand claims inscribed upon it was placed atop the gravesite. It is **not** the original grave marker, which over the years was chipped away by visitors for use as souvenirs, and is now located at the University of Missouri. I have also been unable to ascertain, **what if anything** had been inscribed upon that original grave marker.

There is a Hemings family tradition that Jefferson’s “Dashing Sally” used to regularly walk out from Charlottesville to the plantation, several miles, in order to tend the gravesite. It appears, from investigation into property records conducted by Dennis Cauchon, that she is buried not in a beautifully appointed cemetery such as this one, but beneath a newly constructed hotel or its adjacent parking lot in downtown Charlottesville.

When the Virginia Constitution was revised, [Jefferson](#)’s 1786 prohibition against religious tests was incorporated into it, but incorporated into it as well was the exclusion of clergymen from public office. The argument that had proven persuasive was that these representatives of the higher realm needed to be protected from becoming corrupted by “the rough and tumble” of lay politics.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

From the point at which the Philadelphia Library had been founded by [Benjamin Franklin](#) in 1731 up to this point, the writings of atheists had been barred. In this year, however, it began to be possible to loan out copies of books authored by persons known to have been irreligious — such as books by President [Jefferson](#).

135. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

136. Ibid.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



Winter: During this winter season, down in the Virginia plantation-land, the mansion at [Monticello](#) was standing empty when a visitor arrived. Where was the free all-but-white woman [Sally Hemings](#)? –Gone, gone somewhere, somewhere else. After finally locating “a great coarse Irish woman” sitting by a fire, and paying her \$0.⁵⁰, the visitor was able to obtain a tour and was able to see everything — well, everything, with the exception of intimate details such as Mr. and Mrs. [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s famous former matched bedroom suites connected by double bed set into an opening in the wall between the suites.

1831

➡ The apothecary James Turner Barclay of Charlottesville, Virginia purchased the mansion at [Monticello](#) and 218 of its surrounding acres for \$7,000 (versus the asking price of the entire 5,682-acre estate, which had been \$70,000). Barclay's intent was to turn the place into a [mulberry](#) farm for [silk](#) production, and one of the things he did was dump [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s bust of [Marie Arouet de Voltaire](#) in a field (Voltaire having been an Antichrist). During this period the somewhat smaller tombstone at Jefferson's grave was being chipped away by visitors until eventually the stone was considerably disfigured stone, and would need to be stored temporarily at the home of Thomas Jefferson Randolph, and then replaced in the family graveyard at Monticello by the larger grave marker behind the tall iron fence, bearing a new copy of the famous self-promoting false inscription.¹³⁷



HERE WAS BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON

AUTHOR OF THE
DECLARATION
OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
OF THE
STATUTE OF VIRGINIA
FOR
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
AND FATHER OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

137. After his death, a family member had found a sketch prepared by Jefferson, containing instructions for his tombstone. Jefferson had desired that his grave be marked by an obelisk inscribed with the 3 accomplishments for which he most wished to be remembered, "and not a word more." The original tombstone is now on Francis Quadrangle at the University of Missouri.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

—

**BECAUSE OF THESE, AS TESTIMONIALS THAT I HAVE LIVED, I WISH MOST TO BE
REMEMBERED**

—

BORN APRIL 3, 1743 O. S.

DIED JULY 4, 1826

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON**SALLY HEMINGS****1832**

The rich American naval lieutenant [Uriah Phillips Levy](#) gave a commission to a fashionable French sculptor,



Pierre-Jean David D'Anger, for a 7' 6" erection in the memory of [Thomas Jefferson](#) (in life, Jefferson had stood every bit as tall as our William Jefferson Clinton, at 6' 2½"). The statuary was to hold a quill pen in its right hand and the [Declaration of Independence](#) in its left, and stand before the White House as the epitome of everything a Founding Father needed to be. So that the Paris sculptor could model this deceased subject without a sitter, Levy borrowed an 1821 Thomas Sully portrait of Jefferson from the *Marquis de Lafayette*.





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Table of Altitudes

☰	Yoda	2 ' 0 "
	Lavinia Warren	2 ' 8 "
	Tom Thumb, Jr.	3 ' 4 "
	Lucy (Australopithecus Afarensis)	3 ' 8 "
	Hervé Villechaize ("Fantasy Island")	3 ' 11"
	Charles Proteus Steinmetz	4 ' 0 "
	Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (1)	4 ' 3 "
	Alexander Pope	4 ' 6 "
	Benjamin Lay	4 ' 7 "
	Dr. Ruth Westheimer	4 ' 7 "
☰	Gary Coleman ("Arnold Jackson")	4 ' 8 "
	Edith Piaf	4 ' 8 "
	Queen Victoria with osteoporosis	4 ' 8 "
	Linda Hunt	4 ' 9 "
	Queen Victoria as adult	4 ' 10 "
	Mother Teresa	4 ' 10 "
	Margaret Mitchell	4 ' 10 "
	length of newer military musket	4 ' 10"
	Charlotte Brontë	4 ' 10-11"
	Tammy Faye Bakker	4 ' 11"
	Soviet gymnast Olga Korbut	4 ' 11"
	jockey Willie Shoemaker	4 ' 11"
	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	4 ' 11"
	Joan of Arc	4 ' 11"
	Bonnie Parker of "Bonnie & Clyde"	4 ' 11"
	Harriet Beecher Stowe	4 ' 11"
	Laura Ingalls Wilder	4 ' 11"
☰	a rather tall adult Pygmy male	4 ' 11"
	Gloria Swanson	4 ' 11"1/2
	Clara Barton	5 ' 0 "
	Isambard Kingdom Brunel	5 ' 0 "
	Andrew Carnegie	5 ' 0 "
	Thomas de Quincey	5 ' 0 "
	Stephen A. Douglas	5 ' 0 "
	Danny DeVito	5 ' 0 "
	Immanuel Kant	5 ' 0 "
	William Wilberforce	5 ' 0 "
	Dollie Parton	5 ' 0 "
	Mae West	5 ' 0 "
	Pia Zadora	5 ' 0 "
	Deng Xiaoping	5 ' 0 "



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Dred Scott	5' 0" (±)
Captain William Bligh of HMS <i>Bounty</i>	5' 0" (±)
Harriet Tubman	5' 0" (±)
Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (2)	5' 0" (±)
John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island	5' 0" (+)
John Keats	5' 3/4"
Debbie Reynolds (Carrie Fisher's mother)	5' 1"
Princess Leia (Carrie Fisher)	5' 1"
Bette Midler	5' 1"
Dudley Moore	5' 2"
Paul Simon (of Simon & Garfunkel)	5' 2"
Honoré de Balzac	5' 2"
Sally Field	5' 2"
Jemmy Button	5' 2"
Margaret Mead	5' 2"
R. Buckminster "Bucky" Fuller	5' 2"
Yuri Gagarin the astronaut	5' 2"
William Walker	5' 2"
Horatio Alger, Jr.	5' 2"
length of older military musket	5' 2"
the artist formerly known as Prince	5' 2 1/2"
typical female of Thoreau's period	5' 2 1/2"
Francis of Assisi	5' 3"
Voltaire	5' 3"
Mohandas Gandhi	5' 3"
Kahlil Gibran	5' 3"
Friend Daniel Ricketson	5' 3"
The Reverend Gilbert White	5' 3"
Nikita Khrushchev	5' 3"
Sammy Davis, Jr.	5' 3"
Truman Capote	5' 3"
Kim Jong Il (North Korea)	5' 3"
Stephen A. "Little Giant" Douglas	5' 4"
Francisco Franco	5' 4"
President James Madison	5' 4"
Iosif Vissarionovich Dzugashvili "Stalin"	5' 4"
Alan Ladd	5' 4"
Pablo Picasso	5' 4"
Truman Capote	5' 4"
Queen Elizabeth	5' 4"
Ludwig van Beethoven	5' 4"
Typical Homo Erectus	5' 4"





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

typical Neanderthal adult male	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
Alan Ladd	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
comte de Buffon	5' 5" (-)
Captain Nathaniel Gordon	5' 5"
Charles Manson	5' 5"
Audie Murphy	5' 5"
Harry Houdini	5' 5"
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan 洪秀全	5' 5"
Marilyn Monroe	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
T.E. Lawrence "of Arabia"	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
average runaway male American slave	5' 5-6"
Charles Dickens	5' 6? "
President Benjamin Harrison	5' 6"
President Martin Van Buren	5' 6"
James Smithson	5' 6"
Louisa May Alcott	5' 6"
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Napoleon Bonaparte	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Emily Brontë	5' 6-7"
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	5' ? "
average height, seaman of 1812	5' 6.85"
Oliver Reed Smoot, Jr.	5' 7"
minimum height, British soldier	5' 7"
President John Adams	5' 7"
President John Quincy Adams	5' 7"
President William McKinley	5' 7"
"Charley" Parkhurst (a female)	5' 7"
Ulysses S. Grant	5' 7"
Henry Thoreau	5' 7"
the average male of Thoreau's period	5' 7 ¹ / ₂ "
Edgar Allan Poe	5' 8"
President Ulysses S. Grant	5' 8"
President William H. Harrison	5' 8"
President James Polk	5' 8"
President Zachary Taylor	5' 8"
average height, soldier of 1812	5' 8.35"
President Rutherford B. Hayes	5' 8 ¹ / ₂ "
President Millard Fillmore	5' 9"
President Harry S Truman	5' 9"
President Jimmy Carter	5' 9 ¹ / ₂ "
Herman Melville	5' 9 ³ / ₄ "
Calvin Coolidge	5' 10"





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

Andrew Johnson	5 ' 10"
Theodore Roosevelt	5 ' 10"
Thomas Paine	5 ' 10"
Franklin Pierce	5 ' 10"
Abby May Alcott	5 ' 10"
Reverend Henry C. Wright	5 ' 10"
Nathaniel Hawthorne	5 ' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Louis "Deerfoot" Bennett	5 ' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Friend John Greenleaf Whittier	5 ' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower	5 ' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	5 ' 11"
Sojourner Truth	5 ' 11"
President Stephen Grover Cleveland	5 ' 11"
President Herbert Hoover	5 ' 11"
President Woodrow Wilson	5 ' 11"
President Jefferson Davis	5 ' 11"
President Richard Milhous Nixon	5 ' 11 ¹ / ₂ "
Robert Voorhis the hermit of Rhode Island	< 6 '
Frederick Douglass	6 ' (-)
Anthony Burns	6 ' 0 "
Waldo Emerson	6 ' 0 "
Joseph Smith, Jr.	6 ' 0 "
David Walker	6 ' 0 "
Sarah F. Wakefield	6 ' 0 "
Thomas Wentworth Higginson	6 ' 0 "
President James Buchanan	6 ' 0 "
President Gerald R. Ford	6 ' 0 "
President James Garfield	6 ' 0 "
President Warren Harding	6 ' 0 "
President John F. Kennedy	6 ' 0 "
President James Monroe	6 ' 0 "
President William H. Taft	6 ' 0 "
President John Tyler	6 ' 0 "
Captain John Brown	6 ' 0 (+)"
President Andrew Jackson	6 ' 1"
Alfred Russel Wallace	6 ' 1"
President Ronald Reagan	6 ' 1"
Venture Smith	6 ' 1 ¹ / ₂ "
John Camel Heenan	6 ' 2 "
Crispus Attucks	6 ' 2 "
President Chester A. Arthur	6 ' 2 "
President George Bush, Senior	6 ' 2 "



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

President Franklin D. Roosevelt	6' 2 "
President George Washington	6' 2 "
Gabriel Prosser	6' 2 "
Dangerfield Newby	6' 2 "
Charles Augustus Lindbergh	6' 2 "
President Bill Clinton	6' 2 1/2"
President Thomas Jefferson	6' 2 1/2"
President Lyndon B. Johnson	6' 3 "
Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.	6' 3 "
Richard "King Dick" Seaver	6' 3 1/4"
President Abraham Lincoln	6' 4 "
Marion Morrison (AKA John Wayne)	6' 4 "
Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior	6' 4 "
Thomas Cholmondeley	6' 4 " (?)
William Buckley	6' 4-7"
Franklin Benjamin Sanborn	6' 5 "
Peter the Great of Russia	6' 7 "
William "Dwarf Billy" Burley	6' 7 "
Giovanni Battista Belzoni	6' 7 "
Thomas Jefferson (the statue)	7' 6"
Jefferson Davis (the statue)	7' 7"
Martin Van Buren Bates	7' 11 1/2"
M. Bihin, a Belgian exhibited in Boston in 1840	8'
Anna Haining Swan	8' 1"



January 25, Wednesday: First use of the majoritarian democratic term "To the Victors belong the spoils" — in a speech by US Senator William Learned Marcy of [New York](#).

An act to abolish human [slavery](#), introduced into the Virginia legislature by an all-white grandson of [Thomas Jefferson](#), was defeated by only seven votes.¹³⁸ This was the final defeat for all attempts to terminate the institution of slavery by legal means. Thomas Roderick Dew's REVIEW OF THE DEBATE IN THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE OF 1831-1832 contained an accounting of the considerations taken subsequent to the [Nat Turner](#) revolt, for the elimination of the institution of slavery. In the wake of the insurrection, Georgetown rigidified its black code, threatening to punish with exceptional severity any person of color found in possession of abolitionist literature. On the plantation, via the grapevine, Fred Bailey must have heard a whole lot about the Turner revolt, and at this point he had just figured out what the highly charged term "abolitionist" meant — a term that he had been too cautious to ask about, of anyone who might know.

ABOLITIONISM

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 25 of 1st M / Attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in Town the weather & traveling was such that it was a small

138. What, you didn't know that [Jefferson](#) had some all-white progeny?

HDT

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PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

gathering - it however was a season of favour & Wm Almy & Hannah Robinson were engaged in acceptable testimonies. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 25, Saturday: [The Liberator](#).

A newspaper published an image of somebody standing atop the wobbly stack of layers of shale on which [Thomas Jefferson](#) had stood in 1783 to inspect the scenery of [Harpers Ferry](#):





PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1833



The all-black Phoenix Society of [New-York](#) instituted a library and a job bank.

Construction of fortifications was begun on Throgg's Neck overlooking Paumanok Long Island Sound.

Gideon Lee was elected mayor of [New-York](#).

Irish actor Tyrone Power (a great-grandfather of our film actor) made his [New-York](#) debut.

The *Ann McKim*, the initial "clipper ship," intended to carry emigrants from [New-York](#) to San Francisco, slid down the ways in Baltimore.

The price of a seat on the [New-York](#) Stock Exchange increased from \$100 to \$150.

[Thomas Jefferson](#) had left very detailed instructions for a 3-part tombstone. This was to consist of a granite obelisk atop a granite cube (he specified that the granite be of lower quality so that no-one in a later generation would be tempted to recycle his memorial into the tombstone of another), with an inscribed marble plaque. He left very specific instructions for his inscription.¹³⁹ After the tombstone was set in place during this year, souvenir seekers would flock to Monticello to chip chunks from the edges of the granite. Due to this rude treatment the inscribed marble plaque would soon loosen.

Through investments made in the real estate market in [New-York](#), [Uriah Phillips Levy](#) had become wealthy. A great admirer of [Thomas Jefferson](#), he had donated a bronze statue of the president to the US Congress, which had been cast from a plaster master. He had this plaster statue patinated, and installed it in a building on Broadway Avenue where he charged admission to view it (with the proceeds used to buy bread distributed among the city's poor). Then he donated this patinated plaster statue to the New-York City Hall and received in return the Key to the City.

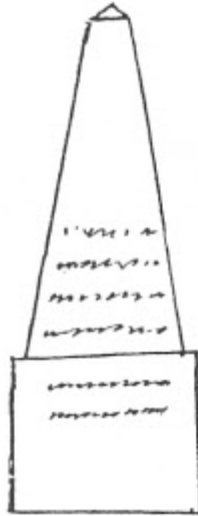
I consider Thomas Jefferson to be one of the greatest men in history, the author of the Declaration and an absolute democrat. He serves as an inspiration to millions of Americans. He did much to mould our Republic in a form in which a man's religion does not make him ineligible for political or governmental life.¹⁴⁰

139. "could the dead feel any interest in Monuments or other remembrances of them, when, as Anacreon says: / [TRANSLATED] My soul to festive feelings true; / One pang of envy never knew; / And little has it learn'd to dread / The gall that Envy's tongue can shed. / the following would be to my Manes the most gratifying. / On the grave, a plain die or cube of 3.f without any mouldings, surmounted by an Obelisk of 6.f height, each of a single stone. / On the faces of the Obelisk the following inscription, & not a word more / Here was buried / Thomas Jefferson / Author of the Declaration of American Independance / of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom / & Father of the University of Virginia. / because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to be remembered. to be of the coarse stone of which my columns are made, that no one might be tempted hereafter to destroy it for the value of the materials. my bust by Ciracchi, with the pedestal and truncated column on which it stands, might be given to the University if they would place it in the dome room of the Rotunda. on the Die of the Obelisk might be engraved / Born Apr. 2. 1743. O.S. / Died _____"

140. Fortunately this Jewish admirer of Jefferson never became aware of the animus the president had repeatedly expressed in regard to Jews and Judaism.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS



could the dead feel any interest in Monu-
-ments or other remembrances of them, when, as
Anacreon says ΟΛΥΠ ΔΕ ΧΕΙΣΟΜΕΘΑ
ΚΟΙΤΙΣ, ΟΣΕΩΥ ΧΥΘΕΥΤΩΥ

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Thomas Jefferson

Author of the Declaration of American Independance
of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom
& Father of the University of Virginia?

because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to
be remembered. ~~But stone~~ to be of the coarse stone of which
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hereafter to destroy it for the value of the materials.

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Died —

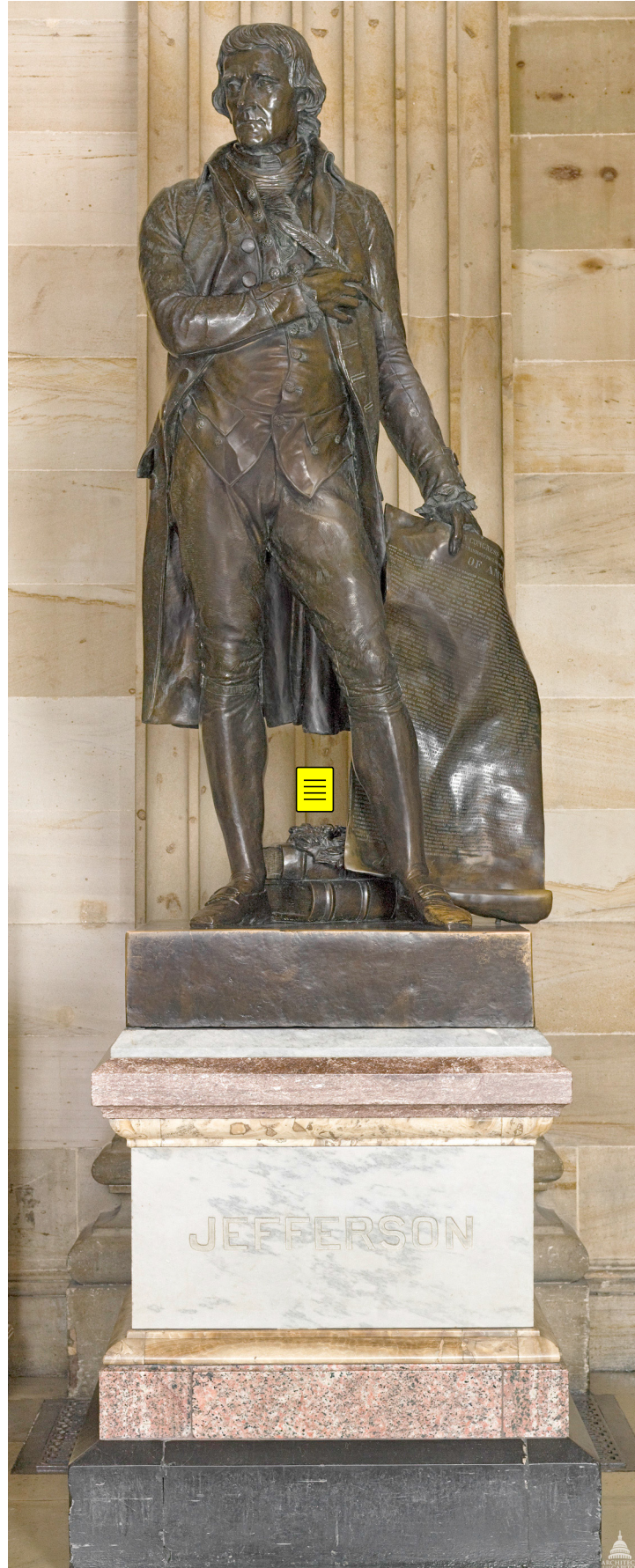
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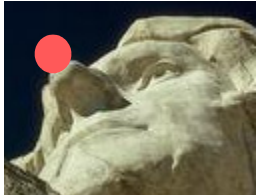


PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

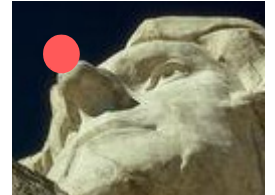
SALLY HEMINGS

1836

 In Virginia, [Sally Hemings](#), mother of most of [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s children, died in the guise of a free white woman (hey, the lady'd paid her dues, she was entitled to the union card) while the [Monticello](#) plantation house in which she had been a house slave was being processed through the real estate market.



"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."



- [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



THOMAS JEFFERSON

 May 20, Friday: [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s [Monticello](#) went back onto the Virginia real estate market, on a plot of 218 acres. This time the mansion would be purchased for \$2,700 by Lieutenant [Uriah Phillips Levy](#) of the US Navy, a bachelor from Philadelphia (Levy would proceed to accumulate more surrounding acreage and would transform the estate into his family's vacation home).

At this point [Halley's Comet](#), which had been invisible to the naked eye since late March, was fading out — even for Sir John Herschel still watching it faithfully through his [telescope](#) in South Africa.

SKY EVENT

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1837



In 1834 the US Senate had censured President Andrew Jackson.



ANDREW JACKSON

In this year, with Jacksonian Democrats having come into control of the Senate, black lines were drawn around the record of that censure and, superimposed over it, the inscription “Expunged by order of the Senate” was written. Jackson retired to his “Hermitage” plantation upon the beginning of the presidency of Martin Van Buren.



HERMITS

During President Van Buren’s tenure the shower stalls in the East Wing of the [White House](#) were improved and several copper bathtubs were added to the two that had been brought there under President Jackson. Portable tin tubs had long been used for bathing in the bedrooms and dressing rooms upstairs, with servants bringing the water in buckets up the little service stair from water heaters in the kitchen. There would not be running water upstairs for many years to come. The bathing room below was spruced up with compartments and wardrobes in the interest of privacy and convenience and was probably used only by the President and other men of the family, with the women continuing to rely on tin tubs in their bedrooms.

During President Van Buren’s tenure at the [White House](#), also, the Sultan of Oman would send him a pair of tiger cubs. Rather than allow these animals to roam the executive mansion and its grounds, and mature, the Congress would require the President to pack them off to the [Washington DC](#) zoo.

At the age of 24, Benjamin Day sold his [The Sun](#) newspaper to his brother-in-law, Moses Beach, and retired



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

on his profits.

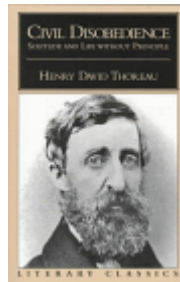
The Jacksonian journal [United States Magazine and Democratic Review](#) published out of [New-York](#) by J.& H.G. Langley would begin publication with its October 1837 issue and would continue until its October 1859 issue. Its financing began with campaign funds the Democratic party made available during the 1836 presidential campaign in which their candidate was Van Buren — although after he came into the White House, Van Buren threw his party's patronage instead to the Washington [Globe](#). Cornell University Library has the entire series of 43 volumes, with the exception of Volume 39. All the issues except those in that missing Volume 39 have been disbound and OCR-scanned and Volumes 1-3 have been made available for on-line viewing at:

<http://moa.cit.cornell.edu/MOA/MOA-JOURNALS2/USDE.html>

This new magazine would carry on its masthead the motto

"The Best Government Is That Which Governs Least."

This appeared in an article titled "Introduction: The Democratic Principle — The Importance of Its Assertion and Application" which appeared on page 6 in the initial issue: "The best government is that which governs least. No human depositories can, with safety, be trusted with the power of legislation upon the general interests of society so as to operate directly or indirectly on the industry and property of the community." Although the article was unsigned, the editor—John Louis O'Sullivan—almost certainly was the author that Thoreau would adapt. Sullivan had derived this, of course, from President [Thomas Jefferson](#), who had opinioned that "That government is best which governs the least, because its people discipline themselves." The publication would, however, support the administration of Democratic president Polk, and it would support imperialism, and it would support war upon Mexico. Hence the 1st sentence of [Henry Thoreau](#)'s essay on civil disobedience can only be characterized as ironic, and cannot be said to have derived directly from anything that President Jefferson had said or thought.¹⁴¹



Interestingly, when in Chapter 37 of *THE AGE OF JACKSON*, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. would attempt to render this political mag's motto, he would produce it as "That government is best which governs least" — which instead of being the historical masthead was instead Thoreau's more famous adaptation.

141. Lee A. Pederson, "Thoreau's Source of the Motto in 'Civil Disobedience,'" [Thoreau Society Bulletin](#) 67



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1838

 Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Wednesday: This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 34th birthday.

The Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#)'s AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BANGOR: ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1838. THE SIXTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Published at the request of the city government; Bangor: Samuel S. Smith, printer).

TO THE CITIZENS OF BANGOR

The orator Edward Wells made the very 1st of the phrase "Stars and Stripes," in description of the flag of the United States of America, in a "Nation's Birthday" address he was delivering in that great locale of our freedoms, Sing Sing, New York.

Shall those stripes and stars, which now wave triumphantly in every breeze, and which are honored in every land as the representative of a free people, ever be trampled beneath the feet of a foreign foe, or torn by the violence of civil strife?

The balloon of the intrepid master Boston goldbeater and aeronaut Louis Lauriat graced the skies above historic Salem, Massachusetts, and a good time was had by all. However, as usual, because of the promise to liberate the slaves of the British West Indies beginning August 1st of this year, black American communities and those concerned for them continued to pointedly ignore the national birthday in favor of that August eventuality.

In [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*), [Rhode Island](#), a procession included 29 veterans of the revolution.

The White House was closed to the public because "the President has lately lost, by death, a near relative."

In Charlottesville, Virginia, the [Declaration of Independence](#) was read from an "original draft, in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

At Fort Madison, Iowa, headman Black Hawk delivered a 4th-of-July address.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

At the US House of Representatives, Representative [John Quincy Adams](#) of Massachusetts continued his speech on the expansive topic of [Texas](#) for a 20th day.

 [Sidney Rigdon](#) preached another sermon to the [Mormons](#) of a similar nature to his "[Salt Sermon](#)," stating "And that mob that comes on us to disturb us; it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us."

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4th of 7th M 1838 / This has been a day of much stir in Town as it always is - My mind & feelings however has been preserved in the quiet -

[HDT](#)

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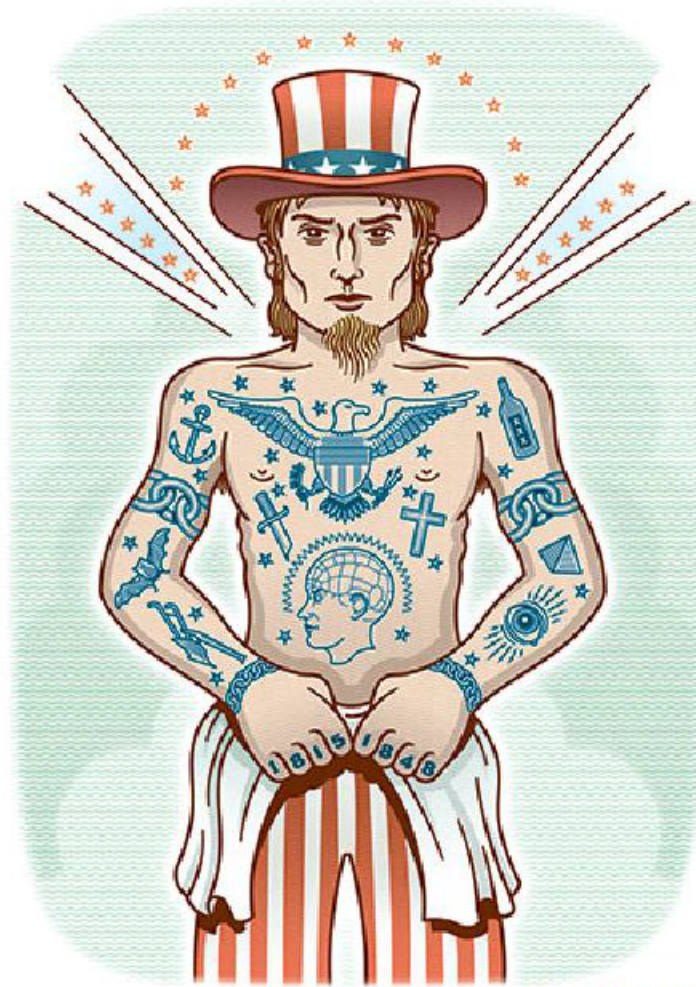
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PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

The New York Times

October 26, 2008



Peter and Maria Hoey



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

This morning our Friend Joseph Bowne came to town from Portsmouth where he had an appointed a Meeting yesterday – finding it not a Suitable day to appoint a Meeting here he concluded to spent the day at D Buffums in resting & writing home to his friends – to be at our Meeting tomorrow & the appointment has been forwarded accordingly. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1839



September 21, Saturday: [The Liberator](#) carried a notice of the recent sale of a slave at auction in New Orleans, not a recent import in the [international slave trade](#) out of Africa but a native speaker of the English language –a light-skinned woman obviously born and reared in America– who had been believed by the bidders at this auction to be a natural daughter of President [Thomas Jefferson](#). The item had been communicated to the journal by an abolitionist from Sodus, New York, and it was given the headline:

Sale of a Daughter of Thomas Jefferson

(The market for [enslaved](#) women with light skins was of course known to be highly influenced by their desirability as sex objects — and the idea that the buyer would be able to tie down and fuck a relative of a famous founding-father United States president would of course have done nothing to detract from his hot fantasies. The lady in question was said to have fetched only \$1,000, which would have been the equivalent of only about three years gross earnings of a skilled laborer –order of magnitude about \$100,000 in today’s money– so she must have been elderly or ill or not at all appealing. –None of this, of course, would have been lost on the readers of this abolitionist journal, although of course nobody had any way to be sure **beyond controversy** that this woman actually was as advertised, any more than today despite our ability to do DNA tests we have any way to establish **beyond controversy** and to the satisfaction of the invested Jefferson scholars that Jefferson did have sex with his slaves and did thereby engender some of the light-skinned Monticello slave children who were sold at auction.)

John Conolly did away with the use of restraints for the mentally ill at the Hanwell County Asylum of Middlesex, England. While humanitarian reforms in mental treatment were well under way by this time, eliminating mechanical restraints of all kinds was a radical and controversial move and would make this psychiatrist a prominent figure. His THE TREATMENT OF THE INSANE WITHOUT MECHANICAL RESTRAINTS would, in 1856, further advance the non-restraint movement.¹⁴²

[PSYCHOLOGY](#)

142. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1842

Harriet A. Jacobs escaped from [slavery](#) and arrived in New-York, where she was promptly victimized by a white man who helped her. –So much for white knights rescuing damsels in distress.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1851

In this year in Boston, Dr. William P. Channing and Moses Gerrish were installing the first electric fire alarm. Such an alarm wouldn't have helped, at Public School #26 in Greenwich Village on Manhattan Island, as there wasn't a fire there but instead a fire panic. The problem was that the exit doors opened inward. The panicked children piled up inside these doors, and 40 suffocated.
(This is why, now, all exit doors must open out.)



At the [Library of Congress](#), in this year, a fire destroyed thousands of volumes including 2/3ds of the books the Congress had purchased from needy ex-president [Thomas Jefferson](#) in 1814. The Congress would have to appropriate \$100,000 for the purchase of new books and the creation of a fireproof room at the Library. Too bad about that Library of Congress in [Washington DC](#), huh?

–It should have been in Boston, under the care of our Dr. Channing!



1852



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: To avoid having a bunch of public [drunkenness](#) and carousal on the Lord's Day, Marblehead, Massachusetts had already celebrated its 4th as of the 3rd.

In Rochester, New York, [Frederick Douglass](#) laid it on the line. Listen up, you people: "To me the American [slave-trade](#) is a terrible reality. When a child, my soul was often pierced with a sense of its horrors. I lived on Philpot St., Fells Point, Baltimore, and have watched from the wharves the slave-ships in the basin, ... with their cargoes of human flesh, ... There was at that time a grand slave-mart kept at the head of Pratt street, by Austin Woolfolk. His agents were sent into every town and county in [Maryland](#) announcing their arrival through the papers, and on flaming 'handbills,' header, Cash for Negroes. These men were generally well dressed, and very captivating in their manners, ever ready to drink, to treat, and to gamble. The fate of many a slave has depended upon the turn of a single card; and many a child has been snatched from the arms of its mother, by bargains arranged in a state of brutal [drunkenness](#)." ... "What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes that would disgrace a nation of savages."¹⁴³

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

143. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 48th birthday.



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Fifteen of Douglass's relatives had been sold south. To illustrate Douglass's childhood memories of Austin Woolfolk's activities in Baltimore, Maryland, here is one of Woolfolk's actual ship manifests, depicting him in the process of shipping south for sale a coffer of 26 black Americans in 1821:

MANIFEST of Negros, Mulattos, and persons of Color, taken on board the Schooner *Gustavus of Duxbury, Mass.* whereof *Solomon Bassett* is Master, burthen *78¹⁵/₁₅* tons, to be transported to the Port of *Savannah, Geo.* in the District of *Savannah* — for the purpose of being sold or disposed of as Slaves, or to be held to service or Labour.

