

# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

**Who We Are.** The Jefferson Legacy Foundation of Ripton, Vermont is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to celebrating, applying, and raising awareness of Thomas Jefferson's living legacy in a modern world. Jefferson's legacy includes models for civic responsibility; active participation in society; revitalization of democracy; lifelong learning; service to others; and the pursuit of happiness. Our programs, publications, projects, and partnerships serve K-12, college, and graduate students as well as life-long learners; educators; scholars and historians; government organizations; and civic and historical organizations.

## Man of the Millennium

Don't miss our multimedia presentation, [Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium](#), produced with Colonial Williamsburg. See (and hear) how Thomas Jefferson best articulated the great ideas about freedom, responsibility, and possibility that have illuminated our history for the past thousand years.



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## Broadsides

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has published a set of three Broadsides, representing Thomas Jefferson's "triple faith" in self-government, religious freedom, and education: The Declaration of American Independence, The Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Goals for Public Education. [View them here.](#)

## Jefferson & Adams

Read about our productions of *Jefferson & Adams*, Howard Ginsberg's play that tells the story of the turbulent 50-year friendship through the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Abigail Adams. The play communicates the spirit of the two great minds of American independence and the pivotal events that shaped history. [Details...](#)

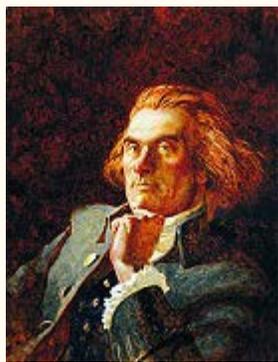


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The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's exhibit, *1791: Thomas Jefferson & James Madison in Vermont and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood*, provides visitors with a fascinating glimpse of late 18th century Vermont and America. [More...](#)



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## *Jefferson & Adams* a play by Howard Ginsberg

*"I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts. But it is an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed, as its object is to improve the taste of my countrymen, to increase their reputation, to reconcile to them the respect of the world, and procure them its praise."*

—Thomas Jefferson

The United States is facing its most challenging tests at this time. We are asking ourselves what we stand for, where our national character is rooted, what we aspire to perpetuate and preserve. *Jefferson & Adams*, Howard Ginsberg's three-character stage play, provides two hours of thought-provoking and stimulating awareness of America as a nation and America as a people.

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation is seeking significant funding to bring the play to a wider audience through grants, private contributions, and corporate sponsorship. Specific venues are still to be determined but will include historic and restored theaters throughout the country. We believe *Jefferson & Adams* is an extraordinary vehicle with which to further our mission and will play a significant role. The play will assume a significant role as part of the JLF's outreach programs to encourage civic responsibility, through the inspiring example of the two great minds of American independence.

### THE PLAY

*Jefferson & Adams* tells the story of the turbulent 50-year friendship through the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Abigail Adams. The play focuses on both the intersections and divergences in their lives and beliefs from their work together at the Continental Congress until the year of their deaths. In a remarkable coincidence, both men died on July 4, 1826, exactly 50 years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The story is constructed from the voluminous correspondence between these two statesmen, discussing the events that shaped the new nation and the world as well as revealing the serious political disagreements that almost destroyed their friendship. Adams's perceptive and articulate wife Abigail is the third character in the play. Excerpts from the letters are woven into a compelling script, full of rich, poignant, and prophetic language indicative of the characters' keen intellect, strong convictions, dedication to their country, and devotion to their wives and families. The heart-felt dialogue reveals the essence and vicissitudes of the characters and communicates the spirit of the time and the enormously pivotal events that shaped American, world, and human history.



In 1995, *Jefferson & Adams* was produced by the Leatherstocking Theater Company in Cooperstown, New York to mark the reopening of historic Hyde Hall, running for twelve performances to sold-out audiences. In July 2000, the play was performed for a week at the Farmers

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Museum in Cooperstown. It has also been performed as a staged reading in Sarasota and Boca Raton, Florida; New York; London; and at the Adams Home in Quincy, Massachusetts. A radio adaptation of the play was produced by KPFA in Berkeley, California and is regularly broadcast on the Fourth of July.

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation first co-produced *Jefferson & Adams* at the Kimball Theatre in Colonial Williamsburg as a costumed reading in October 2001. It traveled there once again for three performances as a full production in July 2002. Subsequently, it played to sold-out performances at Town Hall Theater in Middlebury, Vermont in August 2002. (See further description following.) [Contact us](#) for information regarding future performances.

*Jefferson & Adams* is an important play. Historically sound, it fulfills the dramatic function demanded by good theater. Beyond that, however, it is unusually timely. The comparison between the significance of the election of 1800 and its overtones in the election of 2000 comes naturally to mind, as well as responses to terrorists then and now and issues of freedom, individual liberties, personal restraint, and societal restrictions. In addition, interest has been fueled by JLF Board Director Emeritus David McCullough's best-selling Pulitzer Prize-winning recent biography of John Adams.

It is a tall order to reach all the people who should see this important play. People will come away from the experience with a better understanding of what our founders had in mind for this country and the world. Most gratifying of all has been countless enthusiastic pronouncements by people of all ages, saying how the play has inspired them to believe that a small number of committed individuals can really make a difference in this world. They are motivated to participate by the dramatically presented knowledge that a few dedicated individuals operating under precarious conditions created what has become the most powerful nation on the planet — a beacon of liberty.



### THE PLAYWRIGHT

Howard Ginsberg has written fifteen other plays, including *Murder in Paris*, which was broadcast by BBC Radio in 1998 and starred Alan Bates. It had its world premiere theatre production at The Haymarket Theatre in Basingstoke (near London) January 2002 and then transferred to Theatre Royal Windsor. A subsequent tour is pending. Henri Matisse is the subject of two other plays, *The Red Nude* and *My Matisse*. *My Matisse* was produced in the summer 2002 at Edinburgh and an international tour is pending for 2003. His newest play, *The 5th Duchess*, is being developed as a large-scale musical.

### THE DIRECTOR

Douglas Anderson taught on theater faculties for 14 years (Amherst College, Middlebury College) before leaving the academy to work full-time as a writer and theater director. Recently, he directed a workshop of a new musical, 90 NORTH, at

the Kennedy Center in Washington DC, for the Disney/ASCAP new works series. His writing for television includes several series for the Children's Television Workshop (which included an Emmy nomination) and a stint as head writer of the long-running CBS day-time drama *Guiding Light*. He is currently Executive Director of Town Hall Theater, Inc., which has purchased an 1883 theater in the heart of Middlebury, Vermont. The building is being restored and renovated, and it will eventually re-open as a performing arts center.

## THE PLAYERS

**Bill Barker**, who has portrayed Jefferson at Colonial Williamsburg since 1993 and has also appeared in Philadelphia and at The White House as well as numerous other venues, is known the world over. He brings his erudition and devotion to a sparkingly elegant and refined performance. He is Thomas Jefferson: speech, demeanor, manner, and style.

**Sam Goodyear** first performed the role of John Adams in the 1995 premiere production of *Jefferson & Adams* with the Leatherstocking Theatre Company in Cooperstown, New York. He becomes the short and rotund antithesis to the lean and elegant Jefferson, speaking a New England American English that echoes directly from early Colonial days. In November 2001, Sam performed in a staged reading of *Jefferson & Adams* at the Century Association in New York City, with Sam Waterston as Jefferson and Jane Alexander as Abigail Adams. Once again, it was a sold-out performance (more than 600 in the audience), this time to an audience whose membership in the club denotes their contributions to the Arts and Letters.

**Abigail Schumann** was a company member of Colonial Williamsburg's 18th-century play series for more than 10 years. The role of Abigail Adams is crucial to the understanding of the extraordinary force that this exceptional woman exerted on her husband and on Jefferson as well. She plays the role of Abigail Adams with a playfulness and feminine strength that provides a neatly contrapuntal perspective to the production.

### JLF Productions of *Jefferson & Adams* at the Kimball Theatre, Colonial Williamsburg October 2001 and July 2002

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation (JLF) co-produced *Jefferson & Adams* in October 2001 as a costumed reading at the beautiful newly restored 400-seat Kimball Theatre in Colonial Williamsburg. The two performances sold out and received standing ovations. It was an historic event for the JLF — and for Colonial Williamsburg as well, as it was the first performance to play at the Kimball since its reopening in September. It



was an inspired — and inspiring — venue. We returned to the Kimball in July 2002 for three performances before more than 1,000 people, again receiving standing ovations.

The co-production of *Jefferson & Adams* at the Kimball is the JLF's latest collaboration with Colonial Williamsburg, which also includes the multimedia web site presentation: [Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium](#).

### The JLF Production of *Jefferson & Adams* at the Town Hall Theater, Middlebury, Vermont August 2002

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation was delighted to bring a production of *Jefferson & Adams* to Middlebury. With both shows sold out a week before the performances, we

were extremely gratified by the interest and enthusiasm that greeted the production, including three curtain calls on opening night. The Town Hall Theater provided a wonderfully intimate setting for actors and audience alike. Here is just one comment from audience members: "We enjoyed *Jefferson & Adams* enormously. Even in the best of times it is a delight to be reminded of the humanity and wisdom of our founding fathers (and of Abigail Adams, who should be designated a founding mother!), and of the friendship that existed between two of the most eminent of them, in spite of their conflicts and differences. In today's difficult times, the pure light of their Enlightenment wisdom is all the more to be cherished and portrayals such as this very much to be desired."

[Contact us](#) for more information.

**No age will come in which the American Revolution will appear less than what it was — one of the greatest events in human history. No age will come in which it will cease to be seen and felt on every continent that a mighty step, a great advance not only in American affairs — but in human affairs.**

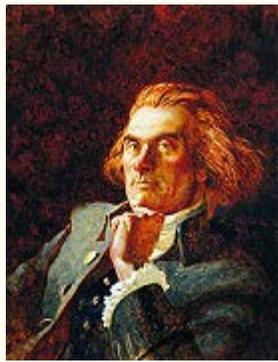
**No two men now live, perhaps it may be doubted whether any two men have ever lived, who have impressed more on mankind their own philosophies of politics and government.**

— Daniel Webster at Faneuil Hall, Boston, in commemoration of the deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson on the same day, July 4, 1826.



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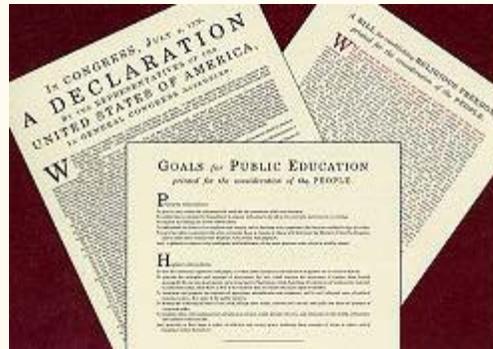


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## Broad­sides

Concerned that important State Papers could be lost from "public eye and use," Thomas Jefferson promoted "a multiplication of copies [placing] them beyond the reach of accident." In this same spirit, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has published a set of three Broad­sides, representing Thomas Jefferson's "triple faith" in self-government, religious freedom, and education. Jefferson intended these documents to serve as instruments by which people live in free society:



Available in poster size and suitable for mounting or framing, the Broad­sides serve as discussion pieces for educators and unique additions to library, personal, or other collections. We are offering a set of all three broad­sides for \$75, including shipping and handling; educational institutions receive a 15% discount.

[Contact us](#) to order or for information regarding individual broadside pricing. Please order by mail, instructions below.

**Set of 3 Broad­sides \$75.00 includes shipping. Please send check or money order to:**

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation  
Town Office Building, P.O. Box 76  
Ripton, Vermont 05766

Or click below to review the broad­sides in PDF form.

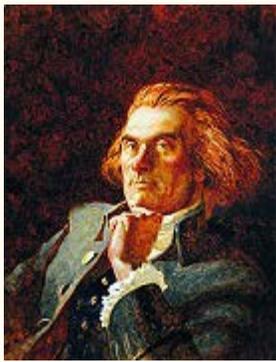
- [The Declaration of American Independence](#)
- [The Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom](#)
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## The Northern Journey

*"I set out [next week] to join Mr. Madison at New York, from whence we shall go up to Albany and Lake George, then cross over to Bennington and so through Vermont to the Connecticut River, down Connecticut River by Hartford to New Haven, then to New York ... and expect to be back in Philadelphia about the middle of June."*

—Thomas Jefferson

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The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's fascinating exhibit, 1791: *Thomas Jefferson & James Madison in Vermont and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood* is designed to stimulate enlightened participation in public affairs; promote other activities that link Jefferson's legacy with contemporary issues; and provide visitors with a fascinating glimpse of late 18th century Vermont and America.



In 1791, the original 13 colonies faced their first expansion—the addition of Vermont into the Union. While Thomas Jefferson spent only three days in Vermont during a "botanizing excursion," with James Madison in May and June of 1791, his work prior to that trip left a lasting legacy for the Green Mountain State. As United States Secretary of State, Jefferson proved instrumental in bringing Vermont into the Union on March 4, 1791 as the 14th state. In 1791 James Madison was leader of the opposition in Congress. Also in 1791, a newspaper war placed Jefferson in the American mind as the symbol of that opposition movement — a movement that nearly elected him President five years later, and finally succeeded in 1800. To understand fully why Jefferson and Madison came north to New York and Vermont in the summer of 1791, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation presents what Madison called "the scenes and subjects which had occurred during the [last] session of Congress," December 6, 1790-March 3, 1791.

To tell the story of Jefferson and Madison in Vermont, the JLF exhibit includes color facsimiles of more than 100 original documents, state papers, diaries, letters, maps, newspapers, prints, paintings, and photographs from more than 20 sources (including the Vermont State Archives, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York Public Library, Vermont Historical Society, Maryland Historical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, National Archives, Library of Congress, University of Virginia Library, American Philosophical Society, Lewis Walpole Library, and Bennington Museum). Included in the exhibit are color copies of 43 printed Acts of Congress signed and attested by Thomas Jefferson between February 25, 1791 and March 2, 1793, along with 10 letters from Jefferson to Governors Thomas Chittenden and Isaac Tichenor.



The JLF exhibit marks the first time these documents have been assembled in one place. There is narrative throughout, providing historical background and context. The exhibit also contains all the known journals and letters written by Jefferson and Madison during their trip. In addition to their observations on flora and fauna (both animal and human), the exhibit also highlights the political discussions actively in play at the time.



Jefferson was particularly impressed by Vermont's town meeting system, calling it "the wisest invention ever devised ... for the exercise and preservation of self-government."

Jefferson and Madison were not only traveling companions to New York and Vermont, but also fellow travelers in the Age of Reason. Botanical observations and human contacts made in New York and Vermont affirmed their confidence in Reason — in the ability of humans to penetrate the laws of nature, to grasp their operations, and to apply them to society.

The exhibit can be adapted to venues of various sizes, dimensions, etc., by using panels of various sizes, wall space, etc. For smaller venues, an abbreviated version can be created.

This fascinating exhibit that tells the story of the northern journey serves as a microcosm of Jefferson's very complex legacy. By focusing on any one aspect of the trip, we look to inform and enlighten the visitor about interesting and important issues of the day. For a general audience, it is the most comprehensive treatment of this subject to date. Judging by the attendance and interest at previous venues, the JLF considers the exhibit to be an excellent educational outreach tool.



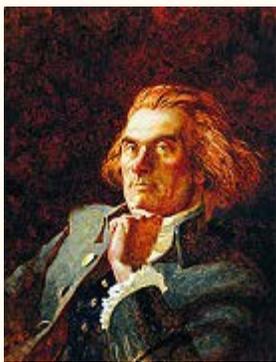
*1791: Thomas Jefferson & James Madison in Vermont and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood* has been mounted previously at the State House in Montpelier, Vermont; the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History in Middlebury, Vermont; Green Mountain College in Poultney, Vermont; the Berkshire School in Sheffield, Massachusetts; Chimney Point State Historic Site in Addison, Vermont; and The Old Constitution State Historic Site in Windsor, Vermont.

[Contact us](#) for information on hosting the exhibit or for an update on future venues.



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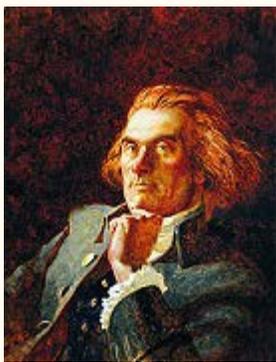


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## About The Jefferson Legacy Foundation

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which preserve a republic in vigor."*

— Thomas Jefferson

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### Jefferson's Legacy

Thomas Jefferson's own thoughts on his legacy are revealed by the words he requested for his tombstone:

**Author of the Declaration of American Independence,  
of the Statue of Virginia for Religious Freedom,  
and Father of the University of Virginia**

These accomplishments are instruments by which Jefferson sought to institute natural laws in America:

- All people possess the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
- Consent of the governed with due respect for minority rights is fundamental to civil society.
- People have the right to alter or abolish unjust or tyrannical government.
- Freedom of the mind and religious liberty are essential to civil society.
- Laws and institutions should advance in accordance with progress of the human mind.
- An informed and educated citizenry is necessary for self-government.

**What can people learn from Thomas Jefferson?** Historian and Jefferson biographer Dumas Malone says it best: "We can learn from him ... that once an apostle of liberty lived a notably elevated life, an extraordinarily rich, perennially interesting, endlessly generous, and ceaselessly useful life, in a society which he himself had made more democratic ... His faith is the most admirable thing about him and his most enduring legacy — his faith in human beings and in the human mind. To all those who cherish freedom and abhor tyranny in any form he is an abiding symbol of the hope that springs eternal."

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## Join Us

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation invites you to [join our efforts](#) in advancing the principles of Thomas Jefferson, with an emphasis on self-government, spiritual and intellectual freedom, and education as a mean for achieving personal fulfillment and service to society. Please contact us for more information on membership, our ongoing activities, or any other aspect of the JLF. In the spirit of enlightened civil discourse, we welcome your ideas, comments, and suggestions.

**The Jefferson Legacy Foundation is a public charitable foundation with the classification 509(a)(3) under the regulations of the Internal Revenue Code section 501(c)(3). All contributions to the Foundation qualify as tax-deductible.**

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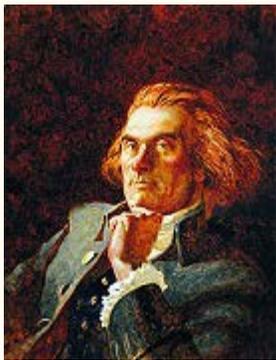
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## Mission and Purpose

*"Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection  
without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things."*

—Thomas Jefferson

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The Jefferson Legacy Foundation (JLF) seeks, through educational programs and other initiatives, to advance the principles of Thomas Jefferson. Today, Thomas Jefferson remains the most consistent and eloquent spokesman of America's national vision. Indeed, Abraham Lincoln recognized the need to "save the principles of Jefferson . . . the definitions and axioms of free society." With continuing applicability, these principles can serve as a unifying force for our times.

The JLF affirms Jefferson's faith in: 1) self-government; 2) religious and intellectual freedom; and 3) education as a means for achieving personal fulfillment and service to society. We are dedicated to what JLF founding Board member Merrill D. Peterson calls "the conscious knowledge of Jefferson's faith and the responsible commitment to its survival."

Examination of Jefferson's legacy can provide guidance, perspective, inspiration, direction, and hope for continuing the American Revolution. Through a variety of projects and initiatives, the JLF aims to foster new and vital discourse based on the principles of the American Enlightenment. In this spirit, we strive to increase access to educational opportunities; to support innovative programs; to spread the word about exemplary projects; to serve as a resource center; and to generate discussion and program development related to improving our schools. We welcome partnerships with individuals and organizations who share our goals.



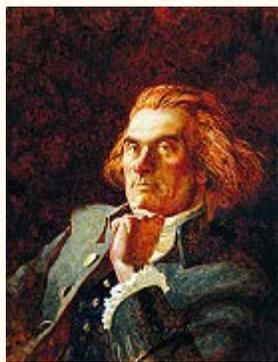
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## Activities

*"I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past."*

—Thomas Jefferson

Who does the JLF seek to serve with its programs and initiatives?

- Students: K-12, college, graduate, life-long learners
- Teachers, scholars, and historians
- Civic organizations
- Historical societies and their members

Recent activities include the following (please also see our [Educational Outreach](#) programs):

- **Jefferson & Adams** — The JLF has served as co-producer of Howard Ginsberg's three-character stage play [Jefferson & Adams](#), the story of the turbulent 50-year friendship between Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and his wife, Abigail. The play focuses on both the intersections and divergences in their lives and beliefs until the year of their deaths. The story is constructed from the voluminous correspondence between these two statesmen, which discusses the events that shaped the new nation and the world as well as revealing the serious political disagreements that almost destroyed their friendship. Excerpts from the letters are woven into a compelling script, full of rich, poignant, and prophetic language indicative of the characters' keen intellect, strong convictions, dedication to their country, and devotion to their wives and families. Our productions of *Jefferson & Adams*, which include venues in Colonial Williamsburg and Middlebury, Vermont consistently plays to sold-out audiences, receiving standing ovations. Now available on DVD. To order call 1-800-414-6291 or go to [www.williamsburgmarketplace.org](http://www.williamsburgmarketplace.org).
- **The Thomas Jefferson Lady** — The JLF brings one-of-a-kind presentations by LuAnn Ose (a.k.a, "The Thomas Jefferson Lady") to schools, libraries, and senior centers. Ms. Ose rivets her audiences with her "storybag" filled with unique and often amusing items. Audience members are invited to "pick but not peek" from the bag, with each item prompting a story from Thomas Jefferson's life and times. In less than an hour, she relates fascinating stories about the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, the separation of powers, the University of Virginia, the 40 years it took to build Monticello, and Jefferson's views on slavery (to name just a few). Ms. Ose captivates audiences of all ages.
- **The Lewis and Clark Expedition** — The JLF is circulating 15 color posters created by Monticello's Education Department to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Lewis & Clark Expedition (1803-1806). Monticello involved top scholars and teachers across America in the creation of the posters for use by upper-elementary school students in studying different aspects of Lewis and Clark's historic trek across North America as well as Thomas Jefferson's role in initiating this great adventure. The JLF has mounted the posters for durability and ease of display and are offering them — free of charge — to teachers on a

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rotational basis around Vermont to help make this exciting time in American history come alive for their students. We have also created numerous supporting materials for teachers including our own Lewis & Clark Jeopardy game, fun facts, word finds, and more.

- **Broadsides** — The JLF has published a set of three [Broadsides](#) representing Thomas Jefferson's "triple faith" in self-government, religious freedom, and education. Jefferson intended these documents to serve as instruments by which people live in free society. The JLF is making these documents available as part of our educational outreach efforts. The Broadsides are: The Declaration of American Independence 1776; the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom 1777; and Goals for Public Education 1778 / 1818. Available in 19x25 inch poster size, suitable for mounting or framing, these Broadsides serve as discussion pieces for educators and unique additions to personal, library, or other collections.
- **An Evening Conversation at Monticello** — The JLF has regularly been a sponsor of an "Evening Conversation" at Monticello annually. Since 1993, Monticello has hosted a series of "Evening Conversations" in which a social hour and tour of the house and grounds is followed by a special guest who speaks on a topic related to Thomas Jefferson, followed by a question-and-answer period and reception. The theme of our 2001 "Conversation" was a fascinating talk on "Thomas Jefferson and James Madison," with James Morton Smith as guest speaker. The 2002 "Conversation," which we co-sponsored with the Miller Foundation, featured Ted Koppel and the 2003 "Evening Conversation," featured Newsweek's Evan Thomas, speaking on "Thomas Jefferson and John Paul Jones."
- **Community Garden** — Inspired by Jefferson's lifelong passion for farming and gardening, the JLF developed an outreach program to promote and sustain local school and [community garden](#) activities in Ripton, Vermont. The seasonal afterschool program and 10-week summer program have been running successfully since 1999.
- **Birthday Party** — The JLF hosts an annual celebration of Thomas Jefferson's birthday for local school children and their parents and teachers at the Ripton Community House in Vermont. Tables with imaginative hands-on activities focus on many of Jefferson's interests, including architecture, agriculture, the arts, and the Lewis & Clark expedition. A book raffle, colonial games, a huge birthday cake, a lively rendition of "Happy Birthday," a puppet show, and presentations by The Thomas Jefferson Lady highlight the festivities. Children actively participate in democracy as they recite a kid-friendly version of the Vermont Freeman's Oath, then cast their vote in a mock election.
- **Man of the Millennium** — The JLF produced a multimedia web site presentation for Colonial Williamsburg, *Thomas Jefferson: [Man of the Millennium](#)*. Colonial Williamsburg commissioned the presentation as part of its special web site presentation that offered a "Birthday Present to the Nation" during the month of July 2000 and then requested that Man of the Millennium remain on its site indefinitely as part of its educational program. This fascinating and educational website presentation has been used by teachers and students in secondary and higher education institutions. CD-ROM versions are also available for viewing when not connected to the internet.