NUMBER OF ENTRY.	NAME.	SEX.		AGE.	HEIGHT.		Whether Negro, Mulatto, or person of Color.	Owner or Shipper's Name and Residence.
		MALE.	FEMALE.		FEET.	INCHES.		
1	Stephen	Man		21	5	5 3/4	dark complexion	Austin Woolfolk sent of Augusta, Georgia owner, shipper & consignee
2	Samuel	"		31	5	6	black	
3	Frederick	"		25	5	8	do.	
4	Sam	"		22	5	11 1/4	black	
5	Sam	"		20	5	00	black	
6	Sam	"		30	5	8	do.	
7	Robert	"		30	5	5 1/4	dark	
8	Isaac	Woman		20	5	2 1/2	do.	
9	Isaac	do.		18	5	3	black	
10	Delilah	do.		20	5	3	yellow	
11	Sammy	do.		19	5	2	do.	
12	Ann	do.		20	5	2	dark	
13	Eliza	do.		18	5	1 1/4	black	
14	Sarah	do.		36	5	0 1/2	dark	
15	Maria	do.		20	5	4 1/4	do.	
16	Teacher	do.		19	5	5 1/4	black	
17	Maria	girl		13	4	10 1/2	do.	
18	Ellen	do.		9	4	1 1/2	dark	
19	Emmetine	do.		16	3	4 1/2	black	
20	Martha	do.		9	4	1 1/2	do.	
21	Louisa	do.		14	3	1 1/4	dark	
22	Charles	child		2	2	7 1/2	yellow	
23	Moranda	child		2	2	7 1/2	dark	
24	John	infant		12 Mo.	2	5 1/4	yellow	
25	Polly	Woman		30	5	2 1/4	do.	
26	John	infant		2 months			do.	

District of Baltimore, Port of Baltimore, the day of October 1821
 We, Austin Woolfolk sent owner and shipper of the persons named and particularly described in the above Manifest, and Solomon Bassett Master of the Schooner *Gustavus* do solemnly, sincerely, and truly swear, each of us to the best of our knowledge and belief, that the above described Slaves have not been imported into the United States since the first day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight; and that under the Laws of the State of Maryland, they are held to Service or Labour, as Slaves and are not entitled to freedom under these Laws, at a certain time, and after a known period of service. — So Helping God.

Sworn to this 6 day of October 1821 before

COLLECTOR.

Austin Woolfolk
 Taken on Board



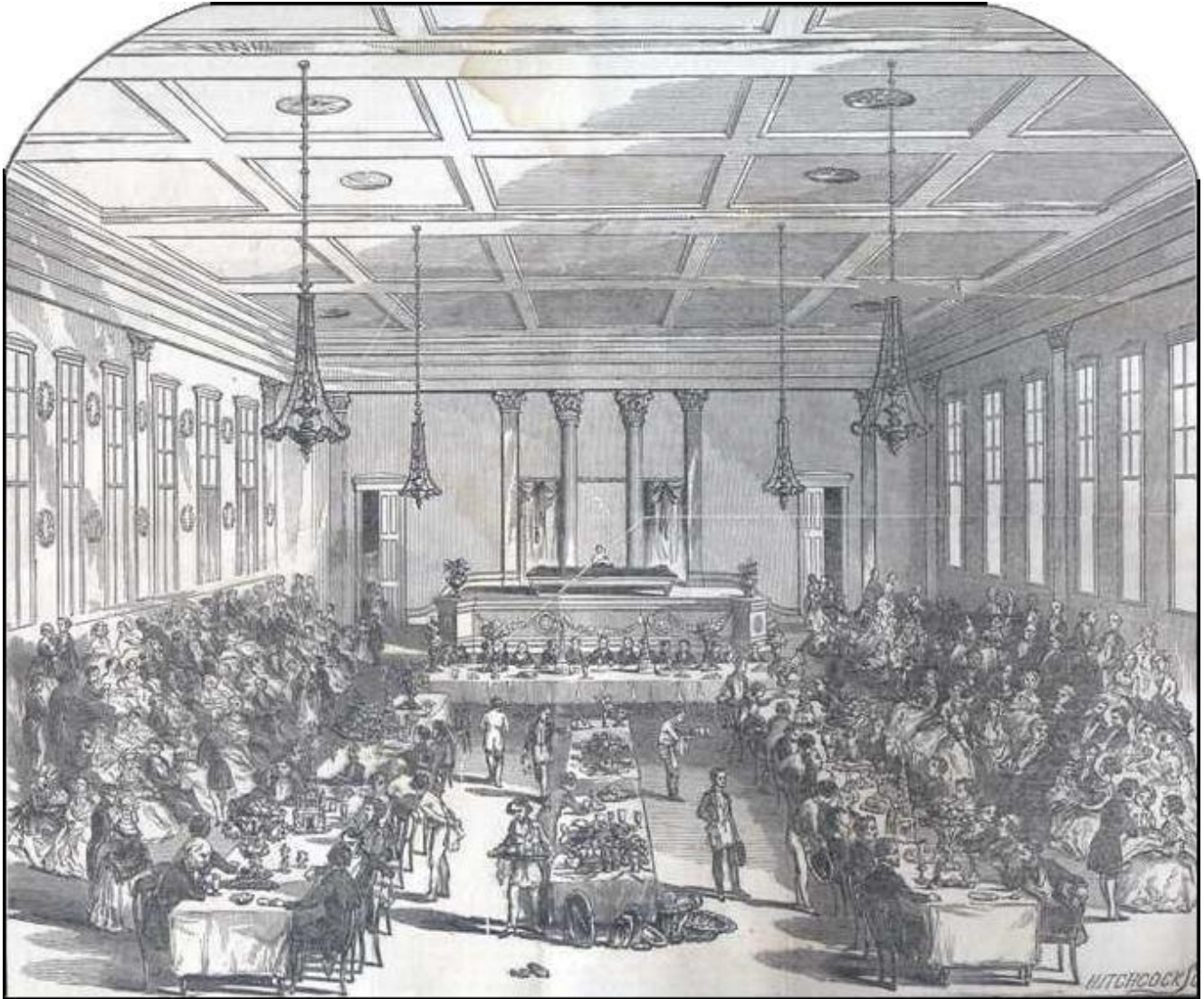
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July 5, Monday: [Frederick Douglass](#) delivered an address at Corinthian Hall in Rochester, New York repudiating our national [Declaration of Independence](#) as a foundational document that could pertain only to



those Americans who had the good fortune to be born entirely white. He needed to take this tack because although this text of human freedom as originally reported to “the representatives of the United states of America, in General Congress Assembled” on June 28, 1776 had contained the following valid declaration in regard to our right to free ourselves from the treatment meted out to us by King George III of England,

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he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where Men should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the Liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

this portion had been omitted by the white delegates in their process of reconsideration of the document. Had they not expunged such a peroration, the representatives obviously had brought themselves to recognize, it would have rendered this new continental government liable to the same course of action in the future, on the part of its own black slaves, which these white men were then contemplating in their own honorific rebellion against their white king. This clause of the document would have come to constitute a perfect legitimation for further rebelliousness, would have come to be available to such a personage as Douglass: a righteous war between the enslaved and enslaving races would have been constructed in our originary document as being quite as legitimate as that earlier revolution of the whites against their white overlord. But no, they had been most **careful** to purge from that document such a section useful to a later generation of freedom fighters of another hue!

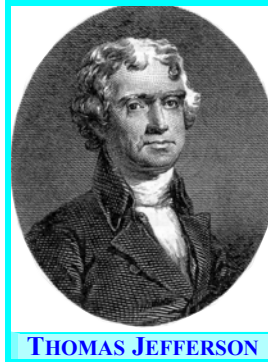


Now, it has ever been presumed that the above challenging paragraph about human freedom was something that was being created by [Thomas Jefferson](#) the believer in freedom, during his midnight-oil musings, something which would then need to be voided in its entirety by the other delegates to the congress because they were not so firm in their belief in human freedom as was Founding Father Jefferson the sole author of the [Declaration of Independence](#).

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But my intent here is to inquire as to how we know this to be the correct reconstruction of the course of events.



Bear in mind, Jefferson is the guy who would become so horrified at the idea of miscegenation between the races, that he would be ready to contemplate the killing of white women in Virginia who were guilty of bearing racially tainted children — and such children with them. Bear in mind, Jefferson as President, when later faced by a 2d American revolution, a revolution by black slaves on the Caribbean Island of Haiti, would become so horrified as to place that sugar island under an absolute embargo, directly transforming it by US policy from the richest “Pearl of the Antilles” into the sort of pesthole it is today. Was this the Virginia slavemaster who actually espoused the attitudes shown in the paragraph above?

We know very well that Jefferson was not actually having quite as much to do with the drafting of the [Declaration of Independence](#), as his posterity now chooses to remember. For instance, on the wall of the Jefferson Memorial in [Washington DC](#) we have carved a truncated version of the last paragraph of the Declaration and yet as we are well aware those words would be inserted primarily during the revision process, as a generally sponsored replacement for other text which Jefferson had sponsored. Also, we know that at the point at which Jefferson would begin to take sole credit for the Declaration, he would have become an old gent whose desire it was to be remembered for this creation of this foundational document, an octogenarian survivor whose grand claims could no longer easily be contested. He would have become able conveniently to forget that, at the time of enactment, he had been protesting that the other delegates were “mutilating” his work. He would have become able conveniently to forget how much editorial guidance he had been receiving, beforehand, from other members of the drafting committee. He would chose not to recall that he had been sent off to write his draft with a list of detailed instructions — would choose to remember instead that these others had subsequently made but “two or three” minor changes in his draft!

I would like to suggest that we may be quite mistaken in presuming it to have been Jefferson who wrote the above paragraph about freedom for slaves, and in presuming that the better judgment of the other delegates over-rode his convictions in this area. It may well have been, instead, that this paragraph about the horror of slavery reflects instructions given by other drafters to Jefferson, which this slavemaster and other slavemasters would finally succeed in overcoming. —That alternate, unconsidered interpretation is a possibility which is definitely more compatible with a Jefferson who would later express such a horror of miscegenation, and demonstrate such mistrust in the processes of freedom in Haiti.



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During this year 1852, be it noted, one of this [Jefferson](#)'s sons, Eston, was moving with his wife Julia to Madison in the Wisconsin territory, and was there beginning to give his name as "E.H. Jefferson." He was not announcing to anyone in this new venue that Thomas "Liberty Means I Get To Fuck You" Jefferson had been his biological father. The very light-skinned Eston had become, in the western territory, a white man, and entitled to all the rights and privileges of same. (Eventually, one of this Eston Hemings Jefferson's great-great-grandsons, named John Jefferson, would be submitting to a blood test, which would in recent years reveal the direct link with the Y chromosome of the unbroken lineage of white Jefferson males, thus proving beyond all reasonable doubt that President Jefferson actually had after the death of his wife sired at least one child, and probably all her children, upon his house slave [Sally Hemings](#).)



What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?

Extract from an Oration, at Rochester, July 5, 1852

Fellow-Citizens — Pardon me, and allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day? What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that [Declaration of Independence](#), extended to us? and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits, and express devout gratitude for the blessings, resulting from your independence to us?

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions! Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold that a nation's sympathy could not warm him? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits? Who so stolid and selfish, that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs? I am not that man. In a case like that, the dumb might eloquently speak, and the "lame man leap as an hart."

But, such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth of July is **yours**, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrecoverable ruin! I can to-day take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people.

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yea! we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there, they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they who wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."



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Fellow-citizens, above your national, tumultuous [*sic*] joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are to-day rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, “may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!” To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow-citizens, is AMERICAN SLAVERY. I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave’s point of view. Standing there, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the constitution and the bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery — the great sin and shame of America! “I will not equivocate; I will not excuse;” I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear some one of my audience say, it is just in this circumstance that you and your brother abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more, and denounce less, would you persuade more and rebuke less, your cause would be much more likely to succeed. But, I submit, where all is plain there is nothing to be argued. What point in the anti-slavery creed would you have me argue? On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light? Must I undertake to prove that the slave is a man? That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it. The slaveholders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws for their government. They acknowledge it when they punish disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the state of Virginia, which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of these same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgement [*sic*] that the slave is a moral, intellectual, and responsible being. The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that southern statute books are covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or write. When you can point to any such laws, in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of the air, when the cattle on your hills, when the fish of the sea, and the reptiles that crawl, shall be unable to distinguish the slave from a brute, then will I argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver, and gold; that, while we are reading, writing, and cyphering [*sic*], acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men — digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and, above all, confessing and worshipping the Christian’s God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave — we are called upon to prove that we are men!

Would you have me argue that man is entitled to liberty? that he is the rightful owner of his own body? You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery? Is that a question for republicans? Is it to be settled by the rules of logic and argumentation, as a matter beset with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to be understood? How should I look to-day in the presence of Americans, dividing and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom, speaking of it relatively and positively, negatively and affirmatively? To do so, would be to make myself ridiculous, and to offer an insult to your understanding. There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven that does not know that slavery is wrong for **him**.



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What! am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow-men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system, thus marked with blood and stained with pollution, is wrong? No; I will not. I have better employment for my time and strength than such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued? Is it that slavery is not divine; that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken? There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman cannot be divine. Who can reason on such a proposition! They that can, may! I cannot. The time for such argument is past.

At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh! had I the ability, and could I reach the nation's ear, I would to-day pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the old world, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the every-day practices of this nation, and you will say with me, that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

The Internal Slave Trade.

Extract from an Oration, at Rochester, July 5, 1852

Take the American slave trade, which, we are told by the papers, is especially prosperous just now. Ex-senator Benton tells us that the price of men was never higher than now. He mentions the fact to show that slavery is in no danger. This trade is one of the peculiarities of American institutions. It is carried on in all the large towns and cities in one-half of this confederacy; and millions are pocketed every year by dealers in this horrid traffic. In several states this trade is a chief source of wealth. It is called (in contradistinction to the foreign slave trade) “**the internal slave trade.**” It is, probably, called so, too, in order to divert from it the horror with which the foreign slave trade is contemplated. That trade has long since been denounced by this government as piracy. It has been denounced with burning words, from the high places of the nation, as an execrable traffic. To arrest it, to put an end to it, this nation keeps a squadron, at immense cost, on the coast of Africa. Everywhere in this country, it is safe to speak of this foreign slave trade as a most inhuman traffic, opposed alike to the laws of God and of man. The duty to extirpate and destroy it is admitted even by our **doctors of divinity**. In order to put an end to it, some of these last have consented that their colored brethren (nominally free) should leave this country, and establish themselves on the western coast of Africa. It is, however, a notable fact, that, while so much execration is poured out by Americans, upon those engaged in the foreign slave trade, the men engaged in the slave trade between the states pass without condemnation, and their business is deemed honorable.



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Behold the practical operation of this internal slave trade — the American slave trade sustained by American politics and American religion! Here you will see men and women reared like swine for the market. You know what is a swine-drover? I will show you a man-drover. They inhabit all our southern states. They perambulate the country, and crowd the highways of the nation with droves of human stock. You will see one of these human-flesh-jobbers, armed with pistol, whip, and bowie-knife, driving a company of a hundred men, women, and children, from the Potomac to the slave market at New Orleans. These wretched people are to be sold singly, or in lots, to suit purchasers. They are food for the cotton-field and the deadly sugar-mill. Mark the sad procession as it moves wearily along, and the inhuman wretch who drives them. Hear his savage yells and his blood-chilling oaths, as he hurries on his affrighted captives. There, see the old man, with locks thinned and gray. Cast one glance, if you please, upon that young mother, whose shoulders are bare to the scorching sun, her briny tears falling on the brow of the babe in her arms. See, too, that girl of thirteen, weeping, yes, weeping, as she thinks of the mother from whom she has been torn. The drove moves tardily. Heat and sorrow have nearly consumed their strength. Suddenly you hear a quick snap, like the discharge of a rifle; the fetters clank, and the chain rattles simultaneously; your ears are saluted with a scream that seems to have torn its way to the center of your soul. The crack you heard was the sound of the slave whip; the scream you heard was from the woman you saw with the babe. Her speed had faltered under the weight of her child and her chains; that gash on her shoulder tells her to move on. Follow this drove to New Orleans. Attend the auction; see men examined like horses; see the forms of women rudely and brutally exposed to the shocking gaze of American slave-buyers. See this drove sold and separated forever; and never forget the deep, sad sobs that arose from that scattered multitude. Tell me, citizens, where, under the sun, can you witness a spectacle more fiendish and shocking. Yet this is but a glance at the American slave trade, as it exists at this moment, in the ruling part of the United States.

I was born amid such sights and scenes. To me the American slave trade is a terrible reality. When a child, my soul was often pierced with a sense of its horrors. I lived on Philpot street, Fell's Point, Baltimore, and have watched from the wharves the slave ships in the basin, anchored from the shore, with their cargoes of human flesh, waiting for favorable winds to waft them down the Chesapeake. There was, at that time, a grand slave mart kept at the head of Pratt street, by Austin Woolfolk. His agents were sent into every town and county in Maryland, announcing their arrival through the papers, and on flaming hand-bills, headed, "cash for negroes." These men were generally well dressed, and very captivating in their manners; ever ready to drink, to treat, and to gamble. The fate of many a slave has depended upon the turn of a single card; and many a child has been snatched from the arms of its mothers by bargains arranged in a state of brutal drunkenness.

The flesh-mongers gather up their victims by dozens, and drive them, chained, to the general depot at Baltimore. When a sufficient number have been collected here, a ship is chartered, for the purpose of conveying the forlorn crew to Mobile or to New Orleans. From the slave-prison to the ship, they are usually driven in the darkness of night; for since the anti-slavery agitation a certain caution is observed.

In the deep, still darkness of midnight, I have been often aroused by the dead, heavy footsteps and the piteous cries of the chained gangs that passed our door. The anguish of my boyish heart was intense; and I was often consoled, when speaking to my mistress in the morning, to hear her say that the custom was very wicked; that she hated to hear the rattle of the chains, and the heart-rending cries. I was glad to find one who sympathized with me in my horror.

Fellow citizens, this murderous traffic is to-day in active operation in this boasted republic. In the solitude of my spirit, I see clouds of dust raised on the highways of the south; I see the bleeding footsteps; I hear the doleful wail of fettered humanity, on the way to the slave markets, where the victims are to be sold like horses, sheep, and swine, knocked off to the highest bidder. There I see the tenderest ties ruthlessly broken, to gratify the lust, caprice, and rapacity of the buyers and sellers of men. My soul sickens at the sight.

Is this the land your fathers loved?
The freedom which they toiled to win?
Is this the earth whereon they moved?
Are these the graves they slumber in?



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But a still more inhuman, disgraceful, and scandalous state of things remains to be presented. By an act of the American congress, not yet two years old, slavery has been nationalized in its most horrible and revolting form. By that act, Mason and Dixon's line has been obliterated; New York has become as Virginia; and the power to hold, hunt, and sell men, women, and children as slaves, remains no longer a mere state institution, but is now an institution of the whole United States. The power is coextensive with the star-spangled banner and American christianity. Where these go, may also go the merciless slave-hunter. Where these are, man is not sacred. He is a bird for the sportsman's gun. By that most foul and fiendish of all human decrees, the liberty and person of every man are put in peril. Your broad republican domain is a hunting-ground for **men**. Not for thieves and robbers, enemies of society, merely, but for men guilty of no crime. Your law-makers have commanded all good citizens to engage in this hellish sport. Your president, your secretary of state, your lords, nobles, and ecclesiastics, enforce as a duty you owe to your free and glorious country and to your God, that you do this accursed thing. Not fewer than forty Americans have within the past two years been hunted down, and without a moment's warning, hurried away in chains, and consigned to slavery and excruciating torture. Some of these have had wives and children dependent on them for bread; but of this no account was made. The right of the hunter to his prey, stands superior to the right of marriage, and to **all** rights in this republic, the rights of God included! For black men there are neither law, justice, humanity, nor religion. The fugitive slave law makes **MERCY TO THEM A CRIME**; and bribes the judge who tries them. An American judge **GETS TEN DOLLARS FOR EVERY VICTIM HE CONSIGNS** to slavery, and five, when he fails to do so. The oath of an [*sic*] two villains is sufficient, under this hell-black enactment, to send the most pious and exemplary black man into the remorseless jaws of slavery! His own testimony is nothing. He can bring no witnesses for himself. The minister of American justice is bound by the law to hear but **one side**, and that side is the side of the oppressor. Let this damning fact be perpetually told. Let it be thundered around the world, that, in tyrant-killing, king hating, people-loving, democratic, Christian America, the seats of justice are filled with judges, who hold their office under an open and palpable **bribe**, and are bound, in deciding in the case of a man's liberty, to **hear only his accusers!**

In glaring violation of justice, in shameless disregard of the forms of administering law, in cunning arrangement to entrap the defenseless, and in diabolical intent, this fugitive slave law stands alone in the annals of tyrannical legislation. I doubt if there be another nation on the globe having the brass and the baseness to put such a law on the statute-book. If any man in this assembly thinks differently from me in this matter, and feels able to disprove my statements, I will gladly confront him at any suitable time and place he may select.



July 5, Monday: I know a man who never speaks of the sexual relation but jestingly, though it is a subject to be approached only with reverence & affection. What can be the character of that man's love? It is ever the subject of a stale jest –though his health or his dinner can be seriously considered. The glory of the world is seen only by a chaste mind. To whomsoever this fact is not an awful but beautiful mystery there are no flowers in nature.

White lilies continue to open in the house in the morning & shut in the night for 5 or 6 days until their stamens have shed their pollen and they turn rusty & begin to decay –& the beauty of the flower is gone –& its vitality so that it no longer expands with the light.

How perfect an invention is glass– There is a fitness in glass windows which reflect the sun morning & even – windows the doorways of light thus reflecting the rays of that luminary with a splendor only second to itself. This invention one would say was anticipated in the arrangement of things The sun rises with a salute & leaves the world with a farewell to our windows To have instead of opaque shutters –or dull horn or paper –a material like solidified air which reflects the sun thus brightly– It is inseparable from our civilization and enlightenment– It is encouraging that this intelligence & brilliancy or splendor should belong to the dwellings of men & not to the cliffs –and micaceous rocks & lakes exclusively.

Pm. to 2nd Div. Brook The typha latifolia or reed mace sheds an abundance of sulphur like pollen into the hand now. Its tall & handsome swords are seen waving above the bushes in low grounds now– What I suppose the Vaccinium fuscum or black blue-berry is now ripe here & there quite small. Heard the blating or lowing of a calf. Sat in the shade of the locusts in front of J. Hosmer's cottage –and heard a locust z-ing on them but could not find him– This cottage & the landscape seen through the frame made by the "R-Road Crossing" sign –as you approach it along the winding bushy road –is a pleasing sight. It is picturesque. There is a meadow on the Assabet just above Derby's Bridge –it may contain an acre bounded on one side by the river on the other by

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alders and a hill –completely covered with small hummocks which have lodged on it in the winter –covering it like the mounds in a graveyard at pretty regular intervals– Their edges are rounded like latter and they and the paths between are covered with a firm short green sward –with here and there hard hacks springing out of them –so that they make excellent seats –especially in the shade of an elm that grows there– They are completely united with the meadow –forming little oblong hillocks from 1 to 10 feet long –flat as a mole to the sward– I am inclined to call it the elphin burial ground –or perchance it might be called the Indian burial ground. It is a remarkably firm swarded meadow & convenient to walk on. And these hummock have an important effect in elevating it. It suggests at once a burial ground of the aborigines –where perchance are the earthly remains of the rude forefathers of the race.

I love to ponder the natural history thus written on the banks of the stream— — for every higher freshet & intenser frost is recorded by it– The stream keeps a faithful & a true journal of every event in its experience – whatever race may settle on its banks and it purls past this natural grave-yard with a storied murmur –& no doubt it could find endless employment for an old mortality in renewing its epitaphs.

The progress of the season is indescribable– It is growing warm again –but the warmth is different from that we have had– We lie in the shade of locust trees –haymakers go by in a hay-rigging –I am reminded of berrying– I scent the sweet fern & the dead or dry pine leaves –cherry-birds alight on a neighboring tree.

The warmth is something more normal –& steady –ripening fruits. Campanula Aparinoides slender bell-flower The Cicutula maculata American Hemlock. It begins to be such weather as when people go a huckleberrying. Nature offers fruits now as well as flowers– We have become accustomed to the summer– It has acquired a certain eternity– The earth is dry– Perhaps the sound of the locust expresses the season as well as anything. The farmers say the abundance of the grass depends on wet in June. I might make a separate season of those days when the locust is heard. That is our torrid zone– This dryness & heat are necessary for the maturing of fruits. How cheering it is to behold a full spring bursting forth directly from the earth like this of Tarbell's –from clean gravel –copiously in a thin sheet –for it descends at once –where you see no opening –cool from the caverns of the earth –& making a considerable stream. Such springs in the sale of lands are not valued for as much as they are worth. I lie almost flat resting my hands on what offers to drink at this water where it bubbles –at the very udders of nature –for man is never weaned from her breast while this life lasts –¹⁴⁴

How many times in a single walk does he stoop for a draught. We are favored in having two rivers –flowing into one –whose banks afford different kinds of scenery –the streams being of different characters– One a dark muddy –dead stream full of animal & vegetable life –with broad meadows –and black dwarf willows & weeds –the other **comparitively** –pebbly & swift with more abrupt banks –& narrower meadows.

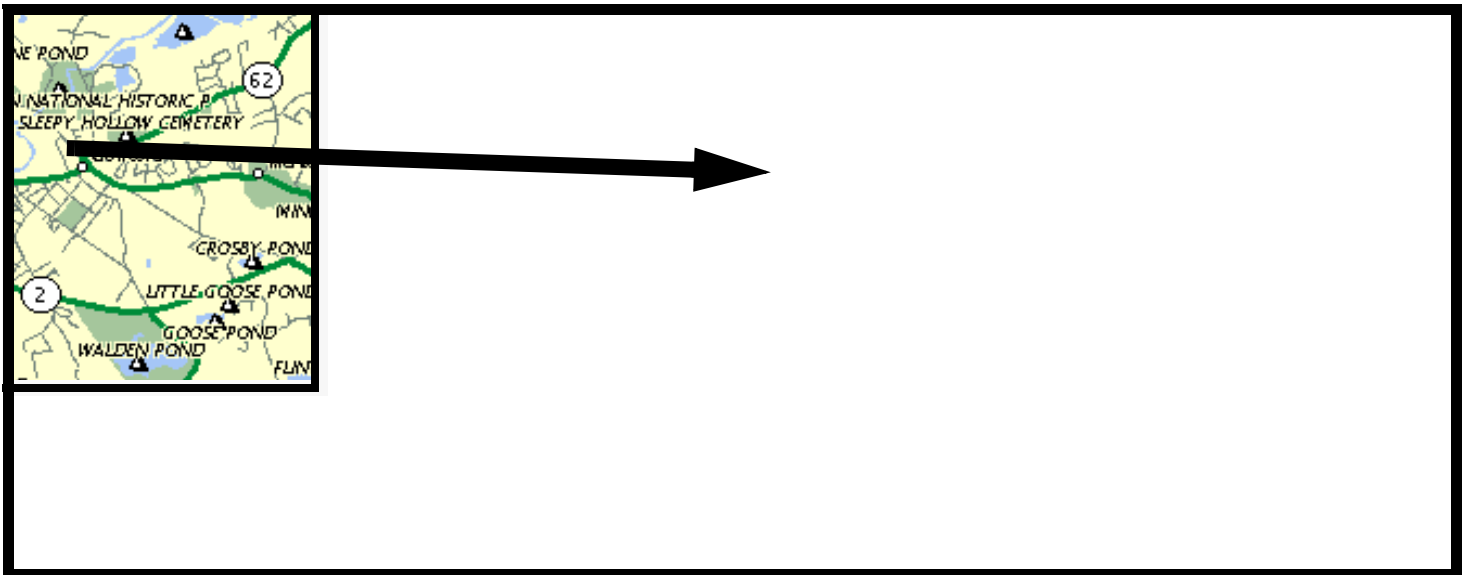
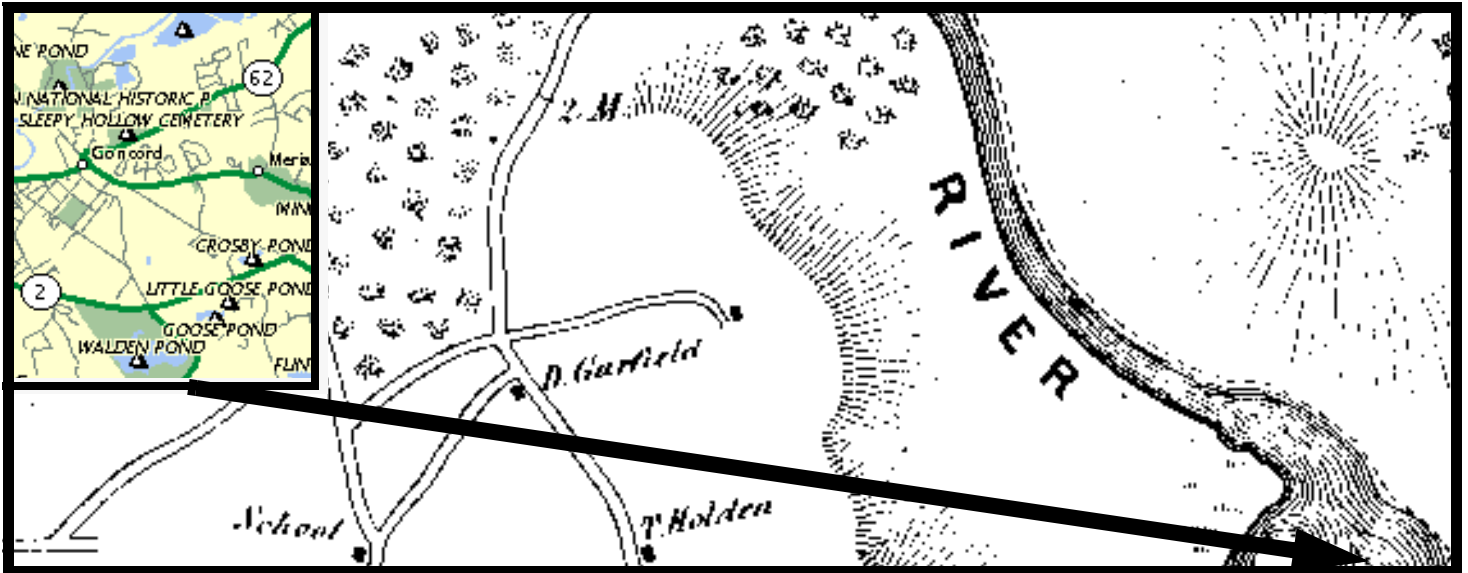
144. William M. White's version is:

*How cheering it is to behold a full spring
Bursting forth directly from the earth,
Like this of Tarbell's,
From clean gravel, copiously,
In a thin sheet;
For it descends at once,
Where you see no opening,
Cool from the caverns of the earth,
And making a considerable stream.
Such springs, in the sale of lands,
Are not valued for as much as they are worth.*

*I lie almost flat,
Resting my hands on what offers,
To drink at this water where it bubbles,
At the very udders of Nature,
For man is never weaned from her breast
While this life lasts.*

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To the latter I go to see the ripple –& the varied bottom –with its stones & sands & shadows –to the former for the influence of its dark water resting on invisible mud –& for its reflections. It is a factory of soil –depositing sediment. How many virtues have cattle in the fields –they do not make a noise at your approach like dogs – they rarely low –but are quiet as nature –merely look up at you. In the Ministerial swamp there is a great deal of the naked Viburnum rising above the dwarf andromeda– The calopogon or grass pink now fully open is remarkably handsome in the grass in low grounds by contrast –its 4 or 5 **open** purple flowers with the surrounding green. It makes a much greater show than the pogonia. –It is of the same character with that & the arethusa. –with a slight fragrance methinks– It is very much indebted to its situation no doubt –in low ground where it contrasts with the dark green grass– All color with only a grass like leaf below flowers eminently If it grew on dry & barren hill tops or in woods above the dead leaves –it would lose half its attractions. Butter cups have now almost disappeared –as well as clover Some of the earliest roses are ceasing –but others remain. I see many Devils-needles zigzagging along the 2nd Division Brook –some green some blue –both with black & perhaps velvety wings They are confined to the brook. How lavishly they are painted! How cheap was the paint– How free the fancy of their creator! I caught a handful of small water bugs 15 or 20 about as large as apple seeds– Some country people call them apple seeds it is said from their scent– I perceived a strong scent –but I am not sure it was like apples– I should rather think they were so called from their shape. Some birds are poets & sing all summer –they are the true singers– Any man can write verses during the love season– I am

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reminded of this while we rest in the shade on the Maj. Heywood road –& listen to a wood thrush [*Catharus mustelina*] now just before sunset– We are most interested in those birds who sing for the love of the music and not of their mates –who meditate their strains & amuse themselves with singing– The birds –the –strains of deeper sentiment –not bobolinks that lose their plumage their bright colors & their song so early.

The Robin [*American Robin Turdus migratorius*] –the –redeye –the veery the wood thrush [*Catharus mustelina*]– &c &c– The wood thrush's is no opera music –it is not so much the composition as the strain the tone –cool bars of melody from the atmospheres of everlasting morning or evening– It is the quality of the sound not the sequence –

In the peawai's note there is some sultriness –but in the thrush's, though heard at noon, there is the liquid coolness of things that are just drawn from the bottom of springs.¹⁴⁵ The thrush alone declares the immortal wealth & vigor that is in the forest– Here is a bird in whose strain the story is told –though Nature waited for the science of aesthetics to discover it to man. Whenever a man hears it he is young –& nature is in her spring– Wherever he hears it it is a new world –and a free country –and the gates of heaven are not shut against him– Most other birds sing from the level of my ordinary cheerful hours –a carol –but this bird never fails to speak to me out of an ether purer than that I breathe –of immortal beauty & vigor– He deepens the significance of all things seen in the light of his strain. He sings to make men take higher and truer views of things. He sings to amend their institutions. To relieve the slave on the plantation –& the prisoner in his dungeon –the slave in the house of luxury & the prisoner of his own low thoughts.¹⁴⁶

How fitting to have every day in a vase of water on your table the wild flowers of the season –which are just blossoming –can any house said to be furnished without them? Shall we be so forward to pluck the fruits of nature –& neglect her flowers? These are surely her finest influences So may the season suggest the fine thoughts it is fitted to suggest. Shall we say “A penny for your thoughts” –before we have looked in the face of nature. Let me know what picture she is painting –what poetry she is writing –what ode composing now.

I hear my hooting owl now just before sunset– You can fancy it the most melancholy sound in nature –as if Nature meant by this to stereotype & make permanent in her quire –the dying moans of a human being –made more awful by a certain gurgling melodiousness–

It reminds of ghouls –& idiots –& insane howlings– One answers from far woods in a strain made really sweet by distance– Some poor weak relic of mortality who has left hope behind –& howls like an animal –yet with human sobs –on entering the dark valley –I find myself beginning with the letters gl when I try to imitate it. Yet for the most part it is a sweet & melodious strain to me. Some fields are quite yellow with johns-wort now –a pleasing motley hue –which looks autumnal. What is that small chickweed like plant on Clamshell hill now out of bloom? The sun has set– We are in Dennis' field. The dew is falling fast– Some fine clouds which have just escaped being condensed in dew hang on the skirts of day –& make the attraction in our western sky –that part of days gross atmosphere which has escaped the clutches of the night –& is not enough condensed to fall to earth– Soon to be gilded by his parting rays– They are remarkably finely divided clouds –a very fine mackerel sky –or rather as if one had sprinkled that part of the sky with a brush –the outline of the whole being that of several

145. William M. White's version is:

*The wood thrush's is no opera music;
It is not so much the composition as the strain,
The tone,—
Cool bars of melody
From the atmosphere of everlasting morning
Or evening.*

*It is the quality of the song,
Not the sequence.*

*In the peawai's note there is some sultriness,
But in the thrush's,
Though heard at noon,
There is the liquid coolness
Of things that are just drawn
From the bottom of springs.*



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large sprigs of fan coral –C. as usual calls it a mediterranean sky They grow darker & darker –& now are reddened –while dark blue bars of clouds of a wholly dif. character lie along the NW horizon. The Asclepias Cornuti (Syriaca) and the A. incarnata (pulchra –this hardly out) considerable fog tonight

146.

**GOD IN CONCORD by Jane Langton © 1992**

Viking Penguin

“Yes,” said Ananda with melancholy dignity. “I came to this country to see the place of Henry Thoreau.”

Homer threw back his head with a shout of laughter, then covered his mouth, remembering the bereaved husband nearby. He clapped Ananda on the back. “Good Lord, do you know what I was doing before all this happened? I was down there at Goose Pond, hoping to hear a wood thrush. You know, Thoreau’s famous wood thrush.”

“He sings to amend our institutions,” recited Ananda, his face brightening in a brilliant smile.

“He sings to amend our institutions,” repeated Homer in ecstasy. “Right, right. That’s what he does.” He took Ananda by his thin shoulders and bounced him up and down. “Listen, you can stay with us. Oh, I’ve got so much to show you. . . .”

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November: At the [Hopedale](#) community, the Reverend John Murray Spear (medium) was seized by the spirit of [Thomas Jefferson](#), which had become an antislavery spirit.



In Oregon and then [California](#), white settlers led by a former Indiana [Quaker](#), Captain Ben Wright (who while on the way by wagon train from [Kansas](#) to the West Coast in 1847 had transformed himself into a notorious Indian hunter, complete with explanatory narrative that he had fallen for a pretty young thing who had then been killed by Indians), after calling for a “peace parley” massacred 41 Modoc natives who had thus been ensnared (Dan L Thrapp, *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF FRONTIER BIOGRAPHY*, U of Nebraska P, 1991; Jeff C. Davis Riddle, *THE INDIAN HISTORY OF THE MODOC WAR AND THE CAUSES THAT LED TO IT*, Marnell and Company, 1914).



An Indiana native named Benjamin Wright had been born on October 10, 1770, so would that have been the father? Ben himself had been born in about 1827 and would die on February 23, 1856. Whatever he had acquired of the spirit, of the light, during his childhood in a Friends meeting, he quickly forgot. Reaching Oregon, Wright enlisted in a militia to put down the Cayuse tribe. After being discharged, he settled along Cottonwood Creek in California, 20 miles north of Yreka, where he continued to kill native Americans, the local Modocs, for the government bounty money. He affected a frontier appearance: buckskins, long hair, a soul patch on his chin. As a serial killer, Wright was of the trophy-collecting type: scalps, fingers, ears, noses, removed from still-living victims. He was fond of alcohol, and



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kept native women as his sexual slaves. When Yreka's gold prospectors raised a militia of 65 men, Ben Wright again enlisted. Peter Burnett, California's 1st civilian governor, had declared that "a war of extermination will continue ... until the Indian race becomes extinct," and the state legislature appropriated \$500,000 to pay for these militia raids. After receiving his bounty money, Wright recruited 20 men for a return to Modoc territory. In a dawn raid on the principal Lost River village of the Modocs, their guns killed more than 12 of these natives who had only bows and spears with which to defend themselves and their families. Then they attacked an island village, where Lost River flowed into Tule Lake, and killed 15 more. When the survivors of the two attacks took shelter in a large cave on the far side of Tule Lake. Wright and his posse piled brush at the cave's mouth and set it afire. After 24 hours of smoke and flames, Wright and his men rode back to Yreka, presuming that they had cooked or smothered the people inside the cave. The following summer Wright took another party into the Tule Lake country and attacked a group of Modocs, killing 30 to 35. When Wright and some other mounted militiamen spotted a couple of Indian women running away, they rode them down, killing one by gunshot. The other, shot only in an arm, Wright finished off with his knife. He then raised a white flag to let it be understood that he sought to negotiate. A large group of Modocs camped nearby to talk. All remained peaceful until on the dawn of the 6th day, the white men encircled the camp. Wright walked into the camp with two revolvers under his serape, and when he came to the native leader, began to shoot and run zigzag through the Indians. His men opened fire with rifles from the periphery. Not a single white was killed, and the number of native fatalities has been variously estimated at 30 to 90, most likely about 50. The California legislature was paying these militiamen at the rate of \$4 a day, which was about 8 times more than the pay of a private in the Army. Captain Wright himself received \$744. His success against the Modocs was rewarded with appointment as Indian agent along Oregon's southern coast, but then in the muddy main street of Port Orford, while drunk, he stripped naked the government interpreter who was his mistress of the moment, Chetcoe Jennie, and whipped her through the town. After being treated in such manner, Jennie formed an alliance with a group of natives under Enos, a Shoshone guide and scout who had previously worked for Wright. In the early hours of February 23, 1856, close to the mouth of the Rogue River, Enos killed Wright with an axe. Several months later when Enos would be hanged by a lynch party, Chetcoe Jennie would be nowhere to be found.

1853

April 19, Tuesday: In Constantinople, Russian emissary Prince A. S. Menshikov iterated his country's demand that the Ottoman Empire agree to a treaty giving Russia the right to protect Christians in Ottoman territory.

Hoping to attract the attention of influential musicians, and a little money, [Johannes Brahms](#) and his violinist friend Eduard Hoffmann (Reményi) set out from Hamburg on a concert tour of nearby cities.

Floris Adriaan van Hall and Dirk Donker Curtius replaced Johann Rudolf Thorbecke as chief ministers of the Netherlands.

[William Lloyd Garrison](#), never much of a detail person, claimed in one of his abolitionist speeches that [Thomas Jefferson](#) had authored [The Constitution](#) of the United States of America.



April 19: Haverhill. — Willow and bass strip freely. Surveying Charles White's long piece. Hear again that same nighthawk-like sound over a meadow at evening.



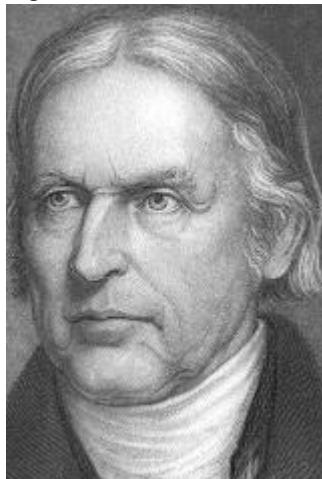
1854

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) wrote his main justification of the [Hopedale](#) Community, PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.



CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

The first section of this treatise would be his only completed work of systematic theology. He asserted that God permeated an “infinitarium,” that is, an infinity of universes, and that both space and time were without center or limit. Every separate one of these universes, of this infinity of universes within this “infinitarium,” he asserted, was going through an unending sequence of “grand cycles,” each one of which could appropriately be characterized as “an eternity.” His Christology was not Unitarian, nor was it Trinitarian, but instead was rather similar to the ancient heresy known as “Sabellianism.” He asserted that Christ was a manifestation of God, proportioned in such manner as to be comprehensible by our finite minds, but he asserted also that Christianity might not be the sole religion to contain divine truth. Like the Reverend Hosea Ballou, the



Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) portrayed atonement as a form of demonstration by God, an appeal to human beings for a spiritual and moral response. He differed from this other Reverend Ballou in asserting that divine punishment in the afterlife was necessary, not only for the sake of justice but also as a mechanism for individual correction and progress. Our human spirits, as they were gradually regenerated, were eventually to become one with God.



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This treatise laid out a plan for human society that was as simple and as obvious as the Lord's Prayer. To be perfect as God is perfect is a difficult thing for us human creatures. We all impinge on each other in one manner or another; we are all in life together, on this planet together, and should we fail to forgive "them" their trespasses, no way could our own trespasses be forgiven — for our own trespasses against "them" are in no way more privileged than "their" trespasses against us. When we manage to avoid seeking to retaliate for the harms that are done to us by others, we face only a further obligation. After accepting these harms with no spirit of retribution, no spirit of doing harm in response, we must go on and do more: we must ask that the people who did these things to us be forgiven. And we can ask for this only if we ourselves are ready to grant the prayer. "After this manner, therefore, pray ye.... Forgive us our debts, **as** we forgive our debtors." The word "as" in this prayer means "to the extent that." To the extent that we are able to forgive these other people for what they have done to us, to that extent and to that extent only, forgive us for what we ourselves have done against them, and, the inverse also, if there should be lurking in us any residual unwillingness to forgive, to that extent please do not forgive us for what we have ourselves done, but instead take retribution against us. There's no such thing as selective forgiveness, it only works if it is perfectly indiscriminate, and if it is perfectly applied across the board.¹⁴⁷

If, while we sue for mercy, we exercise none; if, while we pray for forgiveness, we meditate vengeance; if, while we ask to be treated better than we deserve, we are trying to respond to others according to their deserts; then we at once display our own insincerity, and our worship is a fraud and God is mocked. Our spirit of partiality is in opposition to the Lord's spirit of indiscriminate acceptance (which seems while we are in this spirit to be mere blind and callous indifference); we stand self-excluded from his presence alike unforgiving and unforgiven. The idea, repeated over and over, is that it is a law of life that only the forgiving can be forgiven. This forgiving is what constitutes our proof of our sincerity. This, not something as trivial as passing the salt to others at the table if we wish others to have the politeness to pass the salt to us, is the meat of the golden rule of doing unto others as we would have done unto ourselves. Our spirits must be fit to receive forgiveness. Then God can commune with us, for we have erected no barrier, we have not held ourselves away from his perfect spirit. It is only in the spirit of human forgiveness that we can receive and enjoy the divine forgiveness.

Yet Christianity has been suborned to authorize, to aid, and to abet the whole catalog of penal injuries, and when they are not enough, capital punishment, and not only that, but also the just war. The Chaplain leads the troops in the Lord's Prayer, while Christians draw near their God with their lips, and hold their hearts far away in a safe place where there may yet be found vengeance.

147. Also, "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses" (Matthew 6:12-15). "Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times?" Jesus said unto him, "I say not unto thee, until seven times, but until seventy times seven" (Matthew 18:21-22). "And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any, that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses; but if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses" (Mark 11:25-26). "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven" (Luke 6:37).

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This, then, would be the foundation of our economic life, that to the greatest extent possible we voluntarily refrain from gaining our bread in any manner that interferes one with another, recognizing that a certain minimal level of such interference is inevitable, and, since we know full well that these residual interferences are unavoidable, we merely be understanding of these residual interferences in a spirit of awareness that we are as likely ourselves to commit such blunders against others, as they are to commit such against us. –
The remainder of any economic program, obviously, is just window dressing and agenda and special pleading.

By this point the Reverend John Murray Spear, Medium, of the [Hopedale](#) community, had come to be under the direction of a group of spirits that termed itself “The Association of the Beneficents.” His committee (in sequence according to how long they had been in the spirit realm) included:¹⁴⁸



DIED	PERSONALITY
65CE	Lucius Annaeus Seneca
1546	Martin Luther
1683	Roger Williams
1772	Emmanuel Swedenborg
1790	Benjamin Franklin
1790	John Howard
1809	John Murray
1813	Benjamin Rush
1825	Thomas Jefferson
1834	Lafayette
1842	William Ellery Channing



148. John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore (1732-1809), had been the appointed governor of the Virginia colony. After the battles of Lexington and Concord he had taken gunpowder stores from Williamsburg and moved his seat of government to a British man-of-war anchored off Yorktown. After he had burned Norfolk in 1776, the Americans had been able to drive him back to England from his station on Gwynn’s Island in Chesapeake Bay. It is not clear that John Murray Spear had been named after this earl, and it is not clear that this is the John Murray that he was intending to channel. An alternative hypothesis was that he was intending to channel the father of American Universalism, the Reverend John Murray (1741-1815) and that somewhere somehow an error has crept in.



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What this spiritual committee decided was that voting would not be necessary. All decisions, it seemed, could in the future be made by “a single leading, sound, central mind,” indeed, by the mind of the Reverend John M. Spear, Medium. “The leading mind gathers up, focalizes, concentrates the whole.” (This of course is what we in the 20th Century are familiar with as the *Führerprinzip*.) Spear proceeded to set up a new community of spiritualists in a city to be called Harmonia, in western New York, and to experiment with the creation of a perpetual motion machine. The machine was to be constructed in the Lynn home of the Hutchinson Family Singers, and the spirit of [Benjamin Franklin](#) guaranteed that, when constructed, it would work.



(The community of Harmonia would soon be charged with free love, and would disintegrate.)

**THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT
CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE
HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE,
A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A
MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH
WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL
CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT.
THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS
EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.**

1857



March 6, Friday morning at 11AM: The Dred Scott announcement was made by US Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, 79 years of age.



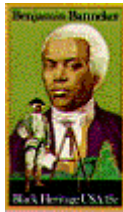
Scott was in St. Louis at the time, hired out, working for his current owner. He didn't even get the day off. John F.A. Sanford, the currently alleged injured party, actually was in an insane asylum. In two months he would be dead. He was actually so utterly irrelevant to the case at hand that the court system was even persistently misspelling his name. The vote was seven to two. Various of the justices disagreed with various of the

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comments that Chief Justice Taney was making, but none of them spoke up. Legally, this decision didn't amount to a glass half full of warm spit, as it legitimized an expansion of slavery which in fact could never be allowed to occur, and since it refused freedom to a slave who was anyway shortly to be [emancipated](#) and then expire. The dicta of the court ignored everything known about the US history of race relations, in favor of setting up its own officious just-so story of what race relations in the US amounted to: for instance, the decision declared that no black had ever voted, when the justices, even the chief justice himself, well knew that to be historically about as tendentious as any falsehood ever could be.

When Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney wrote in the decision that America's blacks had implicitly been excluded from the [Declaration of Independence](#), his pseudohistorical argument was that allegedly American blacks "had for more than a century before [the Declaration] been regarded as beings of an inferior order." According to Winthrop Jordan, "Until well into the nineteenth century, Jefferson's judgment on that matter, with all its confused tentativeness, stood as the strongest suggestion of inferiority expressed by any native American."¹⁴⁹ While [Thomas Jefferson](#) had been directing a tepid, patronizing letter to Benjamin Banneker himself, he had meanwhile been writing letters to other white men like himself in which he had been being curtly dismissive of Banneker's accomplishments.



For a person more obstinately holding to the doctrine of the genetic inferiority of all blacks to all whites, during an era in which educated opinion was strongly favored environmental explanations, only the foul [David Hume](#) comes to mind!



149. WHITE OVER BLACK, page 455: "native American" would be of course his polite euphemism for "white USer."

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"I am apt to suspect the negroes and in general all other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences."



– [David Hume](#) (my father Benjamin B. Smith also said this but not so quotably. As a curious coincidence both Hume and my dad were proud and white.)



Jefferson was an enthusiastic supporter of Thomas Cooper, the white man who became perhaps the earliest propagator of a systematic theory of racism and who would profoundly influence an entire generation of Southern youth, including the notorious Josiah Nott.¹⁵⁰ On whom other than this President Jefferson himself might Taney have been relying? Not on James Otis, for sure, because that founding father had written "That the colonists, **black and white**, born here are freeborn British subjects and entitled to all the essential civil rights of such, is a truth not only manifest from the provincial charters, from the principles of common law, and acts of Parliament, but from the British constitution, which was established and the [Glorious] Revolution with a professed design to secure the liberties of all the subjects to all generations."¹⁵¹

However we may deprecate Justice Taney's thought process, his assertion must be accepted as little more than a statement of fact. Why? Because we can point to this putative, claimed author of the wording of the [Declaration of Independence](#) as incontrovertible evidence of its truth. Jefferson is without a doubt the most problematic figure in American history, despite the fact that he was recently characterized in a poll of historians as the most admired American after Lincoln.

The Scott family of slaves which had attempted to sue for their freedom on the grounds of having been kept in illegal servitude, in Fort Snelling a United States government facility in which slavery should have been forbidden in the Minnesota Territory where [slavery](#) was in fact contrary to the law (and one of them, Harriet, in fact **resold** by one government functionary to another, after her freedom had been promised to her by her

150. Cooper later became the president of South Carolina College.

151. RIGHTS OF THE BRITISH COLONIES ASSERTED AND PROVED, 1766.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

owner, while in this U.S. facility in this free territory), was found to be still property,¹⁵² and remanded to the custody of its current owner, who, actually, was in the process of manumitting Mr. Scott:



In the first place our Blacks are attentive to their business, and are no idlers, as they are represented to be in the slave States. Secondly, they are a useful class, and here on the confines of Barbarism do as much to put a civilized aspect upon the face of society as any other class. Their barber shops are favorite places of resort for many bachelor Whites who meet there, as on a social exchange. Thirdly, the Blacks are our musicians. A negro's music always has a charm for every ear — whether it is the music of the rosin and the bow, or the guitar, or the soft lubly voice; each separately or all combined, as of a stillly night, in a serenade.



Lizzie Scott, slave

Eliza Scott, slave

Portrait of Dred Scott, slave by an unknown artist (property of New York Historical Society) who lived in a US government installation in a free territory and yet was not set free by this Government of free men by free men sworn to uphold the law and administer justice.

Harriet Robinson Scott, mother of two slave girls —one of whom happened to have been born in “free territory”— who lived in a US government installation in a free territory and was sold by one sworn agent of our government to another, so she could be the slave wife of a slave.

Lizzie Scott, slave born in 1846 in a slave state to two parents one of whom, at least (maybe), should not have been being treated as anyone else's property.

Eliza Scott, slave born in 1838 aboard a steamboat between two free territories technically not property unlike her sister and her mother and father — but then she was a black girl as you can see.

Obviously in an attempt to transit this nation from a discriminatory system based primarily upon condition and upon geographical location into a discriminatory system based no longer in any manner upon identifiers of condition or upon identifiers of geographical location, but solely upon identifiers of race, in effect our Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney had announced, in the Supreme Court's decision in the case of the black man Dred

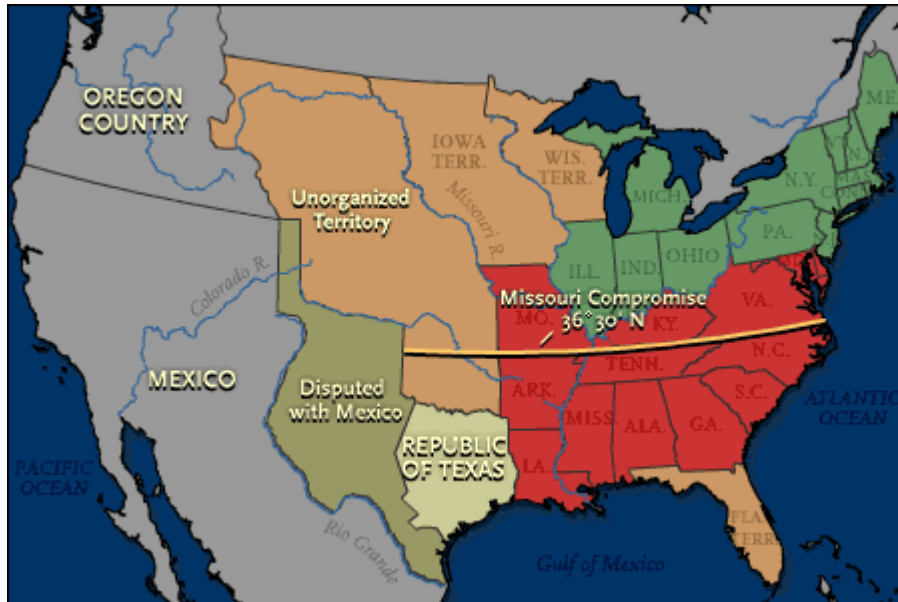
152. I forget: was Justice Clarence Thomas on the bench at that time?

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Scott, that the Congress's "Missouri Compromise" legislation was null and void.



Our Chief Justice pointed out that, what the hey, it isn't as if these buckras have any rights that a USer is bound to respect.

They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit.



This man had no rights that any white American was bound to respect. None at all. Nope.

Well, the actual words might have been a bit more judicious as shown, but they certainly were words to with the impact of the more mundane vocabulary I had mimicked. And in order to deploy these phrases, he had to override the clear and indisputable historical warnings of other justices and attempt directly to nullify the



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historical record that not all black Americans had been slaves:



In writing the majority opinion in *Dred Scott vs. Sanford*, Chief Justice Taney wrote that no slave or descendant of a slave could ever be considered a citizen under the U.S. Constitution (and thus Scott had no standing to sue in federal court and was still a slave despite having accompanied his master to nonslaveholding territory) because, in his incorrect assertion, all blacks had been slaves at the time of the constitution's framing – the incorrectness of his assertion was noted in the dissenting opinion. [Justice Curtis in dissent: "At the time of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors on equal terms with other citizens."] For Taney, the question of whether Scott was *currently* a slave or a free man had no bearing on his claim to U.S. citizenship; slavery as a legal identity was subsumed in the "prior" question of race. Thus at the very moment when sectionalist tensions were at their highest –when the "north" and the "south" seemed to designate wholly separate moral orders– the distinction between being a slave and being a freedman was elided, and that elision was given juridical sanction.



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On the following day, in their gazettes, Americans would be reading in the coldest of cold black-and-white about this significant new development in the national proslavery/antislavery struggle:

The decision, however, as it stands, is ample to head off all legislation by Congress on the Slavery question, and effectually bridle the Free States.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE DECIDED.
WASHINGTON, Friday, March 6, 1857.

The opinion of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case was delivered by Chief Justice Taney. It was a full and elaborate statement of the views of the Court. They have decided the following all-important points:

First: Negroes, whether slaves or free, that is men of the African race, are not citizens of the United States, by the Constitution.

Second: The Ordinance of 1787 had no independent constitutional force or legal effect subsequent to the adoption of the Constitution; and could not operate of itself to confer freedom or citizenship within the North-West Territory on negroes, not citizens by the Constitution.

Three: The provisions of the act of 1820, commonly called the Missouri Compromise, in so far as it undertook to exclude negro slavery from and communicate freedom and citizenship to negroes in the northern part of the Louisiana cession, was a legislative act exceeding the powers of Congress, and void, and of no legal effect to that end.

In deciding these main points, the Supreme Court determined the following incidental points:

First: The expression "territory and other prop-

[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

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1858

[Henry Stephens Randall, LL.D.](#), 's 3-volume THE LIFE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, in which he nicely managed the outrageous rumors of racial miscegenation by allowing that it might have been not the honorable [Thomas Jefferson](#) but his less principled nephew Peter Carr who had been doing the nasty for so many years with Monticello house slave [Sally Hemings](#) (we don't know that [Henry Thoreau](#) ever saw this bio of Jefferson).

LIFE OF THOS. JEFFERSON

LIFE OF THOS. JEFFERSON

LIFE OF THOS. JEFFERSON

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1860

November 7, Thursday: In a ceremony at [Naples](#), [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) officially handed Southern [Italy](#) and [Sicily](#) over to King Vittorio Emanuele of Sardinia.

News arrived that the Republican candidate had won the national election. The officials of [Charleston, South Carolina](#) resigned because of the election of [Abraham Lincoln](#) as President of the United States of America.



US CIVIL WAR



Nov. 7. To Cambridge¹⁵³ and Boston.



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

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1868

June 1, Monday: [Henry Stephens Randall](#) wrote from Cortland Village, New York to James Parton:

DEAR SIR—

The "Dusky Sally Story" — the story that [Mr. Jefferson](#) kept one of his slaves ([Sally Henings](#) [sic]) as his mistress and had children by her, was once extensively believed by respectable men, and I believe both John Quincy Adams and our Bryant sounded poetical lyres on this very poetical subject!

Walking about mouldering Monticello one day with Col. T.J. Randolph (Mr. Jefferson's oldest grandson) he showed me a smoke blackened and sooty room in one of the collonades, and informed me it was Sally Henings' [sic] room. He asked me if I knew how the story of Mr. Jefferson's connexion with her originated. I told him I did not. "There was a better excuse for it, said he, than you might think: she had children which resembled Mr. Jefferson so closely that it was plain that they had his blood in their veins." He said in one case that the resemblance was so close, that at some distance or in the dusk the slave, dressed in the same way, might be mistaken for Mr. Jefferson. — He said in one instance, a gentleman dining with Mr. Jefferson, looked so startled as he raised his eyes from the latter to the servant behind him, that his discovery of the resemblance was perfectly obvious to all. Sally Henings [sic] was a house servant and her children were brought up house servants — so that the likeness between master and slave was blazoned to all the multitudes who visited this political Mecca.

Mr. Jefferson had two nephews, Peter Carr and Samuel Carr whom he brought up in his house. There were the sons of Mr. Jefferson's sister and her husband Dabney Carr that young and brilliant orator, described by Wirt, who shone so conspicuously in the dawn of the Revolution, but died in 17---. Pete was peculiarly gifted and amiable. Of Samuel I know less. But he became a man of repute and sat in the State Senate of Virginia. Col. Randolph informed me that Sally Henings [sic] was the mistress of Peter, and her sister Betsey the mistress of Samuel — and from these connections sprang the progeny which resembled Mr. Jefferson. Both the Henings [sic] girls were light colored and decidedly goodlooking. The Colonel said their connexion with the Carrs was perfectly notorious at Monticello, and scarcely disguised by the latter — never disavowed by them. Samuel's proceedings were particularly open.

Col. Randolph informed me that there was not the shadow of suspicion that Mr. Jefferson in this or any other instance ever had commerce with his female slaves. At the periods when these Carr children were born, he, Col. Randolph, had charge of Monticello. He gave all the general directions, gave out their clothes to the slaves, etc., etc. He said Sally Henings [sic] was treated, dressed, etc., exactly like the rest. He said Mr.

153. Was it on November 7, 1859 or November 7, 1860 that [Henry Thoreau](#) checked out [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA. WITH AN APPENDIX (8th American edition; Boston: Printed by David Carlisle, for Thomas & Andrews, J. West, West & Greenleaf, J. White & Co., E. & S. Larkin, J. Nancrede, Manning & Loring, Boston, Thomas & Thomas, Walpole, N.H., and B.B. Macanulty, Salem. 1801) from the Harvard Library? His notes on this reading are in Indian Notebook #12.



THOMAS JEFFERSON'S NOTES



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Jefferson never locked the door of his room by day: and that he (Col. R.) slept within sound of his breathing at night. He said he had never seen a motion, or a look, or a circumstance which led him to suspect for an instant that there was a particle more of familiarity between Mr. Jefferson and Sally Henings [sic] than between him and the most repulsive servant in the establishment — and that no person ever living at Monticello dreamed of such a thing. With Betsy Henings [sic], whose children also resembled him, his habitual meeting, was less frequent, and the chance for suspicion still less, and his connexion with her was never indeed alleged by any of our northern politicians, or poets.

Col. Randolph said that he had spent a good share of his life closely about Mr. Jefferson —at home and on journeys— in all sorts of circumstances and he fully believed him chaste and pure — as “immaculate a man as God ever created.”

Mr. Jefferson’s oldest daughter, Mrs. Gov. Randolph, took the Dusky Sally stories much to heart. But she never spoke to her sons but once on the subject. Not long before her death she called two of them —the Colonel and George Wythe Randolph— to her. She asked the Colonel if he remembered when “— Henings [sic] (the slave who most resembled Mr. Jefferson) was born.” He said he could answer by referring to the book containing the list of slaves. He turned to the book and found that the slave was born at the time supposed by Mrs. Randolph. She then directed her sons attention to the fact that Mr. Jefferson and Sally Henings [sic] could not have met —were far distant from each other— for fifteen months prior to such birth. She bade her sons remember this fact, and always to defend the character of their grandfather. It so happened when I was afterwards examining an old account book of the Jeffersons I came pop on the original entry of this slaves birth: and I was then able from well known circumstances to prove the fifteen months separation — but those circumstances have faded from my memory. I have no doubt I could recover them however did Mr. Jefferson’s vindication in the least depend upon them.

Colonel Randolph said that a visitor at Monticello dropped a newspaper from his pocket or accidentally left it. After he was gone, he (Colonel R.) opened the paper and found some very insulting remarks about Mr. Jefferson’s Mulatto Children. The Col. said he felt provoked. Peter and Sam Carr were lying not far off under a shade tree. He took the paper and put it in Peters hands, pointing out the article. Peter read it, tears coursing down his cheeks, and then handed it to Sam. Sam also shed tears. Peter exclaimed, “arnt you and I a couple of pretty fellows to bring this disgrace on poor old uncle who has always fed us! We ought to be — by —!”

I could give fifty more facts were there time, and were there any need of it, to show Mr. Jefferson’s innocence of this and all similar offenses against propriety.

I asked Col. R why on earth Mr. Jefferson did not put these slaves who looked like him out of the public sight by sending them to his Bedford estate or else where —He said Mr. Jefferson never betrayed the least consciousness of the resemblance— and although he (Col. R.) had no doubt his mother, would have been very glad to have them removed, that both and all venerated Mr. Jefferson too deeply to broach such a topic to him. What suited him, satisfied them. Mr. Jefferson was deeply attached to the



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Carrs – especially to Peter. He was extremely indulgent to them and the idea of watching them for faults or vices probably never occurred to him.

Do you ask why I did not state, or at least hint the above facts in my Life of Jefferson? I wanted to do so, but Colonel Randolph, in this solitary case alone prohibited me from using at my discretion the information he had furnished me with. When I rather pressed him on the point he said, pointing to the family graveyard, "You are not bound to prove a negation. If I should allow you to take Peter Carr's corpse into Court and plead guilty over it to shelter Mr. Jefferson, I should not dare again to walk by his grave; he would rise and spurn me." I am exceedingly glad Col. Randolph did overrule me in this particular. I should have made a shameful mistake. If I had unnecessarily defended him (and it was purely unnecessary to offer any defense) at the expense of a dear nephew –and a nobleman– hating a single folly.– I write this currente calamo, and you will not understand that in telling what Col. R. and others said, I claim to give the precise language. I give it as I now recall it. I believe I hit at least the essential purport and spirit of it in every case. Do you wonder that the above explanations were not made by Mr. Jeffersons friends when the old Federal Party were hurling their missiles at him for keeping a Congo Harem! Nobody could have furnished a hint of explanation outside of the family. The secrets of an old Virginia manor house were like the secrets of an Old Norman Castle. Dr. Dingleson, and Professor Tucker had lived years near Mr. Jefferson, in the University, and were often at Monticello. They saw what others saw. But Dr. D told me that neither he nor Professor T. ever heard the subject named in Virginia. An awe and veneration was felt for Mr. Jefferson among his neighbors which in their view rendered it shameful to even talk about his name in such a connexion. Dr. D. told me that he never heard of Col. Randolph talking with anyone on the subject but me. But he said in his own secret mind he had always believed the matter stood just as Col. Randolph explained it to me.

You ask if I will not write a cheap Life of Jefferson of 600 pages, to go into families who will not purchase a larger work. I some years ago commenced such a condensed biography. I suspended the work when the storm of Civil War burst over the land. I have not again resumed it. I may yet do so hereafter – I have been strongly urged to the work by a prominent publishing house, and if I find time I may again mount my old hobby.

I must again express my regret that I cannot send you a fine autograph letter of Mr. Jefferson on some interesting topic – but I am stripped down to those his family expected me to keep. But I send you some characteristic leaves – one from his draft of his Parliamentary Law.

Very truly yours,
Henry S. Randall

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1869

Thomas Jefferson was put on the \$2 bill (this is what that bill looked like as of 1953 — the denomination is still in legal circulation, as a Federal Reserve Note, although now more rarely seen than even the \$1 coin).



The original \$2 bill had on its back an engraving of Monticello, but nowadays has on its back an engraved version of the famous Trumbull painting of the 2d Continental Congress, a simplified engraving from which 5 signers of the Declaration of Independence have been removed.