- **Northern Journey of Jefferson and Madison** — The JLF created an exhibit, *1791: Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in Vermont and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood*. With narrative historical background and context, the exhibit on the [Northern Journey](#) also contains color facsimiles of journals, letters, and state documents as well as prints, paintings, maps, and other images. This well-received exhibit has been seen by thousands of visitors to the State House in Montpelier, Vermont; the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History in Middlebury, Vermont; Green Mountain College in Poultney, Vermont; the Berkshire School in Sheffield, Massachusetts; and thanks to a grant from the Vermont Humanities Council, Chimney Point State Historic Site in Addison, Vermont and The Old Constitution House in Windsor, Vermont. In addition, the JLF brought Thomas Jefferson (as portrayed by Colonial Williamsburg's Bill Barker) and James Madison (John Douglas Hall) in full costume to the Vermont State House for a public forum and interviews with Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and best-selling co-author of *Flags of Our Fathers*, Ron Powers. The interviews were filmed by John Harrington of MadisonFilm, Inc., Alexandria VA.
- **Publication of Monograph** — The JLF's monograph, DISCOURSE, provides a thought-provoking look at "The Election of 1800: Context and Implications for *A Rising Nation*. . ." Articles include "The New Republic of the 1790s: Prelude to Revolution," "The World in 1800," and "Jefferson as President: A Bibliographic Essay."
- **Vermont History Expo** — The JLF has participated in the Vermont History Expo, held at the Tunbridge Fair Grounds where thousands of people come to experience the richness of Vermont's history in one central location. We have created special exhibits to educate participants about Thomas Jefferson and James Madison's trip to Vermont and New York in 1791. For the Children's Heritage Tent at the History Expo, we commissioned The Traveling Storyteller to create and present a puppet show about Thomas Jefferson's life; the puppet show is also available to local schools and libraries as part of our educational outreach efforts. We brought Colonial Williamsburg's Bill Barker to the Expo to do a live interpretation of Jefferson and his journey to Vermont in 1791. In 2003, we will featured a presentation on the Vermont Town Meeting System, which Jefferson called "the wisest invention ever devised ... for the exercise and preservation of self-government."
- **Passport to Vermont History** — On behalf of the JLF, research consultant Heidi Hutchins Stokes helped to create a *Passport to Vermont History* for the Vermont Historical Society. Designed to look like a passport in convenient pocket size, this indispensable pamphlet for those interested in Vermont history lists the state's 175 historical societies with addresses and contact information.
- **Jefferson Bibliography** — With Monticello, the University of Virginia, and University of Rochester Professor (and JLF Board member) Frank Shuffelton, the JLF collaborated on an Internet web site listing more than 5,000 titles from Shuffelton's *Thomas Jefferson: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Writings About Him*. The site can be viewed at [www.etext.virginia.edu/jefferson/bibliog](http://www.etext.virginia.edu/jefferson/bibliog).
- **Other JLF activities** include JLF Chairman Chip Stokes serving as a consultant on Ken Burns's PBS documentary, *Jefferson*: the assembling of a comprehensive chronology of Jefferson's life with notable world events for each of Jefferson's 83 years (1743-1826); the commissioning of a screenplay about

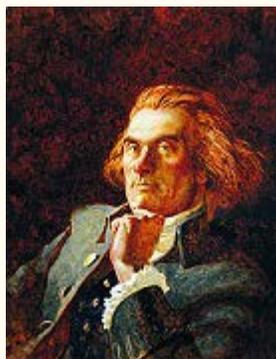
Thomas Jefferson and the American Revolution; participation in and coordination of the Council for America's First Freedom award ceremonies annually since 1996; a collaboration with Monticello and the University Press of Virginia to republish a unique and important contribution to Jeffersonian literature, Merrill D. Peterson's classic, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*; ongoing presentations, lectures, interviews, etc., for local media, schools, and other community organizations regarding Jefferson's legacy; and numerous working relationships with local, regional, and national organizations.

[Contact us](#) for more information.



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Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Jamie Wyeth.  
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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## Educational Outreach

*"If the condition of man is to be progressively ameliorated, as we fondly hope and believe, education is to be the chief instrument in effecting it...I look to the diffusion of light and education as the resource most to be relied on for ameliorating the condition, promoting the virtue, and advancing the happiness of man."*

—Thomas Jefferson

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The Jefferson Legacy Foundation Educational Outreach Programs promote civic responsibility, community service, and an understanding of our founding period, and provide a glimpse of Jefferson's genius and influence in so many areas. The JLF offers a variety of FREE programs that bring American history and the ideals and principles of Thomas Jefferson alive. Programs currently available to schools, community groups, and organizations include:

### **A Bagful of Stories with the "Thomas Jefferson Lady"**

Storybag filled with items prompting tales about TJ and the early American republic. Rave reviews from local schools!

**All ages**

### **Lewis & Clark Journey to the Schools**

15 mounted color posters from Monticello accompanied by a 27-page Teacher's Guide commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Lewis & Clark Expedition.

**Grades 6-12**

### **Meet the President...No Strings Attached!**

Puppet Show about the life and times of Thomas Jefferson, entertainingly performed by "The Traveling Storyteller."

**Grades K-4**

### **Founding Father Fête**

A Birthday Celebration for Thomas Jefferson. Lessons in democracy mix with entertainment, games, hands-on activities, and standard birthday fare! A fantastic field trip for school groups.

**Grades K-6**

### **Tom & Jim's Excellent Adventure**

Traveling Exhibit about Jefferson & Madison's [Trip to Vermont](#) in 1791 and Jefferson's Role in VT Statehood.

**Grades 9-12**

### **Someone's in the Garden with TJ: An 8-week summer program at the Ripton Elementary School**

A 8-week summer program at the Ripton [Community Garden](#). Jefferson's models of sustainability and civic participation take kids and adults far beyond planting and weeding.

**All ages**

## **OTHER JLF EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH PROGRAMS**

**Educational Presentations: Scholarly yet widely accessible talks by Jefferson scholar and JLF Chairman, Sydney N. "Chip" Stokes, Jr.**

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation offers educational and scholarly presentations. JLF

Chairman Sydney N. "Chip" Stokes, Jr. gives periodic talks to local and national organizations, schools, historical societies, churches, naturalization ceremonies, seniors associations, art centers, museums, libraries, and more.

Chip Stokes has been studying Thomas Jefferson seriously for more than two decades. What began as his own private collection 20 years ago has become The Jefferson Legacy Foundation Library. Jefferson scholar Merrill Peterson has described the Library as "undoubtedly the best collection of Jeffersonia in private hands in the United States, or in the world." From the extensive resources of the JLF Library and beyond, Stokes has acquired an impressive command of his subject matter. He has developed a presentation style that is scholarly, yet widely accessible — he is well-received by historical societies and elementary school audiences alike. Stokes has shared thoughts on Jefferson's legacy; topics include self government, religious and intellectual freedom, education, architecture, and Jefferson's trip to Vermont in 1791.

Chip Stokes is available for lectures, informal talks, and classroom presentations. We are also happy to discuss tailoring presentations for specific needs. Topics include the early American republic; founding principles; the meaning of the Declaration of Independence; Jefferson & Madison's trip to Vermont; Jefferson's role in Vermont statehood; Jefferson's ideas on religious & intellectual freedom, education, self-government; and more.

### ***Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium: Website and CD-ROM presentation***

Outstanding [introduction to Jefferson's legacy](#) with interactive Evolution of Liberty timeline and more.

### **The views of two Founding Fathers on the pivotal events that shaped American and world history — and their own: Howard Ginsberg's stageplay, *Jefferson & Adams*.**

A [play](#) about the turbulent 50-year friendship told through the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and his wife, Abigail. Contact us to find out where to see it and when-or if you would like to suggest a venue. Played to sold-out houses and standing ovations in Colonial Williamsburg. Admission charged.

For more information on our Educational Outreach Programs, [contact](#) Wendy Leeds.

## EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH MISSION

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation helps people of all ages to learn about Thomas Jefferson, the early republic, the American Revolution, founding principles, civic participation, Jefferson's role in Vermont statehood, and more. We conduct outreach on the internet, in the garden, on the stage, in museums, at the library, and in the schools.

### **Thomas Jefferson's Legacy to American Education**

Jefferson was the prophet of the American faith in the powers of education to secure the freedom and the happiness of the people. As early as 1778, in his Virginia Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, Jefferson set forth a comprehensive plan of public education broadly based in primary schools, rising as in a pyramid through secondary schools, with a state university at the apex. The dual mission was, first, "to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large," and second, to ensure that "those persons whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue" — Jefferson's "natural aristocracy" — should be educated to the limits of their abilities in order the better to serve the mass of citizens.

Quite beyond its practical benefits to the individual, education at all levels had

distinctly moral, social, and civic purposes. It should cultivate virtue, teach the obligations of individuals to each other, and, above all, raise up the informed and responsible citizens a democratic government required. Regrettably, Jefferson's plan never came to fruition in Virginia; and although his influence was felt in other states, he finally had to be satisfied with the achievement of the state university — the apex of the pyramid without the foundation in the schools.

Jefferson's faith in democracy was, at bottom, a faith in education. Believing, as he said, "that the people are the only safe depositories of their own liberty," it was essential that they should be educated to a certain degree and prepared to take part in public affairs; moreover, government should be structured in ways that invited widespread citizen participation. Empowerment of the people depended upon education. It was, therefore, a paramount responsibility of democratic government. Tax-supported public education assumed common schools shaping a common citizenship and a common culture.

After his retirement as President, Jefferson preached that the future of democracy hung from two hooks: first, general education to enable every citizen to judge for himself how best to secure freedom and happiness, and second, the establishment everywhere of "little republics," which he called "wards," and compared to New England town meetings, to encourage due participation in public affairs. The wards should be responsible for the public schools. Jefferson distrusted concentrated power.

"What," he asked, "has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating of all cares in one body." Where power is dispersed, and common schooling is the rule, every citizen may come to identify his own interest with the interests of the whole. With impassioned eloquence, Jefferson declared: "Where every man ... feels he is a participator in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day; where there shall not be a man in the State who will not be a member of some one of its councils, great or small, he will let the heart be torn out of his body sooner than his powers be wrested from him by a Caesar or Bonaparte."

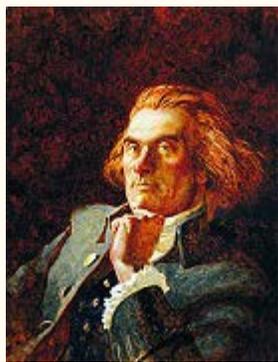
If Jefferson was right, the health, indeed the salvation, of American democracy depends upon the making of informed, responsible, and participating citizens. Civic education, therefore, ought to be a central theme in the conduct and curriculum of schools. This includes many things, from the integration of the children of a pluralistic society in a shared culture to thorough instruction in the history and workings of American democracy.

In recent years, the achievement of scientific, mathematical, and cultural literacy have been set forth as key goals of K-12 education. Civic literacy, however, has been neglected. Yet in the vision of Thomas Jefferson — the vision as well of Horace Mann and John Dewey among eminent American educators — civic literacy is fundamental, morally, socially, politically. By restoring the iron thread of civic learning and civic purpose in our schools, we help to restore faith in American ideals and institutions. The philosopher Santayana once remarked that in America "the common citizen must be something of a saint and something of a hero." There is a Jeffersonian ring to that. It encapsulates a worthy idea.

*Quoted from a letter to American educators from Merrill D. Peterson, Chairman of The Thomas Jefferson Commemoration Commission.*



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## The JLF Library

*"I cannot live without books."*  
—Thomas Jefferson

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What began as a private collection by JLF Chairman Chip Stokes 20 years ago has become the Jefferson Legacy Foundation Library. Chairman of the Jefferson Commemoration Commission under two U.S. Presidents, Merrill D. Peterson, historian, Jefferson biographer, and Thomas Jefferson Professor Emeritus at the University of Virginia, has described the JLF Library with its 4,000 title **"undoubtedly the best collection of Jeffersonia in private hands in the United States, or in the world."** The JLF Library was originally created from the bibliography outlined in Dumas Malone's six-volume biography, *Jefferson and His Time*, published between 1948 and 1980.



In 1983, Frank Shuffelton's *Thomas Jefferson: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Writings About Him (1826-1980)* was published by Garland Press with 3,447 titles. A second volume of 729 titles appeared in 1992 to cover the years from 1981 through 1990. Since 1990, Shuffelton, a member of the JLF Board of Directors, has continued his bibliography to include present writings. Shuffelton's work is a notable contribution to the scholarship of Thomas Jefferson and has been enormously useful for acquisitions and the cataloging of the JLF Library.



It is estimated that there are more than 6,000 titles of writings about Thomas Jefferson. The cataloging of the JLF Library includes entering these titles into our computer database. The JLF worked jointly with the International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello and the University of Virginia to make a bibliographical [list accessible](#) on UVA's web site. Long-range plans for the JLF Library include gathering writings by and about

other founding fathers as well.

The JLF Library also includes an important and unusual collection of artistic and research materials concerning the Lost Portraits of Thomas Jefferson by Gilbert Stuart. The JLF is seeking to re-investigate this painting and bring completion to a project begun in 1937.

The JLF Library is a comprehensive resource to be shared.

### A Retreat for Life-Long Learners

Almost four miles from any neighbor, surrounded by the Green Mountain National Forest, the JLF Library facilities offer a unique and favorable environment for learning. **The Library is a place where one can experience, in a profound way, the central theme of Jefferson's legacy — freedom of the mind.** The JLF Library is truly a retreat, unspoiled by distraction. The JLF Library



welcomes life-long learners who are eager to explore what can be accomplished with individual freedom.

To preserve our library collection and to make it increasingly useful to visitors, we are seeking funding for the eventual construction of a new facility that would incorporate the Library into a retreat for scholars and educators.



Continuing Jefferson's search for an architecture that suits the American character and landscape, some of the most renowned American architects (H.H. Richardson, Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Charles and Ray Eames) and many others have pursued the quest for a democratic architecture in their own eras and by their own lights, but each has owed a debt to Jefferson, the first architect specifically to address this challenge.

The JLF Library will continue this legacy of architectural innovation. It will strengthen the Foundation's presence in the intellectual, political, and cultural life of the country, and it will provide a rare and exciting opportunity for what Jefferson called an "essay in architecture," a continuation of Jefferson's search for a truly American architecture.



The new facility will house the JLF's collection in state-of-the-art archival conditions, preserving it as a resource for the future. It will include study areas or project rooms for individuals or groups of researchers to pursue their work in an environment that incorporates innovations from the best research libraries in the world. The new facility will allow the JLF to reach out to the local and national community by enabling it to mount exhibitions and to hold lectures in its own purpose-built function space. The new library will include modest living facilities for visiting educators (ranging from university scholars to elementary school teachers and children's book authors) surrounded by the natural beauty of the Green Mountain National Forest.

Like the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, which Jefferson called an "academical village," it is our vision that the new facility will become the locus of a community of

learners, including educators, students, political and business leaders, writers, artists, and interested citizens, and will function as an educational instrument in its own right. In addition to the resources provided by the center, the architecture of the facility will itself provide visitors with a unique opportunity to engage some of the concepts and ideas that were most important to Jefferson. The design of the new resource center will introduce visitors to Jefferson's interest in mathematics, botany, Palladian concepts of proportional harmony, perspective, and Platonic form. Through an understanding of Jefferson's architectural works and design methodology, the new buildings will attempt — not necessarily in a literal resemblance to Jefferson's buildings — to be, in the deepest sense, a Jeffersonian work of architecture.



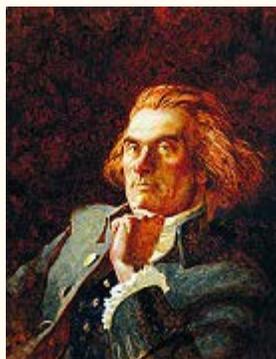
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## Community Garden Program

*"No occupation is so delightful to me as the culture of the earth, and no culture comparable to that of the garden."*

—Thomas Jefferson

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Inspired by Jefferson's lifelong passion for horticultural pursuits, this outreach program promotes and sustains local school and community garden activities in Ripton, Vermont. Our 8-week summer garden program is designed to nurture the wonder and appreciation that come from building a relationship with the land, while encouraging the Jeffersonian principle of participation in society.



The legacy of Jefferson's vision for America revolves around individual participation in free society. Without participation and involvement at every level, a democratic republic cannot exist. Every community needs spaces and opportunities for its members to gather, produce, work, create, and participate in local life.

The Community Garden is fertile ground (pun fully intended) for multi-generational learning while raising food and growing a cooperative spirit and sense of kinship within the local community.



Community Garden activities are designed to nurture the wonder and appreciation that come from building a relationship with the land. Participants learn about responsible resource management and sustainable living - models for living demonstrated by Jefferson at his Monticello plantation. The Community Garden becomes not only a useful source of food for the local elementary school and community, but also, like Monticello, a

laboratory for experimentation, learning, and creativity.

Neighbors of all ages gather in the Jeffersonian spirit of participation and share the experience of a strengthened community while producing crops for themselves and others. The Community Garden program is a fun, broadly accessible, and simple yet powerful example of "think globally, act locally."

As a public nonprofit institution, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation aims to contribute positively to our local community, even as we engage in far-reaching, global projects. We are sharing the ideals of Thomas Jefferson as a model for effective citizenship, meaningful human relationships, and pursuit and fulfillment of individual potential.

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's pilot project with the Ripton Community Garden includes the following support:

- **Seed Donations**—The JLF provides a sampling of seeds from the Thomas

Jefferson Center for Historic Plants. A Monticello Children's Garden Kit is provided for each classroom.

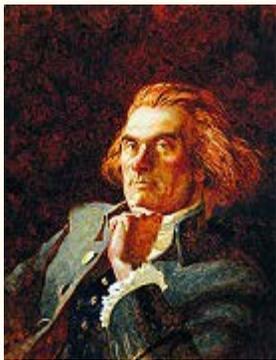
- **Summer Garden Program**—The JLF helps to plan and implement a unique 8-10-week summer garden program. Weekly activities in the garden go beyond planting and weeding to include studying bugs and birds, nutrition and oral tradition, hunger issues, heirloom seeds and more. [See our sample "Summer Garden Schedule."](#)

If you would like more information on the Community Garden Program, contact Wendy Leeds, Communications and Outreach, at The Jefferson Legacy Foundation.



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## Commentary

*"The opinions and dispositions of our people in general, which, in governments like ours, must be the foundation of measures, will always be interesting to me."*

—Thomas Jefferson

- [The Unknown Presidential Wife: Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson](#)
- [High Praise for Gary Hart's Book](#)
- [Thoughts on September 11th](#)
- [Lessons from a Close and Contentious Election](#)
- [Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: Thoughts on Reason and Civility](#)
- [The Dilemma of Slavery](#)

### The Unknown Presidential Wife: Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson

By Robert P. Watson, Ph.D, Department of Political Science, Florida Atlantic University and Richard M. Yon, Department of Political Science, University of Florida

Robert P. Watson is Associate Professor of Political Science at Florida Atlantic University, and is the author or editor of 25 books and has published over 100 scholarly articles, chapters, and reviews on such topics as the presidency, first ladies, women in politics, civil rights, elections, and bureaucracy.

Richard Yon completed his M.A. in Political Science at Florida Atlantic University and is pursuing his Ph.D. at the University of Florida, with a focus on the American presidency.

**Note.** A preliminary version of this manuscript was presented as a paper at the Thomas Jefferson Conference, held at the International Lincoln Center for American Studies at Louisiana State University in Shreveport, October 2003.

### THE UNKNOWN PRESIDENTIAL WIFE: MARTHA WAYLES SKELTON JEFFERSON

Just about the only important facet of Thomas Jefferson's life receiving insufficient attention by scholars has been the life of his wife, Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson. With all due respect to the excellent biographies in existence — and with recognition that very little documentation exists on Mrs. Jefferson's life — most Jefferson biographers treat Mrs. Jefferson only peripherally, with an occasional mention of her youthful death. Even Jefferson's relationship with Maria Cosway, Sally Hemings, and other women has generated more scholarly interest (and controversy) than has his marriage.

A review of the major biographies on Jefferson reveals a sketchy but basic core of "accepted knowledge" on Mrs. Jefferson. In general, six personal traits and life experiences of Martha "Patty" Jefferson accompany the occasional mention of her: 1) she was beautiful; 2) she was of slender build and slightly above average height; 3) she was a gifted musician; 4) she was prone to illness and was physically frail; and, of course, 5) that she bore Jefferson six children — only two of which survived infancy; 6) before she died tragically young. A rare page describes Mrs. Jefferson as a good mother or as genteel and charming; from time to time it is said that her marriage to Jefferson was loving and solid, and that she was a widow when Jefferson met her. But, Martha Jefferson remains the unknown presidential wife and first lady of Virginia.

### The Wayles Family

Martha's parents were John Wayles and Martha Eppes; Mrs. Eppes died in 1748, only a

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few weeks after giving birth to her daughter. Some accounts suggest Martha was an only child, while others claim that twins were born before her. Wayles would remarry twice – and bury two more wives during Martha’s youth. His second wife’s name was Mary Cocks, with whom he would have three daughters: Elizabeth, Tabitha, and Anne. (A few sources suggest the marriage produced one daughter who died young, while others attribute the birth of Elizabeth, Tabitha, and Anne to Wayles’s third wife.) Wayles married for a third time in January of 1760 to Elizabeth Lomax Skelton, the widow of Reuben Skelton. (Interestingly, Reuben Skelton’s brother, Bathurst Skelton, would later marry Martha Wayles.) Elizabeth Lomax Wayles bore a child who died in infancy; the third Mrs. Wayles died on 28 May 1763. (Wayles never remarried but had five children – Nance, Critta, Thenia, Peter, and Sally – to his slave Elizabeth “Betty” Hemings, the youngest of which would become famous for her relationship with Thomas Jefferson.)

John Wayles, the fourth of five children, emigrated from England and, by his thirties, had established himself as a successful planter, slave trader, and attorney in the Virginia colony. It appears Wayles was not well educated in a formal sense but was a man of great energy and charisma. Halliday, for example, describes him as: “unusual” (in a complementary sense); possessing “large gusto”; and a “generous host” (1). Thomas Jefferson commented on his father-in-law, as follows:

Mr. Wayles was a lawyer of much practice, to which he was introduced more by his great industry, punctuality and practical readiness, than to eminence in the science of his profession. He was a most agreeable companion, full of pleasantry and good humor, and welcomed in every society. He acquired a handsome fortune, died in May 1773, leaving three daughters... (2).

### **Martha’s Upbringing**

Martha Wayles was born on 19 October 1748, in Charles City County, Virginia. The family home, known as “The Forest,” was not very far from Williamsburg (Charles City County was just west of the colonial capital). So little is known about Martha’s birth, family, and upbringing that one finds only a rare mention of her and varying accounts among the teaspoon’s worth that does exist, with one source even placing her birth incorrectly in Lancaster, England. (3)

Martha appears to have attended – and would have been expected to have done so, given her father’s wealth and their close proximity to the capital – social events in Williamsburg. Because her father buried three wives and lived for many years as a widower after the death of his third wife, Martha most assuredly would have attended these social functions on the arm of her father – at least on an intermittent basis – and would have been responsible for helping to host affairs at The Forest for her widower father.

Although the details are lost, it is clear that Martha Wayles knew how to manage a large household. Running a thriving, bustling plantation with its vast estate, mansion, farms, large slave population, attendant overseers, and frequent guests and visitors – which was the case for both the Wayles and Jefferson plantations – required considerable skill and energy. Several sources note that, in addition to organizing the family affairs and ordering home supplies, Martha assisted her father in managing the plantation/home business accounts.

Because her mother died from complications giving birth to her, Martha’s domestic education would have been at an accelerated pace. Young Ms. Wayles would have found herself thrust into the role of mistress of the home at a tender age, and would be again forced into this role after the death of both stepmothers. It was common among Wayles’ contemporaries for widowers to seek the assistance of female relatives in raising infant daughters or, if the family could afford, for them to employ tutors. Of these scenarios we are unsure, but the poise, domestic skills, and education attributed to Martha Wayles as a young woman would point to the likelihood John Wayles had help raising his daughter. “Patty,” as she was nicknamed, knew how to make soap, candles,

butter, and other household staples of the eighteenth century, and she could cook, sew, and treat illnesses with homemade remedies.

From descriptions of her as an adult, we know she was not only literate but was well read for a woman of her time; she enjoyed poetry and fiction. Families of comfortable means in the Tidewater region of Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century often employed traveling teachers or tutors to educate their daughters, as young girls were not formally educated at schools. Their basic education at home focused on the domestic arts and was supplemented by tutors in such areas as literature, music, dancing, bible study, and even French. Because Martha grew up to be an accomplished musician, it appears likely she received lessons as a child.

### **Mrs. Skelton**

Martha Wayles married Bathurst Skelton on 20 November 1766, a month after celebrating her eighteenth birthday. The couple apparently wed at the Wayles family home, but we are uncertain about how or where Ms. Wayles met Mr. Skelton. Given the fact that Elizabeth Lomax Skelton, the third wife of Martha's father, had formerly been married to Bathurst Skelton's older brother Reuben, it is likely the Wayles family knew the Skelton family.

Bathurst Skelton was born in June 1744, making him four years Martha's senior. The Skelton family was, by all accounts, reasonably prosperous, and Bathurst Skelton attended the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg. Unfortunately, little is known about the marriage of Bathurst and Martha or their lives together, except that a son, John, was born on 7 November 1767. Tragically, Bathurst Skelton did not live to see his son's first birthday, dying on 30 September 1768. His death was attributed to illness.

Martha Wayles Skelton was a widow with an infant child at the tender age of nineteen. After losing her husband, Martha moved with her son back to The Forest to live with her father. During this time, the young widow appears to have had many suitors after, of course, a suitable period of time for mourning. Wealthy, beautiful, and accomplished, Martha would have been a very attractive figure among single men in Tidewater society.

### **Mrs. Jefferson**

As with so much of the life of Martha Wayles, the facts surrounding her meeting of and courting by Thomas Jefferson are frustratingly few. Scholars place the date of Jefferson's initial courtship of the widow at 1770 (4). The object of his interest was, at the time, in her early twenties, a prominent, wealthy widow with numerous suitors (5). Jefferson would not have been lost on the fact that other men were vying for Martha's attention, as she was one of the most eligible women in the colony. Family lore even suggests that two rival suitors once came to The Forest but paused outside the Wayles family home when they heard Jefferson and Martha playing a lovely musical duet together. Dejected, the suitors are said to have departed without interrupting the lovers (6). The story is plausible, in that the young couple shared a love of music and often performed together, with Thomas on violin and Martha on harpsichord.

The courtship came after a suitable period of mourning for the late Bathurst Skelton. It was common in the colonial period for widows and widowers to remarry rather quickly, especially if children were involved through one or both partners, as was the case with Martha and her son John. Jefferson appears to have been in love, writing glowingly about the hazel-eyed beauty. He was also fond of Martha's son, even looking forward to serving in a paternal role. But, at least one letter suggests he worried whether the feelings were mutual. In a response to Jefferson's concerns to this end, a mutual friend – Mrs. Drummond – wrote to the young man: "Let me recollect your description, which bars all the romantical, poetical ones I ever read... Thou wonderful man, indeed I shall think spirits of a higher order inhabit your airy mountains – or rather mountain, which I may contemplate but can never aspire to." Mrs. Drummond further advises Jefferson to persevere, saying that Martha has "good sense, and good nature," offers words of

encouragement hoping Ms. Wayles will not refuse her suitor's love, and closes by saying that she suspects Martha's heart is already "engaged" (7).

Young John Skelton died on 10 June 1771, not yet four years old. The death of her first child at such a tragically tender age, coming only a few years after her first husband's death, would have dealt Martha a severe blow. Heartbroken, she would have had a period of mourning for her child, which might explain the couple's six-month delay before getting married. On 23 December 1771, Jefferson traveled to The Forest from Monticello to sign a wedding bond. The bride's brother-in-law, Francis Eppes, served as Jefferson's co-signer, writing:

Know all men by these presents that we, Thomas Jefferson and Francis Eppes, are held and firmly bound to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors, in the sum of L50 current money of Virginia... If there be no lawful cause to obstruct a marriage intended to be had and solemnized between the above Thomas Jefferson and Martha Skelton of the county of Charles City, widow, for which a license is desired, then this obligation is to be null and void; otherwise, to remain in full force" (8).

One week later, on 30 December 1771, Jefferson purchased a marriage license in Williamsburg then traveled back to The Forest.

Few weddings were held in winter, but Thomas Jefferson and Martha Wayles Skelton were married on 1 January 1772 at the Wayles family home, where her father hosted a holiday party for the new couple (9). Jefferson described the wedding matter-of-factly in his memoir: "On the first of January 1772 I was married to Martha Skelton widow of Bathurst Skelton, and daughter of John Wayles, then 23 years old" (10).

The couple spent their honeymoon at Monticello. Family history holds that they traveled by carriage through snowy roads on the long ride west to Monticello. They traveled by carriage but as the snow increased during their trip, blanketing the area with possibly as much as two feet of white powder, they were forced to traverse the final, rough eight miles on horseback (11). The snow was too deep for the carriage. Jefferson's only comment on the episode was that it was "the deepest snow we have ever seen" (12). Bride and groom arrived at Monticello late in the evening to a quiet home, the slaves asleep and fireplaces cold. Jefferson found a good bottle of wine, lit a fireplace, and the couple slept under a blanket in a small building at the end of the home's south wing. As a result, this room has come to be known in present times as the "honeymoon cottage," although it served as Jefferson's office.

### **The Jefferson Children**

The first child of Thomas and Martha Jefferson was born on 27 September 1772, nine months after their wedding. Weak and small like many of Martha's children, the child would, however, end up being the only offspring to live a long life. Thomas Jefferson named the child after his wife – the girl was nicknamed "Patsy," while Mrs. Jefferson was called "Patty."

Frail and frequently both ill and pregnant, Mrs. Jefferson's pregnancies were challenging physical and emotional ordeals for both wife and husband, and her recovery from each birth was similarly slow and difficult. In each instance, Thomas Jefferson remained as close as possible to his wife, helping to nurse her through pregnancy and recovery. Martha Jefferson Randolph, remembered that her father remained at her mother's bedside throughout the final pregnancy and days leading to her death:

He nursed my poor mother in turn with Aunt Carr and her own sister – sitting up with her and administering her medicines and drink to the last. For four months that she lingered he was never out of calling. When not at her bedside, he was writing in a small room which opened immediately at the head of her bed (13).

Martha Jefferson's health worsened with each pregnancy and childbirth. The loss of so many children at such a young age took a toll on her mental and physical health. By 1782, Mrs. Jefferson was pregnant again for the seventh time in her life. Already weak and emotionally drained, this final pregnancy was even more precarious than the others. Mrs. Jefferson gained far too much weight and was too ill to receive guests, perform any household duties, or even sit comfortably. She remained bedridden and turned over the management of Monticello to her slaves. Jefferson declined all public duties and offices offered him in an effort to remain at his wife's side, concerned for her life.

The child of this fateful pregnancy – named after baby Lucy Elizabeth who died in 1781 – was born on 8 May 1782. In spite of the mother's grave condition, the baby was healthy. Family history tells that the baby weighed an astonishing sixteen pounds at birth. Mrs. Jefferson's condition declined further, causing Jefferson to pen a letter to his friend James Monroe twelve days after the delivery saying, "Mrs. Jefferson has added another daughter to our family. She has ever since and still continues very dangerously ill" (14). Martha Jefferson never recovered. On 6 September 1782, Jefferson wrote in his diary: "My dear wife died this day at 11:45 a.m."

Martha Jefferson bore six children during her ten-year marriage to Thomas Jefferson, and one child with her first husband. Tragically, her first child and three others would die in infancy. A son, Peter, born on 28 May 1777 lived only three weeks (some accounts suggest the infant was not named). Daughter Jane, born in 1774, lived less than eighteen months, and the first of two daughters named Lucy Elizabeth would lose her struggle for life only four-and-one-half months after birth. Martha Jefferson witnessed the deaths of four of her seven children. Her lastborn daughter also died young, but from whooping cough in October of 1784, only two years after Mrs. Jefferson's death. Only two Jefferson children – Martha and Mary – would survive to adulthood.

Martha Jefferson's fragility appears to have been shared with her mother, who died as a result of delivering Martha. So too was it passed down to her own children. It is often said that daughter Martha ("Patsy") resembled her father, even possessing his formidable intellect, while daughter Mary ("Polly"), born on 1 August 1778, shared her mother's physical appearance, mannerisms, and tender health; she also died from the ordeal of childbirth.

### **Mistress of Monticello**

Monticello is where Martha spent most of her married life with Thomas Jefferson. The short interval between the births of the six Jefferson children, coupled with her perpetually frail physical condition, would have prevented her from extensive travel. Arguably the defining event of her life at Monticello was motherhood. However, another role for Mrs. Jefferson would have been that of hostess.

Jefferson was overly generous and hosted a steady stream of guests and visitors at Monticello. Lavish affairs for fifty guests, who were fed fine French foods and expensive wines, are documented. This meant planning, large dinners, and other accommodations. We are not sure how much hosting Mrs. Jefferson fulfilled. She clearly did some, as letters from the Jeffersons' guests, such as the following example, extend their thanks to the lady of the home: "I embrace this opportunity of assuring you that I retain a particular remembrance of the Civilities I received when in Virginia from you, Sir, and Mrs. Jefferson to whom I request my Compliments" (15). But, Mrs. Jefferson was often pregnant and ill, and apparently somewhat depressed; she appears to have excused herself on occasion from hosting duties during such times (16). Nor did Mrs. Jefferson officially serve as first lady of Virginia or a presiding lady during the war, as did the wives of other prominent revolutionaries.

There were, however, many visitors to Monticello. Martha Jefferson would not have been without adult or female company at Monticello. After the death of Jefferson's dear friend and brother-in-law Dabney Carr, Carr's widow and six children came to live at Monticello. Other members of the large Jefferson family – Jefferson's sister Mary and

her husband John Bolling had eight children, and his sister Lucy and her husband Charles Lewis had six children –were guests at Monticello. Martha Jefferson also had a large and close family (half-sister Elizabeth “Betsy” and her husband Francis Eppes had eight children, and half-sister Anne “Nancy” and her husband Henry Skipworth had six children).

Martha Jefferson's circle of friends included the wife of Major General Friedrich von Riedesel, a former commander of the Hessian troops captured at Saratoga during the war. The von Riedesels had three daughters near the age of the Jefferson daughters. In a letter to Jefferson, Riedesel writes, “Madame de Riedesel, who never can forget the esteem and friendship she has so justly consecrated to Mrs. Jefferson, desires me to insert her sincerest compliments both to her and your Excellency...” (17). Baroness von Riedesel was a gifted singer and she and Mrs. Jefferson greatly enjoyed one another's company and signing (18). Nights with the Riedesels often included other German officers, and were filled with food and music. Monticello's guests often included those who loved music and joined Thomas and Martha in musical performances. Another German, Baron de Geismer, joined Mr. Jefferson on violin, while an Italian who visited Monticello by the name of Alberti was a noted musician who gave musical lessons to the Jefferson family. Mrs. Jefferson appears to have befriended the wives of a number of her husband's friends, whose letters to Thomas Jefferson often include such pleasantries for his wife as “Lucy unites in most sublime Compliments to Lady & famely ...” (19).

It appears that Mrs. Jefferson ran the household at Monticello, much as she had done at the Wayles plantation. The size of the home and number of acres, farms, slaves, visitors, and so forth made her work a considerable feat, even with ample slave labor, such as Isaac and his mother Ursula, who were trained as chefs and purchased by Jefferson in or about 1773. Monticello was replete with gardens, orchards, dairy, smoke rooms, and more. Slaves would recall many years later Mrs. Jefferson coming to the kitchen “with a cookery book in her hand and read out of it to Isaac's mother how to make cakes, tarts, and so on” (20). Mrs. Jefferson demonstrated the necessary (for the time) domestic talents such as being a gracious hostess, industrious housewife, supervisor of house slaves and servants, and self-sustaining home manager with a knack for recipes, homemade medicines, and cures; she also made soap and candles, sewed, knitted, and even brewed beer (21). Jefferson was also quite particular about his food, drink, and home, so she would have had to be attuned to his tastes and whims.

Of course, life at Monticello was not entirely comprised of work. The home was stocked with fine wines, featured one of the country's premier collections of books, and was the site of lavish parties and frequent guests, the stables boasted many horses, and the woods nearby were stocked with domesticated deer. The couple worked together in the gardens, delighted in reading poetry and fiction to one another, and frequently performed musical duets. Monticello was, after all, noted for its serenity and architecture, elegance, and prosperity (thousands of acres, well over 100 slaves).

### **Appearance and Temperament**

Martha Jefferson's letters and writings are lost to history. Whether or not she did sit for portraiture, no likeness of her remains. We are thus dependent on descriptions of her by various commentators and contemporaries to discern her physical appearance and temperament. Martha's great-granddaughter, Sara N. Randolph, describes her as follows:

She is described as having been very beautiful. A little above middle height, with a lithe and exquisitely formed figure, she was a model of graceful and queenlike carriage. Nature, so lavish with her charms for her, to great personal attractions, added a mind of no ordinary caliber. She was well educated for her day, and a constant reader; she inherited from her father his method and industry, as the accounts, kept in her clear handwriting, and still in the hands of her descendents, testify. Her well-cultivated talent for music served to enhance her charms not a little in the eyes of such musical devotee as Jefferson (22).

Scholars, such as Bowers, echo this praise of Mrs. Jefferson, also describing her as “beautiful” (23), and Ellis calls her “attractive and delicate” (24). Henry Randolph, a relative, writing about the testimony of the Jefferson granddaughters, describes their recollections of her as:

Distinguished by her beauty, her accomplishments, and her solid merit. In person, she was a little above medium height, slightly but exquisitely formed. Her complexion was brilliant – her large expressive eyes of the richest shade of hazel – her luxuriant hair of the finest tinge of auburn. She walked, rode, and danced with admirable grace and spirit – sung, and played the spinet and harpsichord (the musical instrument of the Virginia ladies of that day) with uncommon skill. The more solid parts of her education had not been neglected. She was also well read and intelligent; conversed agreeably; possessed excellent sense and a lively play of fancy; and had a frank, warm-hearted, and somewhat impulsive disposition. Last, not least, she had already proved herself a true daughter of the Old Dominion in the department of housewifery (25).

Another granddaughter, Ellen Randolph Coolidge, remembered:

My grandmother Jefferson had a vivacity of temper which might sometimes border on tartness, but which, in her intercourse with her husband, was completely subdued by her exceeding affection for him. This little asperity however sometimes shewed itself to her children, and of course more to my mother, her oldest child, than to others who were much younger... It would be doing an injustice to my grandmother, having spoken of her small defects, not to say that they were entirely redeemed by her good qualities. All the family traditions were greatly in her favour. She had been a favorite with her husband's sisters, with his family generally, and with her neighbours. She was a very attractive person and my grandfather was tenderly attached to her. She commanded his respect by her good sense – and domestic virtues, and his admiration and love by her wit, her vivacity, and her agreeable person and manners. She was not only an excellent housekeeper and notable mistress of a family, but a graceful, ladylike and accomplished woman, with considerable powers of conversation, some skill in music, all the habits of good society, and the art of welcoming her husband's friends to perfection. She was greatly liked by them all. She made my grandfather's home comfortable, cheerful, pleasant, just what a good man's home should be. As a girl I have amused myself in looking over some of her old papers which were in my mother's possession. Her receipt book written in a light, straight, somewhat still Italian hand, her book of family expences regularly kept, her manuscript music book with the words of songs all fairly copied out and free from blot and blemish. Things that told of neatness, order, good housewifery and womanly accomplishment. Her loss was the bitterest grief my grandfather ever knew, and no second wife was ever called to take her place (26).

A Hessian officer visiting Monticello in 1780 says of Jefferson's wife: “In all respects a very agreeable, sensible & accomplished Lady” (27), who played the harpsichord “very skillfully” (28). Jefferson's Italian houseguest, Philip Mazzei, described his friend's wife as “angelic” (29), while the Marquis de Chastellux, a Frenchman with whom Thomas Jefferson developed a close relationship, formed an opinion based on his time at Monticello of a “gentle and amiable” lady whose health was “delicate” (30). Great-granddaughter Sara Randolph described Mrs. Jefferson as “a person of great intelligence and strength of character” (31). She also noted her great-grandmother's fine education: “Before her mother's death, her father had paid very particular attention to her education” (32). We also know from numerous descriptions that she enjoyed music, was an accomplished musician who played the forte-piano (harpsichord/spinet) regularly, and possessed a graceful singing voice.

There is, however, the distinct possibility that Mrs. Jefferson wrestled with some degree of depression. Evidence of this might be found in her account books, which suggest long periods during her pregnancies and after the death of her children when she stopped

spending money on household items and ceased acting as hostess and household manager, such as when daughter Lucy Elizabeth died in 1781 (33). She was often alone and in bed and excused herself early from guests. How much of this was the result of being pregnant almost continually for ten years or whether something else was at work we will probably never know. Either way, Martha Jefferson emerges as a worthy companion for Jefferson, especially insofar as she loved reading, preferably fiction, was a good conversationalist, and appeared to be a gentle, loyal, amiable, charming, and honest partner to one of the leading men of his time.

### Conclusion

Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson died on 6 September 1782, weakened from the birth of her seventh child only months before. Both the child (Lucy Elizabeth) and mother had lingered on in a weakened state throughout the summer months. Jefferson did not leave his wife's side during her final weeks. According to accounts, "for four months that she lingered he was never out of Calling. When not at her bed side he was writing in a small room which opened immediately at the head of her bed" (34). Eldest daughter "Patsy," who was ten years old when her mother passed, would later in life describe her grieving father as needing to be led from the deathbed to his library by his sister in "almost in a state of insensibility," whereupon he then fainted (35). Jefferson "kept to his room for three weeks," pacing constantly. According to Patsy Jefferson Randolph, "My Aunts remained constantly with him for some weeks" (36). After a three week period:

When at last he left his room he rode out and from that time he was incessantly on horseback rambling about the mountain in the least frequented roads and just as often through the woods; in those melancholy rambles I was his constant companion, a solitary witness to many violent bursts of grief" (37).

Patsy's description of her father's condition included, "the violence of his emotion to this day I dare not describe to myself" (38).

Presumably Jefferson took until late September to come out from his deep withdrawal. It was around this time that notes appear in Jefferson's account book and he composed what appears to have been his first letter since his wife's death and possibly the most intimate writing on his family ever (39). In that letter, written to his late wife's sister, Elizabeth Wayles Eppes (then living at The Forest), he speaks about the three daughters, reassuring that:

They are in perfect health and as happy as if they had no part in the unmeasurable loss we have sustained. Patsy rides with me 5 or 6 miles a day and presses for permission to accompany me on horseback to Elkhill whenever I shall go there. When that may be however I cannot tell; finding myself absolutely unable to attend to any thing like business. This miserable kind of existence is really too burdensome to be borne, and were it not for the infidelity of deserting the sacred charge left me, I could not wish it's continuance a moment. For what could it be wished? All my plans of comfort and happiness reversed by a single event and nothing answering in prospect before me but a gloom unbrightened with one cheerful expectation. The care and instruction of our children indeed affords some temporary abstractions from wretchedness and nourishes a soothing reflection that if there be beyond the grave any concern for the things of this world there is one angel at least who views these attentions with pleasure and wishes continuance of them while she must pity the miseries to which they confine me" (40).

Jefferson remained "inconsolable" – a word used by many biographers and Jefferson's contemporaries to describe his condition – for months (41). He sobbed deeply at night, broke down when he tried to appear in public and talk about his deceased wife, and news of his grief and shattered condition spread through the colony. Friends, family, and political leaders worried about his emotions (42). Edmund Randolph wrote of Jefferson's grief that "I ever thought him to rank domestic happiness in the first class of the chief

good but scarcely supposed that his grief would be so violent as to justify the circulating report of his swooning away whenever he sees his children" (43). Later that fall Jefferson was still grief stricken. He answered a letter from his dear friend the Chevalier de Chastellux with the admission:

It [the letter] found me a little emerging from that stupor of mind which had rendered me as dead to the world as she was whose loss occasioned it. Your letter recalled to my memory, that there were persons still living of much value to me...

Jefferson attributes his delayed reply to Chastellux to "the state of dreadful suspence in which I had been kept all summer and the catastrophe which closed it" (44).

Jefferson also apparently wrote to another close friend, the Italian Mazzei, who, upon hearing of Martha Jefferson's death replied, "the memory of his saintly late wife saddened me, and the solitude rendered my sorrow even more profound" (45). On 13 November 1782, Jefferson was still hesitant to accept another public office from Congress, writing "I had two months before that lost the cherished companion of my life, in whose affections, unabated on both sides, I had lived the last ten years in unchequered happiness..." This reply to Congress was penned much later in life when Jefferson was seventy-seven years old, memories obviously still quite strong.

### **"Never to Remarry"**

Much has been written about Jefferson's alleged bedside pledge to his dying wife never to remarry (46). Edmund Bacon, long time overseer at Monticello, described the scene:

The house servants were Betty Brown, Sally, Critta, and Betty Hemings, Nance, and Ursula... They were in the room when Mrs. Jefferson died... They have often told my wife, that when Mrs. Jefferson died, they stood around the bed. Mr. Jefferson sat by her, and she gave him directions about a good many things that she wanted done. When she came to the children, she wept, and could not speak for some time. Finally she held up her hand, and spreading out her four fingers, she told him she could not die happy if she thought her four children were ever to have a stepmother brought in over them. Holding her other hand in his, Mr. Jefferson promised her solemnly that he would never marry again" (47).

The authenticity of this account is in question, as it was told many years after Bacon's service with Jefferson and Bacon mistakenly states that there were four children when there were only three.

It is possible the vow was requested. Martha lost a mother she never knew and endured two stepmothers. A poor relationship with these stepmothers might be reason to worry about another woman raising her surviving three daughters. It is also possible the vow was agreed to. Ellis calls Martha Jefferson's death "the most traumatic experience of his [Jefferson's] entire life." It struck Jefferson so powerfully that he vowed to himself never to fall in love again; never to "expose his soul to such pain again." As such, he would rather be "lonely than vulnerable" (48). Jefferson was only thirty-nine when he became a widower and in spite of his wealth and notoriety, having three young daughters, and an apparent lifelong passion for the opposite sex, he never remarried. But, there is no evidence to support any claim. Jefferson did keep locks of his late wife's hair and each child's hair and, as was stated at the outset of this paper, he may have burned all correspondence exchanged with his wife.

After the death of Patsy Jefferson Randolph in 1836, a folded sheet of paper was found containing a lock of her mother's hair and a note. The note, in Patsy's handwriting stated "A Lock of my Dear Mama's Hair inclosed in a verse which she wrote" (49). A verse, written in Martha Jefferson's handwriting, was enclosed:

Times wastes too fast: every letter I trace tells me with what rapidity life follows

my pen. The days and hours of it are flying over our heads like clouds of a windy day never to return more – everything presses on –

The verse continues, but in Thomas Jefferson's distinctive handwriting:

-- and every time I kiss thy hand to bid adieu, every absence which follows it, are preludes to that eternal separation which we are shortly to make (50).

It has been suggested that Mrs. Jefferson penned the initial line – a verse from the book *Tristan Shandy* by Laurence Sterne, published in the mid-1700s. It was one of Thomas Jefferson's favorite books, and likely a favorite of Martha Jefferson too. It is possible Mrs. Jefferson took pen in hand during her final hours or weeks and, with faded ink or weak touch, recalled the verse from memory (51). It is then possible Jefferson finished the verse, as he may have done when they recited verse together, either to share in the writing or to assist his wife's weak hand (his writing is bolder and darker). This note constitutes the only written exchange between Thomas and Martha Jefferson known to exist.

Sara Randolph offers an assessment of her great-grandmother appropriate for considering her legacy: "if the attractions of a woman can be measured by the love borne her by her husband, hers must have been great indeed, for never was a wife loved with more passionate devotion than she was by Jefferson" (52). Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson is buried at Monticello, near her children, family friend Dabney Carr, and Thomas Jefferson's sister, Jane. Jefferson placed a marble tombstone to mark her grave, with inscription stating she had been "torn from him by death." The slab is engraved with the first two lines from the *Iliad* and written in Greek – the translation: "If in the house of Hades men forget their dead, Yet will I ever there remember you, dear companion."

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## Notes

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1. E.M.Halliday, *Understanding Thomas Jefferson* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), p. 30.
2. See Jefferson's "autobiography" – Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, p. 7.
3. The incorrect information appears at [www.geocities.com](http://www.geocities.com).
4. Claude G. Bowers, *The Young Jefferson, 1743-1789* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945), p.

47; Fawn Brody, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (New York, 1974); and Andrew

Burstein, *The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist* (Charlottesville: University

Press of Virginia, 1995).

5. Ibid.

6. Bowers, 1945, pp. 47-48.

7. As quoted in Willard Sterne Randall, *Thomas Jefferson: A Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994, p.158.

8. As quoted in Randall, 1994, pp. 159-160.

9. George Washington's wedding was also held in January, but most marriages took place in

spring or summer.

10. See Jefferson, p. 7.

11. Bowers, 1945, p. 48

12. See *Thomas Jefferson's Garden and Farm Books* (Robert C. Baron, ed., Golden, Colo.:

Fulcrum, 1987), entry for 26 January 1772; or see Jefferson, p. 34.

13. Randall, 1994, p. 347.

14. Letter, Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, 20 May 1782, Vol. VI, p. 186.

15. Letter, W. Phillips to Thomas Jefferson, 31 March 1781, Vol. V, pp. 97-98.

16. Randall, 1994, p. 335.

17. Letter, General Riedesel to Thomas Jefferson, 19 March 19, 1781, Vol. V, pp. 184-185; see also Frederich Adolph von Riedesel, *Memoirs, Letters, and Journals, during his Residence in America* (Albany, NY: 1868).

18. Bowers, 1945, p. 232.

19. Letter, George Gilmer to Thomas Jefferson, 13 April 1781, Vol. V, p. 431.

20. Halliday, 2001, p. 40.

21. See Jack McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello, Biography of a Builder* (New York: Henry Holt, 1988).

22. Sara N. Randolph, *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, pub in 1871, reprint in 1978), pp. 43-44; Gordon Langley Hall, *Mr. Jefferson's Ladies* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. xiv.

23. Bowers, 1945, p. 47.

24. See Bowers, 1945.

25. See Julian P. Boyd, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), Vol I, p. 63-64.
26. Ellen Randolph Coolidge, *Letter Book*, Vol. IV, pp. 66-67 (available at Monticello).
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28. Lipscomb and Bergh, Vol. IV, p. 174
29. Philip Mazzei, *Philip Mazzei: My Life and Wanderings*, p. 283.
30. Halliday, 2001, p. 48; Bowers, 1945, p. 308.
31. Sara N. Randolph, p. 10.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
33. Randall, 1994, p. 335.
34. John Page, "Autobiography," *Virginia Historical Register*, Richmond, 1850. See also Boyd, Vol. VI, p. 196.
35. Halliday, 2001, p. 48.
36. Boyd, Vol. VI, p. 200.
37. Halliday, 2001, p. 49.
38. Randall, 1994, p. 348.
39. Boyd, Vol. VI, p. 199.
40. Letter, Elizabeth Wayles to Thomas Jefferson, 3 October 1782, Vol. VI, pp. 198-199.
41. Joseph J. Ellis, *American Sphinx* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), p. 66.
42. Ellis, 1997, pp. 66-67.
43. Letter, Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 20 Sept. 1782, Vol. VI, p. 199.
44. Letter, Thomas Jefferson to Chastellux, 26 November 1782, Vol. VI, p. 203.
45. Mazzei, p. 282.
46. Randall, 1994, p. 348.
47. Halliday, 2001, p. 49.
48. Ellis, 1997, p. 66.
49. Halliday, 2001, pp. 50-51.
50. Boyd, Vol. VI, p. 197.
51. Boyd, Vol. VI, p. 196, no date known, the two frequently read and recited verse together.
52. Sara N. Randolph, p. 10.

**High Praise for Gary Hart's Book, by Sydney N. Stokes, Jr., Chairman.** In his 4,000 book, *Restoration of the Republic: The Jeffersonian Ideal in the 21st Century* (Oxford University Press, 2002), former U.S. Senator Gary Hart examines Thomas Jefferson's vision of free society. The result is the most timely and relevant treatment of that vision ever published. It is about more than just citizen rights. It is about the responsibilities that accompany those rights—the responsibility of informed participation.