Back when the price of admission to Monticello was \$13, the cashier would hand out as change to the tourist who offered him a \$10 bill and a \$5 bill, one of these \$2 Jefferson/Monticello bills. Nowadays the price of admission to Monticello is \$23 and the cashier hands out as change to the tourist who offers him a \$20 bill and a \$5 bill one of the current \$2 Jefferson/Continental Congress bills. The bills are so rarely seen that, when a child recently attempted to use one to pay for her school lunch, her schoolteachers delivered her to the local police station, where the police threatened her with prosecution for attempting to pass counterfeit currency (she explained that a relative had given her the \$2 bill and the relative was summoned to the police station, and managed to persuade the police that actually the bill was legal US currency that she had received as part of her change when she had toured Monticello).



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1883

The custodians of Monticello commissioned a replica of [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s defaced tombstone to be positioned above the family graves, and disposed of the original by donating it to a willing recipient, the University of Missouri. After the fact this would be rationalized as having been a desire of the recipient to receive it, as its being the 1st school founded within the territory that Jefferson had secured with the Louisiana Purchase — but obviously, this had been something that had been driven primarily by the need for the estate to come up with a tolerable way to dispose of such a defaced hunk of rock. Initially the 3 pieces of stone would be set up outside the school's main building, but it would soon prove to be necessary to bring the loosely attached marble inscription slab inside Academic Hall, the 1st building on the campus, for safekeeping.



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SALLY HEMINGS

1889

[Henry Adams](#)'s HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JAMES MADISON (9 volumes, the initial 4 of which published during this year dealt with the 2 administrations of [President Thomas Jefferson](#)).



"Can history explain anything? [Henry Adams](#), after a lifetime of writing about American history, wasn't sure that it could. 'Historians undertake to arrange sequences, -called stories, or histories- assuming in silence a relation of cause and effect,' he wrote. But he suspected that the assumptions wouldn't bear scrutiny, and he was haunted by the idea that hoping for a causal explanation of human affairs might be a mistake, 'Chaos was the law of nature,' he suggested late in life. 'Order was the dream of man.'"

— Caleb Crain



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1892

January 9, Saturday: The custodians of Monticello had in 1883 replaced the original tombstone of [Thomas Jefferson](#), which had been defaced by generations of souvenir seekers, with a larger replica positioned above the family graves, and had disposed of the defaced smaller original by donating it to the University of Missouri.



Initially the defaced 3 pieces of stone had been set up outside that school's Academic Hall, its 1st building, but it had soon proved to be necessary to bring the loosely attached marble inscription slab indoors for safekeeping. However, at this point the building burned to the ground. When recovered from the ashes, the marble inscription slab was in 5 major pieces, crumbled at the edges, and had black stains evidently caused by molten metal dripping onto it in the flames. The slab would be reassembled atop another slab of marble, plastered roughly in place, and stored in a wooden box in a dark corner of an unfinished attic. It would remain in that condition until 2005 and then the process of rendering this residue fit for viewing would involve 6 or 7



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years of restoration labor.

At the end of all that labor and expense, what would we have? We would have a self-promoting cult-of-personality falsehood, that Thomas had been the author of our Declaration of Independence! True because he said so! True because the stone said so!

**HERE WAS BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON
AUTHOR OF THE
DECLARATION
OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
OF THE
STATUTE OF VIRGINIA
FOR
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
AND FATHER OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA**

—

**BECAUSE OF THESE, AS TESTIMONIALS THAT I HAVE LIVED, I WISH MOST TO BE
REMEMBERED**

—



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1900

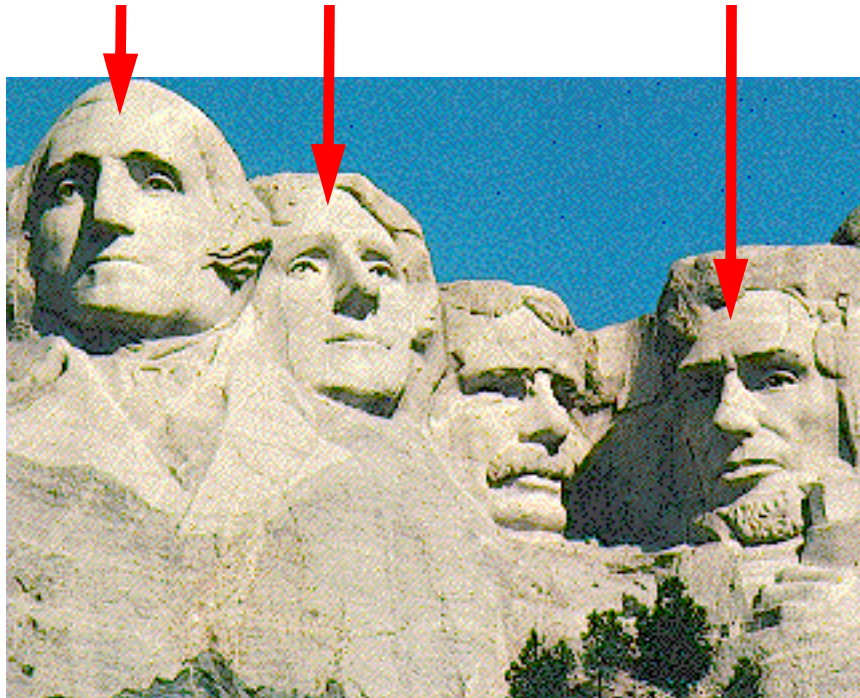
[Thomas Jefferson](#) had hoped to eliminate religion from his proposed public university by removing theology from the curriculum. However, as evangelical Protestantism came in the early 19th Century to dominate Virginia's culture, he had been forced to compromise and his University of Virginia had begun to provide nonsectarian religious instruction (under the rubric "Moral Philosophy"). Jefferson's compromise had then been reenacted at all the other institutions of higher education in the state, so that even denominational colleges had been able to adhere to one or another such "nonsectarian" pretense while offering an essentially religious education. By the end of the 19th Century [separation of church and state](#) in Virginia's public school system had become compatible with a generalized evangelical Protestantism — complete with all its Bible-thumping, all its obligatory-lecture "praying," all its singing of tendentiously worded "hymns," and all its dissing of any other religious understanding.

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When asked to nominate the “Americans most deserving representation” for inclusion in a hall of fame that was being planned in Massachusetts, the Honorable George Frisbie Hoar needed to exclude his world-class heroes William Ewart Gladstone, [John Milton](#), the *Marquis de Lafayette*, General Simon Bolivar, [Giuseppe Mazzini](#), [Lajos Kossuth](#), and Miss Florence Nightingale because they were not Americans (well, in addition to being disqualified as a mere Brit, Miss Florence was not even male and not even yet deceased), and he excused [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) and [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) because to be great a man must possess “more than the quality of a great artist,” and he banished [Benjamin Franklin](#) to the outer darkness for having been “without idealism, without lofty principle, and, on one side of his character, gross and immoral,” and, finally, aware that he could not get away with submitting his own name because he wasn’t dead yet (and besides that it would have been utterly immodest), he submitted the following dozen dead white American malenesses:

- President [George Washington](#) (the most “noble” on the list, representing “the prime meridian of pure, exalted, human character”)
- President [Thomas Jefferson](#) (the most “influential” on the list, because of his alleged authorship of the [Declaration of Independence](#), a document endorsed by the Honorable George Frisbie Hoar’s grandfather Roger Sherman)
- President [Abraham Lincoln](#)
- The Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#)
- President John Adams
- Sam Adams
- Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton
- Senator [Daniel Webster](#)
- Chief Justice John Marshall
- Senator Charles Sumner
- [Waldo Emerson](#)
- Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)



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[Daniel Chester French](#) did an equestrian statue of George Washington, for [Paris](#).



(This isn't it — bronze horses are so easily mistaken for one another.)

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Oh, all right. How can I keep it from you?



The general had of course ridden various horses at various times. At least two of his mounts had been killed in combat. “Old Nelson,” “Roger Leo,” “Ellen Edenberg,” and “Blueskin” were among the survivors. We seem to have lost track of which of these the sculptor was here attempting to render immortal in bronze — perhaps he was merely immortalizing the spirit of horseness.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Wednesday: Out of a sense of respect for the loss of life that had occurred there in a massive fire a few days earlier, the citizenry of Hoboken, [New Jersey](#) decided not to have a 4th-of-July celebration this year.

In Tacoma, Washington, shortly after 8AM, a streetcar conveying passengers from the southern suburbs into the downtown for the Independence Day celebration jumped its track and plunged into a deep ravine, killing 36 and injuring 60.

President Warren McKinley reviewed a parade in Canton, Ohio.

In Paris, France, Ferdinand W. Peck presented a statue in honor of the *Marquis de Lafayette*, paid for by American schoolchildren, to President Emile Loubet.

In Louisville, Kentucky a memorial to [Thomas Jefferson](#), funded by the brothers Isaac W. and Bernard Bernheim, was dedicated. He helped us to be free if we were white people. In Whitehouse, Ohio a statue was dedicated to those who had fought in the American Civil War.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



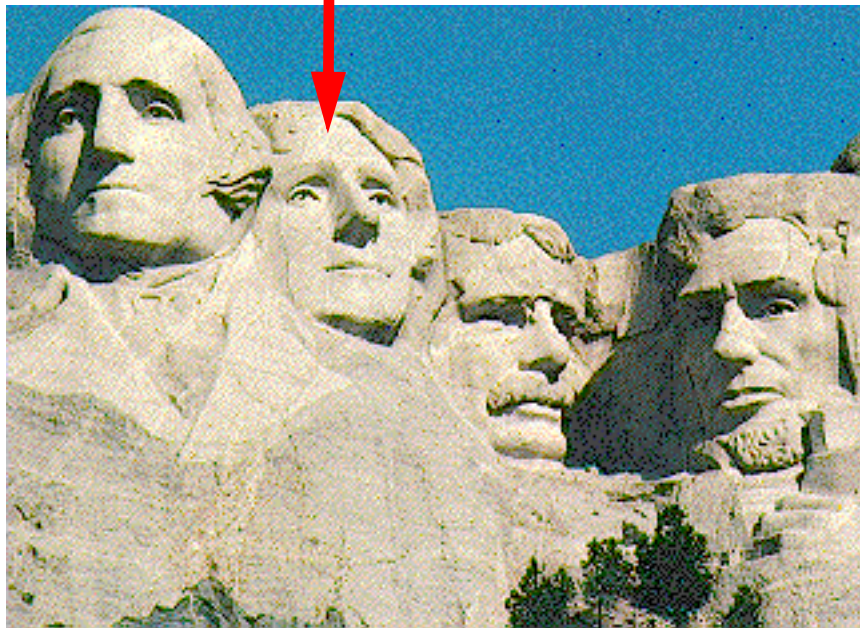
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1904

The Gospel according to St. Thomas the Slavemaster: Because of his famous name, and because of a greedy publisher, [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s slipshod and inane rewriting of the gospels for harmony of voice was published as THE LIFE AND MORALS OF JESUS OF NAZARETH, EXTRACTED TEXTUALLY FROM THE GOSPELS IN GREEK, LATIN, FRENCH, AND ENGLISH. (This is a fools-errand temptation which all serious Bible scholars now concur in resisting, as it has turned out that the discordance in the respective voices, and the disagreements in the respective chronologies of events, are considerably more informative when enumerated and studied rather than when in such a manner erased and suppressed.)





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1926



July 4/5: Our national birthday celebrations this year were actually so intense that they consumed two days, the 5th as well as the 4th. At Philadelphia during the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the [Declaration of Independence](#), the USS *Constellation* made its last public appearance as a commissioned vessel.

London's Morning Post, "the only great English newspaper of the present time that was in existence in 1776," printed a miniature reproduction of the page in which the full text of the [Declaration of Independence](#) had been printed in its issue of August 17, 1776.

The text of the only known letter written on the Fourth of July by a signer of the [Declaration of Independence](#) (Caesar Augustus Rodney of Delaware) was printed in the New York [Times](#).

President Calvin Coolidge planted the same kind of willow tree as was growing near the [tomb of George Washington](#) at [Mount Vernon](#) on the South Jersey exposition grounds in connection with the opening of the Delaware River bridge, and also delivered an oration in Philadelphia at its Sesquicentennial Exposition, and at Christ Church read the names of 7 signers of the [Declaration of Independence](#) on a bronze replica of a tablet that was being unveiled there by 6 young women descendants of the signers.

The National Amateur Press Association had its 50th anniversary, the first meeting having taken place on July 4, 1876.

In Charlottesville, Virginia, upon the centenary of [Thomas Jefferson's](#) death, the Right Reverend William T. Manning, Episcopal Bishop of New York, stood at the graveside and delivered an oration.

At Natural Bridge, Virginia, on July 5th, a bronze and granite marker commemorating the granting of Natural Bridge to [Jefferson](#) by King George III on July 5, 1774 was unveiled. Monticello was formally "given to the nation."

In Budapest, Hungary, as church bells tolled, Count Albert Apponyi delivered a Fourth of July gratitude speech.

Near Chatham, New Jersey, on the banks of the Passaic River, as a pageant depicting colonial life and the birth of a new nation was being presented, the collapse of a grandstand threw people to the ground.

In [Washington DC](#), Representative Harry R. Rathbone of Illinois delivered a celebration speech in which he called for home rule for the [District of Columbia](#).

In the Bronx, New York, Congressman Anthony J. Griffin delivered an oration as part of a Sesquicentennial



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service held at the historic St. Ann's Episcopal Church of Morrisania, known also as the Church of the Patriots.

In London, American Ambassador to England Alanson B. Houghton presented a bronze statuette of a bison to the Prince of Wales on behalf of the Boy Scouts of America. The prince received this statuette on behalf of the Boy Scouts of Great Britain.

In Prague, Czechoslovakia, near the American Legation, the American flag was raised in the Sokol Stadium.

At Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, the "Star-Spangled Banner" peace chime and the National Birthday Bell were dedicated.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



1933

[Ezra Pound](#) was granted an audience with the [Italian](#) swordsman [Benito Mussolini](#) and presented him with his digest of economic reforms and a draft of his CANTOS.



Il Duce (acting impressed)

In ABC OF ECONOMICS, Pound presented all cultural history as a struggle between producers and usurers, presenting a pantheon of heroes in which Mussolini stood, fiscally, alongside [Thomas Jefferson](#).



In a related development, the Lone Ranger and Tonto began heigh-ho'ing Silver, in radio broadcasts from Detroit's WXYZ-AM.

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SALLY HEMINGS

1937

Fall Felix Oscar Schlag designed the [Thomas Jefferson](#) nickel.¹⁵⁴



¹⁵⁴ Now, as you are aware, we have a new nickel which displays the nose of Jefferson, or Bob Hope, as it pleases you to imagine.

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1943

April 13, Tuesday: On the 200th anniversary of the birth of [Thomas Jefferson](#), before an assembly of some 5,000 mostly white citizens, [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) dedicated a monumental white “Jefferson Memorial” erection in [Washington DC](#) in honor of the supposed founding father of the Democratic Party, to match the already-extant Lincoln Memorial honoring the supposed founding father of the [Republican Party](#). The brochure distributed on that day indicated that the inscriptions placed upon the walls of this memorial had been selected by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Committee “from a wide variety” of Jefferson’s “writings on freedom, slavery, education and government.” Actually this had been perpetrated by no “committee,” but by Saul Padover, assistant to FDR’s Secretary of the Interior. It was he who had selected and edited those quotes,



in 1942 in his adulatory biography of Jefferson, that would be used on the walls of the new commemorative edifice. He had done this in order to mimic the writing-on-the-walls style found in the already-extant Lincoln Memorial that was honoring the GOP. But while the Lincoln thing had set out the Gettysburg Address and the 2nd Inaugural in their entireties, this Jefferson thing was merely to juxtapose sentence fragments from widely scattered writings, to distort his mentation and obfuscate his politics. One of the panels misquoted from the preamble and conclusion of the [Declaration of Independence](#) by omitting 5 words. The architect requested the omissions so the text would fit better! Surely this memorable text should not be altered for so petty a reason.



We know Jefferson would not have approved, for whenever he sent to his correspondents a copy of the Declaration, which was early and often, he had taken pains to show what the Continental Congress had added



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to “his” draft and what it had cut from “his” draft. The altered text¹⁵⁵ says:

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT: THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN. WE ... SOLEMNLY PUBLISH AND DECLARE, THAT THESE COLONIES ARE AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES... AND FOR THE SUPPORT OF THIS DECLARATION, WITH A FIRM RELIANCE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, WE MUTUALLY PLEDGE OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES, AND OUR SACRED HONOUR.

- In the above “that” has been eliminated from before “among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” without ellipsis, unnecessarily making Jefferson seem an awkward writer unable to construct a proper parallelism.
- In the above, the simple omission of a whole word (elision), of “United” from before “Colonies,” seems to insinuate that it had been 13 separate states that had declared independence, rather than a collective body for mutual governance, and that after the formation of a formal federal union these 13 states were to remain separate. In other words, the elision without ellipsis is such as to beg the states’-rights question.
- In the above, the omission without ellipsis of “to each other” from “We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour” removes a redundancy the force of which had been to emphasize that the 56 signers of the document were aware that, were they somehow to fail to hang together, were some of them to break faith in an effort to cut a separate deal with the forces

Another of the panels, on religious freedom, strung together three quotes from the “Act for Religious Freedom” enacted in Virginia in 1779 by its Assembly, and tacked on a sentence from Jefferson’s private correspondence in the following decade with James Madison, “I know but one code of morality for men whether acting singly or collectively,” ripping that final sentence out of its context. He and Madison had been corresponding about whether institutions determine our behavior, and if so, how then to shape those institutions. In this monumental context of religious freedom, subjected to mentions of “Almighty God” and “the Holy Author of our freedom,” the snippet is inserted in order falsely to suggest that Jefferson had held to some sort of morality of obedience to divine dictate — when actually he had been a believer in the efficacy of human reason in matters moral rather than any heeder of divine authority. In other words, this was a sop to the Bible-thumpers.

Another of the panels offered a single extended quotation from a letter Jefferson had written in 1816, on the need to change institutions “to keep pace with the times.” It is innocuous, it is merely trite.

Another of the panels, which the National Park Service brochure describes as “devoted to his ideas on freedom of the body and to his beliefs in the necessity of educating the masses of the people,” amounts to a hodge-podge of quotes from diverse Jefferson materials prepared during widely different epochs of his life. The materials are strung together in such manner as to create the false impression that their author had been very nearly an abolitionist:

GOD WHO GAVE US LIFE GAVE US LIBERTY. CAN THE LIBERTIES OF A NATION BE SECURE WHEN WE HAVE REMOVED A CONVICTION THAT THESE LIBERTIES ARE THE GIFT OF GOD? INDEED I TREMBLE FOR MY COUNTRY WHEN I REFLECT THAT GOD IS JUST, THAT HIS JUSTICE CANNOT SLEEP FOREVER. COMMERCE BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE IS DESPOTISM. NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE. ESTABLISH THE LAW FOR EDUCATING THE COMMON PEOPLE. THIS IT IS THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE TO EFFECT AND ON A GENERAL PLAN.

155. I have here set these wall quotes in a computer font called “Comic,” because I don’t have a font called “Tragic.”



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When the snippets are returned to their contexts, they reveal something quite different:

- The first sentence fragment, “[THE] GOD WHO GAVE US LIFE GAVE US LIBERTY [AT THE SAME TIME],” is something that Saul Padover extracted from the conclusion of A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE RIGHTS OF BRITISH AMERICA, a pamphlet Jefferson had written in 1774, but in this originaive context it followed a sentence objecting to taxes imposed on the colonies by the mother country. By grafting this fragment about tax matters into a new context of remarks about slavemasters and their human property, the monument suggests that Jefferson had been writing about the rights of his [slaves](#), where such an imputation is entirely false.
- The question “CAN THE LIBERTIES OF A NATION BE SECURE WHEN WE HAVE REMOVED A CONVICTION THAT THESE LIBERTIES ARE THE GIFT OF GOD?” and the following two sentences, Padover extracted from a long paragraph headed “Manners” in Jefferson’s 1782 NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA. This paragraph had indeed treated of human enslavement — but for the wall of the monument the phrases were being tendentiously rearranged to have a very different impact on the viewer. In context Jefferson has been lamenting the harm that the institution of human enslavement was having, not on [slaves](#), but on their masters. Poor white men, their servants were such a burden upon them! The necessity for service carried with it the risk of transforming these decent, caring recipients of service, in their starched shirts, “into despots.” The impact on the owned hands, by way of radical contrast, was seen as merely that of transforming them “into enemies,” rendering them hostile to the master class and a threat to the safety of the master class. Jefferson had gone on to finish one of these sentences with a direct reference to servile insurrection: “that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events.” Jefferson’s question above had allowing the slavemasters to continue to presume that liberty was theirs to either bestow or remove, while referring to the problem in terms of the white man’s burden.
- In its original context, the remark “COMMERCE BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE IS DESPOTISM” had packed a punch that could not be read off the walls of a public edifice of our national capital:

THERE MUST DOUBTLESS BE AN UNHAPPY INFLUENCE ON THE MANNERS OF OUR PEOPLE PRODUCED BY THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY AMONG US. THE WHOLE COMMERCE BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE IS A PERPETUAL EXERCISE OF THE MOST BOISTEROUS PASSIONS, THE MOST UNREMITTING DESPOTISM ON THE ONE PART, AND DEGRADING SUBMISSIONS ON THE OTHER. OUR CHILDREN SEE THIS, AND LEARN TO IMITATE IT ... AND THUS NURSED, EDUCATED AND DAILY EXERCISED IN TYRANNY, CANNOT BUT BE STAMPED BY IT WITH ODIOS PECULIARITIES. THE MAN MUST BE A PRODIGY WHO CAN RETAIN HIS MANNERS AND MORALS UNDEGRAVED BY SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES.

Especially now that we know that Jefferson himself had been unable to keep his pecker in his pants while he was around his pretty young house [slaves](#), it is fortunate that such musings had in 1943 been elided or repurposed.

- The final “NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE” is from Jefferson’s AUTOBIOGRAPHY of 1821. The difficulty is not so much that two different writings from two different periods have been juxtaposed without a ligature, but that in the original context Jefferson is saying something which this Committee would not have been able to scrawl on a public restroom wall, let alone on this wall of white stone. Let us allow Jefferson to complete his thought:

NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE. NOR IS IT LESS CERTAIN THAT THE TWO RACES, EQUALLY FREE, CANNOT LIVE IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT. NATURE, HABIT, OPINION HAS DRAWN INDELIBLE LINES OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN THEM.

In other words, apartheid.

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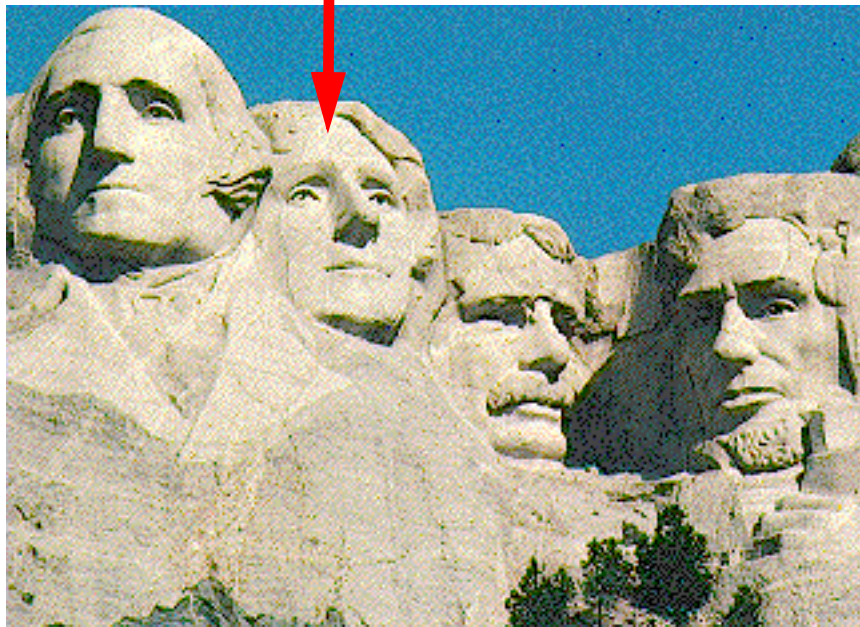
Conor Cruise O'Brien's present analysis is:

In short, these people are to be free, and then deported. Jefferson's teaching on that matter is quite clear and often repeated. Those who edited that inscription on behalf of the memorial commission must have known what they were doing when they wrenched that resounding sentence from the AUTOBIOGRAPHY out of the contest that so drastically qualifies its meaning. The distortion by suppression has to be deliberate. In that inscription on the Jefferson Memorial in [Washington DC](#), the liberal-Jeffersonian lie about Jefferson's position on liberty and slavery assumes literally monumental proportions.

The final two sentences of the writing on the white walls, sentences which occurred in 1786 letters to Jefferson's mentor George Wythe and to George Washington, now make it appear to Washington's tourist throngs as if Jefferson had been willing to include blacks among "the common people" of America, a people to be educated out of their sloth and ignorance and dangerousness. However, Jefferson never offered education to any of his [slaves](#), even those who were his own children. When Thaddeus Kosciusko had left a will making Jefferson the executor of his American estate, that document required Jefferson to use government securities worth approximately \$17,000 to purchase, manumit, and provide a head-start education for a number of young black American slaves.

MANUMISSION

This Jefferson simply had refused to contemplate, and so finally the proceeds from the sale of the securities would need to be used for other benevolent purposes. A Park Service brochure for the Jefferson Memorial now asserts the pious lie that "Although his efforts to abolish slavery were not successful, he was one of the first Americans to argue forcefully the inconsistency of slavery in a democratic state." This pamphlet badly needs to be rewritten to demonstrate the manner in which selective and tendentious misquotation by historians has created the grand words the tourists are reading from the walls.



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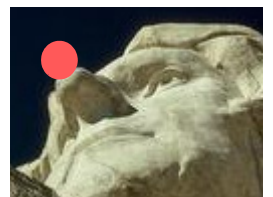
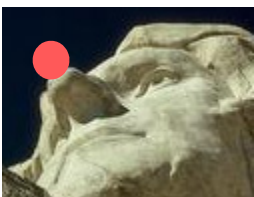
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(Even TIME magazine has acknowledged, on its cover, that the new view our children have been getting of founding daddy Thomas Jefferson is “divisive.” Here he is marching along with his [slave](#) mistress and one of his dusky son slaves:-)



“The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn’t that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned





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slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."

- [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



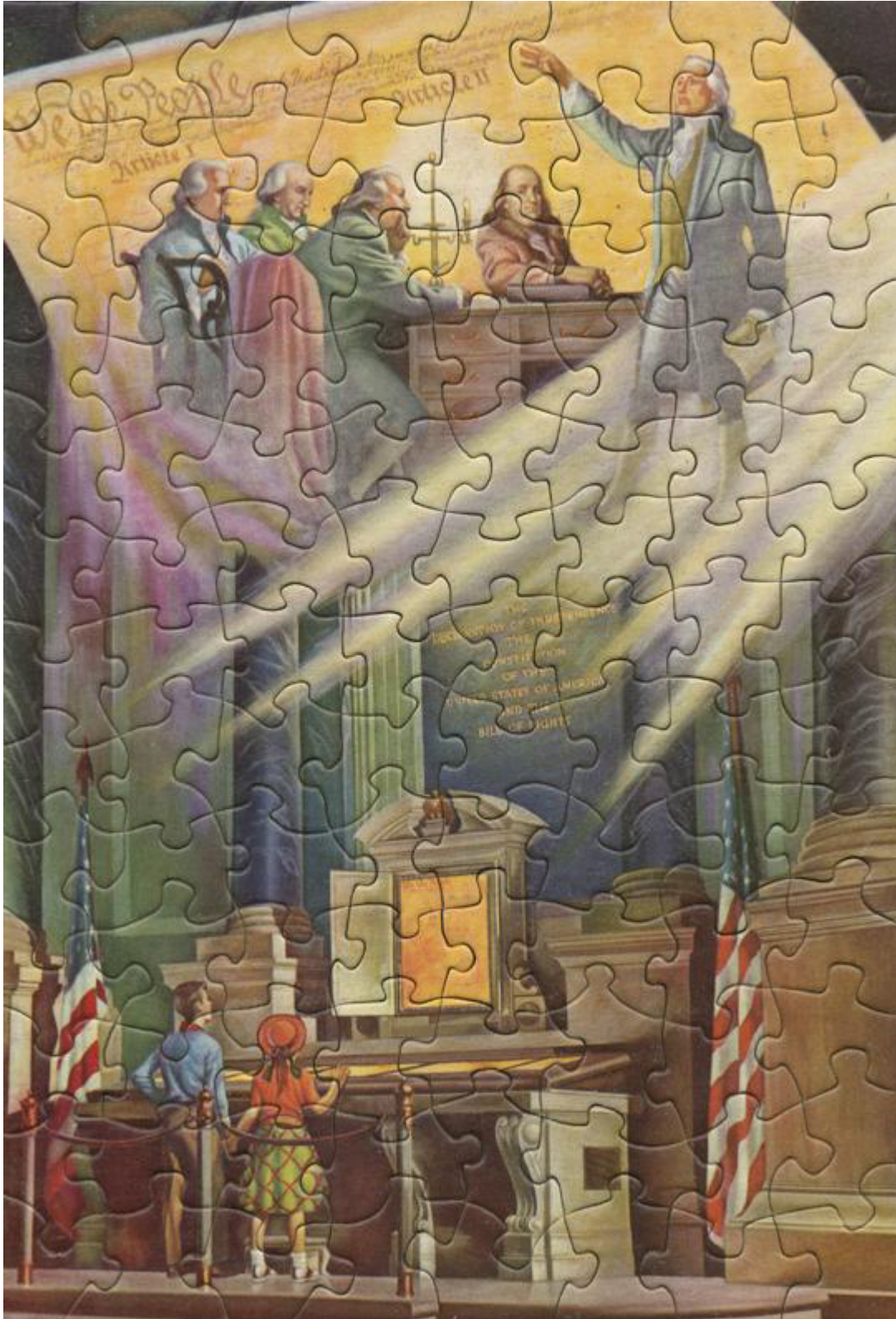
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1947

It wasn't until the Everson case of this year that the US Supreme Court weighed in on the issue of denying government funding to religious schools, such as the schools of the Catholics, by declaring that such funding was contrary to the historical intent of the 1st Amendment. The question before the court was whether it was wrong for New Jersey to use tax money to pay the school transportation costs of all children, including those attending parochial schools. Just about all right-thinking Americans were opposed to letting those Catholics have tax money to use to tell religious lies to the kiddies, for instance the [Ku Klux Klan](#) was red hot under the collar about this. Not being able to find anything else to hang their hats on, the justices ventured into the realm of historic falsehood, by declaring a sudden reinterpretation of the 1st Amendment's nonestablishment clause. Justice Hugo Black (who, before he became a Justice, had been a member of the [Ku Klux Klan](#)) pulled out of nowhere that heretofore-obscure letter [Thomas Jefferson](#) had sent in 1803 to a group of worried Connecticut Baptists, in which Jefferson had written the magic words "intended to erect [a wall of separation between church and state](#)." Black was omitting to mention, of course, that none of the other writers of the constitution, including James Madison, who had proposed and written the 1st Amendment, had supported such a conceptualization. Writing for the majority, Justice Black hung the court's hat on this perversion of historical intent. No money for Catholics: the reinterpreted US Constitution forbade it!



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1948

February: The Council Against Intolerance in America gave the [Reverend George Mills Houser](#) and Friend [Bayard Rustin](#), for their attempts to bring an end to segregation in interstate travel, the [Thomas Jefferson Award for the Advancement of Democracy](#).¹⁵⁶

156. Shouldn't it be a prerequisite, for receiving a "[Thomas Jefferson](#)" award, to have engendered at least one mulatto noncitizen?
—Just asking.





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1969

According to an article by William Cohen entitled “[Thomas Jefferson](#) and the Problem of [Slavery](#),”

In November 1776, [Thomas Jefferson](#) was chosen as a member of a committee whose task was to revise, modernize, and codify the statutes of Virginia. Among his assignments was the job of drawing up the legislation dealing with [slaves](#). He later described this bill, which he completed in 1778, as a “mere digest” of the existing legislation on the subject, and to a certain extent this was true.... Nevertheless, the bill was more than a digest of earlier codes and it contained some significant additions which were designed to prevent the increase of [the state’s free Negro population](#). It was to be illegal for free Negroes to come into Virginia of their own accord or to remain there for more than one year after they were emancipated. A [white woman having a child by a Negro](#) would be required to leave the state within a year. The individual who violated these regulations would be placed “out of the protection of the laws.” This would have left them subject to re-enslavement or even to murder at the whim of their neighbors and was, therefore, a most severe punishment.

RACISM



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SALLY HEMINGS

1971

In Eugene F. Timpe's THOREAU ABROAD: TWELVE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS (Hamden CT: The Shoe String Press), one of the countries considered was Russia.

READ A REVIEW OF THIS



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SALLY HEMINGS

“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

Timpe has collected in this small volume the critical reviews of Thoreau throughout the world. He points out in his Forward that the growth in Thoreau’s reputation is “one of the most startling phenomena in American literature” (3). During Thoreau’s lifetime and the next twenty five years, according to Timpe, he was regarded as a poor clone of Emerson. Timpe traces the beginnings of widespread interest in Thoreau’s work: which came during the last decade of the nineteenth century mainly through a resurgence in interest in natural history nature.

Up to this point there had been minimal interest in Thoreau’s work overseas, and that primarily in England. In the 1890s, according to Timpe, editions, translations, critical articles, and biographies appeared in various European countries, including England, Ireland, Holland, and Germany. Much of the interest was sparked through the interest of Henry Stephens Salt, an Englishman who also stimulated interest in Herman Melville. Besides this interest, the only interest in Thoreau was in his capacity as a nature writer and this was particularly in Germany where interest in Nature writing was keenest.