As America debates the troubling aftermath of 9/11, Hart succeeds in identifying what has been called "the revolutionary tradition and its lost treasure" — the town meeting system of self-government—and the failure to incorporate this system into our constitutional framework. This failure was a direct result of Shays Rebellion in 1786, an event which caused fears of anarchy and violence. In response to those fears, the United States adopted an elaborate check and balance scheme based on representation.

Hart's book focuses on this tragic oversight in our political development and re-establishes Jefferson as the primary exponent for a public space where the voice of the whole people can be, as Jefferson said, "fairly, fully, and peacefully expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of society." Jefferson believed that violence could be avoided by creating, along with public education, a place for a redress of grievances. A place, he thought, where citizens could be "participator[s] in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day."

Jefferson's vision of republican government has profound implications for the 21st century. Hart deserves high praise for identifying and bringing focus to the central legacy of Thomas Jefferson.

**Thoughts on September 11th, by Clarence W. Leeds, III, Vice Chairman and President *Emeritus*.** An idea came under attack on September 11, 2001. Those who planned and executed the terrorist assaults that destroyed the lives of thousands of people either understood, or failed to understand, the idea they attacked. Either way, the attack called for an appropriate response. Our response should be in accordance with our individual and collective understanding of the idea under attack. That idea deals with issues of national and individual sovereignty, religious freedom, group-imposed authority or individual conscience, church and state separation or collaboration, education as indoctrination or education for enlightened participation. Addressing the essence of all these issues is an idea articulated by Thomas Jefferson. That idea is our national creed. It has been evolving as the idea for the responsible use of freedom by people everywhere. Human beings currently in various stages of civilization, who initially banded together as warring tribes, now look to our nation as a working model of people coming together by virtue of subscription to an idea. That idea is the legacy of Thomas Jefferson.

In all our projects, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation attempts to help people understand that idea and to employ that understanding to participate responsibly in a free and open society. With Daniel Boorstin, emeritus Librarian of Congress, we "confirm Jefferson's—and our—belief that the principles of a free society thrive only in the scrutiny of the free critical thought of every succeeding age." We also concur with Gary Wills in *Inventing America*, "The best way to honor the spirit of Jefferson is to use his doubting intelligence again on his own text. . .the pollster on the street wants us to 'endorse' Jefferson's Declaration. But Jefferson would be the first to ask what such an exercise could mean. Despite his hostility to Plato, he liked Socrates and thought the unexamined life not worth living. Even more, the unexamined document is not worth signing. The Declaration has been turned into something of a blank check for idealists of all sorts to fill in as they like. We had better stop signing it (over and over) and begin reading it. I do not mean seeing it. I mean reading it."

It is for each generation to reexamine our national creed. That is the lesson in dynamics of Thomas Jefferson. That is Jefferson's legacy. That is what President George W. Bush

was saying in his 2002 State of the Union Address:

America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere. No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity; the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance. Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life.

At The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, our response to events on, and subsequent to, September 11, 2001 is to help people understand the constancy and the dynamics of the idea under attack and to respond, in ways appropriate in light of that idea—the idea that is the legacy of Thomas Jefferson and will become our own legacy. Our Jefferson Legacy Foundation board member, the greatest Jefferson scholar of our time, Merrill Peterson, says

There are many Jefferson legacies, but unquestionably the greatest is the philosophy of human rights so eloquently stated in the Preamble of the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln named those principles "the definitions and axioms of free society." They have done more to define the values and goals of the nation than any other act or statement. But this "American Creed," as Gunnar Myrdal called it, and as Martin Luther King famously invoked it in 1963, was framed as an enunciation of the rights of all humankind. The universalism of the philosophy has made it one of the fountainheads of the international human-rights culture of our time. Jefferson is rapidly attaining the fame of world citizen. . . In the correspondence of their old age, John Adams liked to twit Jefferson on the exploded hopes of the Enlightenment and the age of democratic revolution through which they had lived. Jefferson admitted the horizon was clouded, yet could not share Adams's pessimism. "I shall not die without a hope that light and liberty are on steady advance," he declared. "And even should the cloud of barbarism and despotism again obscure the science and liberties of Europe, this country remains to preserve and restore light and liberty to them. In short, the flames kindled on the 4th of July 1776 have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by the feeble engines of despotism. On the contrary, they will consume those engines, and all who work them."

Americans, it has been said, venerate Washington, love Lincoln, and remember Jefferson. The long and myriad chain of memory has passed to this generation with its most vital links worn and abused, but still intact. "Nothing, then, is unchangeable but the inherent and inalienable rights of man." When so many of Jefferson's values have slipped away, he may yet go on vindicating his power in the national life as the heroic voice of imperishable freedoms. It is this Jefferson who stands at the radiant center of his own history, and who makes for the present a symbol that unites the nation's birth with its inexorable ideal. But whether this and later generations will be able to repeat with earlier generations John Adams's deathbed deliverance, "Thomas Jefferson still survives," must depend on a power greater than Jefferson's historical momentum. It must depend, in the final analysis, on the conscious knowledge of Jefferson's faith and the [our] responsible commitment to its survival.

If the attacks of September 11 marked the beginning of a war, that war was one of ideology. As Rabbi David Hartman has said (in Thomas Friedman's column in The New

York Times), the opposing forces are religious totalitarianism and Jefferson's ideology of pluralism—an ideology that embraces religious diversity and the idea that one's faith can be nurtured without claiming exclusive truth. The United States of America, with its Jeffersonian creed, is at once the legacy and the Mecca of that ideology. Our interpretation, understanding, and responses to the attacks on September 11 will determine the future of all civilizations.

**Lessons from a Close and Contentious Election.** Alan Ehrenhalt wrote in the *New York Times* in December of 1998, "A pretty good argument can be made that the defining moment of American democracy didn't occur in 1776 or 1787, as commonly supposed, but...on the day that John Adams, having been beaten at the polls, quietly packed his things and went home. Only then did we know for sure that the system worked as advertised. The routine transfer of power may not be the most dramatic feature of American democracy, but it is the most important."

In the election of 1800, a president was elected by one vote, and power was transferred peacefully between opposing parties. President John Adams and Vice President Thomas Jefferson fought for the presidency in a hostile contest that threatened the American experiment in self-government. Adams lost, and there was a tie between Jefferson and Aaron Burr. After 35 ballots in the House, Representative Lewis R. Morris of Vermont withheld his vote for Burr. Vermont's Matthew Lyon then cast his vote for Jefferson. A single vote from a small state made Jefferson our third President. On the 36th ballot, the deadlock was broken by one vote. *One vote.*

Two hundred years later we have witnessed another close and contentious election. Then as now, one vote *can* make a difference. The United States continues as a model for peaceful transfer of authority *if we* participate. Participation *does* make a difference, which is why the Jefferson Legacy Foundation is dedicated to fostering civil discourse and engaging people in addressing important social and political issues.

### **Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: Thoughts on Reason and Civility**

by Sydney N. Stokes, Jr., Chairman, and Clarence W. Leeds, III, Vice Chairman and President *Emeritus*

Perceptions about the relationship between Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings are controversial. Some people have formed opinions based on recent media presentations. Artistic license is taken with the lives of historical figures. Facts are few and far between. Fiction abounds. So-called documentaries are frequently undocumented. Conjectures are disguised as facts, then repeated until they are ingrained into our belief system. Evidence presented so far appears to be incomplete. We are cautious about jumping to conclusions. We remind ourselves that conclusions we do reach by our own reasoning must be placed in historical perspective. We favor continuing exploration of the relationship between Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings within the framework of Jefferson's achievements and the times in which he and Hemings lived.

To date, written and oral histories are inconclusive. DNA evidence neither proves nor disproves that Thomas Jefferson fathered children with Sally Hemings. Scientific advancements may permit us someday more fully to answer questions we have today. There may be some as yet undiscovered written testimony from Sally Hemings or Thomas Jefferson. For years, it was suspected that Sally Hemings returned from Paris pregnant with Thomas Jefferson's child. However, five male-line descendants of Hemings' first-born child (in 1790) tested negative to any connection with Jefferson DNA. Yet, some Jefferson DNA has been found in descendants of Hemings' youngest child, born 18 years later in 1808. The issue is complicated. Truth-seekers are frustrated. Passions on all sides of the issue run high, particularly in reference to the question, "Which Jefferson was father to children of Sally Hemings?" Evidence to date still does not answer that question.

If solid evidence is someday presented to support the conjecture that Thomas Jefferson was the father of one or more of Sally Hemings' children, then we still have a quandary:

People who look to our founders for guidance must decide if the Jefferson-Hemings relationship was a humanizing characteristic, or hypocrisy so severe it casts doubt on everything Jefferson did.

We urge Jefferson and Hemings descendants to embrace one another as extended family in any case. We encourage civil discourse and scholarly study of all known, and any new, evidence pertaining to this issue. To foster a more civil discussion, we urge consideration of Pulitzer-Prize winning Jefferson scholar, Dumas Malone's admonition: "I don't like the adversary system in connection with scholarship of any sort." Cooperation should prevail over contentious competition.

We support reasoned and balanced dialogue on this subject in the context of Jefferson's life and accomplishments and America's shameful history of slavery. We remain hopeful that the story of the Hemings and Jefferson families can be evaluated in an open, honest, and respectful way.

For additional viewpoints on the Sally Hemings controversy, refer to the Thomas Jefferson Heritages Society's site, [www.tjheritage.org](http://www.tjheritage.org) and click on Quick Links: "The Truth About Jefferson," by Robert Turner, published in The Wall Street Journal. Another opinion can be found in "Jefferson-Hemings DNA Testing: An Online Resource" on the "Plantation" page of [www.monticello.org](http://www.monticello.org).

This statement does not necessarily reflect the opinions of everyone associated with The Jefferson Legacy Foundation.

**The Dilemma of Slavery.** It has become fashionable to portray Thomas Jefferson as a great enigma—a sphinx. Historians and publishers have a field day with Jefferson. Over the past several years books, novels, articles, and two major Hollywood movies have portrayed Jefferson as a man of contradictions. He has been used as a scapegoat for our frustrations, especially racial conflict. He has been called a racist, a sexist, a hypocrite. Some would expel him from the American Pantheon and destroy his memorial in Washington D.C. Conor Cruise O'Brien believes that today's "multi-cultural society cannot indefinitely accept a racist as a prophet." (1)

Adding to the passions of discord, recent DNA analysis attempts to show a genealogical link between Thomas Jefferson and his slave Sally Hemings. The reported DNA results are inconclusive, but the issue is powerful. The controversy became entwined with the dynamics of President Clinton's impeachment and has further complicated Jefferson's legacy.

A little noted event at Norfolk State University (NSU) in the past year illustrates a cynical view of American history, a view which corrupts our spirit. The event points to a serious misunderstanding about Thomas Jefferson and his experience as a slave-owner. It is illustrative of America's inability to comprehend and embrace its own national purpose or creed. Understanding our founders' circumstances and vision is essential to our participation in fulfillment of the American Revolution.

The event at NSU featured public-radio celebrity Clay Jenkinson, who presented himself in costume as Thomas Jefferson. At the end of his presentation, there were questions from the audience. One student, according to The Virginian-Pilot, "challenged Jefferson's contention that most slaves could not handle freedom because they had a child-like dependence on their white masters. If true [the student asked] why did Monticello continue to operate while Jefferson spent seven (sic) years in France? Who was really dependent on whom?" Jenkinson answered, "perhaps I should just say touché." (2) Students gave Jenkinson a standing ovation and left the event thinking they had understood the truth. But had they?

The operation of Monticello is a fascinating and complex story, yet the relevant issue is ignorance of what Jefferson actually faced as a slave-owner. Today, African-Americans

seek justice and recognition for their ancestors' enormous contribution to the formation of America. Rightly so. Martin Luther King Jr. dreamed of the day when "this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed." The Jefferson Legacy Foundation shares that dream. However, before this can happen, we need to practice non-violence in the intellectual world as well as in the physical world.

With this in mind, Booker T. Washington offers a reasonable starting point from which the reality of slavery can be understood. In his autobiography, *Up From Slavery*, Washington sheds light on America's dilemma:

Finally the war closed, and the day of freedom came ... We had been expecting it. Freedom was in the air ... The grape-vine telegraph was kept busy night and day ... There was more singing in the slave quarters than usual ... they had sung those same verses before but ... 'freedom' ... referred to the next world, and had no connection with life in this world...

Word was sent to all slaves, old and young, to gather at the [master's] house ... There was a feeling of deep interest, or perhaps sadness on their faces, but not bitterness ...

We were told that we were all free, and could go when and where we pleased ... or some minutes there was great rejoicing, and thanksgiving, and wild scenes of ecstasy. But there was no feeling of bitterness ...

I noticed that by the time they returned to their cabins there was a change in their feelings. The great responsibility of being free, of having charge of themselves, of having to think and plan for themselves and their children, seemed to take possession of them. It was very much like suddenly turning a youth of ten or twelve years out into the world to provide for himself.

In a few hours the great questions with which the Anglo-Saxon race had been grappling for centuries had been thrown upon these people to be solved. These were the questions of a home, a living, the rearing of children, education, citizenship, and the establishment and support of churches. Was it any wonder that within a few hours the wild rejoicing ceased and a feeling of deep gloom seemed to pervade the slave quarters?

To some it seemed that, now that they were in actual possession of it, freedom was a more serious thing than they had expected to find it.

Washington understood the "great questions." He observed first-hand, Jefferson's comment that "to give liberty to, or rather to abandon persons whose habits have been formed in slavery, is like abandoning children." (3)

Washington correctly identified the issues of education, of citizenship, and religious freedom that animated Jefferson's life. Without these reforms, Jefferson could not imagine a free bi-racial society. Although his temperament was sanguine, Jefferson possessed a deep sense of gloom about the effects of slavery. Freedom would be only another form of slavery, leading to violence.

In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson expressed his fear:

Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites, ten thousand recollections by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained, new provocations, the real distinctions which nature has made, and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race.

Jefferson's ambivalence and pessimism about the ability of whites and blacks to prosper

together in America can be seen in the experience and ultimate death of James Hemings. A bright young man, Hemings became an accomplished French chef. He learned his trade in Paris while Jefferson served as Minister to France (1784-1789). Jefferson freed Hemings in 1796, but Hemings's alcoholism and the reality of apartheid contributed to his suicide in 1801 at the age of 35. Historian Elizabeth Langhorne wrote that "more than other Hemingses, James had seen the promised land and found the gate barred."

This experience served to reinforce a sad reality in America, and Jefferson concluded:

... until more can be done for them, we should endeavor with those whom fortune has thrown on our hands, to feed and clothe them well, protect them from all ill usage, require such reasonable labor only as is performed voluntarily by freemen & be led by no repugnancies to abdicate them, and our duties to them. The laws do not permit us to turn them loose, if that were for their good: and to commute them for other property is to commit them to those whose usage of them we cannot control. (4)

Isaac Jefferson remembered that his "old master [was] very kind to servants." (5) Peter Fossett said Jefferson was "a master we all loved." (6) Since Jefferson's time, and the time of Booker T. Washington, a layer of bitterness has been added to Jefferson's legacy and to America's legacy as well. The vision is not apparent. We must redirect our energy into the main themes and unfinished business of the American Revolution. The very idea of self-government is in jeopardy. Especially now, when the rest of the world is discovering "the great responsibility of being free."

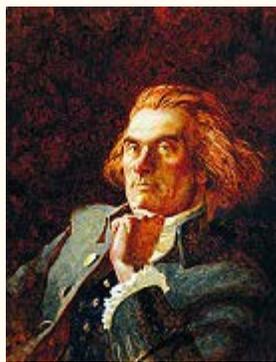
#### Notes

1. "A Founding Father's Feet of Clay: An Interview with Conor Cruise O'Brien," *Free Inquiry*, Vol.18 No.2, Spring 1998.
2. "Mr. Jefferson On Race," Mike Knepler, *The Virginian-Pilot*, March 17, 1999.
3. TJ to Dr. Edward Bancroft, January 26, 1788.
4. TJ to Edward Coles, August 25, 1814.
5. "Memoirs of a Monticello Slave," in *Jefferson at Monticello*, ed. James A. Bear, Jr., University Press of Virginia, 1967, p.13.
6. Monticello Archives (unpublished).



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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

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### Thomas Jefferson and the "Wall of Separation" by Daniel L. Dreisbach

(In his book, *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation Between Church and State*, Daniel Dreisbach examines the origins, controversial uses, and competing interpretations of this powerful metaphor in law and public policy.)

On New Year's Day, 1802, Thomas Jefferson penned a letter that would profoundly impact American law and policy. In a carefully crafted missive to the Baptist Association of Danbury, Connecticut, the new president remarked that the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution denied Congress the authority to make "law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus building a wall of separation between Church & State."

The metaphor might have slipped into obscurity had it not been rediscovered by the U.S. Supreme Court. "In the words of Jefferson," the Court famously declared in 1947, the First Amendment "erect[ed] 'a wall of separation' ... [that] must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach."

This figurative barrier has been accepted by many Americans, including influential jurists, as a virtual rule of law and the organizing theme of church state jurisprudence, even though it is nowhere to be found in the Constitution. It has become the *locus classicus* of the notion that the First Amendment separated religion and the civil state, thereby mandating a secular polity.

Jefferson was inaugurated the third president on March 4, 1801, following one of the most bitterly contested elections in history. His religion, or the alleged lack thereof, was a contentious issue in the campaign. His Federalist Party opponents, especially New England's Congregationalist clergy, vilified him as an "infidel" and "atheist." The campaign rhetoric was so vitriolic that, when news of Jefferson's election swept across the country, housewives in New England were seen burying family Bibles in their gardens because they fully expected the Holy Scriptures to be confiscated and burned by the new administration in Washington. (These fears resonated with Americans who

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had received alarming reports of the French Revolution, which Jefferson was said to support, and the widespread desecration of religious sanctuaries and symbols in France.)

One pocket of support for Jefferson in Federalist New England existed among the Baptists. The Danbury Baptists wrote a "fan" letter to the new president in October 1801, congratulating him on his election to the "chief Magistracy in the United States" and celebrating his lifelong devotion to religious liberty.

Organized in 1790, the Danbury Baptist Association was an alliance of two dozen churches stretching along the Connecticut Valley. They were a beleaguered political and religious minority in a state where the Federalists dominated political life and the Congregationalist Church was still legally established. They were drawn to Jefferson's political cause because of his unflagging commitment to religious liberty.

Jefferson's wall, according to conventional wisdom, represents a universal principle on the prudential and constitutional relationship between religion and the civil state. To the contrary, this wall had less to do with the separation between religion and all civil government than with the separation between federal and state governments on matters pertaining to religion (such as official proclamations for days of fasting and thanksgiving). Jefferson's phrase was a metaphoric construction of the First Amendment, which he said time and again imposed its restrictions on the federal government only. In other words, Jefferson's wall, as a matter of federalism, separated the federal regime on one side from state governments and church authorities on the other.

Jefferson said that his response to the Danbury Baptists "furnishes an occasion [for] ... saying why I do not proclaim fastings & thanksgivings, as my predecessors [Presidents Washington and Adams] did." The president was eager to address this topic because his Federalist foes had demanded religious proclamations and then smeared him as an enemy of religion when he declined to issue them.

President Jefferson's refusal to set aside days in the public calendar for religious supplications contrasted with his actions in Virginia where he framed "A Bill for Appointing Days of Public Fasting and Thanksgiving," and, as governor, he designated a day for "publick and solemn thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God."

The principle of federalism explains this apparent contradiction. Given the First Amendment with its metaphoric "wall of separation," Jefferson thought it was inappropriate for the nation's chief executive to proclaim days for religious observances; however, he acknowledged the authority of state officials to issue religious proclamations.

After two centuries, Jefferson's trope is more controversial than ever. The question bitterly debated is whether the wall illuminates or obfuscates the constitutional principles it metaphorically represents.

The wall's defenders argue that it promotes private, voluntary religion and freedom of conscience in a secular polity. A "wall of separation" prevents religious establishments and avoids sectarian conflict among denominations competing for government favor and aid.

Critics lament that the wall has been used to separate religion from public life, thereby promoting a religion that is strictly private and a state that is strictly secular.

Did Jefferson coin a metaphor deliberately calculated to transform First Amendment doctrine? Although we cannot be sure of Jefferson's design, he selected a trope that reconceptualizes — indeed, some would say, misconceptualizes — First Amendment principles in at least two important ways:

First, Jefferson's trope emphasizes separation between church and state — unlike the First Amendment, which speaks in terms of the nonestablishment and free exercise of religion. (In the lexicon of 1802, the expansive concept of "separation" was distinct from the institutional concept of "nonestablishment.") Jefferson's Baptist correspondents, who agitated for disestablishment but not for separation, were apparently discomfited by the figurative phrase and may have even sought to suppress it. They, like many Americans, feared that the erection of a wall would separate religious influences from public life and policy. Few Americans (including evangelical dissenters) challenged the widespread assumption of the age that republican government and civic virtue were dependent on a moral people and that morals could be nurtured only by religion.

Second, a wall is a bilateral barrier that inhibits the activities of both the civil government and religion — unlike the First Amendment, which imposes restrictions on civil government only (specifically on Congress). As a bilateral barrier, the wall unavoidably restricts religion's ability to influence public life, thus it exceeds the limitations imposed by the Constitution.

Herein lies the danger of this metaphor, critics say. The "high and impregnable" wall constructed by the Supreme Court inhibits religion's ability to inform the public ethic, deprives religious citizens of the civil liberty to participate in politics armed with ideas informed by their spiritual beliefs, and infringes the right of religious communities and institutions to extend their ministries into the public square. The wall has been used to silence the religious voice in the public marketplace of ideas and to segregate faith communities behind a restrictive barrier.

Does the "wall of separation" inform or confuse our understanding of the constitutional arrangement for church-state relations? An examination of Jefferson's celebrated wall, given its continuing influence on jurisprudence, casts light not only on the past but also on the future place of religion in American public life. We must seriously consider whether that wall accurately represents constitutional principles and usefully contributes to American democracy and to a civil society.

Daniel L. Dreisbach is a professor at American University and the author of *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation Between Church and State* (New York University Press, 2002), from which this article is adapted. Ask for *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation Between Church and State* at your local bookstore, or call the publisher toll-free at 1-800-996-6987.

## **Natalie Bober Joins JLF Board of Directors**

Distinguished historian and author, Natalie Bober, has been elected as the newest member of the JLF Board of Directors. Natalie is looking forward to making "a meaningful contribution to The Jefferson Legacy Foundation — and all its good work" even as she is busily engaged in writing a new book on Jefferson and slavery.

Among Natalie's works are *Thomas Jefferson, Man on a Mountain; A Restless Spirit, The Story of Robert Frost*, and *Abigail Adams, Witness to a Revolution*. "Great people inspire others to find the greatness within themselves," Bober says. "It is for this reason that I write biographies for young people." Congratulations, Natalie, and welcome!

## **Found Family Treasure Reveals Jefferson's Legacy of Liberty**

Recently, my sister, Sandra Stetson Schifter, uncovered some old family papers concerning the our great-great-grandfather, Joseph Addison Denny of Leicester, Massachusetts. Among the items was Denny's diary of September 1824, written when he was 20 years old. His first entry, entitled "Liberty," is so appropriate and timely for Jefferson's legacy, that we now publish it here.

— Sydney N. Stokes, Jr., Chairman

## LIBERTY

"Deprived of it, man loses all that nobleness of character, enterprise and ambition which is so strikingly exhibited in the general character of a free nation, and by continued depression and slavery he imbibes all those mean & debased ideas which form the characteristics of those unfortunate victims of oppression and tyranny, who are doomed to drag out a miserable existence under the scourge of a taskmaster."

"Liberty is the dearest right and one of the greatest blessings of man. The consciousness that we enjoy this sacred privilege enlarges our understanding and excites to action the finest feelings of which our nature is susceptible. It smooths the furrowed brow of sorrow, soothes us in adversity, makes employment a pleasure, and gives an additional zest to all our amusements. This idea gives courage to the warring, energy to the statesman, contentment to the husbandman, and life to society. It stimulates the adventuring to enterprise the scholar to application, and the laborer to industry. Liberty is the parent of the arts, and the foundation of all that is noble and virtuous. Where this spirit reigns & is property cherished, wealth increases, union strengthens, society improves, and man is placed in a situation to enjoy the blessings which his bountiful Creator has put within his reach."

## Tommy George Blazes the Trail for Future Interns

This summer the JLF was truly fortunate to have Tommy George in residence for a 6-week internship. Tommy is a University of Colorado student and Boettcher scholar, and, by amazing coincidence, the JLF's first member to join at the student level in 2001. Tommy brought boundless energy and enthusiasm, an impressive work ethic, and maturity beyond his years to the many projects under his charge. Upon his arrival in June, Tommy's first assignment was to research and help create an educational outreach exhibit on the Vermont Town Meeting system and Jefferson's vision for self-government. This exhibit was displayed at the 4th annual 2003 Vermont History Expo and was so enthusiastically received that we have added it to our educational outreach offerings to Vermont schools.

Tommy's other projects included preliminary research and creative collaboration on our evolving KidsOnly web page; assistance with the JLF's community garden program; and many hours of foundation grant research to help narrow our focus on potential sources of funding for educational outreach, special projects, and operating expenses.

The Boettcher Foundation provided full support for Tommy's internship, including his travel expenses (a cross-country drive that brought him to New England for the first time). His return trip included a visit to the capitol in Washington D.C., and thanks to our generous and welcoming colleagues at the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, a private tour of Monticello. Tommy will serve as the JLF's unofficial "ambassador" for potential future University of Colorado and Boettcher Foundation internships.

## Noteworthy

- For the third year, the JLF sponsored an Evening Conversation at Monticello. On July 15th, Evan Thomas, of *Newsweek* magazine, presented a compelling look at "Thomas Jefferson and John Paul Jones," based on his best-selling biography, *John Paul Jones*.
- The JLF co-sponsored a presentation at the Ethan Allen Institute by Daniel

Dreisbach, author of *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation Between Church and State* (see related article). Dreisbach's comments on what Jefferson meant by his 1802 phrase "a wall of separation between Church and State" stimulated a dynamic and penetrating discussion among participants.