This interest was temporary, and another fifty years passed without much notice either in America or abroad. It was only after World War II that Thoreau gained much popularity again, and particularly that he was noticed overseas. Translations of Thoreau’s works were made in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Switzerland, Germany, Russia, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Israel, Argentina, Brazil, Taiwan, Japan, and India. When Timpe writes of Thoreau’s attraction overseas, he says it varies from area to area. In Japan, for instance, Thoreau is seen as a nature writer and one who offers a contemplative alternative. “The Europeans think of him, as a political activist who fought against slavery in America and who offers a highly workable methodology for today’s battle against the forces of tyranny and dictatorship” (7). Understandably “RESISTANCE TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT” is Thoreau’s favorite piece in Europe, according to Timpe.

Timpe encourages us to notice scholarship on Thoreau abroad because Thoreau for many years was not adequately appreciated at home; his “Civil Disobedience” was seen as significant elsewhere before it was in this country. He also points out that other cultures may encourage us to see Thoreau in diverse ways. Timpe sees Thoreau as “a man striking of a balance between personal provincialism and intellectual cosmopolitanism” (16), something which he did, not by travelling to foreign lands but by “allegiance to mankind as a whole.” Thoreau was not disinterested in foreign travel as his fascination with trains and wharfs shows. Thoreau mentions more than “443 foreign locales in his writings” (17), and although he sounds disdainful of travelling, he seems to have read accounts of travels voraciously. In one of his letters, Thoreau writes, “Your method of travelling especially to live along the road citizens of the world, without haste or petty plans – I have often proposed this to my dreams and I still do But the fact is, I cannot so decidedly postpone exploring the Farther Indies, which are to be reached you know by other routes and other methods of travel” (Correspondence, 156).

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON**SALLY HEMINGS****"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"**

Timpe considers more important than Thoreau as armchair traveler, Thoreau as one influenced by foreign literature. Thoroughly grounded in the classics, he also took several languages while at Harvard and continued to read books by geographers, anthropologists, and naturalists. According to Timpe, the more recent literature of Europe had as strong an appeal to Thoreau as did the classical. Thoreau was also influenced by European philosophers such as [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), Friedrich von Schelling, Bettina Brentano, Jean Paul Richter, and Kant.

Maurice J. Gonnaud and Micheline Flak write an essay in this collection called "Thoreau in France." They discuss the virtual ignorance of Thoreau in France with few exceptions. They trace Thoreau's influence in France, from an early response by Therese Bentzon in 1887, through to the present day.

In an article called "Thoreau and Van Eeden," Seymour Flaxman writes about Thoreau's influence and reception in the Netherlands. His reputation, according to Flaxman, is primarily due to Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932) who was part of a group of young Dutchmen who attempted an overthrow of the Dutch literary establishment. Van Eeden was a social reformer as well as a literary type, and Thoreau was one of his inspirations. He wrote in his diary, "I am reading Thoreau. A strong Thoreau atmosphere prevails. We are talking about colonies that we will establish, and I am searching constantly for suitable places for a hut or little house" (61). Van Eeden lived in his little hut and worked on a novel, but this was part of his dream of a social experiment. Eventually the experiment failed, but only after expanding to twenty farms, the foremost of which was named "Walden." It was primarily through Van Eeden and his experiment that the Netherlands became familiar with Thoreau (72).

Timpe himself (a comparative literature professor) writes the essay "Thoreau's Critical Reception in Germany." Thoreau's reception in [Germany](#), according to Timpe, was "substantial, occasionally even vigorous" (75). Interest in Thoreau seemed to be confined to two separate periods. The first started around 1890 and ended around 1910. During this period nearly a dozen articles of a scholarly nature appeared in Germany. During the period between the two wars, Thoreau was neglected in Germany, but in the period after World War II, increased interest in his writings became evident. This became clear in four new translations within five years of the end of the war, followed by a number of dissertations.

Dominik Jost writes an essay called "Henry D. Thoreau in [Switzerland](#)." Jost begins by writing about the attitude of the Swiss to America and Americans during Thoreau's lifetime. He points out that 40,000 emigrated to the America during this period, out of a population of two and a half million. There were many letters, diaries and travel books which came back to the homeland, as well as "about thirty American newspapers and magazines were known in Switzerland at the time, and their occasional treatment of transcendentalism – seen as a combination of democratic freedom and romantic subjectivism – had a sympathetic audience among Swiss readers. In the 1850s American novels started flooding into Switzerland" (85). There were other attitudes as well: articles and books about the crime rate in the new America, etc. But generally speaking, according to Jost, American literature was greeted with interest in Switzerland during this period.



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“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

Thoreau was greeted primarily as a nature writer. His most available work, according to Jost, was and is, [WALDEN](#).

At the time of this essay, only three Thoreau editions “have appeared in Switzerland, all in German: Herbst (Autumn), From the Diary of Henry D. Thoreau, ed by H.G.O. Blake, and [WALDEN](#).

There are, Jost points out, a very limited number of secondary works to be found, and this “testifies to the limitation of his influence” (89).

Agostino Lombardo writes his contribution to this collection: “Thoreau in Italy.” The first Italian translation of Thoreau’s Selected Works was done in 1958, and of [WALDEN](#) in 1920: it is little wonder that he is considered by many to be one of the American authors most neglected in [Italy](#). Other major American writers were translated or discussed fairly early, for instance Franklin in 1774, Washington Irving in 1824, Fenimore Cooper in 1827, and Poe and Whitman, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and Twain. James was translated late, but became relatively well known, and Emerson, “who is first cited in 1847 and first translated in 1865, ranks among those writers most frequently translated and discussed; he penetrates to the very heart of Italian culture” (96). Part of the cause of Thoreau’s relative obscurity is based on the fact that he was early classified as an naturalist and scientist.

It was through Matthiessen’s book AMERICAN RENAISSANCE that Thoreau became better known to Italian readers, and actually came to be known as a writer.

Other essays in this helpful book are about Thoreau’s reception in Bohemia, Russia, Israel, India, Japan, and Australia. {Mary Ellen Ashcroft, 1989}

[Nikita Pokrovsky](#) reports that, after having some success as an undergraduate student in the Philosophy Department of Moscow State University by way of research on [Thomas Jefferson](#), he had been desiring to continue his study the traditions of American social thought when he came across a dog-eared library copy of the 1962 translation into Russian of WALDEN, with its margins already filled with irritated and fiercely critical student notes and “resolutions.” These jottings would have been due to the fact that this assigned-reading text had been for years being belatedly perused by students who had exams to take the next day, who had been discovering that [Thoreau](#)’s prose was not at all easy to digest at one sitting. Nikita regrets that he did not substitute a fresh copy for this marked-up one, so as to have preserved such student jottings for posterity:

I Discover Thoreau

I am frequently asked why I, being a Russian, have become so interested in Thoreau’s ideas and have devoted so much time to them. I think this question is not so important, as I do not evaluate highly my personal contribution to “Thoreauviana.” But from a strictly sociological point of view, perhaps, it will be interesting to discuss the topic here.

After having some success as an undergraduate student in the Philosophy Department of Moscow State University in the early 70’s with my research on Thomas Jefferson, and wanting to continue studying the traditions of American social thought, I came across a dog-eared Russian translation, published in 1962, of Thoreau’s WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS. The copy belonged to the library at Moscow University and was ragged because it had been read so much – WALDEN being one of the classics designated for compulsory reading for the history of Western literature course



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in the Philology Department.

In the margins of the copy were innumerable notes and "resolutions" made by students. The majority were messages of an irritated nature, in fierce criticism of Thoreau. That was not surprising, for the night before the exam students frequently tried to cram into their heads the entire wealth of 19th-century Western literature. And because Thoreau, with all his complications and paradoxes, was essentially forced into their hands on the way to the exams, he probably seemed almost a curse to them.

Now I feel sorry that I did not exchange that copy of "misunderstanding" with a clean one. What a marvelous exhibit it would be for the museum or even for my private book collection!

Be that as it may, WALDEN not only fascinated me – it took over my soul. I read it and re-read it, trying to separate the "necessary" from the "unnecessary" paragraphs in the book, but I finally realized they were all necessary. Since then Thoreau has become a permanent companion in my life.

Although my first paper on Thoreau was titled "The Social and Political Philosophy of Thoreau," today I am not sure if Thoreau had such a philosophy. Nonetheless, the paper expresses what I thought at that time. It seemed to me then that I should make Thoreau the subject of my graduation paper. But fate willed otherwise.

The leaders of the department decided that Thoreau was "not a promising figure" – not really a philosopher, an advocate of "doubtful" civil disobedience, a non-collectivist who "ran away" from society, and so on. So they told me instead to apply my efforts to John Dewey, whose pragmatism fully met the requirements of my department for being a "real philosophy."

I started my work on Dewey with mixed feelings and soon found that Dewey was not a philosopher whose style of thinking I liked. In those years I was unable to understand all the subtleties of this thinker; he seemed simple and prosaic compared to Jefferson and the Transcendentalists.

The subject of my research became a problem again after I entered my graduate program at Moscow State University. Although the players were the same, the principal actor was different. For by that time I had attained my own vision of things in philosophy, and it became more difficult to impose upon me something that I did not approve.

I had decided to resume my project on Thoreau, but again I clashed with the department. The academic council instead assigned me the topic "The Ethics of John Dewey." I liked Dewey a bit more than I had two years before, but I did not like him enough to "trade" him for Thoreau. Today I am thankful to the department for its opposition to my project on Thoreau, for that opposition forced me to read and re-read Dewey's writings. As for Thoreau, I read him constantly and in ever-widening circles, which included both his original works and commentaries on those works.

After two years of study in the graduate program, I understood that I could not write anything sensible about Dewey's ethics. Meanwhile, the department intermittently expressed its impatience, referring me to the official decision and to the resources that the state had already spent on my education. In



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SALLY HEMINGS

those stagnant Brezhnev years, graduate students were constantly reminded how much the state spent to educate them. Although no one really knew what the state spent at that time, the reminders sounded threatening.

But I was older than most of my peers, and the departmental reminders had no effect on me. So I stubbornly returned to Thoreau. In the end the department gave in and agreed to let me study Thoreau, perhaps because it believed that expelling an obstinate graduate student would result in more problems than would its own patience and compromise. In any case, by the time the department's leadership reached this position, I had just six months to finish my work.

A series of personal troubles, which now seem absolutely trivial, soon occupied my thoughts and feelings, pushing Thoreau and Dewey and even the concerns about my department into the background. But a realization that I had very little time left to complete my studies forced me to begin reading WALDEN again. I found myself reading the book from a difficult angle of vision, one in which I discovered Thoreau to be a man of astonishing complexities and, what is more, an advisor, giving healthy and subtle recommendations on what to do when things are bad. I found in WALDEN the advice I needed at that time, and from then on my work went on swimmingly.

Since then I have steadfastly maintained my interest in Thoreau, and my interest naturally led me to begin corresponding with some American Thoreauvians. In 1978, I was able to visit the United States for the first time; and I was particularly fortunate to be able to visit Concord, Walden Pond, and the Thoreau Lyceum, as well as to be able to meet Walter Harding and other leaders of the Thoreau Society. From then on I frequently visited America for research and teaching, and everything really significant in my life since that visit in 1978 has been connected to Thoreau or those who keep his memory alive.



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1976

President John R. Silber of Boston University wrote an Op-Ed piece for The New York Times:

As Jefferson recognized, there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talent.... Democracy freed from a counterfeit and ultimately destructive egalitarianism provides a society in which the wisest, the best, and the most dedicated assume positions of leadership.... As long as intelligence is better than stupidity, knowledge than ignorance, and virtue than vice, no university can be run except on an elitist basis. (But, Professor Silber, isn't it true that this fellow elitist you are so proudly citing, [Thomas Jefferson](#), was a Virginia plantation slavemaster who believed that the races of humankind differ in degree of virtue and talent the extent that unless a person is at the very least 7/8ths white, they could not conceivably be eligible either for citizenship or for any position of leadership in our society? -That's not where you want to go, is it?)



PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

SALLY HEMINGS

1987

Agents of the Drug Enforcement Agency pointed out to caretakers at [Monticello](#) that the poppies in the medicinal garden were illegal, since they were [opium](#) poppies. These were plants that the Monticello Foundation had been growing because [Thomas Jefferson](#) himself was known to have grown them in that plot. In fact in their souvenir store there were stacks of T-shirts for the tourists, with silk-screened photos of these very poppies, and there was a shelf of seed packets labeled “Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello Poppies.”

Under threat of arrests they gathered together the offending T-shirts and seed packets and burned them — since then, at this tourist venue, they have been avoiding any reference to the President’s drug connection.



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1988

Fiona Stafford's *THE SUBLIME SAVAGE* dealt with the [Ossian/James Macpherson](#) controversy.

President [Thomas Jefferson](#) may still have been reading and appreciating Ossian as late as 1789, and commenting upon his continuing admiration as late as 1799, but is that so strange?

- Much later than 1799, as of 1815 even, [Napoleon Bonaparte](#), who was fond of referring to Ossian as “the northern Homer,” had François Gérard paint his palace at Malmaison “in the style of Ossian.” Over his bed in the Quirinale in Rome, instead of a mirror, he had Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres do a “Dream of Ossian” on the ceiling.
- Much later than 1815, in the fall of 1843 even, [Henry Thoreau](#) was appreciating the poetry of Ossian as if there were no challenge to its authenticity. He was, of course, a Harvard graduate who had specialized in literature and languages, and he did, of course, lecture and publish, and it is clear that no challenge was brought forward on this topic from members of his New England audiences. As of 1846, while Thoreau was working simultaneously on drafts of *WEEK* and of *WALDEN*, he was bringing materials forward from his lecture “Homer. Ossian. Chaucer” (upon which he had begun work at the suggestion of [Waldo Emerson](#), another Harvard grad, while he was staying on Staten Island and utilizing the resources of the NY Mercantile Library), without indicating that any concerns had ever been brought to his attention. None of the learned readers of *The Dial* took any exception to these materials. As of May 1, 1851 Thoreau was writing an alleged Ossian excerpt into his Journal.
- Much later than Fall 1843, as of November 1881 even, [Walt Whitman](#) was still writing about “an Ossianic night” without any indication of awareness that challenge had been made to the authenticity of the materials!

These instances fall further and further outside the longest of the long 18th Centuries. But [Thoreau](#) was not a person of ill will, not a white supremacist, not one of those period blokes who were running at the mouth about the AngloKeltish stock and suchlike, as [Emerson](#) and [Bronson Alcott](#) were being tempted to do, and as [Whitman](#) most certainly did for the duration of his exceedingly long *florut*. And this was all despite the existence since 1775 of [Dr. Samuel Johnson's](#) *JOURNEY TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS* and it was all despite the existence since 1782 of Shaw's *AN ENQUIRY INTO THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO OSSIAN*. Clearly what we need is a “reception study” to evaluate how belatedly such correctives spread through the learned community, what the lag cycle is and how it can be shortened, etc. The basic problem is that we have at present a publication system that lets stuff get out there and sit on library shelves where essentially it becomes stand-alone uncorrectable. Some of it, such as this embarrassing white-race-pride wannabelieve nonsense about origins, is relatively benign, at least in encouraging such folks to feel proud of themselves (everybody deserves to feel proud of themselves), but other of it—such as for instance a recipe for cooking fiddlehead ferns in a “nature” book, a recipe which would in fact promptly give a family incurable cancers of the stomach—is while equally innocent not so harmless. We issue recalls for our vehicles but not for our ideas. Which is one of the **many** reasons why I am looking forward to the early date at which all academic publishing is going to be by way of hanging files off of one's WWW homepage. Once we reach that point, we can be in the process of maintaining and correcting and polishing and elaborating our materials for the duration of our respective *floruts*. —Which should cut down **somewhat** on this lag cycle.



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SALLY HEMINGS

1989

Professor Michael Zuckerman's "[The Color of Counterrevolution: Thomas Jefferson](#) and the Rebellion in [San Domingo](#)," in Valtz Mannucci, Loretta, THE LANGUAGES OF REVOLUTION, [Quaderno 2](#), Milan Group in Early United States History.



"The San Domingan revolution is a minor episode at best, now, in the cavalcade of American history. It has been confined to insignificance, because it does not serve that saga well."

— Michael Zuckerman, ALMOST CHOSEN PEOPLE:
OBLIQUE BIOGRAPHIES IN THE AMERICAN GRAIN,
1993, page 176





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1993

Publication of a reassuring book entitled THE BOOK YOUR CHURCH DOESN'T WANT YOU TO READ, Tim C. Leedom editor, by "The Truth Seeker Company." Now from time to time we run into "village atheist" types, who define themselves in opposition to the hypocrisy of religion, and from time to time we hear [Henry Thoreau](#) disparaged as one of these types who define themselves in opposition, who know everything about everything that is wrong with everybody else.

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So I looked into this new volume with some trepidation, wondering to what use they would be attempting to turn the memory of Thoreau. In scanning through the 400+ glossy pages of this publication, I failed to note any citations, and then at the end I discovered an appendix which attempted to make a list of the “Freethinkers” who are to be honored by these naysayers. And, glory be, Thoreau’s name is **not** on that rather extensive list! Here are a few of the “Freethinkers,” with the characterizations under which they have been selected out to be

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thus honored:



Freethinkers

Marlon Brando	Movie actor; specializes in morally intense roles
John Burroughs	Nature lover and naturalist; biographer and close friend of Walt Whitman
John Caldwell Calhoun	American statesman of the early 19th century; favored states' rights
Charles Darwin	English naturalist, author of ORIGIN OF SPECIES
Erasmus Darwin	English botanist and physician, grandfather of Charles
Charles Dickens	Novelist
Frederick Douglass	Abolitionist
Charles W. Eliot	President of Harvard for over 40 years
Waldo Emerson	American philosopher and author
Edward Everett	Politician, minister, Harvard president
Benjamin Franklin	American writer, statesman, and inventor
Mahatma Gandhi	Nationalist leader, Hindu, organizer of non-violent resistance
William Lloyd Garrison	Abolitionist
William Godwin	English philosopher
Horace Greeley	Founder of the New-York Tribune
Oliver Wendell Holmes	American physician and author
Julia Ward Howe	Abolitionist and Suffragist



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Freethinkers

<u>Thomas Jefferson</u>	US President, lawyer, statesman, diplomat, philosopher
Immanuel Kant	german philosopher, considered by some to be one of the greatest of modern thinkers
<u>John Locke</u>	English philosopher
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	American Poet
James Madison	President and youngest of the Founding Fathers; helped bring about ratification of the Constitution and passage of the Bill of Rights
Horace Mann	American educator
Florence Nightingale	English nurse, philanthropist
Thomas Paine	Writer and political theorist. The mind behind the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence
Benjamin Pierce	Mathematician, astronomer
Jean Jacques Rousseau	French publisher and author
Arthur Schopenhauer	Philosopher
Percy Bysshe Shelley	English romantic poet, wrote THE NECESSITY OF ATHEISM, husband of Mary Wollstonecraft
B.F. Skinner	Behaviorist, psychologist, signed 1973 Humanist Manifesto
Herbert Spencer	Philosopher, psychologist, sociologist
Mark Twain	American author, humorist
Catherine Vogel	Burned in 1539 for being a Unitarian
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	German poet
Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz	German philosopher
Alfred Russel Wallace	naturalist, devoted life to scientific entomology
<u>Walt Whitman</u>	American poet, true inheritor of Emersonian principles
Mary Wollstonecraft	Wrote VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN, friend of Thomas Paine, wife of Percy Bysshe Shelley

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"There is a God. There is no God. Where is the problem? I am quite sure that there is a God in the sense that I am sure my love is no illusion. I am quite sure there is no God in the sense that I am sure there is nothing which resembles what I can conceive when I say that word."



— [Simone Weil](#), WAITING FOR GOD, page 32



1995

According to the body of doctrine known as “influence study” –I discover from a reading of Louis A. Renya’s essay “Influence” in CRITICAL TERMS FOR LITERARY STUDY, IId Edition (Lentricchia, Frank and Thomas McLaughlin, eds., Chicago IL: U of Chicago P, 1995, page 188)– there is just no such thing as ignoring anybody prior as irrelevant. When [Henry Thoreau](#) encountered [Waldo Emerson](#) as unavoidable and as prior, as “a precursor whom he can’t choose at will,” for instance, we must somehow just accept that his manner of coping with this fact was that he “writes [WALDEN](#) in relation to an established or historically distanced Jeffersonian text that helps Thoreau ward off or repress the more influential proximity of Emerson’s essays on



nature and self-reliance.” If two men live in the same town and one writes before the other, then everything the later man writes can be no more than mere commentary on what the earlier man has written. To those of us who understand such coping strategies in accordance with the received doctrine of influence study, somehow it is just very obvious on the face of things that what Thoreau constructed was nothing more than a

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mere defensive ploy. Magisterially, we are supposed to accept that it has been somehow established, that it is this “fiction or ‘trope’ of misreading” which “constitutes Thoreau’s works”:

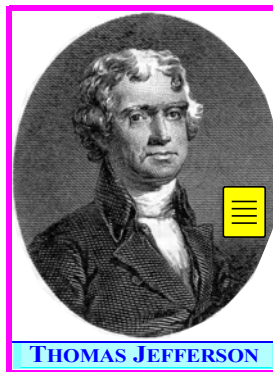
The textual locus of this work **is** its dynamic relation to the earlier Emersonian texts it exists [*sic*] in the process of repressing.

Except by his inclusion of this modifier “earlier” which legitimates the priority of Emersonian texts, Renza offers not one clue as to why he presumes that it must be, that [Thoreau](#)’s literary productions are all nothing more than mere reactions to [Waldo Emerson](#)’s prior literary productions! Also, as to how it is that Renza knows that [WALDEN](#)’s first-person stance alludes to “the self-evident truths of [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s ‘[Declaration of Independence](#)’,”¹⁵⁷ moreover, we are offered no clues whatsoever. This influence is merely to be presumed without evidence, just as it is to be presumed without evidence that the self-evident truths in a document authored by a congress and a drafting committee actually were created by one particular person on that committee of that congress.



“The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn’t that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK.”

– [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



157. How can Renza be so sure that the [Declaration of Independence](#) had been “[Thomas Jefferson](#)’s”?

—Merely because in extreme old age after all the other witnesses had become unavailable, the man wanted to make the unsupported claim that it had been, in order to have something to inscribe on his tombstone? Surely we need more evidence than this, that the overnight editing of the document which he had been asked to accomplish by other committee members had made it “his”!

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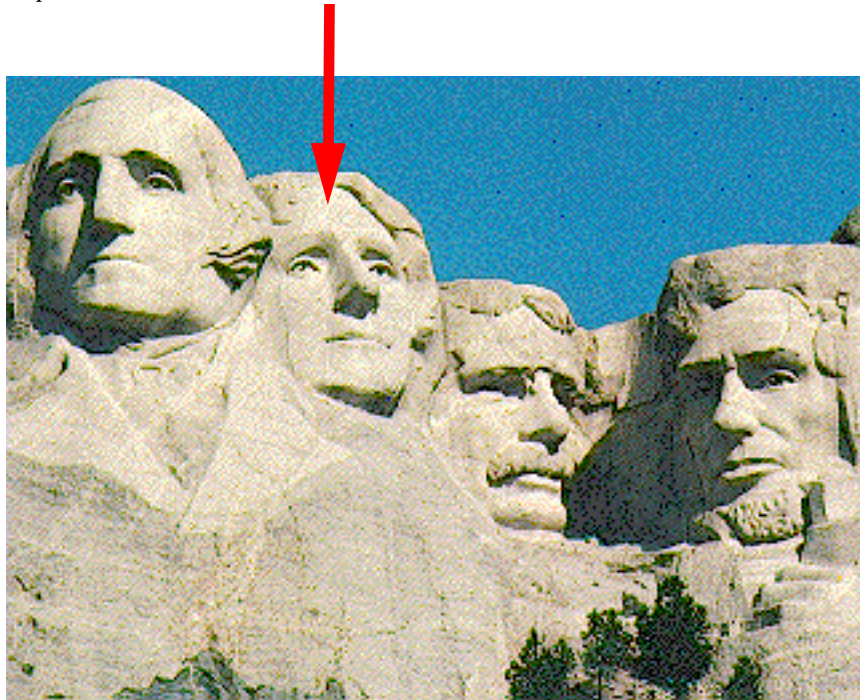
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April 19, Wednesday: When there was a release of phosgene gas in a train at the main railroad station in Yokohama, Japan, 300 were sent to hospitals.

On the 2d anniversary of the [Waco](#) killings (by no coincidence), a truck bomb exploded in downtown Oklahoma City, Oklahoma killing 169 including 19 children, injuring 400, and destroying the 9-story Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. The blast created a crater six meters wide and 2.5 meters deep. 200 other buildings were damaged causing a \$500,000,000 loss. [President William Jefferson Clinton](#) designated the [FBI](#) as lead law enforcement agency in the case. It would turn out that a man who had been taught to kill in the US Army had parked a lovingly constructed truck bomb in front of the building. In the enormous explosion, 168 were killed. [Timothy McVeigh](#) would be arrested while fleeing in a T-shirt bearing an image of President [Thomas Jefferson](#) on the front and a select quote from this man's thoughts on the back: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." (Jefferson had written that in November 1787 anent a rebellion in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.)

Tim looked quite a bit like this:



Upon arrest, the authorities described McVeigh's apparel in such a manner as to obscure the nature of this reference across his back. A mug shot, taken when he was booked at the jail, was seized by the Bureau and that agency refused to release the photo. McVeigh's attorney of course downplayed the chosen sentiment:

"Well, if [Thomas Jefferson](#) said it, I shouldn't think it would be incriminating at all."



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"History is the how of now."

— Austin Meredith

Too much



McVeigh would, however, be convicted and, as a federal prisoner, executed at the federal execution facility in Terre Haute IN. Shortly before execution, according to journalist Dan Herbec, the murderer/terrorist, who had been starving himself so he would seem like a victim martyr, would explicitly cast himself as a modern-day [John Brown](#): "One of his big heroes was John Brown, who committed some very violent acts during the 1800s in the effort to eliminate slavery in our country."

One piece of the Smithsonian salvage operation suggested by Heyman was an academic conference: "Presenting History: Museums in a Democratic Society," sponsored by the [Smithsonian Institution](#) and the University of Michigan at the University. announcement and extended summary of the conference "Museums in ID Crisis after 'Enola Gay,'" by Stephen Cain, Ann Arbor News, 4/16/95, C1 Three flaws in the Smithsonian approach: mixed the scholarly and the celebratory, failure of sensitivity, leading off with the bomb. "Smithsonian Sifts Debris of Enola Gay Plan," by Eugene L. Meyer, Washington [Post](#) 4/20/95, D01

[WORLD WAR II](#)

July 3, Monday: The Washington [Post](#) published a profile by Serge Kovaleski of the 2d "patriot" charged in the Oklahoma City bombing, Terry Lynn Nichols. According to this profile Nichols had been reading in the works of [Thomas Jefferson](#) and [Thomas Paine](#) and had been particularly inspired by Jefferson's maxim, "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."





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SALLY HEMINGS

Christmas: In the [Levenger](#) Christmas Catalog, a mail-order offering of “Tools for Serious Readers,” a page was devoted to a “Jefferson’s Bookstand #FA491” in black walnut at \$1,100.⁰⁰ each:



Now you can enjoy one of the most extraordinary devices ever made for displaying books. It was designed by Thomas Jefferson, who often found it necessary to consult several books at once. Our museum-quality reproduction is faithful to the original in form and artistry. Jefferson’s Bookstand is assembled of 31 pieces of solid American black walnut (the same wood as the original), fastened with mortise-and-tenon joinery and 15 brass hinges. When closed, its mitered sides form a cube, yet it flowers into a stand that holds five books independently at six different angles. This is no mere showpiece, but is meant to be used and enjoyed. How else can you display five large books in just one square foot of desk space? We tested it with an unabridged dictionary on top and four heavy reference books below (a total of 30 pounds) and it rotated effortlessly. When closed, it measures 13” by 13” by 14” tall; when open, it reaches a maximum width of 34 1/2” and a height of 25”. Our Jefferson Bookstands are made by an elite group of cabinetmakers in North Carolina, who sign and number each piece. Quantities are limited, so please order early if you’d like yours for the holidays. (Other reproductions have been made, but none with the utility or quality of ours.) You can see Jefferson’s bookstand, which was once believed to be a music stand, at his Monticello home near Charlottesville, Virginia.

Reading of this appliance fit for reading five books at once makes me suppose that, were a Jefferson to be president today, he would most definitely be funding our “Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” project!—Although, mayhaps, such a source of funding might prove to be an embarrassment for us, as coming from an irredeemable racist and revolutionist.

In the same catalog, on another page, Levenger suggests President [Thomas Jefferson](#) as “America’s book father.” Pointing out that he “sent” his library to Congress where it would become “the seed” of our Library of Congress despite the fact that on June 10, 1815 he informed John Adams that he couldn’t live without books, they are offering a version of Jefferson’s personal pewter cup at \$24.⁹⁵ each. On one side they inscribe this drinking cup



**I cannot live without books.
— Thomas Jefferson**

and on t’other side, for an additional five bucks, they offer to engrave for you a monogram of your choice.



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And in the same Christmas catalog, on yet another page, Levenger will sell to the Serious Reader (contrast this usage with the expression “poor student” in [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#)) a set of three hemispherical Crystal Quote Paperweights made of full lead crystal from France, which not only capture and reflect light beautifully but also are wonderful objects for displaying their timeless, hand-etched quotations:

Item	Number	Cost	Timeless, Hand-Etched Quotation, on Flat Bottom of Crystal
Selye Paperweight	#AD089	\$34. ⁹⁵	THE TRUE SCIENTIST NEVER LOSES THE FACULTY OF AMAZEMENT. —Hans Selye
Holmes Paperweight	#AD090	\$34. ⁹⁵	THE LIFE OF THE LAW HAS NOT BEEN LOGIC; IT HAS BEEN EXPERIENCE. —Oliver Wendell Holmes
Thoreau Paperweight	#AD091	\$34. ⁹⁵	TO AFFECT THE QUALITY OF THE DAY, THAT IS THE HIGHEST OF ARTS. —Henry David Thoreau

These *objects d’art* weigh a pound apiece and (to keep a Thoreau from pitching them out a window as they become dusty) are delivered in individual gift boxes in individual velvet pouches. Levenger’s suggestion is that we amaze our favorite scientist with this loving tribute to his or her great adventure (the crystal Selye quote) and that, for the lawyer on our list, few names are going to carry the respect of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Then Levenger concludes its peroration/pitch to the targeted Serious Reader/Poor Student with more money than sense, as follows:

And for nearly everyone, the words of Thoreau ring good and true.



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1996

Descendants of the [manumitted](#) mulatto slave [West Ford](#) went public with their story that their ancestor had been sired upon the [slave](#) Venus by [George Washington](#) in 1785. Articles about their allegation appeared in [Newsweek](#), [TIME](#), and [Der Spiegel](#).

Meanwhile, articles on [Thomas Jefferson](#) appeared in [The Atlantic Monthly](#):

- An Excerpt of Query XIV from the NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA (1781) by [Thomas Jefferson](#)
- The “Blood of Patriots and Tyrants” letter from [Jefferson](#) to William Smith, Paris, November 13, 1787
- The “Adam and Eve” letter from [Jefferson](#) to William Short, Philadelphia, January 3, 1793
- 1862: A.D. White’s “Jefferson and Slavery.” Through examination of Jefferson’s public writings and personal letters, White makes a case for the image of [Jefferson](#) as both an abolitionist and a champion of human rights.
- 1873: James Parton’s “The Art of Being President.” the author examined “the leading traits of Mr. [Jefferson](#)’s administration, with a view to getting light upon the question, whether he satisfied the people of his time by doing right, or by adroitly pretending to do right.”
- 1992: Douglas Wilson’s “[Thomas Jefferson](#) and the Character Issue.” As the 250th anniversary of Thomas Jefferson’s birth approaches, a Jefferson scholar reflects on Jefferson’s life — and in particular on the enigma at its core: that a slave holder should be the nation’s most eloquent champion of equality. To understand how this could be so, the author explains, is to appreciate the perils of “presentism” and the difficulties that may impede the historical assessment of motive and character.
- 1994: Merrill D. Peterson’s “Jefferson and Religious Freedom.” Peterson asserts that [Jefferson](#)’s Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom is “one of the main pillars of American democracy and a beacon of light and liberty to the world.”
- October 1996: Conor Cruise O’Brien’s “[Thomas Jefferson](#): Radical and Racist,” drawn from his book THE LONG AFFAIR: THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1785-1800 (U of Chicago P, 1996).

Paul Finkelman’s [SLAVERY](#) AND THE FOUNDERS: RACE AND LIBERTY IN THE AGE OF JEFFERSON (Armonk NY and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996).¹⁵⁸

Virtually every American loves [the Constitution](#), but more often than not their love for it is inversely proportional to their knowledge of it — and all too many love it dearly. In his volume, SLAVERY AND THE FOUNDERS: RACE AND LIBERTY IN THE AGE OF JEFFERSON, Paul Finkelman provides a fine antidote for a portion of that ignorance. His is a well-reasoned, extensively researched, and eminently readable account of [slavery](#) in the 1787 Constitution and its legal status in the new nation’s early years. According to Finkelman, the writing and ratifying of the Constitution were conditioned on slavery’s protection. Agreeing with the Garrisonians, he contends that the Constitution was a “slaveholder’s compact” (page ix). He also argues that the 1787 Northwest Ordinance and the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act reflected the intellectual and moral environment that produced the proslavery Constitution. Finally, he contends that the proslavery constitutional and legal system faithfully registered [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s notions about slavery.

Finkelman analyzes [the Constitution](#)’s direct and indirect protection of slavery in supporting his argument that the Philadelphia conclave accorded it an exalted status. Proslavery delegates won slavery’s protection, in good part, by linking it with representation, through the three-fifths clause of Article I, Section 2. From the nation’s beginning slavery enjoyed enhanced power in the House of Representatives, which translated into a comparably enlarged power in the Electoral College, without which Jefferson would have lost the election of 1800. Additional direct protections include the prohibition against ending the [international slave trade](#) before

158. Reviewed for H-Law@msu.edu (July 1996) by Lester Lindley, Nova Southeastern University <lindley@polaris.ncs.nova.edu>
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1808, the fugitive slave clause, the “direct tax” clause, which assured that slaves could be taxed at only three-fifths the rate of whites, and the Article V provision that prohibited slave importation and tax clause amendments before 1808. Ironically, the new frame of government, designed to replace the virtually unamendable Articles of Confederation, had but one unamendable feature, which went to slavery’s protection. In addition to [the Constitution](#)’s direct protections, Finkelman also found thirteen indirect protections, such as requiring three-fourths of the states to amend the Constitution, a provision that gave slave states a “perpetual veto over any constitutional changes” (page 5), and the “full faith and credit” clause, which required free states to recognize and honor slave-state law. He contends that slaveholders won without giving major concessions to anti-slavery delegates, except for the “dirty compromise” (page 22), by which southerners agreed to allow commercial acts by a simple majority instead of a two-thirds vote in exchange for clauses protecting the slave trade and prohibiting an export tax. Other than this compromise and sporadic, disjointed verbal attacks on the institution, slavery’s defenders won its protection with relative ease from the Framers.

In the same year that the Framers wrote the Constitution, Congress, which continued meeting under the Articles of Confederation, passed the Northwest Ordinance, which prohibited slavery north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi. On first blush the Ordinance was antislavery, but Finkelman argues that it had little negative impact on slavery until the 1830s and 1840s. The Ordinance passed with broad support from southerners, who believed that it “actually fortified slavery” (page 36). The same clause that prohibited [slavery](#) included a fugitive slave clause, the first recognition by the national government that masters had a right to recover slaves who absconded to northern free states. In addition, the absence of an enforcement clause in the antislavery provision and Congress’s lack of will to implement the Ordinance made it ineffectual.

In careful case studies of the measure’s impact in Indiana and Illinois, Finkelman shows that quasi-slavery persisted in the Northwest into the 1830s and 1840s. Congressional indifference to black servitude, demands for labor to promote economic development, arguments that diffusion of [slavery](#) foretold slavery’s eventual demise, and the migration of slaveowners into the Northwest conspired to assure that the Ordinance had no immediate impact. The territorial assemblies of Indiana and Illinois adopted laws, based in part on southern slave codes, that assured slavery’s persistence. Legislation in both territories protected and nurtured “bondage and de facto slavery” (page 71). Eventually, both ended slavery, but well after statehood: Indiana effectively by the 1830s, forty years after the Ordinance; Illinois in 1848 in the state’s second constitution.

Evasion of the Ordinance protected slavery’s interests; the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act supplemented that protection. In the only detailed consideration of the act in book form, Finkelman argues that the measure was “one of the first fruits of the proslavery Constitution” (page 80). He notes that the act issued from an attempt to protect free blacks from kidnapping. Ironically, however, it probably improved the chances of such kidnappings. The Bill of Rights, with its limitations on federal power and procedural protections, had become part of [the Constitution](#) in 1791, yet the act did not honor the amendments’ requirements for fair trials and due process. Equally ironic, the measure expanded federal power, probably beyond what the Constitution actually sanctioned. The fugitive slave clause did not delegate power to Congress; it was in the only section of Article IV that did not grant power to the national government. States’ rights southerners, who might oppose the Federalists’ use of national power on economic issues, effectively used that power to protect and preserve slavery. Most slave owners and slave traders were Jeffersonians, but whatever their constitutional scruples on other matters, they wanted broad national powers to protect slavery. The Constitution was conditioned on protecting slavery; perhaps it was only logical that the same condition be imposed on its interpretation. Such an interpretation, Finkelman concludes, “made the Constitution even more proslavery than it perhaps was” (page 81).

In addition to arguing that slavery was central to the nation’s founding, he also asserts that it created a “tension between the professed ideals of America, as stated in the [Declaration of Independence](#), and the reality of early national America” (page ix). No one reflected that tension better than [Jefferson](#). In spite of the ideals that he expressed in the Declaration, Jefferson was a slaveholder—simply a slaveholder—with general slaveholder values. Rhetorically, Finkelman notes, Jefferson hated slavery, but that hatred was based on several factors which demonstrated Jefferson’s inability to transcend class and race or to honor the principles of his Declaration. He hated slavery because he despised blacks; they were, Jefferson believed, of a different order from whites. “Race, more than their status as [slaves](#), doomed blacks to permanent inequality” (page 108). He hated slavery because it brought Africans to the nation and made them permanent residents. He hated slavery because of its impact on whites, not because of what it did to blacks.



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Above all, for one who affirmed independence to be the ultimate political and social value and one who celebrated the yeoman farmer for his independence, Jefferson hated slavery because it made him dependent on his slaves; dedicating his life to independence, he lived a life of dependency. Finkelman argues that Jefferson could not continue his “extravagant life-style” without slaves (page 107). The natural rights of slaves had to be subordinated to his grand style of living, his unrestrained spending habits and his compulsively acquisitive character. He contends that historians have misconstrued one of Jefferson’s more famous quotes about slavery: “[W]e have the wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other.” The quote, Finkelman argues, did not reflect fears of a slave revolt. The self-preservation to which Jefferson alluded went to his way of life, premised as it was on [slavery](#). The “wolf” he was holding was probably “the wolf of gluttony and greed” (page 150).

The [Declaration of Independence](#) and [Constitution](#) had powerful antislavery potential and, given his status in the new nation’s history, Jefferson could have energized that potential. Finkelman contends that the test for Jefferson’s views on [slavery](#) should not be whether he was better “than the worst of his generation but whether he was the leader of the best,” not whether he embodied the values of southern planters, but whether he transcended his economic and sectional interests. In both cases, Finkelman concludes that “Jefferson fails the test” (page 105). Indeed, he argues, Jefferson was behind his time. He sold slaves and broke up families to preserve his high-living style and to pay his debts; after a shopping spree in France, he sold eighty-five slaves (page 150). Morally, Finkelman implies, he was also a laggard. For all the debate about Jefferson’s relationship with [Sally Hemings](#), his half-sister-in-law, scholars have missed a more critical issue than whether Hemings bore him children: “for most of his adult life, Jefferson enslaved a generation of people—Sally Hemings and her siblings—who were his in-laws.” This causes Finkelman to wonder whether it mattered “[f]or the sake of character...whether Jefferson enslaved his own children or merely his blood relatives and his wife’s blood relatives” (page 142).

Rhetorically, [Jefferson](#) insisted that future generations must end slavery and vindicate the hopes of the [Declaration of Independence](#) and [the Constitution](#) for liberty. Unfortunately, however, instead of nurturing their potential for liberating [slaves](#), Jefferson committed treason to the very cause that he ardently advocated for whites. Slavery must end, he thought, but only on the condition of “expatriation” of the slaves (page 128). It was not simply slavery that Jefferson found so repugnant, but race. The one, a temporary status created by law, could be ended; the other, a reflection of a sub-human or nearly sub-human species, could not be. The “all” men in the Declaration meant “only white men;” in his scale of values blacks had no legitimate place in the nation’s future. If slavery trumped the Constitution, race trumped the future that Jefferson envisioned. Instead of being a prophetic voice for extending benefits of the Revolution to slaves, by word and deed he became “the intellectual godfather of the racist pseudoscience of the American school of anthropology” (page 110).

Finkelman’s work has a compelling ring of plausibility, even truth, when placed in its larger historical context. Edmund S. Morgan demonstrated that before colonial America moved “toward the republic,” it had already moved from slavery “toward racism.” He noted that race-based slavery made it safer to preach equality, because [slaves](#) could not become part of a leveling mob. He continued, “This is not to say that a belief in republican equality had to rest on slavery, but only that in Virginia (and probably in other southern colonies) it did.”¹⁵⁹ And in its move “toward the republic,” to use Morgan’s phrase, Gordon S. Wood observed that “No political conception was more important to Americans in the entire Revolutionary era than representation.”¹⁶⁰ Strategically, slaveowners probably could not have done better than using the three-fifths clause to link their race-based institution with the key political ideal of the Revolution. Central to the Revolutionary movement against England as early as the 1765 Stamp Act controversy, representation was yoked by slaveowners to protecting and preserving slavery in [the Constitution](#). In the 1760s Americans linked representation to liberty; twenty years later, they joined it to slavery, an unholy alliance that continued into the Civil War era. And just as slavery trumped the Constitution in 1787, it threatened to trump the Constitution’s “more perfect Union” in 1860-61.

Referring to the concentration of slaves “in the southern part” of the Union in his second inaugural, Abraham Lincoln noted that “these slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest.” “Peculiar” implies something

159. Edmund S. Morgan, *AMERICAN SLAVERY, AMERICAN FREEDOM: THE ORDEAL OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA* (NY: W.W. Norton, 1974), pages 363, 316, 381.

160. Gordon S. Wood, *THE CREATION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1969), page 164.



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unique, distinctive, out of the ordinary or particular. However peculiar slavery became in the last few decades before the Civil War, it had long been a “powerful interest,” to use Lincoln’s phrase, but was far from being peculiar. Echoing the notion of its peculiarity, Kenneth M. Stampp described [slavery](#) as THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION in his classic 1956 work. But in spite of the “peculiarity” that developed in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, slavery’s power threatened the Union like nothing before or since. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to explain how a sectional, peculiar institution could have so seriously imperiled the Union without having had a determining, if tragic role, in shaping that Union from its beginning. Finkelman’s book focuses on slavery’s shaping power—but lack of peculiarity—at the Constitutional Convention.

Race-based slavery was a fatal flaw in the 1787 document; that flaw was so inextricably ingrained in [the Constitution](#) that it took the terrible scourge of war and major constitutional amendments to remove it. “[A]ll knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war,” Lincoln affirmed in his second inaugural. Likewise, all who wanted to remove the war’s cause and the Constitution’s corruption knew that amendments to correct the flaws of 1787 had to become part of the Constitution. If [slavery](#) began about 1660 and ended, at least officially, in the 1860s, Finkelman provides a powerful and poignant perspective on slavery’s terrible career at its midpoint in the nation’s experience. In addition, he provides a sharp focus from which to examine slavery’s larger impact in American history and to consider the role of the nation’s most famous revolutionary leader, [Jefferson](#).

In his 1963 volume, *JEFFERSON AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE DARKER SIDE*, Leonard Levy challenged the then-prevailing notion about Jefferson’s legacy to freedom and liberty. Finkelman challenges that legacy at an even deeper level than did Levy. He notes that Jefferson’s admirers “would like him to be one of us—an opponent of slavery,” but he was not (page 138). Most of Jefferson’s biographers have tried to shape Jefferson into an antislavery liberal, ignoring or fudging evidence to the contrary. He observes that critics of Levy’s *JEFFERSON AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE DARKER SIDE* work rejected his conclusions because such verdicts did not “bolster their modern political agendas” (page 143). Very likely Finkelman’s assessment of Jefferson will also be challenged on grounds of being presentist revisionism. Finkelman, however, rightly rejects that notion in his concluding chapter, a brilliant essay on Jefferson, historians, and myths. He examines Jefferson’s ideas about race and slavery, not by modern notions, but “on **his** terms” (page 145, emphasis in the original).

By raising the issue of presentism, Finkelman puts in sharp relief history’s fundamental question: does history matter? Perhaps understandably, he insists that it does. However, he is cautious about how history might be used. He notes that James Parton, Jefferson’s first professional biographer, wrote that “If Jefferson was wrong, America is wrong. If America is right, Jefferson was right,” and observes that “The historian who questions Jefferson, it would seem, implicitly questions America” (page 143). Acceptance of this logic presents the nation with a daunting challenge that probably could never be satisfactorily met. At the conclusion of his analysis of the way that revolutionary Virginians linked racism with republican ideology, Edmund Morgan raised a haunting question: “Is America still colonial Virginia writ large? More than a century after Appomattox the question lingers.”¹⁶¹

If Parton’s logic controls, it forces one of several conclusions. First, accepting Parton’s presumption that Jefferson was right, it reinforces the inclination of most of Jefferson’s modern biographers to shape Jefferson into a late-twentieth-century, antislavery liberal. However, with the evidence that Finkelman presents, such an image can at best be a gross distortion of the historical record. It would transform Jefferson into a reverse modern doughface. A “doughface” in pre-Civil War America was a northern man whose contours had been shaped by proslavery principles, so a reverse doughface would be a southern man with antislavery sentiments. Bingo! Jefferson fits the picture and gives a usable past. On another occasion, using the same tactic, he becomes the Revolutionary precursor to the National Association of Manufacturers. But if such is the case, history is little more than using the past, indeed, inventing the past, for present needs.

Second, Parton’s logic and presumption that Jefferson was right, if applied to Finkelman’s analysis of Jefferson’s principles, force a troubling, haunting answer to Morgan’s question: there would be no escaping the assertion that America is still colonial Virginia writ large. They carry an even more haunting implication: not only is the nation colonial Virginia writ large, but there is not much anyone can do about it. If Jefferson was right, and if Finkelman’s analysis of his attitudes about race and [slavery](#) are correct, then Jefferson was not only the intellectual vanguard of the pseudoscientific proslavery argument of the pre-Civil War era, but he was also the prophet for late-twentieth-century racism in the United States. If such is the case, either history

161. Edmund S. Morgan, *AMERICAN SLAVERY, AMERICAN FREEDOM: THE ORDEAL OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA* (NY: W.W. Norton, 1974), page 387.



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must be the new “dismal science” or both Jefferson and America are wrong.

But Finkelman insists that a third option exists. Scholars have created “a mythical man—someone who in [Merrill] Peterson’s words went up to Mount Olympus.” After creating the Jeffersonian myth, they “further burdened him with an image that carries with it our conception of the United States” (page 167). But as Levy did in 1963, Finkelman does in 1996: he argues that it is time to look at [Jefferson](#) as an important Revolutionary leader, a person with virtues and faults. From this perspective, Jefferson’s views on race “are embarrassing, not just by the standards of our age but by the standards of his own age” (page 165). However, though Jefferson failed to join the best of his generation to end [slavery](#) and challenge racism, it is possible to see his virtues and the power of his ideas “because we will see them in the context of his own humanity” (page 167).

Put differently, if history is important, at least one element of that importance has to be the insights that it offers. But if those insights, or perspectives, are to be valid, it is important that scholars give heed to the full weight of historical evidence. Precisely because history seems to offer insights and perspectives on the present, it becomes a battleground—often a heated one—on what we remember and what we forget. History creates a common memory that holds individuals and institutions together and binds them in a common enterprise.

“Selective” forgetting can distort the past as much as creative invention. To question Jefferson’s ideas about slavery and racism is not to question America. To question Jefferson is to follow the best of the Jeffersonian tradition of examining institutions, with the hope of preserving the best ones, reforming others, and rebelling against the rest.

Perhaps no better instruction exists for that daunting task than using “Experience,” a notion that figures prominently in Jefferson’s [Declaration of Independence](#). However, if that experience is derived—another good Jeffersonian term from the Declaration—from a contrived past, it would convey misguided perspectives, perhaps as pernicious in their impact as those derived from abstract reasoning. If Jefferson has relevance to modern America on race and slavery, it is not because he stood outside of history by ascending Mt. Olympus, but because he was a major historical figure who continues to inform the present. Our image of Jefferson matters but, in insisting on his humanity, “we can better understand something about ourselves and our country’s past” (page 167).

Rhetorically, Jefferson looked to slavery’s end at some undefined future. Tragically, it was left to Lincoln’s generation to begin ending slavery and to start “bind[ing] up the nation’s wounds” that slavery and racism caused. The scourge of the “terrible war” that Lincoln memorialized at Gettysburg has passed, but the quest for that “new birth of freedom” and the realization of the Jeffersonian “proposition that all men are created equal,” remain “unfinished work,” to use Lincoln’s memorable phrases. Perhaps that unfinished work is at the heart of any shared memory and common enterprise for late-twentieth-century Americans. If it is, then it seems imperative that a precise definition of that work be carefully limned. History is important to Finkelman—vitally important—so in writing this volume he assumed that it was an imperative to be careful and precise. By some standards, Finkelman’s is a slim volume. The text is only 167 pages, supported by extensive notes and bibliography. More important, his is a compelling account of the history of slavery and racism at the nation’s founding and of Jefferson’s place in that history. It is written by a discerning scholar who has devoted his professional career to examining the constitutional and legal dimensions of slavery, but presented in clear, readable form. Happily, this volume could be used in survey courses, in period courses on the Revolutionary or the Early National eras, and in courses on constitutional history. With its many references to the works of other scholars, it would fit nicely into courses on historiography and historical method. Graduate students would profit from its use in their courses, as would law students; indeed, graduate and law school seminars could be organized around it. It deserves a wide readership. Anyone who wants to talk intelligently about the history of [slavery](#) and ideas about race in the nation’s history should feel compelled to come to terms with his book. And the publisher, M.E. Sharpe, is to be congratulated for simultaneously offering the volume in paper and hardcover formats.

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January 31, Wednesday: According to CNN News, the 1st suspect in the Oklahoma City bombing, [Timothy McVeigh](#), was wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with the maxim of [Thomas Jefferson](#), “The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants” at the point of his arrest while driving away from Oklahoma City. When CNN correspondent Susan Candiotti interrogated McVeigh’s lawyer, Stephen Jones, about the motto on this T-shirt, the lawyer of course responded:



“Well, if Thomas Jefferson said it,
I don’t think it would be incriminating at all.”

April 27, Saturday: A memorial was dedicated to Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#), honoring her as a theologian, preacher, wisewoman and religious rebel in colonial America whose profound influence on religious thinking in America is gaining increasing recognition, was placed in Founders Brook Park, [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#). Commemorated with her was Friend [Mary Dyer](#), her friend and loyal supporter who became the only female to be hung for being a [Quaker](#) missionary in Puritan Boston.





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1997

Annette Gordon-Reed's [THOMAS JEFFERSON](#) AND [SALLY HEMINGS](#) – AN AMERICAN CONTROVERSY (Charlottesville, Virginia: UP of Virginia) came to no conclusion as to whether or not [Thomas Jefferson](#) was the father of [Sally Hemings](#)'s children. Gordon-Reed is an Associate Professor of Law at New York Law School and a graduate of Harvard Law who has approached this issue as a judge assessing evidence for a case, weighing the evidence that can still be marshalled to support or disprove the possibility. She faced two major tasks, to discern what facts are still known, and to dissect and evaluate the methods and conclusions of previous generations of historian. She found that male historians had presented Hemings as if she had been a mere illiterate, rather than as a beautiful woman speaking French, more cultured than many Virginia planters wives since she had had experience of Paris, or as a sensible, trustworthy companion for Jefferson's daughter, or as a maker of elegant needlework, or as Mrs. Jefferson's half-sister. Gordon-Reed found that white historians have been so reluctant to consider the possibility that Jefferson could have had a sustained relationship with a black woman that otherwise reliable and respected researchers had ignored or suppressed evidence. Gordon-Reed squarely confronts the mechanism of how racism has obscured this issue. White historians have been accepting oral histories and statements from Jefferson's family as incontrovertible while dismissing and discrediting rather than seriously investigating the oral and written histories of the Hemings family. Regarding Douglass Adair, Gordon-Reed points out that Adair cited no evidence for his belief that Peter Carr, Jefferson's nephew, fathered Hemings' children. Adair apparently based his assertion on T.J. Randolph's statement that

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Carr was Hemings' lover, but had no other evidence. Adair's belief was taken as fact, and influenced later historians on the topic. Gordon-Reed demands that future historians apply the same skepticism and rigor to the accounts of both families, and demands that we respect the limits of what we know and what we don't.

Joseph Ellis won the National Book Award by proclaiming loudly and loyally and with convincing conviction that "Anyone who claims to have a clear answer to this most titillating question [miscegenation upon his house slaves] about the historic Jefferson is engaged in massive self-deception or outright lying." (He was speaking of course about the work of the African-American author Annette Gordon-Reed, whose truthful book about [Jefferson](#)'s miscegenation upon his dashing [Sally Hemings](#) was also being published but would not receive a National Book Award.)





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THOMAS JEFFERSON AND SALLY HEMINGS:

AN AMERICAN CONTROVERSY¹⁶²

In his unfinished essay, “The Jefferson Scandals,” Douglass Adair sermonized that the “research historian follows an ancient and standard method” when confronted with conflicting evidence and contradictory claims: “The technique for extracting or distilling the creditable items from a report that may be full of error is to seek independent corroboration, detail by detail” (FAME AND THE FOUNDING FATHERS: ESSAYS BY DOUGLASS ADAIR, ed. Trevor Colburn, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., page 178). Consequently, Adair weighed the testimony of two “prejudiced witnesses,” [Sally Hemings](#) (through her son Madison Hemings) and Thomas Jefferson Randolph (through historian Henry S. Randall) against the “neutral statistics” (page 179) of [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s FARM BOOK and the written testimony of another key witness, Jefferson’s overseer, Edmund Bacon. Along the way Adair introduced seemingly incontrovertible assertions about Jefferson’s “known character” (page 182) that were gleaned from his private correspondence and public pronouncements. Adair concluded that “it is possible to prove that Jefferson was innocent of [James] Callender’s charges that Jefferson cohabited with Sally Hemings” (page 169). Gavel down, case closed.

Of course, the case never has closed. In “The Strange Career of Thomas Jefferson: Race and Slavery in American Memory, 1943-1993” (JEFFERSONIAN LEGACIES, ed. Peter S. Onuf, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993, pages 418-56), Scott A. French and Edward L. Ayers reviewed the scholarly and popular literature about Jefferson and Hemings, before and after Adair’s influential essay. They showed how ideological trends and current events influenced accounts of whether a liaison between Hemings and Jefferson occurred. These days, Jefferson’s historians cannot hide from journalists like Ben Wattenberg and documentarians like Ken Burns who are seeking up-to-the-minute verdicts about miscegenation at Monticello. (See, for instance, “Thomas Jefferson: Champion of Liberty or Dangerous Radical?” THINK TANK WITH BEN WATTENBERG, July 1, 1994, <http://www.thinktank.com/transcript.114.html>; and “Does Jefferson Matter?” THOMAS JEFFERSON: A FILM BY KEN BURNS, <http://www.pbs.org/jefferson/frameactions.htm>.)

The most recent book on the subject, Annette Gordon-Reed’s THOMAS JEFFERSON AND SALLY HEMINGS: AN AMERICAN CONTROVERSY, is the best so far. It is a thorough and arch “critique of the defense which has been mounted to counter the notion of a Jefferson-Hemings liaison” (page xiv), with genealogical tables, endnotes, an appendix of capsule biographies, and four other appendices of documents crucial to the argument.

No doubt Gordon-Reed, trained in the law, bristled at Adair’s legal language, which helped to rationalize his undocumented theory about Sally Hemings. According to Adair, [Sally Hemings](#), spurned by lover Peter Carr ([Thomas Jefferson](#)’s nephew), seized on James Callender’s calumny against Jefferson and “this wench Sally” to wreak havoc on the Jefferson family which, excluding Peter, treated her clan so well for so long, given that they were slaves and all (quoted, Gordon-Reed, page 61; also page 204). Gordon-Reed adapts the legal concepts of “procedural fairness” (page xvi), “direct evidence,” (page 213), “extrinsic evidence,” and “burden of proof” (page 215) to refute the “bad history” (page 16) about Hemings and Jefferson. She claims that historians such as Douglass Adair, Dumas Malone, Virginus Dabney, and Charles Chester Miller have compensated for the absence of “absolute proof” (page xv) by deploying “every stereotype of black people” (page xiii) in their quest to absolve Jefferson of miscegenation (although late in life Malone conceded to [The New York Times](#) that Jefferson might have slipped once or twice; Gordon-Reed, pages 156-57). According to Gordon-Reed, the net effect has been that the story of the Hemings family has not been told fairly. The “real scandal” is that history and the people who read it have been ill served (page xvii). Gordon-Reed’s book is an indictment of the “authority of white male scholars” of Jefferson (French and Ayers, page 419) who have labored to keep “the consideration of the Sally Hemings story... in a time warp,” untouched by contemporary Southern historiography and revisionist views of Jefferson’s career (Gordon-Reed, pages xii-xix).

162. H-NET BOOK REVIEW Published by H-SHEAR@h-net.msu.edu (February, 1998). Reviewed by Harry Hellenbrand <hhellenb@d.umn.edu>, University of Minnesota – Duluth.



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Gordon-Reed's effort to rehabilitate the reputation of THE MEMOIRS OF MADISON HEMINGS (Appendix B, pages 245-48) exemplifies her method. While Merrill D. Peterson found much of Madison's story "vivid and accurate" (THE JEFFERSON IMAGE IN THE AMERICAN MIND, New York: Oxford University Press, 1962, page 186), Adair compared it to a "lurid novel" (FAME, page 171). According to Gordon-Reed, others like Dabney, Malone, and Miller argued that its polished language indicated that S. F. Wetmore, to whom Madison Hemings told the story, took liberties (pages 8-22). Either Wetmore's sympathy with the freedmen or Madison Hemings's "pathetic wish" to elevate his station or both made THE MEMOIRS unreliable, not trustworthy direct evidence (Peterson's phrase, quoted in Gordon-Reed, page 82).

Israel Jefferson's corroborating MEMOIRS about Jefferson and Sally Hemings's intimacy (Appendix C, pages 249-53) was suspicious for similar reasons, historians have claimed. It, too, was told to Wetmore. But Gordon-Reed claims that none of the people who have discredited Madison Hemings and Israel Jefferson did sufficient research to find out that stories about Thomas Jefferson as the father of Madison and his brother Eston were circulating in Ohio, where the two men lived, decades before Wetmore published their memoirs (pages 14-15). Nor did the discreditors consider why, if Madison's story was fabricated, it did not include James Callender's luridly famous claim about [Thomas Jefferson](#) and [Sally Hemings](#) conceiving a mulatto "President Tom" during their stay in Paris (Gordon-Reed, page 24). Instead, Madison Hemings reported that his mother lost her first child, conceived in France, shortly after it was born in Virginia.

Indeed, Madison Hemings's MEMOIRS reads "simply as a story," not a cynical case, Gordon-Reed says (page 27). For instance, he says that his mother extracted a "solemn pledge" (Appendix B, page 246) from Jefferson to free her children at age twenty-one, but then he "makes no use of the specifics of this promise" (page 24). He does not mention as confirming evidence the ages at which his siblings Beverley and Harriet "strolled." And although he does mention the provision in Jefferson's will that he and Eston be freed at twenty-one, he does not link that back to the pledge. Also why, Gordon-Reed asks, would two demonstrably sane black men, Madison Hemings and Israel Jefferson, help to concoct stories that were more likely to inflame their neighbors than increase their social cachet (page 12)? Or why assume without compelling evidence that they were feeble-minded pawns in the hands of white radicals (page 11)?

As if she were cross-examining those chroniclers who have impeached Madison Heming's reliability, Gordon-Reed establishes doubt in their master narratives. This doubt opens space for believing Madison Hemings, Israel Jefferson, and even James Callender (though the last case is trying). She reminds us, for instance, that "exaggeration, rather than fabrication, was Callender's journalistic flaw" (page 62). While he claimed that [Sally Hemings](#) had five children, one of whom was the notorious "Tom," he might not have known, as we know again now, that three had died by 1799. Either Callender or a source could have fabricated Tom out of knowledge about Beverley (born in 1798) and the persistent story that Sally conceived in France (page 76). But the whole of Callender's account, as extrinsic evidence, is not necessarily wrong.

The stories of Edmund Bacon, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Ellen Randolph Coolidge, and Henry S. Randall have been cited to discredit the accounts of a liaison. However, Gordon-Reed maintains that procedural fairness requires us to consider their pronounced fondness for [Thomas Jefferson](#) as disqualifying as the motives of Wetmore, Madison Hemings, and Israel Jefferson (page 34). Other doubts arise, Gordon-Reed implies. Bacon reported that he often saw the person who was the father of Harriet Hemings coming out of Sally's room in the morning, and this culprit was not Thomas Jefferson (Gordon-Reed, pages 26, 92-93). But according to Jefferson's FARM BOOK, Bacon became overseer after Harriet's birth. (See Malone's different explanation, JEFFERSON THE PRESIDENT: FIRST TERM, 1801-05, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1970, n. 7, page 496.) Apparently, Thomas Jefferson Randolph told historian Henry S. Randall that he "had charge of Monticello" when Peter Carr and Sally were producing "the progeny which resembled Mr. Jefferson" (Appendix D, pages 254-55). But Gordon-Reed points out that Thomas Jefferson Randolph was only a boy, and not in charge, during this time



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(page 85). While Ellen Randolph Coolidge lamented that “it is impossible to prove that Mr. Jefferson never had a mistress or colored children,” she nonetheless wrote that her brother, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, believed Samuel Carr, not Peter, to be the culprit (Appendix E, page 258). Did Randall or Coolidge misinterpret his statements, Gordon-Reed asks (pages 87-88)? Or was Randolph telling different stories to different persons? Randall claimed that he once confirmed, but then forgot how he did so, that Jefferson could not have been present when “the slave who most resembled him” was born (Appendix D, page 255). But as Gordon-Reed says, a comparison of the lists of slaves in the FARM BOOK with the chronology of Jefferson’s adult life shows that Thomas Jefferson was at Monticello in time to have impregnated Sally Hemings before her births (pages 100-02). Of course, other historians have conceded this point, too, while still fingering the Carr boys (Gordon-Reed, n. 26, page 99; n. 5, page 265; and n. 29, page 266).

In addition, Gordon-Reed marshals circumstantial evidence, but not clinching proof, that [Thomas Jefferson](#) could have been involved with [Sally Hemings](#). However, her argument is not so much about what Jefferson actually did as it is about what historians, excepting a few like Winthrop D. Jordan, have not done (page 3): present the circumstantial facts completely. Jefferson was at Monticello in time to father Sally Hemings’s children. His decision to let Beverley and Harriet stroll, in combination with his freeing Madison and Eston in his will, can be seen as a “partial performance” of the pledge that, according to Madison Hemings, Jefferson made to his mother, Sally, in France (page 25). Sally’s Hemings’s children were, even for Heminges at Monticello, treated unusually well. No other slave woman’s children, both male and female, either all went free or were allowed to go free, Gordon Reed indicates (pages 48, 218-19). In fact, soon after Jefferson’s death, Sally Hemings went free, too, although all the circumstances that accomplished this are not known (page 219). The children of Sally Hemings had names that could be traced to Jefferson-Randolph family and friends (pages 198-200). Neither Wayles nor Carr names predominate. Sally Hemings’s three sons all played the violin in some fashion, as did Jefferson; and at least one seems to have been a balloonist, an avocation that fascinated Jefferson (pages 151-52). In sum, Gordon-Reed suggests that when “ordinary citizens” view these circumstantial facts alongside Madison Hemings’s direct evidence, Israel Jefferson’s corroborating testimony, and Callender’s extrinsic evidence, they likely will doubt the conclusions of many Jefferson historians (page 231). “Let [circumstantial] facts be submitted to a candid world,” she might say.

Finally, we turn to character and the related issues of credibility and probability. According to Gordon-Reed, critics like Garry Wills, who have conceded the likelihood of a liaison, have been willing to compare Sally Hemings to a prostitute (page 169). But they have been unwilling to characterize Tom as a John and rarely as a lover. Why sully [Sally Hemings](#) so, unless the motive has been to preserve as unblemished as possible the [Thomas Jefferson](#) image in the American mind, Gordon-Reed implies? This image of the privately pure if not always the publicly consistent Jefferson recalls his grandson’s picture of a man as “immaculate... as God ever created,” who consistently put solicitude for his children and grandchildren ahead of his own wants (Appendix D, page 255). This is the Jefferson who presumably lived out in private his public abhorrence of racial mixing and who turned away from women after his wife’s death (excepting a brief flirtation in Paris) to produce immaculate, intellectual conceptions: “the earth belongs to the living,” the Republican party, the presidency, the Louisiana Purchase, Lewis and Clark, the Embargo, Monticello, and the University of Virginia.

Gordon-Reed admits that one can construct a theory of why Jefferson favored Sally Heming’s children without either maligning her groundlessly or, in Miller’s words, accusing Jefferson of a four-decade “cover-up” of his own miscegenation (THE WOLF BY THE EARS: JEFFERSON AND SLAVERY, New York: The Free Press, 1977, page 168). Historians generally concede that Sally Hemings was Jefferson’s wife’s half-sister and therefore that her children were his relatives (Gordon-Reed, pages 128-29). In 1815, Jefferson calculated that, following Virginia’s law, mulatto children like Sally Hemings’s, the product of three generations of crosses with white blood, were themselves white, even if they were still enslaved due to their mother’s status. Favoring and freeing Sally Hemings’s children, Jefferson could have been favoring and freeing white kin, Gordon-Reed suggests (page 53).



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This hypothesis falls short of what Gordon-Reed wants readers to consider seriously. While she discounts Fawn M. Brodie's Freudian approach (a "club" in the hands of Brodie's detractors, page 4), she builds on the research of other scholars like Jordan (*WHITE OVER BLACK*, pages 465-69) to suggest that the profiles of Jefferson and Hemings made a long-term affair thinkable — not "impossible to believe" because he was so immaculate and she so inferior (page xiv). Sally Hemings was beautiful and intelligent, accounts say, and dependent on Thomas Jefferson for privileges. In France she learned a new language, lived in the midst of opulence, and observed different customs. As family, she was a known quantity. Might not [Sally Hemings](#) have seen being "mistress of a slave master a suitable role," one which her mother also had filled (page 164)? Might not [Thomas Jefferson](#) have been attracted to her?