- The topic for the Vermont Humanities Council's 2003 annual fall conference is "Voting Rights and Wrongs: The Stops and Starts on the Road to Universal Suffrage." This year's conference also features a guest appearance by Colonial Williamsburg's Bill Barker, sponsored by the JLF. We are also coordinating several presentations by Mr. Barker in area schools in November. For more information, contact the Council at 802-888-1236.
- Explore the JLF's newly overhauled website ([www.jeffersonlegacy.org](http://www.jeffersonlegacy.org)), which includes new text and photos and features a stunning, rarely seen portrait of Jefferson by artist Jamie Wyeth.
- The JLF has created a new brochure to mark its 10th anniversary; it also announces the establishment of the Second-Decade Fund. Contact us for a copy.
- JLF Director Peggy Burns attended Lewis & Clark Bicentennial kickoff activities at Monticello in January. She also visited with Thomas Jefferson Foundation Jefferson Librarian Jack Robertson and had a tour of the Library's new facilities. Jack is visiting our own JLF Library this fall to work with us on the computerized cataloging of some 4,000 titles to facilitate their entry into the Jefferson Library's Thomas Jefferson "Portal," which provides online access to notations on all things Jefferson.
- Our exhibit, *1791: Thomas Jefferson & James Madison and Vermont*, traveled to the Old Constitution House in Windsor, Vermont this summer. Venues in Virginia and New York have expressed interest in the exhibit for 2004.
- The Ripton Community Garden Program is flourishing in its fourth season. Fellow gardeners of all ages are keeping Jefferson's legacy of community participation and agricultural pursuits alive and well on a thriving plot of land at the Ripton Elementary School. The 8-week program is created by the JLF and staffed with invaluable help from Ripton resident, professional grower, and Community Garden founder Nola Kevra. Nola brings a rich knowledge of and deep love for horticulture and a special talent with children — as well as a great willingness to volunteer so many hours of her time.

## ***Jefferson & Adams Returns to the Kimball***

The JLF brought *Jefferson & Adams* back to Colonial Williamsburg's Kimball Theatre this summer. Howard Ginsberg's play tells the story of the turbulent 50-year friendship through the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Abigail Adams. Once again, the production was directed by Douglas Anderson and featured Bill Barker as Thomas Jefferson, Sam Goodyear as John Adams, and Abigail Schumann as Abigail Adams.

A special thanks to the Lopes Family of New Jersey: Frank and Lori and children Frankie, 11, and Julie, 15, for their infectious enthusiasm! After seeing *Jefferson & Adams* last year, Frankie was so excited to go to school and show off his newly acquired knowledge that he earned a 110 on his history test. He received an extra 10 points because he was the only student in his class to answer correctly the question,

"Which two American Presidents died on the same day?" Lori tells us that *Jefferson & Adams* "brought to life characters that for him might never have made it to his mind. That a person from history had reached out from the past...I cannot think of anything else in his life that touched him as much." Thanks to the entire Lopes family for their support as well as for a generous contribution to the Jefferson Legacy Foundation. We look forward to seeing them again soon.

## James Martin to Deliver 10th Anniversary Lecture

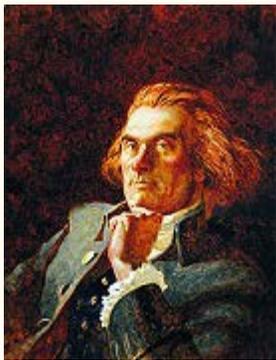
The Jefferson Legacy Foundation celebrates the 10th anniversary of its founding with a very special lecture from Dr. James Martin on "The Meaning of the 21st Century." Dr. Martin, who is a Pulitzer Prize nominee, has written more than 100 books, many of which have been best-sellers in the information technology industry and are considered seminal works. He has consulted and lectured world-wide and has a reputation as the foremost authority on the social and commercial ramifications of technology.

We are also announcing the establishment of the Sydney N. Stokes Award, which recognized outstanding commitment to advancing the legacy of Thomas Jefferson. The award is named in honor of the JLF Founding Board Member. The lecture and a reception is being held on October 8th at 7:00 pm at the Southern Vermont Arts Center in Manchester, Vermont. Please contact us for further details.



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Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Jamie Wyeth.  
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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## Links

*"The diffusion of information, I deem [one] of the essential principles of our government and, consequently, [one] which ought to shape its administration."*

— Thomas Jefferson

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Here are some links to other web sites that you may find interesting (bookmark this site for future recommendations):

[American Presidents: Life Portraits](#) — A site that complements the C-SPAN's 20th Anniversary Television Series.

[America Votes](#) — Winners share the limelight with the defeated in this exhibit of U.S. presidential campaign memorabilia drawn primarily from the holdings of the Duke University Special Collections Library. The exhibit illustrates the nation's presidential elections in letters, sheet music, leaflets, buttons, and bumper stickers.

[Colonial Williamsburg](#) — Online guide to the restored Virginia site, the world's largest and oldest living history museum.

[Council for America's First Freedom](#) — Organization that celebrates and fosters religious freedom worldwide, formed in 1984 to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.

[The Declaration of Independence Road Trip](#) — Hardly slowing down long enough to celebrate his 80th birthday, Norman Lear is spearheading the Declaration of Independence Road Trip — a three-and-a-half-year cross country tour that began on July 3, 2001 to rekindle a "connection to country" in Americans of all ages. Lear's presentation illustrates the "cherished values and ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence that laid the foundation for personal freedoms and individual rights." Bringing the multi-media presentation (which includes one of only 25 known original Declaration of Independence broadsides) to towns and cities across America, Lear wants to inspire participation in free society — to "get Americans to their feet."

[Green Mountain College](#) — Vermont's environmental liberal arts college and a JLF partner.

[Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History](#) — The site where the JLF's exhibit, Jefferson & Madison in Vermont and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood: 1791, debuted.

[Jamie Wyeth Editions](#) — The web site of artist Jamie Wyeth whose Portrait of Thomas Jefferson appears on our web site.

[Jefferson Bibliography](#) — With Monticello, the University of Virginia, and University of Rochester Professor Frank Shuffelton, the JLF collaborated on an internet website listing more than 5,000 titles from Shuffelton's *Thomas Jefferson: A Bibliography of Writings About Him*.

[Thomas Jefferson Portal](#) — The JLF has joined forces with Monticello's Jefferson Library and their International Center for Jefferson Studies to create what is called the Thomas Jefferson Portal. Containing rare and unique items, unpublished reports, photographs, archives, and more, the Portal is a definitive online researchable catalog of all known titles

relative to Jefferson studies.

[International Center for Jefferson Studies](#) — Created by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation to foster Jefferson scholarship and disseminate its findings.

[Lewis & Clark](#) — A great list of online resources from Monticello commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Lewis & Clark expedition.

[Library of Congress](#) — The Library's bicentennial celebration draws on its unparalleled collection of Thomas Jefferson materials.

[Links, Links, and More Links](#) — The Jefferson Library provides a comprehensive alphabetical links listing of all things Jefferson (and more!).

[MADISONFILM, Inc.](#) — The JLF's partner in producing Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium for Colonial Williamsburg.

[Monticello](#) — The Virginia home of Thomas Jefferson.

[National Gardening Association](#) — More information on Community Garden Programs.

[Natalie S. Bober, Award-Winning Biographer and Historian](#) — A favorite author of and friend to the Jefferson Legacy Foundation. Her books include biographies of Thomas Jefferson and Abigail Adams.

[PBS](#) — Interesting background information on Ken Burns's documentary, *Jefferson*.

[Poplar Forest](#) — Thomas Jefferson's retreat home in Bedford County, Virginia. Jefferson built Poplar Forest as a private home where he could escape the public who visited him at Monticello. Restoration of the home and the landscape designed by Jefferson is underway. Visitors have the opportunity to see the place develop into the home Jefferson came to think, to read, to write, and to be inspired.

[POTUS: Presidents of the United States](#) — The "Internet Public Library" provides biographies, key facts about U.S. Presidents.

[Surfing the Net with Kids](#) — A look at the best Thomas Jefferson sites for kids, teens, and parents.

[Thomas Jefferson Foundation](#) — Private, nonprofit organization that owns and operates Monticello.

[Thomas Jefferson on Politics & Government](#) — With over 2,700 excerpts from Jefferson's writings, this site contains a fair statement of the complete political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson.

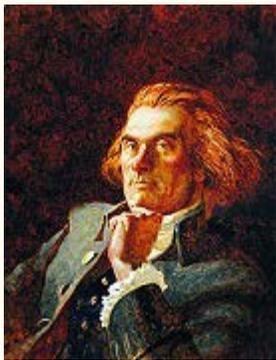
[The Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression](#) — Not-for-profit, unique organization with close ties to the University of Virginia devoted solely to the defense of free expression in all forms.

[University of Virginia](#) — Thomas Jefferson's "academical village."



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Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Jamie Wyeth.



# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## Sign Our Guestbook

*"But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle.  
We have called by different names, brethren of the same principle.  
We are all republicans. We are all federalists."*

—Thomas Jefferson

In the spirit of civil discourse, we invite you to email us and offer your ideas, comments, and suggestions. [info@jeffersonlegacy.org](mailto:info@jeffersonlegacy.org)

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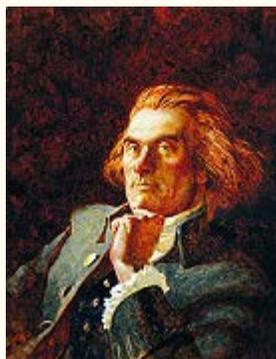
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Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Jamie Wyeth.  
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## Become a Member of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation

*"Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will  
vanish like the spirits at the dawn of day."*

—Thomas Jefferson

We would like to invite you to support our mission and become a member of the Jefferson Legacy Foundation. Membership dollars have supported important outreach activities for children, such as the Community Garden, our Birthday Party for Thomas Jefferson, the Lewis & Clark commemoration, and the Traveling Storyteller's *Life of Thomas Jefferson* puppet show. In addition, contributions help fund our publications, exhibits, and presentations.

### Membership Benefits

As a member, you will receive:

- Your choice of one of the three [Broadsides](#) representing Thomas Jefferson's "triple faith" in self-government, religious freedom, and education, if you join at a membership level of \$50 or more. Jefferson intended these documents to serve as instruments by which people live in free society. The Broadsides are: The Declaration of American Independence 1776; the Statue of Virginia for Religious Freedom 1777; and Goals for Public Education 1778/1818. Please specify which broadside in the comments section of the membership enrollment form.
- An autographed copy of Merrill D. Peterson's classic, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*, if you join at a membership level of \$100 or more.

Annual membership levels are as follows:

Student: \$15  
Individual: \$25  
Contributing: \$50  
Sponsoring: \$100  
Sustaining: \$250  
Benefactor: \$500

We also welcome contributions in addition to or instead of membership enrollment. The Jefferson Legacy Foundation is a public charitable foundation with the classification 509(a)(3) under the regulations of the Internal Revenue Code section 501(c)(3). All contributions to the Foundation qualify as tax-deductible.

Please send your check for membership or a contribution by mail to:

### The Jefferson Legacy Foundation

Town Office Building, P.O. Box 76  
Ripton, Vermont 05766

Thank you for your support, and thank you for joining our community of kindred spirits who believe in the importance of civic engagement to strengthening democratic life in

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IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.  
**A DECLARATION**  
BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,**  
IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

**W**HEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect of the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

WE hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness — That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, 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 and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

HE has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.

HE has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

HE has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

HE has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

HE has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

HE has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, 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, and 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, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

HE has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

HE has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

HE has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People; and eat out their Substance.

HE has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

HE has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

HE has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

FOR quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

FOR protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants 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, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

FOR transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offenses:

FOR abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies:

FOR taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

FOR suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

HE has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

HE has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

HE is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Persidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

HE has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

HE has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and 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 and Conditions.

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.

IN every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only 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 free People.

NOR have we been wanting in Attentions to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

WE, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, 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; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

*Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of the CONGRESS,*

**JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.**

ATTEST

**CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.**

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

*Most Americans are familiar with the Declaration of Independence as engrossed on parchment and printed along with the signatures of 56 members of Congress at the bottom. This version was printed after the Battles of Trenton and Princeton, after January 8, 1777, because, until it became certain how the Declaration would be received, the names of the signers were kept secret.*

*The first printing of the Declaration occurred amid a great sense of urgency during the late and early morning hours of July 4 and 5, 1776. This first printing by John Dunlap was in the form of a Broadside — for reading and posting in public places. It was to be distributed through official channels to the 13 colonies and Europe. Twenty-five copies are known to survive. One was sold on June 9, 2000, at Sotheby's online auction, for \$8.14 million.*

*During the debates of July 3 and 4, 1776, at the insistence of Northern traders and Southern slaveowners, Congress removed from the Declaration what John Adams called Jefferson's "vehement philippic against negro slavery." To view details of changes to Jefferson's draft of the Declaration by congress, visit our web site ([www.jeffersonlegacy.org](http://www.jeffersonlegacy.org)) and click on "man of the Millennium," then "Selected Writings" and then "The Declarations of Jefferson and of the Congress."*

*To advance and reaffirm America's creed — what Lincoln called "the definitions and axioms of free society" — The Jefferson Legacy Foundation offers this unique Broadside printing of the Declaration with Jefferson's attack on slavery restored.*

RIPTON, VERMONT: PRINTED BY THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

[www.jeffersonlegacy.org](http://www.jeffersonlegacy.org)

# A BILL *for establishing* RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, *printed for the consideration of the* PEOPLE.

**W**ELL aware that the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds, that Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested his Supreme will that free it shall remain, by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint: That all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do, but to extend it by its influence on reason alone: That the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking, as the only true and infallible, and as such, endeavouring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time: That to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors, is sinful and tyrannical: That even the forcing 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, and is withdrawing from the Ministry those temporal rewards which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labor for the instruction of mankind: That our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than on our opinions in physics or geometry: That therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right: That it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it: That though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way: That the opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction: That to suffer the civil Magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty; because he being of course Judge of that tendency will make his own opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with, or differ from his own: That it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overtacts against peace and good order: And finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition, disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

**WE** the General Assembly of *Virginia* do enact, 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.

**AND** though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

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*Printed for the consideration of the* PEOPLE as a **Broadside** in 1779, Thomas Jefferson's *BILL for establishing* RELIGIOUS FREEDOM — drafted in 1777 — was introduced into the Virginia Assembly on June 13, 1779. It aroused such opposition that passage was delayed until January 16, 1786. The Virginia Bill paved the way for the first Amendment to the United States Constitution. It provided for the most sweeping guarantee of freedom of conscience in history — according to Pope John Paul II, “the foundation for all other human rights.” Appropriately called “a hinge between ages,” the Virginia Statute is considered “the most important document in American History bar none.”

Jefferson called for a “wall of separation between church and state” because the Clergy was plotting with the Federalists to establish “a particular form of Christianity throughout the United States.” “In opposition to their schemes,” Jefferson wrote, “I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.” In his eagerness to protect all religions, Jefferson attended church services in the halls of Congress and other public places throughout his two terms as President. He said he was “against all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendancy of one sect over another.” Instead, Jefferson encouraged differing faiths to worship in public spaces, believing that people would discover common principles enabling them “to get along.”

“The Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom ... met with opposition, but, with some mutilations in the preamble,\* it was finally passed and a singular proposition proved that its protection of opinion was meant to be universal. Where the preamble declares that coercion [of body and mind] is a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, an amendment was proposed, by inserting the words ‘Jesus Christ,’ so that it should read, ‘a departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, the holy author of our religion.’ The insertion was rejected by a great majority, in proof that they meant to [protect] the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mahometan, the Hindoo, and Infidel of every denomination.”

— Thomas Jefferson 1821

\*some mutilations in the preamble are preserved in red type

RIPTON, VERMONT: PRINTED BY THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

[www.jeffersonlegacy.org](http://www.jeffersonlegacy.org)

# GOALS *for* PUBLIC EDUCATION

*printed for the consideration of the PEOPLE.*

## P Primary education:

To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;  
To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing;  
To improve by reading, his morals and faculties;  
To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;  
To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates;  
and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment;  
And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

## H Higher education:

To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;  
To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;  
To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and by well informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;  
To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order;  
To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, subsistence, and comforts of human life;  
And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves.

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Thomas Jefferson was the prophet of the American faith in the powers of education to secure the freedom and the happiness of the people. As early as 1778, in his Virginia *Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge* Jefferson set forth a comprehensive plan of public education broadly based in primary schools, rising as in a pyramid through secondary schools, with a state university at the apex. The dual mission was, first, "to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large," and second, to ensure that "those persons whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue" — Jefferson's "natural aristocracy" — should be educated to the limits of their abilities in order to better serve the mass of citizens.

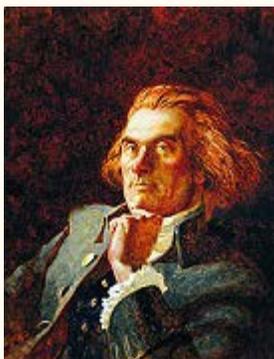
Quite beyond its practical benefits to the individual, education at all levels had distinctly moral, social, and civic purposes. It should cultivate virtue, teach the obligations of individuals to each other, and, above all, raise up the informed and responsible citizens a democratic government required. Regrettably, Jefferson's plan never came to fruition in Virginia; and although his influence was felt in other states, he finally had to be satisfied with the achievement of the state university — the apex of the pyramid without the foundation in the schools.

Jefferson's faith in democracy was, at bottom, a faith in education. Believing, as he said, "that the people are the only safe depositories of their own liberty," it was essential that they should be educated to a certain degree and prepared to take part in public affairs; moreover, government should be structured in ways that invited widespread citizen participation. Empowerment of the people depended upon education. It was, therefore, a paramount responsibility of democratic government. Tax-supported public education assumed common schools shaping a common citizenship and a common culture.

After his retirement as President, Jefferson preached that the future of democracy hung from two hooks: first, general education to enable every citizen to judge for himself how best to secure freedom and happiness, and second, the establishment everywhere of "little republics," which he called "wards," and compared to New England town meetings, to encourage due participation in public affairs. The wards should be responsible for the public schools. Jefferson distrusted concentrated power. "What," he asked, "has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating of all cares in one body." Where power is dispersed, and common schooling is the rule, every citizen may come to identify his own interest with the interests of the whole. With impassioned eloquence, Jefferson declared: "Where every man . . . feels he is a participator in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day; where there shall not be a man in the State who will not be a member of some one of its councils, great or small, he will let the heart be torn out of his body sooner than his powers be wrested from him by a Caesar or Bonaparte."

If Jefferson was right, the health, indeed the salvation, of American democracy depends upon the making of informed, responsible, and participating citizens.

GOALS *for* PUBLIC EDUCATION are from Jefferson's *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Fix the Site of the University of Virginia*. The report has been called the "most pregnant and suggestive document of its kind that has been issued in the history of American education." For the complete "Report" (1818) and for Jefferson's *Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge* (1778) visit our website at [www.jeffersonlegacy.org](http://www.jeffersonlegacy.org) and click on **Broadsides**.



# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

**WELCOME TO THE RIPTON COMMUNITY GARDEN  
FOR SUMMER WORK & FUN:**



**SUMMER 2003: HERE'S THE DIRT!  
THURSDAYS, 9AM-NOON**

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JUNE 26

### SAFETY FIRST!

The garden is a place of nourishment, learning, fun, and solace. But to the uninformed, it holds its share of perils. Make sure you know what's edible. Don't step on that rake! Am I allergic to that? The safety issues are both human-made and natural. This first day we'll get a safe start in the garden.

JULY 3

### SEEDS, GLORIOUS SEEDS

It all starts (and ends) with them: without seeds, our garden wouldn't amount to a hill of beans! A seed begins as a seed and often ends as a seed, and in between, these tiny miracles contain all that's needed to produce a sunflower, a bean, or a towering white pine. How do they do it?

JULY 10

### DREAM GARDEN

Together we'll take a look at our garden plot and discuss what to plant and where to plant it - and why. Then, take a break in the shade with art supplies and paper to let our imaginations and creativity run wild as we design our dream garden.

JULY 17

### WATER, WATER, (EVERY)WHERE?

If plants need water to survive, why don't we water our Community Garden? Sure, we give the little transplants a good drink to get them started, but after that, they're on their own. How do they survive? If we don't give them water, where do they get it?

JULY 24

### THE BIRDS AND THE BEES

These guys are more important than most of us realize. Without these and other pollinators, most flowering plants couldn't produce fruits and seeds to create the next generation. Let's look at what we can do to help them help our garden!

JULY 31

### WON'T YOU BE MY NEIGHBOR?

In honor of the most neighborly of neighbors, Fred Rogers, we'll spend some time today with our neighbors in our neighborhood garden. Your job? Pitch in and be a good neighbor: bring a neighbor or a friend to community garden with you today. Then bring another neighbor some goodies from the garden.

AUGUST 7

### NAVIGATING OUR GARDEN

What's growing where? We'll make a map of the garden, identify what's growing, and talk about companion planting - who likes to be planted next to who and why not all plants get along.

AUGUST 14

### ARE YOU GONNA EAT THAT?

Where does the food you eat come from? What percentage of your own food do you grow? If you don't grow it, who does?

Here's a look at why buying locally makes sense.

AUGUST 21

**WE REAP WHAT WE SOW (AND HOE!)**

Today we get to taste some of the fruits (and veggies) of a summer's worth of hard work. We've learned a lot, we've worked hard, now let's enjoy and share!

**ADDITIONAL NOTES:**

1. Garden sessions will include planning, planting, weeding, harvesting, hoeing, thinning, and more. Depending on the tasks that need to be accomplished, the size of the group, weather, and energy levels, this time may be lengthened or shortened.
2. Please be prepared with: a water bottle, a hat, close-toed shoes (no sandals!), sunscreen, and clothing that can get DIRTY!
3. Snacks will be available every time we meet, but please eat a good breakfast before you come - all the great farmers and gardeners do!
4. Bring a friend, spread the word. This is a COMMUNITY effort. Participate!

**A GARDEN FOR DAILY LIVING**

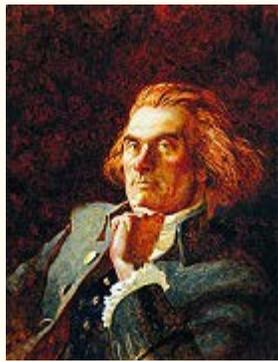
Plant three rows of peas:	No garden should be without turnips:
Peace of mind	Turnip for service when needed
Peace of heart	Turnip for help one another
Peace of soul	Turnip the music and dance
Plant four rows of squash:	Water freely with patience and
Squash gossip	Cultivate with love.
Squash indifference	There is much fruit in your garden
Squash grumbling:	Because you reap what you sow.
Squash selfishness	
Plant four rows of lettuce:	To conclude our garden
Lettuce be faithful	We must have thyme:
Lettuce be kind	Thyme for fun
Lettuce be happy	Thyme for rest
Lettuce really love	Thyme for ourselves
one another	

For more information call Wendy at 388-9522 or 7676. The Ripton Community Garden program is sponsored by The Jefferson Legacy Foundation.



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Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Jamie Wyeth.  
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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

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in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

Internet Edition

WINTER 2003

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### Thomas Jefferson and the People's Government by Frank Shuffelton

For more than 200 years, people of diverse — and opposing-political leanings have professed Thomas Jefferson to be one of their own, the embodiment of their beliefs. For example, Jefferson has been claimed by liberals and conservatives alike. More recently, libertarians have pointed to Jefferson's letter to Sam Kercheval in July of 1816. "The true foundation of republican government," Jefferson wrote, "is the equal right of every citizen in his person and property, and in their management." (Thomas Jefferson: Political Writings, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 212). Kercheval, a resident of Winchester, Virginia, had been agitating for a convention to write a new state constitution, and he felt sure he would gain the support of Jefferson, who had been trying to give Virginia a new constitution since 1776.

Jefferson's response to Kercheval in 1816 outlined the necessity of "ward republics," small units of local government, within Virginia's existing counties. The counties were too large for direct participation of all the voters, thought Jefferson, but dividing the counties into "wards of such size as that every citizen can attend, when called on, and act in person ... will relieve the county administration of nearly all its business, will have it better done, and by making every citizen an acting member of the government, and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him, will attach him by his strongest feelings to the independence of his country, and its republican constitution." (Political Writings, 213)

Furthermore, since Jefferson thought that such ward republics, among their other functions, should elect jurors, these units of local government would act as a restraint on the judicial as well as the legislative and executive branches of government.

The so-called "liberal, conservative, or libertarian Jefferson" might seem to be just another of the many contradictions that he supposedly embodies, but these Jeffersons are perhaps less contradictory than they seem: for behind each position is a political thinker and statesman who is confident in the ability of ordinary men and women to govern themselves as citizens of a nation. Jefferson strongly believed that liberty could only be preserved by a knowledgeable people willing to act on the basis of their reason

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and morality. As he wrote from France to a Virginia correspondent, "Cherish therefore the spirit of our people, and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you & I, & Congress & Assemblies, judges & governors shall all become wolves." (Political Writings, 153) If a republican government had a responsibility to be open about its affairs with the citizens, it therefore had another responsibility as well: to provide for their education, for the acquisition of knowledge that would enhance their natural powers of judgment and moral sense.