And Jefferson, an immaculate man in some ways, was a creature of compulsion and habit, as well as a widower who promised his dying wife that he would not remarry, according to Gordon-Reed (and many other scholars). He professed to hate the scene of politics but returned to it frequently. He disdained British luxury and French dissipation but spent lavishly on consumables and art works (Gordon-Reed, 121). He extolled domestic quiet but raised and revised Monticello in quest of perfection (Gordon-Reed, 131). He despised the idea of slavery but held relatives as slaves; and he disdained racial mixing but included the children of miscegenation in his household (Gordon-Reed, 108-09). Do these facts and paradoxes either confirm, deny, or suggest a liaison? Does his racism disqualify him as a partner in miscegenation even though miscegenation was "a prevalent and inevitable part of slavery," which certainly was a racist institution (Gordon-Reed, 128)? Gordon-Reed does not believe that racism clears him peremptorily of the charge of miscegenation. Can we imagine Jefferson, champion of the diffusion of knowledge in Bill 79 and father of the University of Virginia, "treat[ing] his own flesh as slaves," even educating them as slaves (Gordon-Reed, 148)? Can the man from Monticello be in this way but a planter? Reluctantly, Gordon-Reed can imagine him in this way. As Jefferson himself said when reviewing conflicting theories about how sea shells got so high up in the Andes, "There is a wonder somewhere... this great phenomenon is as yet unsolved" (*NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA*, ed. William Peden, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1972, page 33).

For sometime, influential writers on Jefferson, no matter their theories about the liaison, have acknowledged the difficulty of alchemizing adulterated and partial evidence into the gold of proof:

- Ellen Randolph Coolidge — "It is difficult to prove a negative" (Appendix E, page 258)
- Merrill D. Peterson — "No positive disproof" (*JEFFERSON IMAGE*, page 184)
- Winthrop D. Jordan — "Paternity can be neither refuted nor proved" (*WHITE OVER BLACK: AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO, 1550-1812* (NY: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1977, page 466)
- Virginius Dabney on behalf of others — "The charges are in all probability false" (*THE JEFFERSON SCANDALS: A REBUTTAL*, NY: Madison Books, 1981, page 67)
- Dumas Malone — "The perplexing question... cannot be answered with finality" (*JEFFERSON THE PRESIDENT*, page 495)
- Andrew Burstein — "Nothing fully satisfies" (*THE INNER JEFFERSON: PORTRAIT OF A GRIEVING OPTIMIST*, Charlottesville VA: The UP of Virginia, 1996, page 230)
- Jack McLaughlin — "Jefferson's records reveal nothing about... the allegations" (*JEFFERSON AND MONTICELLO: THE BIOGRAPHY OF A BUILDER*, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1990, page 121)
- Paul Finkelman — "The issue remains an open question" (*SLAVERY AND THE FOUNDERS: RACE AND LIBERTY IN THE AGE OF JEFFERSON*, Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996, page 141)

To this Gordon-Reed adds that there is no absolute proof. However, in a mirror image of Dabney's conclusion, she does suggest that "the likely nature of their relationship" was sexual and amorous (page 231). Do we indict her for ignoring, as legions of others have, the agnostic dictum that "he is less remote from the truth who believes nothing, than he who believes what is wrong," (*NOTES*, page 33)? I think not, since Jefferson, the believer in extant mammoths and *megalonyx*, wrote these words, thus showing 1) that evidence and theory entwine and 2) that to puncture some person's theory of some other persons' inferiority (remember Monsieur de Buffon on the inhabitants of the New World?), countervailing theories can be useful. Gordon-Reed implies as much in her "Preface" (page xv).



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Like Finkleman (SLAVERY, page 142), Gordon-Reed implies the we will not be satisfied until (I take liberties here) Marcia Clark and Barry Scheck face off in court –power-points ablaze!– to parse the Jefferson, Randolph, and Carr genes in the Hemings descendents (page xiv). But will we be satisfied even then, if this research were done? Can science satisfy the need to affirm or deny the existence of a primal scene of republican miscegenation? (Has science solved the assassination of JFK and silenced its theorists?) “Branded and bonded” like Hester and Dimmesdale (miscegenation compounding the sin of adultery), subjected to “public humiliation,” their clothes and speeches scrutinized for vague confession, [Sally Hemings](#) and [Thomas Jefferson](#) now are iconic (Barbara Chase-Riboud, SALLY HEMINGS, New York: Ballantine Books, 1994, pages 242 and 254). Out of the few facts that we have, Gordon-Reed hypothesizes a humanizing story of the Hemings family without exaggerating her ability to meet the burden of proof. (Compare, for instance, Brodie’s evidence and tendentious claims in THOMAS JEFFERSON: AN INTIMATE HISTORY, New York: Bantam Books, Inc., pages 293-302.) Having humanized Hemings, she will cause scholars and the reading public to reexamine their image of Thomas Jefferson.

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1998

November 2, Monday: In the New York Times there appeared an editorial by Brent Staples which suggested that the new genetic evidence presents us with a Thomas Jefferson who was conflicted and self-deceptive:

He started out as a cautious believer in abolition, but retreated steadily from that position, thinking that slavery needed to be kept intact, in part to preclude race mixing. The notion that he developed and hardened these attitudes while having a truly loving relationship with a black woman seems implausible. If this is what happened, Jefferson was more conflicted and self-deceptive than we knew.... Among our Presidents, Thomas Jefferson has been the most controversial and paradoxical. When Americans speak of him, they elaborate a personal relationship with the Founding Father who conjured democracy out of nothing — or the mere mortal who failed to break the chains of slavery, poisoning the Republic's future. Last week's disclosure adds to the mystery of Jefferson but does nothing to solve it.

This is just wrong. Within Jefferson's own white-racist frame of thought there is **nothing whatever that would be inconsistent** between:

- his proposal to outlaw any white woman of Virginia who bore a child not entirely white, so that both she and that child could be murdered without penalty by any Virginian desiring so to do, and
- his willingness to father children not entirely white by pairing with someone not altogether white.

The explanation, within this man's own "White is Right" frame of reference, would be simple and straightforward, if enormously offensive to us. An all-white woman is capable of bearing an all-white child, so if she chooses to bear a child that is not all-white, then she is deliberately **lowering** her race, **darkening** her race, which is seen in that sort of antimelanist mindset as a race crime. A woman who is not all-white, on the other hand, is capable of bearing either a darker child by a darker father or a lighter child by a lighter father, so if she chooses to bear a child that is lighter, by a white man or by a man of color who has less of an admixture of the dark, then she is deliberately **improving** her breed, **lightening** her race, which is seen in that sort of antimelanist mindset as a general benefit. A white man of Jefferson's ilk can thus, with complete consistency, murder a white woman alongside her child who is not entirely white — and that night make himself the father of a child who is not entirely white. (Later on he can sell his child and make some money, or he might even do what Jefferson did and on his deathbed grant freedom from slavery to some of his offspring.)

What a great guy, offering miscegenation to his dashing Sally Hemings as a way to improve herself! There is no evidence here either of conflict or of self-deception. The evidence here is evidence of racist evil, evidence of an entire wrongness which goes far far beyond either mental conflictedness or self-deception.

Ponder the fact that just as soon as Founding Father Jefferson is exposed as having had an entirely predictable and entirely ordinary White Racist orientation, a columnist in the New York Times has started cutting the man some slack, by presuming that his thinking on the subject of race had become merely **inconsistent**, that our man was merely **confused** rather than having been the piece of self-legitimizing self-privileging crap that we might have expected a person of his station in life to have been.

We've already seen the newsies now let Tom off the hook for the first three of Sally's babies, by pretending that the forensic genetic evidence has conclusively proved that he was not their father when in fact genetic evidence provides us with no such assurance. (In the case of the 1st baby, there have been something like eight or nine human generations since that baby was born, and if, in any one of those eight or nine human

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generations, anyone was unfaithful to their marital partner, which is an entirely expectable thing and does happen from time to time, and the result of this unfaithfulness had been fecundation, the tests would have come out as they came out even if Thomas had been that 1st baby Tom's father. In the cases of the 2d and 3rd babies, since these children generated no descendants now alive, there is no forensic evidence whatever and we continue to know nothing at all of their paternity.) One can expect newsies to become confused over scientific issues, but I would suggest that this level of confusion and false-negative reassurance is a level which demands motivation.

Watch the newsies now, as they explore the idea that Thomas's willingness to put toasty buns in Sally's oven demonstrates that our Founding Father was capable of affection toward the colored races, when to the contrary what in fact this willingness demonstrates is the utter ruthlessness of his self-legitimizing "White is Right" posture.

As to this guy's having been the principal author of the Declaration of Independence document, all the evidence we have for that attestation consists of what he himself was claiming in his old age, after the other witnesses of the period could no longer contest such an appropriation. During his own era Jefferson had the reputation of a fabricator, a compulsive embellisher. The man is on record as having told grand exaggerations amounting to lies — even about the weather and about his knowledge of foreign languages.



November 5, Thursday: The British periodical Nature reported a genetics study by scientists at Oxford University that led to a considered suspicion that it had been [Thomas Jefferson](#) himself who had produced a child by miscegenation with one of his house slaves, the dashing light mulatto [Sally Hemings](#). Sally's son Madison Hemings, who had posed for the portrait of President Jefferson that graces our nickel coin, had been telling the truth when he passed along the information that he averred that his mother had passed along to him — he was indeed a "somebody," his father had indeed been one of the most prominent founding daddies of our nation.

Curator of Ornithology Rick Prum of the Kansas University Natural History Museum announced that [Henry Thoreau](#) had been mistaken in averring that the **Eastern Bluebird** *Sialia sialis* carried the sky on its back. What this bird carries on its back produces color neither by means of a blue pigment nor by further refracting the refracted blue of the sky, but is a phenomenon of light scattering among particles of a particular size and shape and distribution — the same phenomenon in fact that produces a blue-sheen effect on a roadside oil slick!

Sky on Back



Essayist Henry David Thoreau said that the bluebird carries the sky on its back.

For more than a century, scientists have agreed, saying that blue feathers look blue for the same reason that the sky does. Now, a University of Kansas scientist and his colleagues say that's not so. They have found that feathers look blue for the same reason that oil slicks do.

Rick Prum, curator of ornithology at the KU Natural History Museum, said, "These results apply to many common garden birds, including blue jays, indigo buntings - and, yes, Thoreau's blue



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bird."

He and his colleagues published their discoveries about the blueness of bird feathers in the November 5th issue of the journal Nature.

Blue feathers and blue sky are both the product of the interplay of light with the structure of materials found in the two, Prum said. That is, neither is blue because of pigment, as jeans are. But that's where the similarity between the blues ends, Prum said.

The sky is blue because of molecules of gas and other particles that scatter lightwaves at the blue end of the color spectrum, Prum said.

The blue that you see in an oil slick, or in a blue bird feather, doesn't come from this kind of scattering, Prum said.

"If you open any ornithology text, you'll see the statement that bluebird feathers are blue because of this scattering, and they're wrong," Prum said. "That dogma is a century old."

The blue in oil slicks and feathers results from differences in the distances traveled by light waves that are reflected off of each.

Light waves traveling toward your eye from an oil slick are reflected off both the top and bottom of the slick. Because of the different distances the waves have to travel, the peaks and troughs of most of them won't line up.

So most wavelengths of light cancel out and the colors associated with those wavelengths aren't visible. The troughs and peaks of a small range of colors do line up, though, and are brilliantly reinforced, Prum said. With an oil slick, the reinforced color is blue.

The same general principle is at work with feathers, he said.

In his experiments, Prum cross-sectioned feather barbs taken from a blue South American bird called the cotinga. The barbs are the branches that come off a feather's central spine.

When the cotinga's barbs are magnified 20,000 to 30,000 times, Prum said, you can see they're made of a spongy 50-50 mix of keratin and air bubbles. Keratin is also a major constituent of human fingernails and hair.

In their research, Prum and his colleagues analyzed the distribution of the air bubbles. They found that the bubbles in the feather barbs are too close to each other for the feathers' blueness to be a product of the scattering of blue light waves, as in the case of the sky.

But they also found that the bubbles were distributed regularly enough that they could produce small but predictable differences in the distance that light waves that struck the bubbles traveled to the eye from the barb.

As with the oil slick, this difference in distance traveled was responsible for the blueness.

"The amazing thing is that as the feathers grow, the size of these tiny air cavities in the feathers has to be exactly right to create the right color," Prum said. "If the air bubbles are different in size by, say, 5 millionths of an inch, the result is an entirely different hue."

Prum said that animal communication through color "is a fascinating field. In order to understand the meaning of color signals -if they have a meaning- and how they came to evolve, we have to understand how those colors are produced."

Besides Prum, others working on the project were Rudolfo Torres,



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of the KU Department of Mathematics; Scott Williamson, then a KU undergraduate and now a KU graduate student in biology; and Jan Dyck, of the University of Copenhagen.



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1999

On a TV cartoon of the “South Park” series, a student won an environmental-essay contest by submitting a copy of [WALDEN](#) with Thoreau’s name crossed out on the title page and his name written in. At the awards ceremony, when another contestant exposed this plagiarism, nobody reacted. The whistle-blower then commented to another contestant “They don’t even know what WALDEN is” and yelled at the audience:

I’ll bet if WALDEN was a sit-com,
you’d all know what it was!

With this as preamble: for some time now, I have been wondering what might be done about a situation I am observing in academe. *Learned scholars seem at present to feel perfectly free to issue various gratuitous derogatory asides about [Henry Thoreau](#).* There seems, in contemporary academic culture, at least in regard to this one topic, to be no penalties whatever for a display of ignorance amounting to buffoonery. I am therefore here going to create a little essay on this situation, instancing Robert Blair St. George, and I am going to entitle my little essay with a “quote unquote” from the scholarly ruminations of this academic¹⁶³ — whom I will here instance as having made himself out to be one of these buffoons:

“JEFFERSON SEEMS THE ANCESTOR OF THOREAU”

I take my text from page 245 in the 1995 volume edited by Dan Ben-Amos and Liliane Weissberg,¹⁶⁴ *CULTURAL MEMORY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY* (Detroit: Wayne State UP). It is the one-count’em-one reference to Thoreau to be found in this collection of essays. It occurs in an essay contributed by Associate Professor St. George, entitled “Placing Race at Jefferson’s Monticello.” It occurs in a context in which, after providing floor plans and descriptions of various shanties occupied by [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s various “servants” at the Monticello plantation, and photographs of similar surviving structures from other plantations, the author faults former President Jefferson for having failed to live up to his earlier “lofty visions” about the ennobling capabilities of proper architecture. Jefferson, we learn, “actually housed his slaves in hovels.” Living conditions for the “servant” class at Monticello actually were rather more similar than not to those provided by “many other Virginia landowners” — who it would appear did no particular pontification of record about the ennobling capabilities of proper architecture. This may make Jefferson out to have been something of a hypocrite.



It is at this point that this volume registers its nonce aside about [Henry Thoreau](#), that “Jefferson seems the ancestor of Thoreau.” The aside could be classified as gratuitous in that it really has very little or nothing to do with the subject of the article, “Placing Race at Jefferson’s Monticello.” The author makes no effort to place race at Thoreau’s [Walden Pond](#), although of course, as we know, he might very well have done so.

The connection between the slave cabins described and illustrated, and Thoreau, a connection which actually is left pretty much to the reader’s imagination, seems to be either

163. Associate Professor St. George was serving as Graduate Chair in the Department of Folklore and Folklife of the University of Pennsylvania.

164. Professor Ben-Amos is a Professor of Folklore and Folklife and Professor Weissberg is a Professor of German and Comparative Literature, at the University of Pennsylvania.

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- a.) that Jefferson's slaves lived in cabins and then Thoreau also lived in a cabin, or
- b.) that Jefferson the hypocrite who claimed to disdain industrial production but was guilty of "extensive record-keeping and monitoring of domestic productivity," "keenly aware of profit, investment, and loss," resembled Thoreau the hypocrite of [Walden Pond](#) who wrote an entire long chapter on "Economy,"
- or perhaps a combination of both a.) and b.):



THOREAU'S WALDEN PLANTATION AND ITS SLAVE CABIN

For deep background, Thoreau is derogatorily thumbnailed only as a critic of "materialism's moral wickedness," but he is a rather stupid critic who immediately betrays to the reader of [WALDEN; OR LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) the hypocrisy of his own critique, by expressing great concern in regard to "building costs" and in regard to "domestic economy." It is at this point that the summation remark occurs, that this problematic person Jefferson seems the ancestor of Thoreau.

Having told us about this, the author St. George moves on with his topic of race, to give a detailed account of [Jefferson](#)'s hypocritical and offensive attitudes in regard to racial contamination, attitudes which included his observation that just as orangutan males ("the Oranootan") allegedly preferred black women rather than other orangutans because of their "superior beauty," black men indicated that they preferred lighter human women rather than darker women because of their "superior beauty."—Attitudes which presumably applied "in spades" to some of Jefferson's own slave offspring! This Jefferson who owned a total of some 220 slaves and during his lifetime freed exactly two of them (presumably two of his lighter-skinned offspring) seems the ancestor, the article indicates in passing, of any number of Americans of various shades of the rainbow. These mulatto

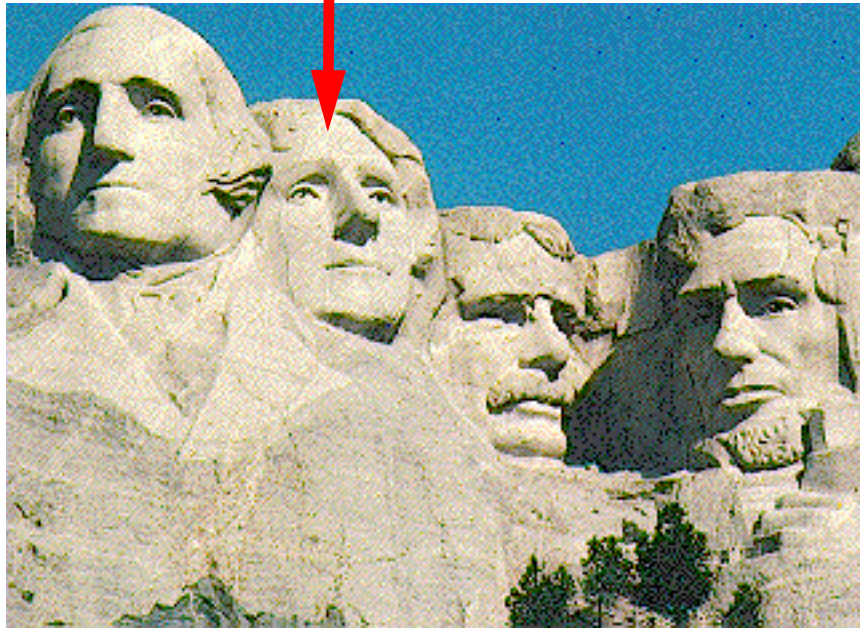
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descendants are, we know, only barely tolerated when, as tourists, they visit the “Mulberry Row” of slave cabins on the Monticello mountaintop.

As I indicated before, to say in such a highly charged context that this hypocritical miscegenator [Jefferson](#) seems the ancestor of [Thoreau](#) is malignance amounting to buffoonery.



What I am wondering is how such a situation as this is tolerable in academe. “They don’t even know what WALDEN is.” I know of no major figure of our culture, other than Thoreau, in regard to whom academics tolerate such. Why, I ask, is this tolerated in regard to Thoreau? Why is it that academics who obviously lack the slightest grounding in this area, and who seem normally so utterly timid and fearful of giving any offense even by the splitting of an infinitive, in regard to Thoreau feel so free to make such clowns of themselves?

[TIMELINE OF WALDEN](#)



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2011

David Barton, a graduate of Oral Roberts University and a former co-chair of the Republican Party of Texas, has founded a Texas-based operation named “WallBuilders” to bring forward a claim that the constitutional “separation of church and state,” as allegedly endorsed by President [Thomas Jefferson](#), is nothing more than an urban legend. Jefferson, he alleges, as a Christian could have issued no such endorsement, he has been misunderstood, and the United States of America has been from its foundation an exclusively Christian nation.

To put the matter succinctly, Barton is what one might term a “Christian nationalist.”

Jefferson, who denominated himself an Epicurean, believing that pleasure was the end of life, considered the ethics of Jesus, although fine in its various particulars, to be so unsystematic as to be “unconnected” and “defective.” Over and above that, although the words ascribed to Jesus in the GOSPELS were “diamonds,” the words ascribed to his disciples and apostles, in particular Paul, amounted to “dung.” The NEW TESTAMENT had obviously been constructed by “ignorant” authors, in order for it to be stocked with “so much absurdity, so much untruth, charlatanism and imposture.” Did Jefferson have, by way of contrast, a higher regard for the OLD TESTAMENT? –No, the Old was worse even in Jefferson’s eyes than the New. In order to bring forward this discussion, I am presenting on the following screens Jefferson’s rewrite of the foundational document. Read this and decide for yourself:



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THE JEFFERSON BIBLE



The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth Extracted Textually from the Gospels as Compiled by Thomas Jefferson

CHAPTER 1.

1 Now it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled.

2 (And this enrollment was the first which was made when Quirinius, was governor of Syria.)

3 And all went to be enrolled, every one into his own city.

4 And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and lineage of David,

5 To be enrolled with Mary his betrothed, being then with child.

6 And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.

7 And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

8 And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called JESUS.

9 And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

10 And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him.

And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, unto the feast according to the custom.

12 And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and his parents knew not of it.

13 But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinfolk and acquaintances.

14 And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him.

15 And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the teachers, both hearing them, and asking them questions.

16 And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.

17 And when they saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.

18 And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them.

19 And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature.



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Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituraea and of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene,

21 Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests,

22 Appeared John the Baptist in the wilderness.

23 Now the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey.

24 Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judaea, and all the region round about Jordan,

25 And were baptized of him in Jordan.

Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him.

27 And Jesus himself, when he began his ministry, was about thirty years of age.

28 After this he went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren, and his disciples: and they continued there a few days.

And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

30 And found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting:

31 And when he had made a scourge of cords, he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers' coins, and overthrew their tables;

32 And said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house an house of merchandise.

33 After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judaea; and there he tarried with them, and baptized.

Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee;

35 For Herod himself had sent forth and laid hold upon John, and bound him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife: for he had married her.

36 For John had said unto Herod, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.

37 Therefore Herodias had a grudge against him, and would have killed him; but she could not:

38 For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and holy, and protected him; and when he heard him, he was sore perplexed, yet he heard him gladly.

39 And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief men of Galilee;

40 And when the daughter of the said Herodias came in, and danced, she pleased Herod and them that sat with him; and the king said unto the damsel, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee.

41 And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom.

42 And she went forth, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask? And she said, The head of John the Baptist.

43 And she came in immediately with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me straightway in a charger the head of John the Baptist.

44 And the king was exceeding sorry; yet for his oath's sake, and for their sakes which sat with him, he would not refuse her.

45 And immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought: and he went and beheaded him in the prison,

46 And brought his head in a charger, and gave it to the damsel: and the damsel gave it to her mother.

And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue, and taught.



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48 And they were astonished at his teaching: for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes.

At that time Jesus went on the sabbath day through the corn fields; and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck the ears of corn and to eat.

50 But when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the sabbath day.

51 But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungred, and they that were with him;

52 How he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?

53 Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath days the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are guiltless?

And when he was departed thence, he went into their synagogue:

55 And, behold, there was a man which had his hand withered. And they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days? that they might accuse him.

56 And he said unto them, What man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out?

57 How much then is a man of more value than a sheep! Wherefore it is lawful to do good on the sabbath days.

58 And he said unto them, The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.

But the Pharisees went out, and held a council against him, how they might destroy him.

60 But when Jesus knew it, he withdrew himself from thence: and great multitudes followed him.

And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God.

62 And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles;

63 Simon, (whom he also named Peter,) and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew,

64 Matthew and Thomas, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon called the Zealot,

65 And Judas the son of James, and Judas Iscariot, who became a traitor.

66 And he came down with them, and stood in the plain; and there was a great company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judaea and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him.

CHAPTER 2.

1 And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set down, his disciples came unto him:

2 And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,

3 Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

4 Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

5 Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

6 Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

7 Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

8 Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

9 Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

10 Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.



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11 Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

12 Rejoice, and be glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

13 But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.

14 Woe unto you that are full now, for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep.

15 Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you, for so did their fathers to the false prophets.

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it again be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot by men.

17 Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.

18 Neither do men light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but on a lampstand; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.

19 Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

21 For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.

22 Whosoever therefore shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

23 For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment:

25 But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment: and whosoever shall abuse his brother, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

26 Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee;

27 Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

28 Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.

29 Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt not commit adultery:

31 But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

32 And if thy right eye causeth thee to offend, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

33 And if thy right hand causeth thee to offend, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

34 It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement:



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35 But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

Again, ye have heard that it hath been said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths:

37 But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne:

38 Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King.

39 Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.

40 But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:

42 But I say unto you, That ye resist not him that is evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

43 And if any man will sue thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.

44 And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.

45 Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.

47 But I say unto you, Love your enemies, pray for them that persecute you;

48 That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

49 For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the tax-gatherers the same?

50 And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the Gentiles so?

51 And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what gain have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again.

52 But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing in return; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Most High: for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.

53 Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful.

CHAPTER 3.

1 Take heed that ye do not your good works before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.

2 Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.

3 But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth:

4 That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.

6 But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy inner chamber, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee.

7 And when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.

8 Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.

9 After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.

10 Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.



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11 Give us this day our daily bread.

12 And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

13 And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

14 For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you:

15 But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.

17 But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face;

18 That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal:

20 But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal:

21 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

22 The lamp of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be sound, thy whole body shall be full of light.

23 But if thine eye be not sound, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and riches.

25 Therefore I say unto you, Be not concerned for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?

26 Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not of much more value than they?

27 Which of you by being concerned can add one hour to his life?

28 And why are ye concerned for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:

29 And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

30 Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?

31 Therefore be not concerned, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?

32 (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.

33 But seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.

34 Have therefore no concern for the morrow: for the morrow shall have concern for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the trouble thereof. Judge not, that ye be not judged.

36 For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

37 Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. 38 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?



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39 Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?

40 Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.

42 Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:

43 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.

44 Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?

45 Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?

46 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?

47 Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:

49 But strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.

51 Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

52 Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

53 A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

54 Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

55 Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

56 A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.

57 But I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.

58 For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.

Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, shall be likened unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock:

60 And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.

61 And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand:

62 And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it.

63 And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his teaching:

64 For he taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes.

CHAPTER 4.

1 When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him.

2 And he went round about the villages, teaching.

Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.



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4 Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.

5 For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.

6 Now one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat.

7 And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster vial of ointment,

8 And stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.

9 Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is that toucheth him: for she is a sinner.

10 And Jesus answering said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on.

11 There was a certain creditor which had two debtors: the one owed five hundred denarii, and the other fifty.

12 And when they had nothing to pay, he graciously forgave them both. Which of them, therefore, will love him most?

13 Simon answered and said, I suppose that he, to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged.

14 And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath washed my feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head.

15 Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman since the time I came in hath not ceased to kiss my feet.

16 My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.

17 There came then his brethren and his mother, and, standing without, sent unto him, calling him.

18 And the multitude sat about him, and they said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee.

19 And he answered them, saying, Who is my mother, and my brethren?

20 And he looked round about on them which sat about him, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren!

21 For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother.

22 In the mean time, when there were gathered together a multitude of many thousands of people, insomuch that they trod one upon another, he began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

23 For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known.

24 Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have whispered in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the housetops.

25 And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do.

26 But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.

27 Are not five sparrows sold for two pennies? And yet not one of them is forgotten before God.

28 But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore: ye are of more value than many sparrows.

29 And one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me.



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- 30 But he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?
- 31 And he said unto them, Take heed, and beware of all manner of covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.
- 32 And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully:
- 33 And he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits?
- 34 And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods.
- 35 And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.
- 36 But God said unto him, Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided?
- 37 So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.
- 38 And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you, Be not concerned for your life, what ye shall eat; neither for your body, what ye shall put on.
- 39 The life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment.
- 40 Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouse nor barn; and yet God feedeth them: of how much more value are ye than the fowls!
- 41 And which of you with being concerned can add to his stature one cubit?
- 42 If ye then be not able to do that thing which is least, why are ye concerned for the rest?
- 43 Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.
- 44 If then God so clothe the grass, which is to day in the field, and to morrow is cast into the oven; how much more will he clothe you, O ye of little faith?
- 45 And seek not ye what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, neither be ye of a concerned mind.
- 46 For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: and your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.
- 47 But rather seek ye his kingdom; and these things shall be added unto you also.
- 48 Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.
- 49 Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth destroyeth.
- 50 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.
- 51 Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning;
- 52 And ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding feast; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open unto him immediately.
- 53 Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them.
- 54 And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants.
- 55 And this know, that if the goodman of the house had known what hour the thief would come, he would not have suffered his house to be broken through into.
- 56 Be ye therefore ready also: for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not.
- 57 Then Peter said unto him, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or also unto all?



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58 And the Lord said, Who then is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?

59 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

60 Of a truth I say unto you, that he will make him ruler over all that he hath.

61 But and if that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the menservants and maidservants, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken;

62 The lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder.

63 And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.

64 But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.

65 And he said also to the people, When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it is.

66 And when ye see the south wind blow, ye say, There will be heat; and it cometh to pass.

67 Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth; but how is it that ye do not discern this present time?

68 And why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?

69 While thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, as thou art in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him; lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison.

70 I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last mite.

CHAPTER 5.

1 There were present at that season some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.

2 And Jesus answering said unto them, Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things?

3 I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

4 Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem?

5 I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

6 He spake also this parable; A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none.

7 Then said he unto the dresser of his vineyard, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?

8 And he answering said unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it:

9 And if it bear fruit, well: but if not, then thou shalt cut it down.

And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him: and he went in, and sat down at meat.

11 And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner.

12 And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness.

13 Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without make that which is within also?



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- 14 But give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you.
- 15 But woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and pass over justice and the love of God: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.
- 16 Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye love the uppermost seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets.
- 17 Woe unto you! for ye are as graves which are not seen, and the men that walk over them are not aware of them.
- 18 Then answered one of the lawyers, and said unto him, Master, thus saying thou reproachest us also.
- 19 And he said, Woe unto you also, ye lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.
- 20 Woe unto you, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.
- 21 And as he departed from thence, the scribes and the Pharisees began to urge him vehemently, and to provoke him to speak of many things:
- 22 Laying wait for him, to catch him in some saying. On that same day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea side.
- 24 And great multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into a ship, and sat; and the whole multitude stood on the shore.
- 25 And he spake many things unto them in parables, saying, Behold, a sower went forth to sow;
- 26 And as he sowed, some seeds fell by the way side, and the fowls came and devoured them up:
- 27 Some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth: and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth:
- 28 But when the sun was up, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away.
- 29 And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprung up, and choked them:
- 30 But other fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold.
- 31 Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.
- 32 And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve asked of him the parable.
- Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower.
- 34 When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one, and snatcheth away that which was sown in his heart. This is he which received seed by the way side.
- 35 But he that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and at once with joy receiveth it;
- 36 Yet hath he not root in himself, but endureth for a while: and when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, he quickly falleth away.
- 37 He also that received seed among the thorns is he that heareth the word; and the care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and it becometh unfruitful.
- 38 But he that received seed into the good ground is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it; he also beareth fruit, and bringeth forth, some an hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty.
- And he said unto them, Is a lamp brought to be put under a bushel, or under a bed? and not to be set on a lampstand?
- 40 For there is nothing hid, which shall not be manifested; neither was any thing kept secret, but that it should come to light.
- 41 If any man have ears to hear, let him hear.



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Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field:

43 But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.

44 But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also.

45 And the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares?

46 He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up?

47 But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.

48 Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn.

Then he departed from the multitude, and went into the house: and his disciples came unto him, saying, Declare unto us the parable of the tares of the field.

50 He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man;

51 The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one;

52 The enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the age; and the reapers are the angels.

53 As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of the age.

54 The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause men to sin, and all them which do iniquity;

55 And shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.

56 Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field; the which when a man hath found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field.

58 Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls:

59 Who, when he had found one pearl of great value, went and sold all that he had, and bought it.

Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered fish of every kind:

61 Which, when it was full, they drew it to shore, and sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away.

62 So shall it be at the end of the age: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just,

63 And shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.

64 Jesus saith unto them, Have ye understood all these things? They say unto him, Yea.

65 Then said he unto them, Therefore every scribe which is instructed concerning the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.

66 And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed upon the ground;

67 And should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how.

68 The earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.

69 But when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come.

And he said, Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God? or with what parable shall we describe it?



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71 It is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds that be in the earth:

72 But when it is sown, it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches; so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it.

73 And with many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to hear it.

74 And without a parable spake he not unto them: but when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples.

CHAPTER 6.

1 And as they went in the way, a certain man said unto him, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.

2 And Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.

3 And he said unto another, Follow me. But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.

4 Jesus said unto him, Let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.

5 And another also said, Lord, I will follow thee; but let me first go bid them farewell, which are at my house.

6 But Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.

And after these things he went forth, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him, Follow me.

8 And he left all, rose up, and followed him.

9 And Levi made him a great feast in his house: and there was a great company of publicans and

10 Many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus and his disciples: for there were many, and they followed him.

11 And when the scribes which were Pharisees saw him eat with publicans and sinners, they said unto his disciples, How is it that he eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners?

12 When Jesus heard it, he saith unto them, They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.

13 And he spake also a parable unto them; No man teareth a piece from a new garment and putteth it upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.

14 And no man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish.

15 But new wine must be put into new bottles.

And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these parables, he departed thence.

17 And when he was come into his own country, he taught them in their synagogue, insomuch that they were astonished, and said, Whence hath this man this wisdom, and these mighty works?

18 Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas?

19 And his sisters, are they not all with us? Whence then hath this man all these things?

20 And they were offended in him. But Jesus said unto them, A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house.

But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they were distressed, and downcast, as sheep having no shepherd.

22 And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two;



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23 And charged them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not:
24 But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
25 Take ye neither gold, nor silver, nor copper in your purses,
26 Nor bag for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet a staff: for the workman is worthy of his meat.
27 And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence.
28 And when ye come into an house, salute it.
29 And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.
30 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet.
31 Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city.
Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and innocent as doves.
33 But beware of men: for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues;
34 And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, to bear testimony before them and the Gentiles.
35 But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another:
36 Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known.
37 What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light: and what ye hear whispered in the ear, that proclaim ye upon the housetops.
38 And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.
39 Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without the will of your Father.
40 But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.
41 Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.
42 And they went out, and preached that men should repent.
43 And the apostles gathered themselves together unto Jesus, and told him all things, both what they had done, and what they had taught.
After these things Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him.
45 Then came together unto him the Pharisees, and certain of the scribes, which came from Jerusalem.
46 And they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, with unwashen, hands.
47 For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders.
48 And when they come from the market, except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold, as the washing of cups, and pitchers, and copper vessels.
49 And the Pharisees and scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with defiled hands?
50 And when he had called all the people unto him, he said unto them, Hearken unto me every one of you, and understand:
51 There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him: but the things which come out of him, those are they that defile the man.



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And when he was entered into the house from the people, his disciples asked him concerning the parable.

53 And he saith unto them, Are ye so without understanding also? Do ye not perceive, that whatsoever thing from without entereth into the man, it cannot defile him;

54 Because it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the waste? (Thus declared he all meats clean.)

55 And he said, That which cometh out of the man, that defileth the man.

56 For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, fornications, thefts, murders, adulteries,

57 Covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, envy, slander, pride, foolishness:

58 All these evil things come from within, and defile the man.

59 And from thence he arose, and went into the region of Tyre and Sidon, and entered into an house, and would have no man know it: but he could not be hid.

CHAPTER 7.

1 At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?

2 And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them,

3 And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

4 Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

Woe unto the world because of its stumbling blocks! for it must needs be that stumbling blocks come; but woe to that man by whom the stumbling block cometh!

6 And if thy hand or thy foot causeth thee to stumble, cut them off, and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire.

7 And if thine eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.

How think ye? if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine upon the mountains, and goeth and seeketh that which is gone astray?

9 And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep, than of the ninety and nine which went not astray.

10 Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.

Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.

12 But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.

13 And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect even to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a Gentile man and a publican.

Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times?

15 Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but, Until seventy times seven.

Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king, which would settle accounts with his servants.

17 And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him, which owed him ten thousand talents.

18 But forasmuch as he had not wherewith to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made.



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19 The servant therefore fell down, and bowed before him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

20 Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and released him, and forgave him the debt.

21 But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellowservants, which owed him an hundred denarii: and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest.

22 So his fellowservant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

23 And he would not: but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt.

24 So when his fellowservants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done.

25 Then his lord, after that he had called him, said unto him, Thou wicked servant! I forgave thee all that debt, because thou didst beseech me:

26 Shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellowservant, even as I had mercy on thee?

27 And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him.

28 So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother.

After these things the Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself would come.

30 And he said unto them, The harvest is great, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest.

31 Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.

32 Carry neither purse, nor bag, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way.

33 And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house.

34 And if a son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him: if not, it shall turn to you again.

35 And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house.

36 And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you:

37 But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go ye into the streets of the same, and say,

38 Even the very dust of your city, which cleaveth to our feet, we do wipe off against you: notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

39 But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.

Now the Jew's feast of tabernacles was at hand.

41 His brethren therefore said unto him, Depart hence, and go into Judea, that thy disciples also may see the works that thou doest.

42 For no man doeth any thing in secret, if he himself seeketh to be known openly. If thou do these things, shew thyself to the world.

43 For even his brethren did not believe in him.

44 Then Jesus said unto them, My time is not yet come: but your time is alway at hand.

45 The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil.

46 Go ye up unto this feast: I go not up unto this feast: for my time is not yet full come.

When he had said these words unto them, he abode still in Galilee.

48 But when his brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret.



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49 Now the Jews sought him at the feast, and said, Where is he?
50 And there was much murmuring among the people concerning him: for some said, He is a good man: others said, Nay; but he deceiveth the people.
51 Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews.
52 Now about the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple, and taught.
53 And the Jews marvelled, saying, How hath this man received learning, having never studied?
54 Jesus answered them, and said,
55 Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you keepeth the law? Why do ye seek to kill me?
56 The people answered and said, Thou hast a devil: who seeketh to kill thee?
57 Jesus answered and said unto them, I have done one work, and ye all marvel.
58 Moses gave unto you circumcision; (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers;) and ye on the sabbath do circumcise a man.
59 If a man on the sabbath receive circumcision, that the law of Moses should not be broken; are ye angry at me, because I have made a man every whit whole on the sabbath day?
60 Judge not according to the appearance, but judge with righteous judgment.
Then said some of them of Jerusalem, Is not this he, whom they seek to kill?
62 And, lo, he speaketh openly, and they say nothing unto him. Do the rulers know indeed that this is the Christ?
63 The Pharisees heard that the people murmured such things concerning him; and the chief priests and the Pharisees sent officers to seize him.
64 So there was a division among the people because of him.
65 And some of them would have seized him; but no man laid hands on him.
66 Then came the officers to the chief priests and Pharisees; and they said unto them, Why have ye not brought him?
67 The officers answered, Never man spake like this man.
68 Then answered them the Pharisees, Are ye also deceived?
69 Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed in him?
70 But this people who knoweth not the law are accursed.
71 Nicodemus saith unto them, (he that came to Jesus beforetime, being one of them,)
72 Doth our law judge any man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?
73 They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search, and thou shalt find that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.
74 And every man went unto his own house.

CHAPTER 8.

1 Jesus went unto the mount of Olives.
2 And early in the morning he came again into the temple, and all the people came unto him; and he sat down, and taught them.
3 And the scribes and Pharisees brought in a woman caught committing adultery; and when they had set her in the midst,
4 They say unto him, Master, this woman was caught committing adultery, in the very act.
5 Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou?



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6 This they said, to test him, that they might have cause to accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground.

7 So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him be the first to cast a stone at her.

8 And again he stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground.

9 And they which heard it, began going out one by one, beginning at the eldest: and Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst.

10 When Jesus had lifted up himself, he said unto her, Woman, whither are they gone? hath no man condemned thee?

11 She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more.

And as he passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth.

13 And his disciples asked him, saying, Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?

14 Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.

16 But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep.

17 To him the porter openeth; and the sheep hear his voice: and he calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out.

18 And when he bringeth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him: for they know his voice.

19 And a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him: for they know not the voice of strangers.

20 I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep.

21 He that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth them.

22 He fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.

23 I am the good shepherd, and know my own, and am known of mine.

24 And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.

And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and put him to a test, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

26 He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?

27 And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.

28 And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.

29 But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?

30 And Jesus answering said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead.

31 And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.

32 And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.

33 But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him,



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34 And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

35 And on the morrow, he took out two denarii, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

36 Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?

37 And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

And it came to pass, that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.

39 And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Father, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come.

40 Give us each day our daily bread.

41 And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation.

42 And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves;

43 For a friend of mine in his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him?

44 And he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee.

45 I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him as many as he needeth.

46 And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.

47 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.

48 If a son shall ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent?

49 Or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion?

50 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?

CHAPTER 9.

1 And it came to pass, as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day, that they watched him.

2 And, behold, there was a certain man before him which had the dropsy.

3 And Jesus answering spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day, or no?

4 But they held their peace.

5 And he saith unto them, Which of you shall have a son or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the sabbath day?

6 And they could not answer him to these things.

7 And he put forth a parable to those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief places; saying unto them.

8 When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding feast, sit not down in the highest place; lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden by him;

9 And he that bade thee and him shall come and say to thee, Give this man place; and thou begin with shame to take the lowest place.

10 But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest place; that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have honour in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee.



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- 11 For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.
- 12 Then said he also to him that bade him, When thou makest a dinner or a feast, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompence be made thee.
- 13 But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind:
- 14 And thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just. Then said he unto him, A certain man made a great feast, and bade many:
- 16 And sent his servant at the time of the feast to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready.
- 17 And they all with one consent began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of ground, and I must needs go and see it: I pray thee have me excused.
- 18 And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them: I pray thee have me excused.
- 19 And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.
- 20 So that servant came, and shewed his lord these things. Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the blind, and the halt.
- 21 And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room.
- 22 And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.
- 23 For I say unto you, None of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper. For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it?
- 25 Lest haply, after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him,
- 26 Saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish.
- 27 Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?
- 28 Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an embassy, and desireth conditions of peace.
- Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him.
- 30 And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.
- 31 And he spake this parable unto them, saying,
- 32 What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?
- 33 And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing.
- 34 And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost.
- 35 I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.
- 36 Either what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a lamp, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it?
- 37 And when she hath found it, she calleth her friends and her neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me; for I have found the piece which I had lost.
- 38 Likewise, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.
- 39 And he said, A certain man had two sons:



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40 And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

41 And not many days after, the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

42 And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

43 And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

44 And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

45 But when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!

46 I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,

47 And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

48 And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

49 And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

50 But the father said to his servants, Bring forthwith the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet:

51 And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry:

52 For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.

53 Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing.

54 And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

55 And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.

56 But he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and entreated him.

57 But he answering said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends:

58 But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

59 And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.

60 It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

CHAPTER 10.

1 And he said also unto his disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods.

2 And he called him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear of thee? give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer steward.

3 And the steward said within himself, What shall I do? for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship: I have not strength to dig; to beg I am ashamed.

4 I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses.

5 So he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord?



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6 And he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty.

7 Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, An hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore.

8 And the lord commended the dishonest steward, because he had done wisely: for the children of this world are wiser in their dealings with their own generation than the children of light.

9 And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of this world; that, when it faileth you, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.

10 He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is dishonest in the least is dishonest also in much.

11 If therefore ye have not been faithful with the worldly mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?

12 And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own?

13 No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

14 Now the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all these things: and they derided him.

15 And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.

Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery.

There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day:

18 And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores,

19 And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores.

20 And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried;

21 And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.

22 And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.

23 But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted here, and thou art tormented.

24 And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence.

25 Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house:

26 For I have five brethren; that he may warn them, lest they also come into this place of torment.

27 But Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.

28 And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent.

29 And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

Then said he unto the disciples, It is impossible but that occasions of stumbling will come: but woe unto him, through whom they come!

31 It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should cause one of these little ones to stumble.



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- 32 Take heed to yourselves: If thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him.
- 33 And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.
- 34 But which of you, having a servant plowing or keeping sheep, will say unto him when he is come from the field, Go straightway and sit down to meat?
- 35 But will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat and drink?
- 36 Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him?
- 37 So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done only that which was our duty to do.
- 38 And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with signs that are observed:
- 39 And as it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.
- 40 They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all.
- 41 Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot; they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded;
- 42 But the same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all.
- 43 Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed.
- 44 In that day, he which shall be upon the housetop, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away: and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back.
- 45 Remember Lot's wife.
- 46 Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it.
- 47 I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.
- 48 Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
- And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that they ought always to pray, and not to faint;
- 50 Saying, There was in a certain city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man:
- 51 And there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying, Render justice for me against mine adversary.
- 52 And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man;
- 53 Yet because this widow troubleth me, I will render her justice, lest by her continual coming she weary me.
- 54 And the Lord said, Hear what the unrighteous judge saith.
- 55 And shall not God render justice for his own elect, which cry day and night unto him? Shall he delay long over them?
- 56 I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?
- 57 And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others:
- 58 Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican.
- 59 The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.
- 60 I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I gain.



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61 And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.

62 I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house.

64 And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at the Lord's feet, and heard his word.

65 But Martha was busy about much serving, and came to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me.

66 But the Lord answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art concerned and troubled about many things:

67 But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

CHAPTER 11.

1 And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the region of Judaea beyond Jordan;

2 And great multitudes followed him.

3 The Pharisees also came unto him, testing him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause?

4 And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female,

5 And said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh?

6 Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

7 They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?

8 He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so.

9 And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.

The disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry.

11 But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given.

12 For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men: and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.

Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them.

14 But Jesus said, Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for to such belongeth the kingdom of heaven.

15 And he laid his hands on them, and departed thence.

And, behold, one came and said unto him, Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?

17 And he said unto him, Wherefore asketh thou me concerning that which is good? there is none good but one; but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.

18 He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness,



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- 19 Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.
- 20 The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept: what lack I yet?
- 21 Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me.
- 22 But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions.
- Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.
- 24 And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.
- 25 When the disciples heard it, they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved?
- 26 But Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible. For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers for his vineyard.
- 28 And when he had agreed with the labourers for a denarius a day, he sent them into his vineyard.
- 29 And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the marketplace,
- 30 And said unto them; Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right I will give you. So they went also.
- 31 Again he went out about the sixth and ninth hour, and did likewise.
- 32 And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle?
- 33 They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us. He saith unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard.
- 34 And when even was come, the lord of the vineyard saith unto his steward, Call the labourers, and give them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first.
- 35 And when they came that were hired about the eleventh hour, they received every man a denarius.
- 36 And when the first came, they supposed that they should receive more; but they likewise received every man a denarius.
- 37 And when they had received it, they murmured against the goodman of the house,
- 38 Saying, These last have laboured but one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day.
- 39 But he answered one of them, and said, Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst not thou agree with me for a denarius?
- 40 Take that thine is, and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee.
- 41 Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Or is thine eye envious, because I give freely?
- 42 So the last shall be first, and the first last.
- And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho.
- 44 And, behold, there was a man named Zacchaeus, which was the chief among the publicans, and he was rich.
- 45 And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the press, because he was little of stature.
- 46 And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way.
- 47 And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and said unto him, Zacchaeus, make haste, and come down; for to day I must abide at thy house.
- 48 And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully.
- 49 And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, He is gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner.



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50 And Zacchaeus stood, and said unto the Lord: Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold.

51 And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham.

52 For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.

And as they heard these things, he continued and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear.

54 He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and then to return.

55 And he called ten of his servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, Do business with this till I come.

56 But his citizens hated him, and sent an embassy after him, saying, We will not have this man to reign over us.

57 And it came to pass, that when he was returned, having received the kingdom, then he commanded these servants to be called unto him, to whom he had given the money, that he might know how much every man had gained by trading.

58 Then came the first, saying, Lord, thy pound hath gained ten pounds more.

59 And he said unto him, Well done, thou good servant: because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities.

60 And the second came, saying, Lord, thy pound hath gained five pounds.

61 And he said likewise to him, Be thou also over five cities.

62 And another came, saying, Lord, behold, here is thy pound, which I have kept laid up in a napkin:

63 For I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up that thou layedst not down, and reapest that thou didst not sow.

64 And he saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I was an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow:

65 Wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have received it with interest?

66 And he said unto them that stood by, Take from him the pound, and give it to him that hath ten pounds.

67 (And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds!)

68 I say unto you, That unto every one which hath shall more be given; from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away.

69 But those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.

70 And when he had thus spoken, he went before, ascending up to Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 12.

1 And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples,

2 Saying unto them, Go into the village which is before you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me.

3 And if any man say ought unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them.

4 And the disciples went, and did as Jesus commanded them,

5 And brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and he sat thereon.



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6 And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strewed them in the way.

7 And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this?

8 The Pharisees therefore said among themselves, Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? behold, the world is gone after him.

9 Now there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast:

10 The same came therefore to Philip, which was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and asked him, saying, Sir, we would see Jesus.

11 Philip cometh and telleth Andrew: and then Andrew and Philip tell Jesus.

12 And Jesus answered them, saying, The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified.

13 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.

14 And he left them, and went out of the city into Bethany; and he lodged there.

15 And on the morrow, when they were come from Bethany,

16 Jesus went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves;

17 And would not suffer that any man should carry any goods through the temple.

18 And he taught, saying unto them, Is it not written, My house shall be called the house of prayer for all nations? but ye have made it a den of thieves.

19 And the chief priests and scribes heard it, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, because all the people was astonished at his teaching.

20 And when even was come, they went out of the city.

And they come again to Jerusalem: and as he was walking in the temple, there come to him the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders,

22 And he said unto them, But what think ye? A certain man had two sons; and he came to the first, and said, Son, go work to day in my vineyard.

23 And he answered and said, I will not: but afterward he repented, and went.

24 And he came to the second, and said likewise. And he answered and said, I go, sir: and went not.

25 Which of the twain did the will of his father? They answer, The first. Jesus saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.

Hear another parable:

27 A certain man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge about it, and digged a pit for the winepress, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country.

28 And at the harvest season he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard.

29 And they caught him, and beat him, and sent him away empty-handed.

30 And again he sent unto them another servant; and they wounded him in the head, and sent him away shamefully handled.

31 And again he sent another; and him they killed; and many others, beating some, and killing some.



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32 Having yet therefore one son, his wellbeloved, he sent him also last unto them, saying, They will reverence my son.

33 But those husbandmen said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be our's.

34 And they took him, and killed him, and cast him out of the vineyard.

35 What shall therefore the lord of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others.

36 And when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them.

37 But when they sought to lay hands on him, they feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet.

And Jesus answered and spake unto them again by parables, and said,

39 The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king, which made a marriage feast for his son,

40 And sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding feast: and they would not come.

41 Again, he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready: come unto the marriage feast.

42 But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his business:

43 And the remnant took his servants, and treated them shamefully and slew them.

44 But the king was wroth: and he sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned up their city.

45 Then saith he to his servants, The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy.

46 Go ye therefore into the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage feast.

47 So those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good: and the wedding hall was furnished with guests.

But when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment:

49 And he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless.

50 Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

51 For many are called, but few are chosen.

Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk.

53 And they sent out unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither deferrest thou to any man: for thou regardest not the station of men.

54 Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to pay taxes unto Caesar, or not?

55 But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why do ye test me, ye hypocrites?

56 Shew me the tax money. And they brought unto him a denarius.

57 And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription?

58 They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's.

59 When they had heard these words, they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.

The same day came to him the Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection, and asked him,



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61 Saying, Master, Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

62 Now there were with us seven brethren: and the first, when he had married a wife, deceased, and, having no issue, left his wife unto his brother:

63 Likewise the second also, and the third, unto the seventh.

64 And last of all the woman died also.

65 Therefore in the resurrection whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her.

66 Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God.

67 For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels in heaven.

68 But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying,

69 I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

70 And when the multitude heard this, they were astonished at his teaching.

And one of the scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that he had answered them well, asked him, Which is the first commandment of all?

72 And Jesus answered him, The first is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord:

73 And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment.

74 The second is thus: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these.

75 On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

76 And the scribe said unto him, Thou speakest rightly, Master, in that thou hast said, God is one; and there is none other but he:

77 And to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and to love thy neighbour as thyself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.

CHAPTER 13.

1 Then spake Jesus to the multitude, and to his disciples,

2 Saying, The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat:

3 All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not accordingly.

4 For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.

5 But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and lengthen the fringes of their garments,

6 And love the place of honour at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues,

7 And greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi.

8 But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, and all ye are brethren.

9 And call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven.

10 Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ.

11 But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant.



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12 And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.

But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men:

14 For ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.

15 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves.

16 Woe unto you, ye blind guides, which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is bound thereby!

17 Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?

18 And, Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is bound thereby.

19 Ye blind men: for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift?

20 Whoso therefore shall swear by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon.

21 And whoso shall swear by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein.

22 And he that shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon.

23 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and dill and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, without leaving the other undone.

24 Ye blind guides, which strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel.

25 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.

26 Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also.

27 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outwardly, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.

28 Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

29 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous,

30 And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.

31 Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets.

32 Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers.

33 Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the condemnation of hell?

And Jesus sat opposite the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much.

35 And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a penny.

36 And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury:

37 For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living. And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple: and his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple.

39 And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.



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40 Then let them which be in Judaea flee into the mountains:
41 Let him which is on the housetop not come down to take any thing out of his house:
42 Neither let him which is in the field return back to take his cloak.
43 And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days!
44 But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath day:
45 For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.
46 Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken:
Now learn a parable from the fig tree; When its branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh:
48 So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that he is near, even at the doors.
49 But of that day and hour knoweth no man, not the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but the Father only.
50 But as the days of Noah were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
51 For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark,
52 And knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall the coming of the Son of man be.
53 Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
54 Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
Watch therefore: for ye know not what day your Lord doth come.
56 But know this, that if the goodman of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken into.
57 Therefore be ye also ready.
58 Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them their meat in due season?
59 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.
60 Verily I say unto you, That he shall make him ruler over all his goods.
61 But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming;
62 And shall begin to smite his fellowservants, and to eat and drink with the drunken;
63 The lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of,
64 And shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

CHAPTER 14.

1 Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom.
2 And five of them were wise, and five were foolish.
3 They that were foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them:
4 But the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps.
5 While the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept.
6 And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom! Go ye out to meet him.



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7 Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps.

8 And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out.

9 But the wise answered, saying, Not so; lest there be not enough for us and you: but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves.

10 And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast; and the door was shut.

11 Afterward came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us.

12 But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not.

13 Watch therefore.

14 For it shall be like unto a man travelling into a far country, who called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods.

15 And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one; to every man according to his several ability; and then took his journey.

16 Straightway he that had received the five talents went and traded with the same, and made therewith other five talents.

17 And likewise he that had received two, he also gained other two.

18 But he that had received one went and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money.

19 After a long time the lord of those servants cometh, and reckoneth with them.

20 And he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: behold, I have gained beside them five talents more.

21 His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

22 He also that had received two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents: behold, I have gained two other talents beside them.

23 His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

24 Then he which had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strewn:

25 And I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, there thou hast that is thine.

26 His lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strewn:

27 Thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with interest.

28 Take therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him which hath ten talents.

29 For unto every one that hath shall more be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.

30 And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

31 And take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be filled with revellings, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon you suddenly like a snare.

32 For it shall come upon all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth.

33 But watch ye always and pray, that ye may be with strength to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.



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When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory:

35 And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats:

36 And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

37 Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:

38 For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye invited me in:

39 Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

40 Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?

41 When saw we thee a stranger, and invited thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?

42 Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

43 And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

44 Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:

45 For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink:

46 I was a stranger, and ye invited me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not.

47 Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?

48 Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.

49 And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal.

CHAPTER 15.

1 It was now two days until the passover, and the feast of unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by craft, and put him to death.

2 But they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar of the people.

3 And being in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, as he sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster vial of ointment of spikenard very precious; and she brake the vial, and poured it on his head.

4 But there were some that had indignation within themselves, and said, Why was this waste of the ointment made?

5 For it might have been sold for more than three hundred denarii, and have been given to the poor. And they rebuked her.

6 But Jesus said, Let her alone; why trouble ye her? she hath wrought a good work on me.

7 For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good: but me ye have not always.

8 She hath done what she could: she is come aforehand to anoint my body for burying.

Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests,

10 And said unto them, What will ye give me if I will deliver him unto you? And they weighed unto him thirty pieces of silver.



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11 And from that time he sought opportunity to betray him.

Now the first day of the feast of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover?

13 And he said, Go into the city to a certain man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples.

14 And the disciples did as Jesus had appointed them; and they made ready the passover.

15 Now when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve.

16 And there arose also a dispute among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest.

17 And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors.

18 But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.

19 For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth.

And while they supped,

21 Jesus riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded himself.

22 After that he poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded.

23 Then cometh he to Simon Peter: and Peter saith unto him, Lord, dost thou wash my feet?

24 Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter.

25 Peter saith unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.

26 Simon Peter saith unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head.

27 Jesus saith to him, He that has washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean, but not all.

28 For he knew who should betray him; therefore said he, Ye are not all clean.

29 So after he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments, and was set down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you?

30 Ye call me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am.

31 If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet.

32 For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.

33 Verily, verily, I say unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord; neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him.

34 If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.

When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.

36 Then the disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake.

37 Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved.

38 Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him and said, Ask him who it should be of whom he spake.

39 He then lying on Jesus' breast saith unto him, Lord, who is it?



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40 Jesus answered, He it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it. And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon.

Therefore, when he was gone out, Jesus said,

42 A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.

43 By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.

44 Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall fall away because of me this night:

45 Peter answered and said unto him, Though all men shall fall away because of thee, yet will I never fall away.

46 I am ready to go with thee, both into prison, and to death.

47 And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.

48 Peter said unto him, Though I must die with thee, yet will I not deny thee. Likewise also said all the disciples.

Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane, and saith unto the disciples, Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder.

50 And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy.

51 Then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me.

52 And he went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.

53 And he cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them asleep, and saith unto Peter, What, could ye not watch with me one hour?

54 Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

55 He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, My Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.

56 And he came and found them asleep again: for their eyes were heavy.

57 And he left them, and went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words.

58 Then cometh he to the disciples, and saith unto them, Are ye still sleeping, and taking your rest?

CHAPTER 16.

1 When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples through the Kidron valley, where was a garden, into the which he entered, and his disciples.

2 Now Judas also, which betrayed him, knew the place: for Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with his disciples.

3 Judas then, having received a band of soldiers and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons.

4 Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he: hold him fast.

5 And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, master; and kissed him.

6 And Jesus said unto him, Friend, do that for which thou art come.

7 Jesus therefore, knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth, and said unto them, Whom seek ye?

8 They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am he. And Judas also, which betrayed him, stood with them.

9 As soon then as he had said unto them, I am he, they drew backward, and fell to the ground.

10 Then asked he them again, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth.

11 Jesus answered, I have told you that I am he: if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way:



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12 Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus and seized him.

13 And, behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and struck the servant of the high priest, and smote off his ear.

14 Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.

In that same hour said Jesus to the multitudes, Are ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves for to take me? I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me.

16 Then all the disciples forsook him, and fled.

17 And there followed him a certain young man, having only a linen cloth upon his naked body; and they laid hold on him:

18 But he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.

And they that had laid hold on Jesus led him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled.

20 And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple: now that disciple was known unto the high priest, and went in with Jesus into the court of the high priest.

21 But Peter stood at the door without. Then went out that other disciple, which was known unto the high priest, and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.

22 And the servants and officers stood there, who had made a fire of coals; for it was cold: and they warmed themselves: and Peter stood with them, and warmed himself.

23 Then saith the damsel that kept the door unto Peter, Art not thou also one of this man's disciples? He saith, I am not.

24 Now Simon Peter stood and warmed himself. They said therefore unto him, Art not thou also one of his disciples? He denied it, and said, I am not.

25 One of the servants of the high priest, being his kinsman whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did not I see thee in the garden with him?

26 Peter then denied again: and immediately the cock crew.

27 And Peter remembered the word which Jesus had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly.

28 The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his teaching.

29 Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing.

30 Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said.

31 And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so?

32 Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?

33 And they led Jesus away to the high priest: and there were assembled all the chief priests and the elders and the scribes.

34 Now the chief priests and all the council sought for witness against Jesus to put him to death; but found none.

35 For many bare false witness against him, but their witness agreed not together.

36 And there arose certain, and bare false witness against him, saying,

37 We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands.



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38 But not even in this regard did their witness agree together.

39 And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee?

40 But he held his peace, and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?

41 But he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe:

42 And if I also ask you, ye will not answer me.

43 Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am.

44 Then the high priest rent his clothes, and saith, What need we any further witnesses?

45 Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? And they all condemned him to be worthy of death.

46 And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to buffet him, and to say unto him, Prophecy: and the guards did strike him with the palms of their hands.

Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the Praetorium: and it was early; and they themselves went not into the hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover.

48 Pilate then went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring ye against this man?

49 They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee.

50 Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death:

51 Then Pilate entered into the Praetorium again, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the King of the Jews?

52 Jesus answered him, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?

53 Pilate answered, Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done?

54 Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence.

55 Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.

56 Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all.

57 But they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place.

58 Then said Pilate unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee?

59 When Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilean.

60 And as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who himself also was in Jerusalem at that time.

Now when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad: for he was desirous to see him of a long season, because he had heard many things of him; and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him.

62 And he questioned with him at great length; but he answered him nothing.

63 And the chief priests and scribes stood by and vehemently accused him.

64 And Herod with his soldiers dealt with him contemptuously, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate.



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65 And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together: for before they were at enmity between themselves.

66 And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people,

67 Said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people: and, behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no guilt in this man touching the charges whereof ye accuse him:

68 No, nor yet Herod: for he sent him again to us; and, lo, nothing worthy of death has been done by him.

69 I will therefore chastise him, and release him.

CHAPTER 17.

1 Now at the feast the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would.

2 And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas.

3 Therefore when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?

4 For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.

Moreover, while he was set down on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.

6 But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask for Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.

7 The governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas.

8 Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified.

9 And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified. Then released he Barabbas unto them: and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.

11 Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the Praetorium, and gathered unto him the whole band of soldiers.

12 And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews!

13 And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head.

14 And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him.

Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders,

16 Saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood. And they said, What is that to us? see thou to that.

17 And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself.

18 And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood.

19 And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in.

20 Wherefore that field is called, The Field of Blood, unto this day.

And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon of Cyrene, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear it after Jesus.

22 And there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which bewailed and lamented him.

23 But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.



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24 For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.

25 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.

26 For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

27 And there were also two other, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.

And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha:

29 There they crucified him, and two other with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst.

30 And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS.

31 This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Latin, and Greek.

32 Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but, This man said I am King of the Jews.

33 Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.

34 Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his undergarment: now the undergarment was without seam, woven from the top to the bottom.

35 They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, in order to determine whose it shall be.

And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads,

37 And saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.

38 Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said,

39 He saved others; himself he cannot save. He is the King of Israel: let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe in him.

40 He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God.

41 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, Art thou not the Christ? Save thyself and us!

42 But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation?

43 And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss.

44 Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.

Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clophas, and Mary Magdalene.

46 When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son!

47 Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.

And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

49 Some of them that stood there, when they heard that, said, This man calleth for Elijah.

50 And straightway one of them ran, and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.



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51 The rest said, Let be, let us see whether Elijah will come to save him.

52 Jesus, when he had cried out again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.

53 And many women were there beholding afar off, which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him:

54 Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of Zebedee's sons.

55 The Jews therefore, because it was the day of preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath, (for that sabbath was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away.

56 Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him.

57 But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs:

58 But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water.

59 And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus.

60 And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight.

61 Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen cloths with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

62 Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.

63 There laid they Jesus,

64 And rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed.



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March 31, Friday: I visited [Monticello](#). It was raining fiercely, so our tour group was diverted into the slave tunnel beneath the house where we could wait in shelter. There was a class of primarily black teeners down there, also waiting for their tour guide, and I listened to their white teacher provide some fill-in explanation. He informed them that of the approximately 400 slaves on the plantation, founding father [Thomas Jefferson](#) had freed 7. I thought, huh! 2 of these 7 he had freed were among his own slave progeny, and were so light in complexion, because their slave mother [Sally Hemings](#) had been 7/8ths white, that they had been able to simply walk away from the plantation and assume new identities as white Virginians — distinctly lower class white Virginians, for they had been provided with no education in reading, writing, or arithmetic, and had no marketable apprentice skills other than fiddle playing. What an excellent daddy founding daddy Thomas had been, in that he “helped” his children to freedom! He helped them to freedom by omitting to put advertisement in the local gazettes offering rewards for their recapture! The fact was, they had helped themselves to freedom — but try not to think complicated thoughts of that complexion (there’s only so much horror that you can ask a teenager to absorb at one sitting, while awaiting illumination in a slave basement).

After our appropriately costumed tour guide finally showed up, she showed us a painting of Jefferson and told us that this was the portrait that appeared on our \$2 bill. Since I happened to have at the moment this bill in my billfold, I pulled it out and held it up and compared it with the painting in question. I pointed out, “On the \$2 bill he’s facing right but this painting has him facing left,” and she explained what appeared on the bill was merely an engraving — “since it is an engraving based on this portrait, of course it needs to be facing the other direction.” “Oh, yeah, OK” I responded. I had learned not to ask questions of this woman.

When she showed us the dining room, she explained that President Jefferson had been very careful to ensure that his guests would be able to converse freely over their meals. It was for this polite reason that the service staff was in the basement and a lazy-Susan apparatus was built into the wall, and a dumb-waiter apparatus was built into the side of the fireplace, that allowed the guests to receive their dishes and their wine bottles without having service staff overhear their conversations. They could be confident in what they said, since they were not being overheard! She neglected to mention that the people in the room were free and white while the service staff were black slaves. She did not mention that what Jefferson did not want was for slaves to be distressed at the schemes the white people were laying for their fates.

I had not expected that a visit to Monticello would remind me of the Cold War years. What this reminded me of was my childhood, when we had a national game of counting shoe tips along a line of photographed Kremlin apparatchiks to see whether any one of them had been airbrushed out of the photograph. [Eleven shoe tips meant someone had fallen out of favor, into the dustbin of history!](#)

When she showed us the bedroom —where once upon a time the explanation for the bed in the wall had been

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that such an arrangement provided Mrs. Jefferson with her own separate dressing room— she explained that the alcove was just barely long enough for a tall man like Thomas to stretch out (no mention was made of Sally).

At the Monticello cemetery while we were waiting for the tour bus, the children had fallen silent, so I called out “Can anyone tell me where Thomas Jefferson’s tombstone is?” One of them made a shoulder gesture at the obelisk behind me, so I explained “No, the posted sign calls that his grave marker. So, where’s his tombstone?” They all looked blank and one youngster suggested “At the University?” I went “Right, his tombstone is at the University of Missouri!” I explained that the 1833 tombstone had been made from softer stone and had not been protected by an iron fence, allowing visitors to deface it by hammering chips off it to keep as souvenirs of their visit.





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“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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“It’s all now you see. Yesterday won’t be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago.”

- Remark by character “Garin Stevens”
in William Faulkner’s INTRUDER IN THE DUST



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in



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the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.