Between 1776 and 1779 Jefferson served on the "Committee of Revisors" with George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton to revise Virginia's laws. He is most remembered for his authorship of the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, and when in France he later informed Wythe that the law on religious freedom was "extremely applauded." But he went on to say, "I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised, for the preservation of freedom and happiness ... Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the people." (Political Writings, 251)

Jefferson's Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge [1779] was never passed in the form he proposed—in fact, only well into the nineteenth century did Virginia set up a system of mandatory common schools — but he continued to campaign for public education as the safeguard of republican citizenship. One of the crowning achievements of his life was the University of Virginia whose ultimate object was to form its students "to the habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves." (Political Writings, 300)

When we look closely at Jefferson's 1779 education bill and his later plan for the University (1818), we notice a number of interesting features. The 1779 bill proposed a three-tiered system of public education from primary schools, through what we would know as high schools, and finally to college. Because the College of William and Mary already existed, the Bill focused on the primary and secondary levels. Jefferson's Bill proposed that each county would be divided into "hundreds ... so as that they may contain a convenient number of children to make up a school, and be of such convenient size that all the children within each hundred may daily attend the school to be established therein." Jefferson's deliberate use of the term "hundreds" echoes the Anglo-Saxon term for such a political sub-division because he along with many of his contemporaries believed that English liberties—and by extension American liberties—were rooted in Anglo-Saxon political life. Moreover, in these "hundreds" we see the origins of Jefferson's later conception of "ward republics," political units so small that "every citizen, can attend, when called on, and act in person." (Political Writings, 212) Just as the schools were envisioned as a tiered system, so the ward republics were the smallest, most intimate scenes of political life and the basis for state republics and the national republic.

Jefferson's ward republics turn out to be an expanded version of his earlier "school hundreds," reconceived now as sites in which adults can practice citizenship as the unbounded use of reason. His theory of ward republics evolved in parallel with his concern for an enlightened citizenry; recognizing the affinity between Jefferson's ideas for education in Virginia and his plan for a tier of republics with the system of local governments supporting it all, we discover that his scheme may not be so utopian after all.

If government in the United States has evolved in directions contrary to Jefferson's wishes, at least his dream of local political life still survives in our school systems. Perhaps to truly understand the role of Jeffersonian liberty in our society we need to look more closely at the political implications of his ideas about schools. The idea of the ward republic, that bastion of local government and face-to-face politics, is certainly a central expression of his confidence in an enlightened people — but it is also the

ground upon which young Americans would first exercise their reason in the interest of citizenship.

Frank Shuffelton is a member of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation Board of Directors and professor in the department of English and American Literature at the University of Rochester. This article is based on lectures sponsored by the JLF and the Vermont Humanities Council, which he presented at Chimney Point and Old Constitution House State Historic Sites.

## **Thomas L. Benson Assumes JLF Presidency**

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation is delighted to announce the unanimous election of JLF Board Director Thomas L. Benson to President. President Emeritus Clarence W. Leeds, III, has been named Vice-Chairman. Look for a complete profile of Tom Benson in the next issue of News and Comment as well as on our web site ([www.jeffersonlegacy.org](http://www.jeffersonlegacy.org).)

## **Jefferson & Adams Draws Raves in VT and VA**

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation was proud to present a dramatic production of Howard Ginsberg's stage play, *Jefferson & Adams*, to audiences in Colonial Williamsburg and Middlebury, Vermont in Summer 2002. As described in a past issue of News and Comment, the JLF first co-produced *Jefferson & Adams* at the newly restored Kimball Theatre in Colonial Williamsburg as a costumed reading in October 2001. It traveled there once again for three performances (as a full production) in July 2002 before more than 1,000 people, receiving standing ovations.

We were privileged to received the following note from a member of the audience in Williamsburg: "I have just joined your wonderful organization, and I had to write to tell you that my husband and I were privileged to see last night the fabulous production you sponsored, *Jefferson & Adams*. We live in Williamsburg and feel so fortunate to be able to experience so many of the terrific programs and productions at Colonial Williamsburg. The play we saw last night is one of the finest we have ever seen! [The actors] were superlative! What a fabulous way to learn history! I sat in the audience wishing that every single person in our country could see this play and learn about the relationship between these extraordinary leaders! How blessed was our young country to have these men to guide and mold it. Thank you for all you are doing to educate our citizens about Thomas Jefferson and the incredible legacy he left for us."

The JLF was delighted to then bring a production of *Jefferson & Adams* to its own backyard in Middlebury, Vermont in August. With both shows sold out a week before the performances, we were extremely gratified by the interest and enthusiasm that greeted the production, including three curtain calls on opening night. The Town Hall Theater provided a wonderfully intimate setting for actors and audience alike. A member of the audience wrote, "Sunday evening my wife and I were treated to a great evening at the theater. The production of *Jefferson & Adams* was the most inspiring and moving piece I've seen in years. It certainly won't soon be forgotten. Thank you for the part that you played in bringing it to Middlebury."

*Jefferson & Adams* tells the story of the turbulent 50-year friendship through the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Abigail Adams. The play focuses on both the intersections and divergences in their lives and beliefs from their work together at the Continental Congress until the year of their deaths. The two summer productions were directed by Douglas Anderson and featured Bill Barker as Thomas Jefferson, Sam Goodyear as John Adams, and Abigail Schumann as Abigail Adams.

The United States is facing its most challenging tests at this time. We are asking

ourselves what we stand for, where our national character is rooted, what we aspire to perpetuate and preserve. Jefferson & Adams provides two hours of thought-provoking and stimulating awareness of America as a nation and America as a people. The JLF is seeking significant funding to bring the play to a wider audience through grants, private contributions, and corporate sponsorship. Venues include historic and restored theaters throughout the country. Jefferson & Adams is an extraordinary vehicle with which to further our mission and is assuming a significant role as part of the JLF's outreach programs to encourage civic responsibility. It is an inspiring example of the two great minds of American independence.

## A Letter from the Chairman

With record-low voter turnout in the election behind us, we would like to bring your attention to this issue's feature article, "Thomas Jefferson and the People's Government," by Frank Shuffelton, along with former U.S. Senator Gary Hart's new book, *Restoration of the Republic: The Jeffersonian Ideal in the 21st Century* (Oxford University Press, 2002). Each examines Thomas Jefferson's vision of free society, offering the most timely and relevant treatment of that vision ever published. For Jefferson, free society is more than just citizen rights. It is about the responsibilities that accompany those rights — the responsibility of informed participation.

As America debates the troubling aftermath of 9/11, Hart and Shuffelton succeed in identifying what has been called "the revolutionary tradition and its lost treasure" - the town meeting system of self-government — and the failure to incorporate this system into our constitutional framework. This failure was a direct result of Shays Rebellion in 1786, an event which caused fears of anarchy and violence. In response to those fears, the United States adopted an elaborate check and balance scheme based on representation.

Hart's book and Shuffelton's article focus on this tragic oversight in our political development, and they re-establish Jefferson as the primary exponent for a public space where the voice of the whole people can be, as Jefferson said, "fairly, fully, and peacefully expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of society." Jefferson believed that violence could be avoided by creating, along with public education, a place for a redress of grievances. A place, he thought, where citizens could be "participator[s] in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day."

Jefferson's vision of republican government has profound implications for the 21st century, and both Hart and Shuffelton deserve high praise for identifying and bringing focus to the central legacy of Thomas Jefferson.

Sydney N. Stokes, Jr., Chairman

## JLF Publishes BroadSides

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has published a set of three BroadSides representing Thomas Jefferson's "triple faith" in self-government, religious freedom, and education. The BroadSides are: *The Declaration of American Independence, 1776*; *the Statue of Virginia for Religious Freedom, 1777*; and *Goals for Public Education, 1778/1818*. Jefferson intended these documents to serve as instruments by which people live in free society. Please call us for more information or visit our web site.

## Noteworthy

- JLF Chairman Chip Stokes and the JLF Library were featured in a lengthy Associated Press interview by reporter Krista Larson that ran in newspapers across the country on the Fourth of July. As a result, we received many e-mails,

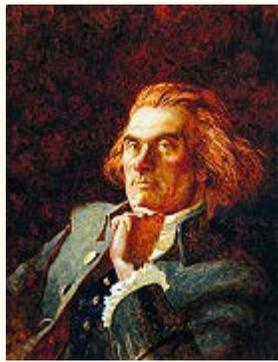
phone calls, and letters from people interested in learning more about our mission.

- The JLF co-sponsored (along with the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia) an Evening Conversation at Monticello in July. Guest speaker Ted Koppel provided a fascinating and illuminating evening of discussion.
- Hardly slowing down long enough to celebrate his 80th birthday, Norman Lear is spearheading the Declaration of Independence Road Trip-a three-and-a-half-year cross country tour which began on July 3, 2001 to rekindle a "connection to country" in Americans of all ages. Lear's presentation illustrates the "cherished values and ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence that laid the foundation for personal freedoms and individual rights." Bringing the multi-media presentation (which includes one of only 25 known original Declaration of Independence broadsides) to towns and cities across America, Lear wants to inspire participation in free society-to "get Americans to their feet." For more information visit [www.independenceroadtrip.org](http://www.independenceroadtrip.org)
- The JLF was delighted to welcome Natalie Bober, distinguished historian and author, in October. We were also happy to again host Thomas Jefferson Foundation Librarian Jack Robertson in August, in town to attend Frank Shuffelton's lecture at Chimney Point (see related article).
- The JLF presented the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation with a Declaration of Independence broadside (see related article) on the occasion of "Old Home Day" at the site. Founding Father interpreters (Bill Barker as Jefferson, Bill Sommerfield as Washington, and Jim Cooke as Coolidge) participated in a roundtable discussion on such topics as democracy, independence, and governance.
- The JLF had a rewarding year with its outreach program. In April, 200 children, parents, and teachers attended our birthday for Thomas Jefferson, featuring an appearance by the Thomas Jefferson Lady; in June, we brought Colonial Williamsburg's Bill Barker to the Vermont History Expo, where a standing-room-only crowd enjoyed his interpretation of Thomas Jefferson; then we presented two productions of Jefferson & Adams (see related article); our exhibit, 1791: Thomas Jefferson & James Madison in Vermont, was mounted in two historic Vermont venues throughout the summer, complemented by lectures by Board member Frank Shuffelton; we had a third successful summer in the Community Garden; and, finally, we are helping local schools commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Lewis & Clark Expedition with the distribution of Monticello's poster series and teacher's guide.



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Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Jamie Wyeth.  
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### Thomas Jefferson and the Barbary Pirates: A New Nation Confronts Terrorism

From the beginning of the colonial period to the events of September 11th, the Muslim world has been instrumental as Americans have defined their own national identity and purpose. Focusing on America's encounter with the Barbary states of North Africa in *The Crescent Obscured: The United States and the Muslim World, 1776-1815* (University of Chicago Press, 2000), author Robert Allison traces the perceptions and misperceptions of Islam in the American mind as the new nation constructed its ideology and system of government. The parallels between the challenges facing Thomas Jefferson and his resolution in confronting them and the actions taken by United States as a result of September 11th are striking.

From the 16th to the 19th century, the northern coast of Africa was occupied by several independent Muslim states (the so-called Barbary states, after the Berbers) under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire: Algeria, Morocco, Tripoli, and Tunisia. Beginning in the early 1500s, the Barbary pirates attacked European commercial ships in both the Mediterranean and Atlantic. After the American Revolution, the Barbary pirates began to attack U.S. shipping as well. Following the example of European nations, the U.S. at first concluded treaties with the Barbary states that provided for immunity from attack by paying "tribute" money, a policy Thomas Jefferson had long opposed. As diplomatic representative to France he had tried but failed to persuade European countries to join with the United States in an attack on the pirate bases. By the end of 1800, the pasha of Tripoli demanded tribute money beyond the amount fixed by treaty, not anticipating that Jefferson, the most persistent advocate for military force in the Mediterranean, was about to become president of the United States. When Jefferson refused the demand, war ensued.

Allison explains that Jefferson's diplomatic experience in the 1780s had convinced him that military force was the most effective way to deal with the Barbary states. But his political experience in the 1790s had reinforced his concern about too much power concentrated in the federal government and made him wary of using that force. He remained as determined as ever not to submit to the demands of the Barbary states,

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eager to prove to both the North Africans and Europeans that the Americans were not going to play the same power games other nations did. But Jefferson was also determined not to create a military machine in the United States, and his administration was committed to reducing the national debt.

Jefferson's seemingly contradictory policies-reducing government spending and sending the navy halfway around the world-were in fact directed to the same goal. He had taken part in a revolution against a large, abusive government. That revolution, as Jefferson saw it, was fought to free the people's energies. By closing the Mediterranean to the people's entrepreneurial spirit, the Barbary states imposed a barrier that was just as effective as the British Navigation Acts. By engaging in official piracy, the Barbary states placed themselves outside the accepted bounds of international law. By refusing to play the European game of bribery, by standing up to the Barbary powers and removing them from the arsenal of weapons against the New World, Allison continues, Jefferson would convince Europe that his was a new kind of nation, one that would not follow the corrupt practices of the old world.

Jefferson sent warships to blockade Tripoli, and Stephen Decatur, a young naval officer, distinguished himself in several daring actions. However, the war with Tripoli did not end until 1805, when Captain William Eaton captured the Tripolitan town of Darnah and the pasha agreed to make peace. The victory over Tripoli made the Americans the equals of any other people, Allison concludes, not because of the military power, but because that power was guided by a spirit of justice, and its goal was not conquest but freedom.

## Jefferson & Adams Enthralls Audiences in Colonial Williamsburg

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation co-produced Howard Ginsberg's three-character stage play, *Jefferson & Adams*, as a costumed reading at the beautiful newly restored 400-seat Kimball Theatre in Colonial Williamsburg. The two performances on October 25th and 28th sold out and received standing ovations. It was an historic event for the JLF and as well for Colonial Williamsburg as it was the first performance to play at the Kimball since its reopening in September. It was an inspired-and inspiring-venue.

*Jefferson & Adams* provides two hours of thought-provoking and stimulating awareness of America as a nation and America as a people, telling the story of the turbulent 50-year friendship told through the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and his wife, Abigail. The play focuses on both the intersections and divergences in their lives and beliefs from their work together at the Continental Congress until their deaths on July 4, 1826, exactly 50 years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The story is constructed from the voluminous correspondence between these two statesmen, discussing the events that shaped the new nation and the world as well as revealing the serious political disagreements that almost destroyed their friendship. Adams's perceptive and articulate wife Abigail is the third character in the play. Excerpts from the letters are woven into a compelling script, full of rich, poignant, and prophetic language indicative of the characters' keen intellect, strong convictions, dedication to their country, and devotion to their wives and families. The heart-felt dialogue reveals the essence and vicissitudes of the characters and communicates the spirit of the time and the enormously pivotal events that shaped American, world, and human history.

**The Players.** Bill Barker, who has portrayed Jefferson at Colonial Williamsburg since 1993 and has also appeared in Philadelphia and at The White House and in JLF events in Vermont and Virginia, is known the world over. He brought his erudition and devotion to a sparkingly elegant and refined performance. Sam Goodyear first performed the role of John Adams in the 1995 premiere production of *Jefferson & Adams* with the Leatherstocking Theatre Company in Cooperstown, New York. He became the short and rotund antithesis to the lean and elegant Jefferson. He speaks a

New England American English that echoes directly from early Colonial days. The audience responded with glee to the considerable humor he brought to the role. The role of Abigail Adams is crucial to the understanding of the extraordinary force that this exceptional woman exerted on her husband and on Jefferson as well. Abigail Schumann played Abigail Adams with a playfulness and feminine strength that provided a neatly contrapuntal perspective to the production. She has been a company member of Colonial Williamsburg's 18th-century play series since 1990.

**The Past.** In 1995, *Jefferson & Adams* was produced by the Leatherstocking Theater Company in Cooperstown, New York to mark the reopening of historic Hyde Hall, running for twelve performances to sold-out audiences. In July 2000, the play was performed for a week at the Farmers Museum in Cooperstown. It has also been performed as a staged reading in Sarasota and Boca Raton, Florida; New York; London; and at the Adams Home in Quincy, Massachusetts. A radio adaptation of the play was produced by KPFA in Berkeley, California and is regularly broadcast on the Fourth of July. Since the Colonial Williamsburg performance, *Jefferson & Adams* has been performed at the Century Association in New York City, with Sam Waterston as Jefferson, Jane Alexander as Abigail, and Sam Goodyear once again as Adams. The co-production of *Jefferson & Adams* is the JLF's latest collaboration with Colonial Williamsburg. Other joint projects include the multimedia web site presentation: *Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium*, ([www.history.org/almanack/people/jeffhdr.htm](http://www.history.org/almanack/people/jeffhdr.htm)).

**The Future.** We believe *Jefferson & Adams* is a powerful vehicle with which to further our mission. The play will assume a significant role as part of the JLF's outreach programs to encourage civic responsibility, through the inspiring example of the two great minds of American independence. The JLF will be seeking significant funding to bring the play to a wider audience through grants, private contributions, and corporate sponsorship. Specific venues are still to be determined but will include historic and restored theaters throughout the country.

## Educational Outreach Activities Reach Across Generations

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has been furthering its mission with all kinds of groups, from schoolchildren to history buffs. Here's an update on some of our activities:

**The Thomas Jefferson Lady.** This has been perhaps our favorite educational outreach program to date, which we brought to several schools in Vermont this fall. LuAnn Ose, a retired teacher based in Arizona, is a wonderful storyteller who for the past 15 years has given audience-participation presentations throughout the U.S. in schools, senior centers, churches, service clubs, etc., about the life of Thomas Jefferson. Her novel approach includes a delightful "storybag" filled with unique and sometimes amusing items. Each audience member is invited to "pick but not peek" from the bag, and each item prompts a story from Thomas Jefferson's life and times. For example, a bar of soap prompts a story about how Thomas Jefferson wanted to be a lawyer, but since there were no law schools in Virginia at the time, he had to study under George Wythe until he passed the bar exam. As one teacher told us, "Through Ms. Ose we learned not only about Thomas Jefferson and history...but about ourselves."

**The Summer White House.** JLF Chairman Chip Stokes gave an extremely well-received lecture to participants on a tour to Summer White Houses sponsored by the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation.

**And More.** Meanwhile, plans are in the works for our second annual Birthday Party for Thomas Jefferson in April. Despite the snow on the ground and bitter temperatures (or perhaps because of!), our thoughts are beginning to turn to this year's Community

Garden. We had a great harvest in 2001 despite the drought and managed to bring in new multi-generational recruits. We also exhibited once again at the Vermont History Expo in June, where we were enthusiastically received. We're also very excited about mounting our "Northern Journey" exhibit at two historic Vermont venues this summer, thanks to a grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities (see page 4). And on a related note, Chip Stokes gave a lecture to students at the Berkshire School in Sheffield, Massachusetts, where our exhibit was mounted from April through November.

## A Letter from the President

As we review the attacks on our country on September 11, 2001, we examine the ideas upon which the United States was created. We look to the standards set by Thomas Jefferson's legacy as compass points to guide our response to those attacks. Jefferson's legacy, as Daniel Boorstin summarized, is a triple faith: "in the right of people to govern themselves, to choose their own God, and freely to search for knowledge." The United States is facing its most challenging tests at this time. We are asking ourselves what we stand for, where our national character is rooted, what we aspire to perpetuate and preserve.

In all our projects, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation attempts to help people understand the ideas of Jefferson's legacy and to employ that understanding to participate responsibly in a free and open society. It is for each generation to revisit our national creed. It is for us to evaluate the September 11 attacks in light of the ideas in our national creed. Those ideas - Jefferson's legacy - must continue to guide our response.

In his State of the Union Address on January 29, President Bush said: "Our enemies. . . embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life."

In his Jefferson Image in the American Mind, our board member Merrill D. Peterson says: "There are many Jefferson legacies, but unquestionably the greatest is the philosophy of human rights so eloquently stated in the Preamble of the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln named those principles 'the definitions and axioms of free society.' They have done more to define the values and goals of the nation than any other act or statement. . . . When so many of Jefferson's values have slipped away, he may yet go on vindicating his power in the national life as the heroic voice of imperishable freedoms. It is this Jefferson who stands at the radiant center of his own history, and who makes for the present a symbol that unites the nation's birth with its inexorable ideal. But whether this and later generations will be able to repeat with earlier generations John Adams's deathbed deliverance, 'Thomas Jefferson still survives,' must depend on a power greater than Jefferson's historical momentum. It must depend, in the final analysis, on the conscious knowledge of Jefferson's faith and [our] responsible commitment to its survival."

Understanding and acting responsibly to America's creed depends upon what Lincoln called, the "virtue and vigilance" of its citizens. Our response to the September 11 attacks will determine the future of our nation and humankind.

Clarence W. Leeds, III  
President

## Noteworthy

- The JLF has received a grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities to mount its exhibit, The Northern Journey of Thomas Jefferson & James Madison and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood: 1791, at two historic sites in

Vermont: Chimney Point Tavern on Lake Champlain (where Jefferson and Madison lodged) and The Old Constitution House in Windsor. JLF Board member Frank Shuffelton will offer a lecture at each venue on "Thomas Jefferson and the People's Government." Both exhibits will run from late May through mid October. Please call for more information.

- JLF Chairman Chip Stokes has joined the Board of Trustees at the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History, a frequent partner in JLF activities.
- The JLF was delighted to host Thomas Jefferson Foundation Librarian Jack Robertson in October. Shared goals and visions were exchanged as well as ideas for future collaborations. Construction work is almost completed on the Jefferson Library at Kenwood, the home of Monticello's International Center for Jefferson Studies. Like the Jefferson Legacy Foundation Library and Retreat, Monticello's Jefferson Library is built in honor of a Founding Father. The 15,500-square-foot facility will contain stacks for more than 28,000 volumes, reading and study spaces, conference rooms, offices, and high-speed digital access to libraries and databases around the world. The library is scheduled to open in April 2002.
- Just a reminder that JLF Director Emeritus and Pulitzer Prize-winning author, David McCullough, is not the only Board member who has written a book that examines the relationship between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Merrill D. Peterson, in 130 pages, provides a balanced and fascinating look in his Adams and Jefferson: A Revolutionary Dialogue (Oxford University Press, 1976).

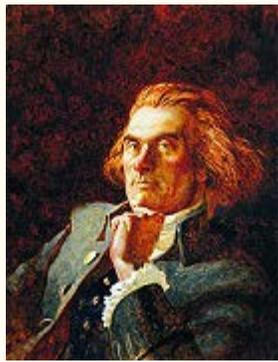
## JLF Participates in Earth Charter Celebration

The Earth Charter is a declaration of fundamental principles for building a just, sustainable, and peaceful global society in the 21st century. It seeks to inspire in all peoples a new sense of global interdependence and shared responsibility. It is both an expression of hope and a call to help create a global partnership at a critical juncture in history. The Jefferson Legacy Foundation joined in a daylong event at beautiful Shelburne Farms in Vermont on September 9th to celebrate the Earth Charter. It was an inspiring and stimulating day of presentations, discussion, music, dance, and art discussion. More than 2,000 people attended this extraordinary and unifying event, just two days before the terrorist attacks of September 11th.



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Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Jamie Wyeth.  
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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

Internet Edition

WINTER 2001

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### Celebrating the Bicentennial of the "Bloodless Revolution of 1800": A Prelude to Jefferson's Presidency

The American Revolution offers no exception to the historical truth that it is easier to start a revolution than to end one. The Revolution did not end in 1776 with independence or in 1783 with the treaty of peace or, indeed, in 1789 with the establishment of government under the Constitution. The Constitution struck a new balance between the claims of liberty and authority, and it rapidly became the standard of legitimacy for all Americans. But the Constitution neither explained nor executed itself. As men set about the work of breathing life into it, serious disagreements arose, issues of policy escalated into issues of principle, and two great political parties took form. For the ensuing decade the conflict shook the foundations of government.

At the core of the conflict were competing conceptions of freedom in the American republic, still a precarious experiment with an uncertain future. One party, the Federalists, who had brought the government into being, subordinated freedom to its design for order and stability, while the opposition party, the Republicans, believed this was a betrayal of the experiment itself. The great issue descended from the American Revolution. It was powerfully reinforced by the French Revolution, begun in the same year as the new government, and raising the same issue in the Atlantic world.

In order to complete the American Revolution, to secure the principles of freedom and self-government, it became necessary in the eyes of the Republicans to defeat the Federalists. And when they did, they called the victory "the revolution of 1800."

It was, therefore, at the crossroads of politics during a turbulent decade that the American Revolution was decisively, if not finally, played out. The cast of characters was much the same, for the American Revolution, unlike so many others, most

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especially the French, did not "consume its own children." The men who attended its birth became its executors in the 1790s, though they divided on the road it should travel; and there is more than symbolic significance in the fact that the author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, presided over "the revolution of 1800."

Thus was completed the first democratic transfer of power in American history, indeed in the history of modern politics. Jefferson stated that the revolution of 1800 was "as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form; not effected indeed by the sword, as that, but by the rational and peaceable instrument of reform, the suffrage of the people."

His Inaugural Address disclosed the nature of this revolution. In one aspect, the address was lofty summation of the Republican creed. Tracing its origins back to the American Revolution, Jefferson authenticated this creed for the national consciousness. In another aspect, the address was a bold bid for the restoration of harmony and affection. Believing that the mass of Americans, returned to their true sight, were fundamentally united in their political sentiments, Jefferson sought to quiet the storms of the past decade, to extinguish hatreds and fanaticism, to vanquish European fears and affections, thus to enable America to realize its destiny as "a chosen country," "the world's best hope" for freedom.

Finally, and above all, the First Inaugural was a commitment to ongoing political change through the democratic process of open debate, popular participation, and free elections. Jefferson named "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force." This principle, to be effective, demanded freedom of inquiry and opinion, together with the right of any minority to turn itself into a new majority. "If there be any among us," he said, alluding to the delusions of '98, "who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

Federalist leaders had reckoned the strength of government on Old World standards: army and navy, the patronage of "the rich, the well born and the able," great treasury, ministerial mastery, central command, the panoply of office and the splendor of state. But Jefferson called the American government, for all its feebleness by these standards, "the strongest government on earth," because it was the only one founded on the energies, the affections, the opinions, and the suffrages of the people. This was the authentic "revolution of 1800," and it anchored the government firmly in the revolutionary heritage of freedom. The Constitution became an instrument of democracy, change became possible without violence or destruction, and the process began by which the government could go forward with the ongoing consent of the people.

*This article was written by Merrill D. Peterson, a member of the Jefferson Legacy Foundation Board of Directors and professor of history emeritus at the University of Virginia. He is the author of numerous publications and is widely acknowledged as the leading Jefferson scholar in the world today. This is an excerpt of an essay that will appear in its entirety in a monograph to be published by the JLF in March 2001 to mark the bicentennial of Thomas Jefferson's inauguration as the third president of the United States. Contact the JLF if you would like more information. [\(top\)](#)*

## **SUMMER A BUSY TIME FOR JLF EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH**

### **Thousands Attend Vermont History Expo 2000**

This June the Jefferson Legacy Foundation participated in the first-ever Vermont History Expo 2000, held at the Tunbridge Fair Grounds in Tunbridge, Vermont. The richness and diversity of Vermont's history was exhibited by over 80 organizations in

one central location. Despite downpours on both days, more than 8,000 people attended. Spirits were high, exhibits were informative, and performances were entertaining. As part of the Children's Heritage program at the History Expo, the JLF commissioned the "Traveling Storyteller" to create and present a high-quality, educational, and amusing puppet show about Thomas Jefferson's life and the American Revolution, delighting children and adults alike. The JLF booth was visited by hundreds of people, many of whom were learning for the first time about Jefferson's visit to Vermont and his role in Vermont statehood in 1791. ([top](#))

## **JLF Gets Its Hands Dirty in Ripton Community Garden Project**

The JLF is sharing the ideals of Thomas Jefferson as a model for effective citizenship, meaningful human relationships, and pursuit and fulfillment of individual potential with a Community Garden outreach program. As Jefferson said, "No occupation is so delightful to me as the culture of the earth, and no culture comparable to that of the garden." This year the JLF began planning and implementation of a program to support the Community Garden at the Ripton, Vermont Elementary School.

Community Garden activities are designed to nurture the wonder and appreciation that come from building a relationship with the land. They teach about responsible resource management and sustainable living, models for living demonstrated by Jefferson and his efforts at Monticello. Like Monticello, the Community Garden becomes not only a useful source of food for the school and the community, but also a laboratory for experimentation, learning, and creativity. Many students and community members have already seen that land is a precious gift, a resource that can be used without being abused. Many have shared the experience of a strengthened community, a sense of pride and accomplishment that comes from working together in a Community Garden. Tangible and intangible benefits of even the most humble Community Garden are abundant.

JLF support of Community Garden activities includes seed donations from the Thomas Jefferson Center for Historic Plants; Children's Garden Kits from Monticello for each of the classrooms; funding support for two part-time summer garden workers; teacher packets to facilitate integration into school curriculum; creation of a 10-week summer garden program; and hands-on help in the garden. ([More information](#))

JLF support of the garden project has helped bring together community members and elementary school students to further the success of a garden that has been operating for four years. Curriculum planning and teacher collaboration continues, including a 2000-2001 school year program. ([top](#))

## **Lake Champlain Boat Tour Provides Ideal Setting for the Story of Thomas Jefferson's Northern Journey**

In a letter to his daughter dated May 8, 1791, Thomas Jefferson described a trip he was taking with James Madison, which included plans to "go up to Albany and Lake George, then across over to Bennington and so through Vermont to the Connecticut River..." They traveled 920 miles by boat and horseback in little more than a month. While Jefferson only spent three days in Vermont on a "botanizing excursion" with Madison, his efforts prior to that trip left lasting legacy for the Green Mountain State. As Secretary of State, Jefferson proved instrumental in bringing Vermont into the Union in March of 1791 as the 14th state. Why did they come? Who did they visit? Where in Vermont did their route entail? To tell the fascinating story of Jefferson and Madison in Vermont, the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History and the JLF sponsored two sold-out historical cruises on Lake Champlain on the MV Carillon. Historian and JLF Chairman Sydney N. "Chip" Stokes, Jr., provided the historical background and context for an enlightening evening with the perfect

backdrop.[\(top\)](#)

## A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Since 1993, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has been challenging people, through examination of Thomas Jefferson's ideas and accomplishments, to build upon the best of our past to address present challenges and to shape our future. With a part-time paid staff of one and a small, committed board of directors, we have pursued projects from the local community garden to a major web site production with the potential to reach millions. We have achieved a great deal in a relatively short period of time, with few human and material resources. Yet, much remains to be done.

Last February we made the fortuitous decision to appoint Peggy Burns to the position of JLF Director. Nothing has been the same since! Peggy has been helping us to set priorities and to pursue our efforts in an increasingly strategic and productive manner. We immediately began work on several projects, including a new JLF brochure; the overhaul of our website; the introduction of this newsletter; and the creation of a membership component of the JLF to enable kindred spirits to support our mission. We are also working on a long-term strategic plan, fundraising and development, marketing and public relations, educational outreach programs, and potential partnerships and other working relationships.

Peggy is a graduate of Georgetown University with more than twenty years of professional experience, mostly in publishing (John Wiley & Sons; Transaction Publishers; et al). Peggy recently relocated from New Jersey to Vermont. Her passion for history, politics, and civic issues (along with luck and, perhaps, fate) led her to the door of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation. Fortunately, when opportunity (in the form of Peggy Burns) knocked, we answered! We welcome Peggy Burns and are grateful for her efforts.

Clarence W. "Bud" Leeds, III, President  
[\(top\)](#)

## NOTEWORTHY

- The multimedia presentation, Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium, a joint project of the JLF and Colonial Williamsburg, will continue to be hosted on Colonial Williamsburg's web site through Summer 2001 as part of its educational program. It can be viewed at [www.history.org/holiday](http://www.history.org/holiday).
- The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation and the Thomas Jefferson Heritage Society (formerly known as The Thomas Jefferson Foundation) stated in a recent press release that they have "resolved amicably all disputes between them with respect to use of the name Thomas Jefferson Foundation." TJMF Chairman Brenton Halsey said, "We are pleased that this lawsuit has been resolved in a way that allows scholarly research to continue on both sides ..."
- At [www.election.com](http://www.election.com), users can examine "the first online global election company committed to making democracy work better." This web site enables "greater participation by giving voters more choices in how they vote." Also, online voter registration and information about various issues are available at [www.rockthevote.org](http://www.rockthevote.org).
- "A Splendid Misery: Jefferson, Politics and the Presidency." Inspired by the presidential election of 2000, the Monticello daytime winter tour will focus on the political side of Thomas Jefferson, from the heated presidential race of

1800 through his years as President, an office he once referred to as "a splendid misery." December 1, 2000 -- February 29, 2001. ([top](#))

## JOIN US:

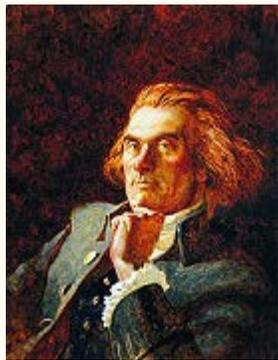
We urge you and other "kindred spirits" to join our efforts and become a member of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation. We seek support in advancing our mission: to encourage participation in public affairs in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals. We advocate continued examination of Thomas Jefferson's legacy, particularly as it applies to self-government, religious and intellectual freedom, and education. Charter members who join at the \$100 "sustaining" level of membership will receive an autographed copy of Merrill D. Peterson's classic, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. For more information, call, write, or e-mail us; or visit our web site. [Details...](#)

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's News and Comment is published on a periodic basis and provided to members and friends of the JLF. For more information, contact News and Comment editor Wendy Leeds at The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, P.O. Box 76, Ripton, Vermont 05766.



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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

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### Liberty and Power: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and "the Mutual Influence of These Two Mighty Minds"

*The following is an excerpt of a talk given by James Morton Smith during an "Evening Conversation" at Monticello, sponsored by The Jefferson Legacy Foundation on May 23rd (see related article).*

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison first met in Williamsburg, Virginia, in October 1776. Jefferson, a veteran legislator at thirty-three, had written the Declaration of Independence that summer, then resigned from the Continental Congress, and hurried home to share in the modeling of new governments. Madison, a freshman legislator at twenty-five, had shaped the religious liberty guarantee in the Virginia Declaration of Rights in early June before voting for the Virginia Constitution on June 29, 1776, the first of the new state governments established during the American Revolution.

When the two men met in the Virginia Assembly in the fall, Jefferson was "one of the most learned men of the age," Madison later recalled, "a walking Library," whose "relish for books never forsook him." Indeed, Jefferson was a prodigy with whom "the Genius of philosophy ever walked hand in hand." Madison was impressed by the remarkable range of Jefferson's readings in a variety of languages: French, Italian, and Spanish as well as "Anglo-Saxon, as a root of. . .English" and an element in legal philosophy. The law itself "he studied to the bottom," Madison wrote, "and in its greatest breadth, of which proofs were given at the Bar which he attended for a number of years, and occasionally throughout his career. For all the fine arts, he had a more commontaste; and in that of architecture, which he studied in both its useful, and its ornamental characters, he made himself an adept; as the variety of orders and stiles [sic], executed according to his plan founded in the Grecian and Roman models and under his superintendance, which the Buildings of the University of Virginia fully exemplify."

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Dr. Robley Dunglison, professor of medicine at the University of Virginia who became the physician to both Jefferson and Madison, admired the intellectual powers of both, but he thought that "Mr. Jefferson had more imagination, Mr. Madison excelled perhaps in judgment." And John Quincy Adams, who knew both of the men well, agreed. "The influence of Mr. Jefferson over the mind of Mr. Madison, was composed of all that genius, talent, experience, splendid public services, exalted reputation, added to the congenial tempers, undivided friendship and habitual sympathies of interest and of feeling could inspire. Among the numerous blessings which it was the good fortune of Mr. Jefferson's life to enjoy, was that of the uninterrupted, disinterested, and efficient friendship of Madison. But it was the friendship of a mind not inferior in capacity and tempered with a calmer sensibility and a cooler judgment than his own."

Jefferson was the more speculative, inventive, and theoretical, gifted at making generalizations, coining powerful metaphors, and writing felicitous prose. Madison was more tough-minded, more analytical, more pragmatic, the more persistent student of politics, the harder-headed thinker on the art of the possible. Jefferson was the eternal optimist, thinking always in terms of human happiness. Madison was the occasional pessimist, constantly aware of the power of human selfishness.

In balancing the elements of liberty and power in a republican system, Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, tended to emphasize the first, fearing governmental power as a threat to liberty. Madison, the Father of the Constitution, tended to stress the second, viewing the new and more powerful government created by the Philadelphia Convention as a protector of liberty.

As extraordinary as were Jefferson and Madison, even more unusual was the 50-year friendship between them, one that began that fall of 1776 in Williamsburg and ended only with the death of Jefferson in 1826 on the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence. Of this remarkable relationship, Adams observed that "Mr. Madison was the intimate, confidential, and devoted friend of Mr. Jefferson, and the mutual influence of these two mighty minds upon each other is a phenomenon, like the invisible and mysterious movements of the magnet in the physical world, and in which the sagacity of the future historian may discover the solution of much of our national history not otherwise easily accountable."

*James Morton Smith is Director Emeritus of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and editor of the widely praised, three-volume, The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, published by W.W. Norton.*

[\(top\)](#)

## NEWS FROM THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

### Happy Birthday, Mr. Jefferson

Despite a big snowstorm and a short power outage, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's first annual *Birthdays Party for Thomas Jefferson* held on March 31st was a huge success. Thirty-five children, fifteen adults, and a dozen volunteers participated. The Ripton Community House came alive with balloons, posters, and inspiring Jefferson quotes peppered about. Winning names were drawn every half hour for a book raffle, with more than 30 wonderful books donated by the Vermont Book Shop in Middlebury. Six thematic hands-on activity tables included Agriculture, Architecture, Arts & Crafts, TJ the Inventor, Science & Nature, and Voting. The Henry Sheldon Museum for Vermont History in Middlebury provided educational kits for the Colonial Games area. Children dressed up in colonial outfits, churned butter, and played with toys from Jefferson's day. They planted seeds from Monticello, looked through microscopes on loan from Middlebury College, completed an architectural

paper model of the Rotunda, made puppets, and participated in a mock election. The party finished with a birthday cake and the JLF's very own puppet show, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, performed by The Traveling Storyteller. The adults loved it, but how did we do with the kids? This comment from a fourth-grader in attendance says it all: "Thomas Jefferson was a cool guy. And the cake was great!" Visit our web site for photos of the fun.

On another celebratory front, JLF President Clarence W. "Bud" Leeds, III, represented the Jefferson Legacy Foundation at a White House gathering on April 12th marking the 258th birthday of Thomas Jefferson on the following day. President George W. Bush provided opening remarks, expressing his admiration for Jefferson, and Colonial Williamsburg's Jefferson interpreter Bill Barker read from Jefferson's 1801 inaugural address.

[\(top\)](#)

## THE JLF Welcomes Frank Shuffelton to the Board of Directors

The The Jefferson Legacy Foundation is delighted to announce that Frank Shuffelton, professor in the department of English and American Literature at the University of Rochester where he has been teaching for nearly 30 years, has joined our Board of Directors. He has served on numerous literary and editorial boards, including *Early American Literature and Journal of the History of Ideas*. He also served as vice-president and president successively from 1996 to 1999 for the Society of Eighteenth-Century American Studies. He is author of numerous articles for publications, including *New England Quarterly* and *Early American Literature*. Through a collaboration with Monticello, the University of Virginia, and The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, a web site has been created that lists more than 5,000 titles from Shuffelton's two-volume *Thomas Jefferson: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Writings About Him* ([etext.virginia.edu/jefferson/bibliog](http://etext.virginia.edu/jefferson/bibliog)).

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## An Evening Conversation at Monticello

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation sponsored an "Evening Conversation" on the west lawn of Monticello, Wednesday, May 23rd. Since 1993, Monticello has hosted a series of "Evening Conversations." After a social hour and tour of the house and grounds, a special guest speaks on a topic related to Thomas Jefferson, followed by a question-and-answer period and reception.

The theme of our "Conversation" was a fascinating talk on "Thomas Jefferson and James Madison," with James Morton Smith as guest speaker. Professor Smith is Director Emeritus of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and editor of the widely praised, three-volume, *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison*, published by W.W. Norton. Book News called the work "a beautiful job . . . and an obvious labor of love."

The JLF also used the affair to honor Sydney Nelson Stokes, Sr., a founding member of the JLF Board of Directors and generous contributor, on the occasion of his 90th birthday. [\(top\)](#)

## A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Thomas Jefferson's Birthday. My father's 90th birthday on May 8th. Father's Day. These occasions have gotten me thinking about heroes. People may think that Thomas Jefferson is my hero. But in truth, long before I discovered the American Revolution, or even books for that matter, it was my parents who were my heroes. They kept me from falling through the cracks in school. They also supported my decision to leave the rat race in New York and encouraged me to pursue my interest

in Jefferson studies.

My father has some things in common with Mr. Jefferson. He is the very kind of citizen the Founders said we needed, in my father's case, working quietly behind the scenes to make things happen. He has, for instance, been The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's greatest advocate and supporter since we began to pursue our mission in 1993. He still remains a driving force behind it all. In fact, he is the one who came up with the name to best represent our mission: The Jefferson Legacy Foundation.

Moreover, public service has been a tradition in my father's family since 1908. In 1952 *The New Haven Register* chronicled the civic life of his father. It is clear that my father has continued an impressive legacy from what the newspaper then called "a young and hopeful immigrant [from England] who landed in New York in 1896." Through the efforts of the JLF, I'd like to think we are continuing that legacy as well.

Over the years, I remember two themes of advice from my father: (1) Kill them with kindness, and (2) Much can be accomplished if we don't worry about who gets the credit. He has lived up to Jefferson's advice of "taking things always by their smooth handle." These philosophies are a model for living—a model that guides me personally *and* as Chairman of the Jefferson Legacy Foundation. Thanks to heroes, old friends, and new members, much has been accomplished. And there is much more to be done. You can help.

Sydney Nelson Stokes, Jr.

[\(top\)](#)

## NOTEWORTHY

- In preparation for bicentennial commemoration activities in 2003, a number of pages devoted to Jefferson and the Lewis & Clark Expedition have been added to Monticello's web site, [www.monticello.org](http://www.monticello.org). Among the features on these illustrated pages are an essay on Jefferson's long fascination with the American West, a chronology of his involvement with Western exploration, the texts of his letter to Congress and his instructions to Lewis, a bibliography, a calendar of events, and links to other relevant sites on the Internet.
- The JLF's exhibit, *The Northern Journey of Thomas Jefferson & James Madison and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood, 1791*, is currently on display at Berkshire School in Sheffield, Massachusetts. The exhibit opened in late April and will be up throughout the summer. Call 413-229-1390 for more information.
- *Religion and the Founding of the American Republic*, a traveling exhibit organized by the Library of Congress, will be on display at the Virginia Historical Society from June 7 through August 19, 2001. Through more than 200 objects and original documents, the exhibit explores how the First Amendment was conceived and addresses how the Founding Fathers defined the relationship between religion and government. Call 804-358-4901 or visit their web site at [www.vahistorical.org](http://www.vahistorical.org) for more info.
- Congratulations to JLF Director *Emeritus* and Pulitzer Prize-winning author, David McCullough, on the publication of his latest work, *John Adams*, just out from Simon & Schuster.

[\(top\)](#)

## The JLF Publishes Its First Monograph

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has published its first monograph, *Discourse*. Marking the bicentennial of the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson on March 4, 1801, the theme of this thought-provoking issue is "The Election of 1800: Context and Implications for *A Rising Nation*. . ." Articles include "The New Republic of 1790s: Prelude to Revolution," "The World in 1800," and "Jefferson as President: A Bibliographic Essay." We hope to make *Discourse* an annual publication. Contact the JLF to order a copy.

## JOIN US:

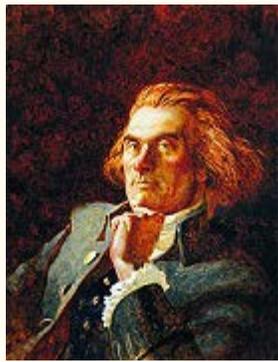
We urge you and other "kindred spirits" to join our efforts and become a member of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation. We seek support in advancing our mission: to encourage participation in public affairs in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals. We advocate continued examination of Thomas Jefferson's legacy, particularly as it applies to self-government, religious and intellectual freedom, and education. Charter members who join at the \$100 "sustaining" level of membership will receive an autographed copy of Merrill D. Peterson's classic, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. For more information, call, write, or e-mail us; or visit our web site. [Details...](#)

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's News and Comment is published on a periodic basis and provided to members and friends of the JLF. For more information, contact News and Comment editor Wendy Leeds at The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, P.O. Box 76, Ripton, Vermont 05766.



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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

Internet Edition

SUMMER 2000

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### Jefferson's Legacy Includes a Critical Role in the Eradication of Smallpox

Of all the medical advances of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, only Edward Jenner's discovery of smallpox vaccination had an immediate impact on the lives of thousands. Records indicate that every tenth person died, and one-tenth of all mankind was killed, crippled, or disfigured by smallpox. Thomas Jefferson played an important role in the acceptance and dissemination of Jenner's procedure. He not only directed the Southern vaccination program from the White House, but he became an expert technician on the procedure, and an expert clinician on its various medical presentations. He discovered why initial vaccination attempts failed and proposed a solution. Jefferson was enthusiastic about this procedure not only because of its obvious practical value, but also because it stood as a prime example of the scientific direction in which he believed medicine, and the country, should move. That stood in stark contrast to contemporary medical theory which he believed anchored medicine in its medieval past.

In 1789 Jenner published the results of his studies in *An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects on the Variolae Vaccination in England*. After reading this pamphlet, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846) of Cambridge, Massachusetts took the lead in the vaccination efforts in the United States. He became the first in America to import and successfully vaccinate with the cowpox serum. As a direct result of these efforts, Jenner developed a lifelong friendship with Thomas Jefferson.

Waterhouse was deeply concerned that improper vaccination technique would result in failure and the resulting tide of negative public sentiment would prevent the proliferation of the procedure. Therefore, he wanted the initial vaccine distribution to be limited to experienced and reputable physicians. He knew physicians in New England whom he could trust, but he had no such contacts in the South. Explaining his position, he said, "I might deny a physician of character and I might entrust it to a person who had none." Realizing that to succeed he would need support, he turned for assistance to Jefferson, who was at once President of the United States and President of the American Philosophical Society. In December 1800 he sent the results of his vaccine

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experiments to Jefferson. After examining the evidence, Jefferson was immediately impressed. He replied the next day (Christmas Day, 1800) and became one of Waterhouse's strongest supporters.

The following summer in 1801, Waterhouse asked Jefferson to create an appropriately supervised center for vaccine distribution in the South. His letter included vaccine material (a thread dipped in an infected lymph node, then sealed between two glass plates), instructions for its use, and paintings showing the normal pustule maturation.

Jefferson viewed the vaccination procedure to be a prime example of the scientific direction in which he believed medicine, as well as the country, should move.

Jefferson, happy to be of service, quickly arranged for physicians to start inoculations. Unfortunately, none of the early samples produced appropriate pustules, indicating vaccination did not occur. Jefferson, unwilling to accept failure, sought an explanation. His weather charts showed that temperatures were hot on the days the vaccine material was in transit. He hypothesized that heat destroyed the vaccine material, thus explaining the failed vaccinations. He ingeniously suggested that further vaccination material be insulated by submersion in a vat of water to protect it from extreme heat. Waterhouse adopted this suggestion. The next two samples he sent (one from Jenner in England, the other fresh from his own patients) were insulated from the heat as suggested by Jefferson. Subsequent vaccinations were successful. Jefferson's observation proved key in the future success of the vaccination program.

Finally, on August 21, 1801, Jefferson reported to Waterhouse the first successful vaccination outside of New England. He had vaccinated 20 of his family members and slaves using the material Waterhouse sent on July 24. Jefferson carefully monitored their clinical status, reporting some had "slight fever, headache, kernels under the arms, and one only has a very sore arm," but "most . . . experience no inconvenience and have nothing but the inoculated pustule." Jefferson then collected infected lymph from these persons ("impregnated some thread and half a dozen toothpicks") and personally forwarded them to Dr. Edward Grant to be used for the first vaccinations in the District of Columbia.

Jefferson understood that to ensure successful vaccinations, the materials must be handled precisely. Attention to every detail was critical when following the vaccination procedure. His keen observational and technical skills made him a legitimate vaccination expert (many an experienced and skilled physician had difficulty obtaining success). Jefferson learned how to identify premature and late pustules, and how to harvest, preserve, and transport vaccination material. He recorded careful clinical observations of infected patients. From the White House, while serving as President of the United States, Jefferson directed the distribution of vaccination material throughout the South. According to Waterhouse, Jefferson should be credited with the introduction of vaccination into Virginia, the District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina. As President, he also provided visiting Native American delegations with vaccination material and instructions for use. He also instructed Captain Meriwether Lewis to carry "kinpox" (cowpox) matter and to instruct Native Americans on its use during his Western expedition.

In a letter to Jenner in 1806, Jefferson predicts that "future nations will know by history only that the lonesome smallpox has existed and by you has been extinguished." Indeed, almost 200 years later, with the complete eradication of this ancient scourge, Jefferson's prediction is so thoroughly realized that this disease is not even mentioned in some modern medical books. But its dark cloud sits in storehouses as both a guard against and a threat of biological warfare.

*This article was written by Dr. David Abbey, a member of the JLF Board of Directors and a practicing physician in Fort Collins, Colorado. (top)*

## History Comes Alive As Jefferson and Madison Visit Montpelier, Vermont

A joint project of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, the Vermont Historical Society, the Friends of the State House, and the Vermont State Archives brought two of our founding fathers to Vermont on September 27 and 28, 1999. On Monday, September 27, Thomas Jefferson (Colonial Williamsburg's Bill Barker) and James Madison (John Douglas Hall) visited a historic site on Lake Champlain where they were interviewed by Pulitzer-Prize-winning journalist Ron Powers as filmmaker John Harrington (MADISONFILM, Inc.) recorded the two-and-a-half-hour session.

The following day, Jefferson and Madison appeared at the State House in Montpelier. In full costume and character, these professionals gave engaging and edifying performances, answering questions from the audience at length and in-depth. With assistance from Paul Gittelsohn and Paul Hendler, John Harrington filmed both events as well as the exhibit. From these materials, we hope to create a digital video disc (DVD) presentation---a key component in developing an interactive Jefferson-Madison experience. The DVD will serve multiple functions and audiences, including viewing on our web site. The target audience will range from school children to senior citizens, the general public to professional historians.

Thanks to promotional help from Gaior Davis, Bryan Smith, and Rose Crossley at the Vermont Historical Society, the Jefferson-Madison conversation at the State House was well-attended by the general public. Also present were: JLF Board member Dr. David Abbey and his wife Suzanne; Sydney Stokes, Sr.; Daniel David, author of the screenplay *Jefferson Lives!*; our own screenplay writer Doug Anderson and his wife Debbie; Jane Choate, author of an article about our exhibit, which will appear in a future issue of *Yankee Magazine*; Colonial Williamsburg's Brenda LaClair; philanthropist and entrepreneur Andrew Allen; former State Senator John McClaughry; State Senator William Doyle; JLF supporters Shirley and Bob Juneo, Ron Miller, and others.

Jefferson and Madison gave us a living example of civil discourse in the State House. They reminded us of the importance of independence of thought, religious freedom, and the responsibilities that come with our freedoms. Jefferson was asked about his highest hopes and greatest fears for our country. He replied that his highest hopes were for individual freedom and its responsible use. His greatest fear was that disbelievers in self-government will deny individuals their freedom. The purpose of government, Jefferson and Madison said, is to protect and defend the people, but otherwise to leave them free. The rest is in our hands. (top)

## THOUSANDS VIEW "NORTHERN JOURNEY" EXHIBIT

The JLF's exhibit, *Jefferson and Madison in Vermont and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood: 1791*, is the most comprehensive treatment of these simultaneous events for a general audience. The exhibit contains color facsimiles of more than 100 documents, journals, and letters penned by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in manuscript form with corresponding transcriptions. There are also a number of photographs, prints, paintings, maps, and other images. Narration is provided throughout, giving historical background and context.

While Jefferson and Madison spent only three days in Vermont on a what can be called a "botanizing excursion" with James Madison in May and June of 1791, his efforts prior to that trip left a lasting legacy for the Green Mountain State. As Secretary of State, Jefferson proved instrumental in bringing Vermont into the Union on March 4, 1791 as the 14th state.

The exhibit was previewed at the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History in Middlebury, Vermont (November 98-March 99) and has since traveled to Green Mountain College (April 25-June 15, 1999) and the Vermont State House in Montpelier

(June 28-November 1,1999). Next stop: the Vermont History Expo 2000 in Tunbridge, Vermont, June 17-18, and then the Berkshire School in Sheffield, Massachusetts in September. (top)

### **A Letter from the Chairman**

Dear Friends:

Welcome to the inaugural issue of News and Comment, the Jefferson Legacy Foundation's periodic newsletter! In the spirit of Jefferson's belief in the greater diffusion of useful knowledge, *News and Comment* provides a forum for engaging and thought-provoking articles, updates regarding our activities, and other items of related interest. If this is your first introduction to our Foundation, let me acquaint you with our mission: Our nonpartisan efforts aim to advance the principles of Thomas Jefferson and inspire participation in public affairs. We believe Thomas Jefferson remains the most consistent and eloquent spokesman of America's national vision. We recognize, in Abraham Lincoln's words, the need to "save the principles of Jefferson . . . [which] are the definitions and axioms of a free society." With continuing applicability, these principles can serve as a unifying force for our times. We affirm Jefferson's faith in self-government, religious and intellectual freedom, and education as a means for personal fulfillment and service to society. Whether you have been a friend of the JLF since its inception in 1993 or are just learning of us, we invite you to become a member and support our mission.

**Sydney N. "Chip" Stokes, Jr., Chairman**  
(top)

As a special gift for charter members who join at the \$100 "sustaining" level of membership, we will send you an autographed copy of Merrill Peterson's classic, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. [Details on membership.](#)

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation is a public charitable foundation with classification 509(a)(3) under the regulations of the Internal Revenue Code section 501(c)(3). All contributions to the Foundation qualify as tax-deductible. (top)

### **Stokes Speaks to Huguenot Society on Jefferson and Religious Freedom**

On March 25, 2000, JLF Chairman Sydney N. Stokes, Jr. made a presentation to the Huguenot Society and the Daughters of the American Colonists in Nokomis, Florida on "Thomas Jefferson and His Involvement with Religious Freedom." Stokes reminded the audience that Jefferson doesn't get all the credit for establishing religious freedom in America. "Thomas Jefferson and James Madison share the honor of giving us the arguments and language, by legislative and executive leadership, which made religious freedom possible," Stokes said. Jefferson's Virginia Statute was a major step forward. With Madison's guidance, it led to the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1791. Theological historian Martin Marty calls the Statute, "a hinge between ages." Harvard historian Bernard Bailyn refers to it the "most important document in American history bar none." Pope John Paul describes freedom of conscience as "the foundation for all other human rights."

Shared commitment to religious and intellectual freedom brought Jefferson and Madison together in 1776, the beginning of a working relationship, which has appropriately been called "the great collaboration." Stokes summed up: "Jefferson was a deeply religious man who considered religion an important part of a free society. While he would not prescribe religious exercises, he invited people to pray. The wall of separation was meant to prohibit the state from sanctioning any particular religion. This is consistent with Jefferson's belief that all religions share common values that should be encouraged in public and private." (top)

## JLF Produces Web Site Project for Colonial Williamsburg

Working with MADISONFILM, Inc, the JLF is producing an internet multimedia presentation, [Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium](#) for Colonial Williamsburg, which commissioned the work as part of its special July web site presentation, "Birthday Card to the Nation." It is a spin-off of a project the JLF has been working on for nearly a decade: a comprehensive monograph complete with supporting documentation submitting that Thomas Jefferson best articulated and personally exemplified the great ideas about freedom, responsibility, and possibility that have illuminated our history for the past thousand years. The site ([www.history.org](http://www.history.org)) is expected to receive as many as 250,000 visitors in July. We view this as our greatest opportunity yet to further our mission, reach a broad audience, and work with an extraordinary partner in preserving the history of the early American republic.(top)

### Calendar of JLF Events

- June 17-18: JLF Exhibit at Vermont History Expo 2000 in Tunbridge, VT.
- July 20: JLF co-sponsors with Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History a Lake Champlain Boat Tour retracing part of the Jefferson/Madison 1791 journey.
- September: "The Northern Journey" exhibit travels to the Berkshire School in Sheffield, Massachusetts. (top)

### Worth Noting

- JLF President Bud Leeds participated in a program with Ken Burns in connection with the Sarasota Film Festival in January. Burns, the PBS documentary guru who created *Jefferson*, gave a key-note speech to hundreds of people. Early in his presentation, Burns's principal theme was "Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium." He called Jefferson "a kind of Rosetta Stone of the American experience, a massive tectonic intelligence that has formed and rattled the fault lines of our history, our present moment, and, if we are lucky, our future."
- The JLF and Ethan Allen Institute co-sponsored the 7th Annual Jefferson Day Dinner on Tuesday, April 11. Featured speaker was Professor Frank Shuffelton of the Department of English and American Literature at the University of Rochester speaking on "Jefferson and the American National Understanding."
- On September 10-12, the Colonial Williamsburg Institute hosts a conference, "Thomas Jefferson and the Second American Revolution: The Election of 1800." The program includes outstanding faculty and character interpreters Bill Barker and Steve Perlman.
- The Library of Congress offers both online and physical exhibits featuring Thomas Jefferson as part of its Bicentennial Celebration ([www.locweb.loc.gov/exhibits/jefferson](http://www.locweb.loc.gov/exhibits/jefferson)). The exhibit traces the origins and evolution of Jefferson's thinking and examines its influence.

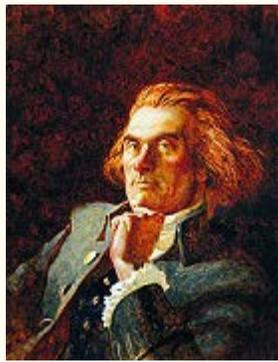
The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's *News and Comment* is published on a periodic basis and provided to members and friends of the JLF. For more information, contact News and Comment editor Wendy Leeds at The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, PO Box

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### Celebrating the Bicentennial of the "Bloodless Revolution of 1800": A Prelude to Jefferson's Presidency

The American Revolution offers no exception to the historical truth that it is easier to start a revolution than to end one. The Revolution did not end in 1776 with independence or in 1783 with the treaty of peace or, indeed, in 1789 with the establishment of government under the Constitution. The Constitution struck a new balance between the claims of liberty and authority, and it rapidly became the standard of legitimacy for all Americans. But the Constitution neither explained nor executed itself. As men set about the work of breathing life into it, serious disagreements arose, issues of policy escalated into issues of principle, and two great political parties took form. For the ensuing decade the conflict shook the foundations of government.

At the core of the conflict were competing conceptions of freedom in the American republic, still a precarious experiment with an uncertain future. One party, the Federalists, who had brought the government into being, subordinated freedom to its design for order and stability, while the opposition party, the Republicans, believed this was a betrayal of the experiment itself. The great issue descended from the American Revolution. It was powerfully reinforced by the French Revolution, begun in the same year as the new government, and raising the same issue in the Atlantic world.

In order to complete the American Revolution, to secure the principles of freedom and self-government, it became necessary in the eyes of the Republicans to defeat the Federalists. And when they did, they called the victory "the revolution of 1800."

It was, therefore, at the crossroads of politics during a turbulent decade that the American Revolution was decisively, if not finally, played out. The cast of characters was much the same, for the American Revolution, unlike so many others, most

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especially the French, did not "consume its own children." The men who attended its birth became its executors in the 1790s, though they divided on the road it should travel; and there is more than symbolic significance in the fact that the author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, presided over "the revolution of 1800."

Thus was completed the first democratic transfer of power in American history, indeed in the history of modern politics. Jefferson stated that the revolution of 1800 was "as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form; not effected indeed by the sword, as that, but by the rational and peaceable instrument of reform, the suffrage of the people."

His Inaugural Address disclosed the nature of this revolution. In one aspect, the address was lofty summation of the Republican creed. Tracing its origins back to the American Revolution, Jefferson authenticated this creed for the national consciousness. In another aspect, the address was a bold bid for the restoration of harmony and affection. Believing that the mass of Americans, returned to their true sight, were fundamentally united in their political sentiments, Jefferson sought to quiet the storms of the past decade, to extinguish hatreds and fanaticism, to vanquish European fears and affections, thus to enable America to realize its destiny as "a chosen country," "the world's best hope" for freedom.

Finally, and above all, the First Inaugural was a commitment to ongoing political change through the democratic process of open debate, popular participation, and free elections. Jefferson named "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force." This principle, to be effective, demanded freedom of inquiry and opinion, together with the right of any minority to turn itself into a new majority. "If there be any among us," he said, alluding to the delusions of '98, "who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

Federalist leaders had reckoned the strength of government on Old World standards: army and navy, the patronage of "the rich, the well born and the able," great treasury, ministerial mastery, central command, the panoply of office and the splendor of state. But Jefferson called the American government, for all its feebleness by these standards, "the strongest government on earth," because it was the only one founded on the energies, the affections, the opinions, and the suffrages of the people. This was the authentic "revolution of 1800," and it anchored the government firmly in the revolutionary heritage of freedom. The Constitution became an instrument of democracy, change became possible without violence or destruction, and the process began by which the government could go forward with the ongoing consent of the people.

*This article was written by Merrill D. Peterson, a member of the Jefferson Legacy Foundation Board of Directors and professor of history emeritus at the University of Virginia. He is the author of numerous publications and is widely acknowledged as the leading Jefferson scholar in the world today. This is an excerpt of an essay that will appear in its entirety in a monograph to be published by the JLF in March 2001 to mark the bicentennial of Thomas Jefferson's inauguration as the third president of the United States. Contact the JLF if you would like more information. [\(top\)](#)*

## **SUMMER A BUSY TIME FOR JLF EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH**

### **Thousands Attend Vermont History Expo 2000**

This June the Jefferson Legacy Foundation participated in the first-ever Vermont History Expo 2000, held at the Tunbridge Fair Grounds in Tunbridge, Vermont. The richness and diversity of Vermont's history was exhibited by over 80 organizations in

one central location. Despite downpours on both days, more than 8,000 people attended. Spirits were high, exhibits were informative, and performances were entertaining. As part of the Children's Heritage program at the History Expo, the JLF commissioned the "Traveling Storyteller" to create and present a high-quality, educational, and amusing puppet show about Thomas Jefferson's life and the American Revolution, delighting children and adults alike. The JLF booth was visited by hundreds of people, many of whom were learning for the first time about Jefferson's visit to Vermont and his role in Vermont statehood in 1791. ([top](#))

## **JLF Gets Its Hands Dirty in Ripton Community Garden Project**

The JLF is sharing the ideals of Thomas Jefferson as a model for effective citizenship, meaningful human relationships, and pursuit and fulfillment of individual potential with a Community Garden outreach program. As Jefferson said, "No occupation is so delightful to me as the culture of the earth, and no culture comparable to that of the garden." This year the JLF began planning and implementation of a program to support the Community Garden at the Ripton, Vermont Elementary School.

Community Garden activities are designed to nurture the wonder and appreciation that come from building a relationship with the land. They teach about responsible resource management and sustainable living, models for living demonstrated by Jefferson and his efforts at Monticello. Like Monticello, the Community Garden becomes not only a useful source of food for the school and the community, but also a laboratory for experimentation, learning, and creativity. Many students and community members have already seen that land is a precious gift, a resource that can be used without being abused. Many have shared the experience of a strengthened community, a sense of pride and accomplishment that comes from working together in a Community Garden. Tangible and intangible benefits of even the most humble Community Garden are abundant.

JLF support of Community Garden activities includes seed donations from the Thomas Jefferson Center for Historic Plants; Children's Garden Kits from Monticello for each of the classrooms; funding support for two part-time summer garden workers; teacher packets to facilitate integration into school curriculum; creation of a 10-week summer garden program; and hands-on help in the garden. ([More information](#))

JLF support of the garden project has helped bring together community members and elementary school students to further the success of a garden that has been operating for four years. Curriculum planning and teacher collaboration continues, including a 2000-2001 school year program. ([top](#))

## **Lake Champlain Boat Tour Provides Ideal Setting for the Story of Thomas Jefferson's Northern Journey**

In a letter to his daughter dated May 8, 1791, Thomas Jefferson described a trip he was taking with James Madison, which included plans to "go up to Albany and Lake George, then across over to Bennington and so through Vermont to the Connecticut River..." They traveled 920 miles by boat and horseback in little more than a month. While Jefferson only spent three days in Vermont on a "botanizing excursion" with Madison, his efforts prior to that trip left lasting legacy for the Green Mountain State. As Secretary of State, Jefferson proved instrumental in bringing Vermont into the Union in March of 1791 as the 14th state. Why did they come? Who did they visit? Where in Vermont did their route entail? To tell the fascinating story of Jefferson and Madison in Vermont, the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History and the JLF sponsored two sold-out historical cruises on Lake Champlain on the MV Carillon. Historian and JLF Chairman Sydney N. "Chip" Stokes, Jr., provided the historical background and context for an enlightening evening with the perfect

backdrop.[\(top\)](#)

## A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Since 1993, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has been challenging people, through examination of Thomas Jefferson's ideas and accomplishments, to build upon the best of our past to address present challenges and to shape our future. With a part-time paid staff of one and a small, committed board of directors, we have pursued projects from the local community garden to a major web site production with the potential to reach millions. We have achieved a great deal in a relatively short period of time, with few human and material resources. Yet, much remains to be done.

Last February we made the fortuitous decision to appoint Peggy Burns to the position of JLF Director. Nothing has been the same since! Peggy has been helping us to set priorities and to pursue our efforts in an increasingly strategic and productive manner. We immediately began work on several projects, including a new JLF brochure; the overhaul of our website; the introduction of this newsletter; and the creation of a membership component of the JLF to enable kindred spirits to support our mission. We are also working on a long-term strategic plan, fundraising and development, marketing and public relations, educational outreach programs, and potential partnerships and other working relationships.

Peggy is a graduate of Georgetown University with more than twenty years of professional experience, mostly in publishing (John Wiley & Sons; Transaction Publishers; et al). Peggy recently relocated from New Jersey to Vermont. Her passion for history, politics, and civic issues (along with luck and, perhaps, fate) led her to the door of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation. Fortunately, when opportunity (in the form of Peggy Burns) knocked, we answered! We welcome Peggy Burns and are grateful for her efforts.

Clarence W. "Bud" Leeds, III, President  
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## NOTEWORTHY

- The multimedia presentation, Thomas Jefferson: Man of the Millennium, a joint project of the JLF and Colonial Williamsburg, will continue to be hosted on Colonial Williamsburg's web site through Summer 2001 as part of its educational program. It can be viewed at [www.history.org/holiday](http://www.history.org/holiday).
- The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation and the Thomas Jefferson Heritage Society (formerly known as The Thomas Jefferson Foundation) stated in a recent press release that they have "resolved amicably all disputes between them with respect to use of the name Thomas Jefferson Foundation." TJMF Chairman Brenton Halsey said, "We are pleased that this lawsuit has been resolved in a way that allows scholarly research to continue on both sides ..."
- At [www.election.com](http://www.election.com), users can examine "the first online global election company committed to making democracy work better." This web site enables "greater participation by giving voters more choices in how they vote." Also, online voter registration and information about various issues are available at [www.rockthevote.org](http://www.rockthevote.org).
- "A Splendid Misery: Jefferson, Politics and the Presidency." Inspired by the presidential election of 2000, the Monticello daytime winter tour will focus on the political side of Thomas Jefferson, from the heated presidential race of

1800 through his years as President, an office he once referred to as "a splendid misery." December 1, 2000 -- February 29, 2001. ([top](#))

## JOIN US:

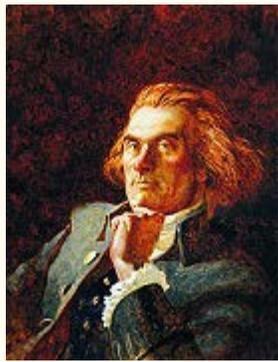
We urge you and other "kindred spirits" to join our efforts and become a member of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation. We seek support in advancing our mission: to encourage participation in public affairs in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals. We advocate continued examination of Thomas Jefferson's legacy, particularly as it applies to self-government, religious and intellectual freedom, and education. Charter members who join at the \$100 "sustaining" level of membership will receive an autographed copy of Merrill D. Peterson's classic, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. For more information, call, write, or e-mail us; or visit our web site. [Details...](#)

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's News and Comment is published on a periodic basis and provided to members and friends of the JLF. For more information, contact News and Comment editor Wendy Leeds at The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, P.O. Box 76, Ripton, Vermont 05766.



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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

Internet Edition

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### Liberty and Power: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and "the Mutual Influence of These Two Mighty Minds"

*The following is an excerpt of a talk given by James Morton Smith during an "Evening Conversation" at Monticello, sponsored by The Jefferson Legacy Foundation on May 23rd (see related article).*

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison first met in Williamsburg, Virginia, in October 1776. Jefferson, a veteran legislator at thirty-three, had written the Declaration of Independence that summer, then resigned from the Continental Congress, and hurried home to share in the modeling of new governments. Madison, a freshman legislator at twenty-five, had shaped the religious liberty guarantee in the Virginia Declaration of Rights in early June before voting for the Virginia Constitution on June 29, 1776, the first of the new state governments established during the American Revolution.

When the two men met in the Virginia Assembly in the fall, Jefferson was "one of the most learned men of the age," Madison later recalled, "a walking Library," whose "relish for books never forsook him." Indeed, Jefferson was a prodigy with whom "the Genius of philosophy ever walked hand in hand." Madison was impressed by the remarkable range of Jefferson's readings in a variety of languages: French, Italian, and Spanish as well as "Anglo-Saxon, as a root of. . .English" and an element in legal philosophy. The law itself "he studied to the bottom," Madison wrote, "and in its greatest breadth, of which proofs were given at the Bar which he attended for a number of years, and occasionally throughout his career. For all the fine arts, he had a more commontaste; and in that of architecture, which he studied in both its useful, and its ornamental characters, he made himself an adept; as the variety of orders and stiles [sic], executed according to his plan founded in the Grecian and Roman models and under his superintendance, which the Buildings of the University of Virginia fully exemplify."

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Dr. Robley Dunglison, professor of medicine at the University of Virginia who became the physician to both Jefferson and Madison, admired the intellectual powers of both, but he thought that "Mr. Jefferson had more imagination, Mr. Madison excelled perhaps in judgment." And John Quincy Adams, who knew both of the men well, agreed. "The influence of Mr. Jefferson over the mind of Mr. Madison, was composed of all that genius, talent, experience, splendid public services, exalted reputation, added to the congenial tempers, undivided friendship and habitual sympathies of interest and of feeling could inspire. Among the numerous blessings which it was the good fortune of Mr. Jefferson's life to enjoy, was that of the uninterrupted, disinterested, and efficient friendship of Madison. But it was the friendship of a mind not inferior in capacity and tempered with a calmer sensibility and a cooler judgment than his own."

Jefferson was the more speculative, inventive, and theoretical, gifted at making generalizations, coining powerful metaphors, and writing felicitous prose. Madison was more tough-minded, more analytical, more pragmatic, the more persistent student of politics, the harder-headed thinker on the art of the possible. Jefferson was the eternal optimist, thinking always in terms of human happiness. Madison was the occasional pessimist, constantly aware of the power of human selfishness.

In balancing the elements of liberty and power in a republican system, Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, tended to emphasize the first, fearing governmental power as a threat to liberty. Madison, the Father of the Constitution, tended to stress the second, viewing the new and more powerful government created by the Philadelphia Convention as a protector of liberty.

As extraordinary as were Jefferson and Madison, even more unusual was the 50-year friendship between them, one that began that fall of 1776 in Williamsburg and ended only with the death of Jefferson in 1826 on the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence. Of this remarkable relationship, Adams observed that "Mr. Madison was the intimate, confidential, and devoted friend of Mr. Jefferson, and the mutual influence of these two mighty minds upon each other is a phenomenon, like the invisible and mysterious movements of the magnet in the physical world, and in which the sagacity of the future historian may discover the solution of much of our national history not otherwise easily accountable."

*James Morton Smith is Director Emeritus of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and editor of the widely praised, three-volume, The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, published by W.W. Norton.*

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## NEWS FROM THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

### Happy Birthday, Mr. Jefferson

Despite a big snowstorm and a short power outage, The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's first annual *Birthday Party for Thomas Jefferson* held on March 31st was a huge success. Thirty-five children, fifteen adults, and a dozen volunteers participated. The Ripton Community House came alive with balloons, posters, and inspiring Jefferson quotes peppered about. Winning names were drawn every half hour for a book raffle, with more than 30 wonderful books donated by the Vermont Book Shop in Middlebury. Six thematic hands-on activity tables included Agriculture, Architecture, Arts & Crafts, TJ the Inventor, Science & Nature, and Voting. The Henry Sheldon Museum for Vermont History in Middlebury provided educational kits for the Colonial Games area. Children dressed up in colonial outfits, churned butter, and played with toys from Jefferson's day. They planted seeds from Monticello, looked through microscopes on loan from Middlebury College, completed an architectural

paper model of the Rotunda, made puppets, and participated in a mock election. The party finished with a birthday cake and the JLF's very own puppet show, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, performed by The Traveling Storyteller. The adults loved it, but how did we do with the kids? This comment from a fourth-grader in attendance says it all: "Thomas Jefferson was a cool guy. And the cake was great!" Visit our web site for photos of the fun.

On another celebratory front, JLF President Clarence W. "Bud" Leeds, III, represented the Jefferson Legacy Foundation at a White House gathering on April 12th marking the 258th birthday of Thomas Jefferson on the following day. President George W. Bush provided opening remarks, expressing his admiration for Jefferson, and Colonial Williamsburg's Jefferson interpreter Bill Barker read from Jefferson's 1801 inaugural address.

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## THE JLF Welcomes Frank Shuffelton to the Board of Directors

The The Jefferson Legacy Foundation is delighted to announce that Frank Shuffelton, professor in the department of English and American Literature at the University of Rochester where he has been teaching for nearly 30 years, has joined our Board of Directors. He has served on numerous literary and editorial boards, including *Early American Literature and Journal of the History of Ideas*. He also served as vice-president and president successively from 1996 to 1999 for the Society of Eighteenth-Century American Studies. He is author of numerous articles for publications, including *New England Quarterly* and *Early American Literature*. Through a collaboration with Monticello, the University of Virginia, and The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, a web site has been created that lists more than 5,000 titles from Shuffelton's two-volume *Thomas Jefferson: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Writings About Him* ([etext.virginia.edu/jefferson/bibliog](http://etext.virginia.edu/jefferson/bibliog)).

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## An Evening Conversation at Monticello

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation sponsored an "Evening Conversation" on the west lawn of Monticello, Wednesday, May 23rd. Since 1993, Monticello has hosted a series of "Evening Conversations." After a social hour and tour of the house and grounds, a special guest speaks on a topic related to Thomas Jefferson, followed by a question-and-answer period and reception.

The theme of our "Conversation" was a fascinating talk on "Thomas Jefferson and James Madison," with James Morton Smith as guest speaker. Professor Smith is Director Emeritus of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and editor of the widely praised, three-volume, *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison*, published by W.W. Norton. Book News called the work "a beautiful job . . . and an obvious labor of love."

The JLF also used the affair to honor Sydney Nelson Stokes, Sr., a founding member of the JLF Board of Directors and generous contributor, on the occasion of his 90th birthday. [\(top\)](#)

## A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Thomas Jefferson's Birthday. My father's 90th birthday on May 8th. Father's Day. These occasions have gotten me thinking about heroes. People may think that Thomas Jefferson is my hero. But in truth, long before I discovered the American Revolution, or even books for that matter, it was my parents who were my heroes. They kept me from falling through the cracks in school. They also supported my decision to leave the rat race in New York and encouraged me to pursue my interest

in Jefferson studies.

My father has some things in common with Mr. Jefferson. He is the very kind of citizen the Founders said we needed, in my father's case, working quietly behind the scenes to make things happen. He has, for instance, been The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's greatest advocate and supporter since we began to pursue our mission in 1993. He still remains a driving force behind it all. In fact, he is the one who came up with the name to best represent our mission: The Jefferson Legacy Foundation.

Moreover, public service has been a tradition in my father's family since 1908. In 1952 *The New Haven Register* chronicled the civic life of his father. It is clear that my father has continued an impressive legacy from what the newspaper then called "a young and hopeful immigrant [from England] who landed in New York in 1896." Through the efforts of the JLF, I'd like to think we are continuing that legacy as well.

Over the years, I remember two themes of advice from my father: (1) Kill them with kindness, and (2) Much can be accomplished if we don't worry about who gets the credit. He has lived up to Jefferson's advice of "taking things always by their smooth handle." These philosophies are a model for living—a model that guides me personally *and* as Chairman of the Jefferson Legacy Foundation. Thanks to heroes, old friends, and new members, much has been accomplished. And there is much more to be done. You can help.

Sydney Nelson Stokes, Jr.

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## NOTEWORTHY

- In preparation for bicentennial commemoration activities in 2003, a number of pages devoted to Jefferson and the Lewis & Clark Expedition have been added to Monticello's web site, [www.monticello.org](http://www.monticello.org). Among the features on these illustrated pages are an essay on Jefferson's long fascination with the American West, a chronology of his involvement with Western exploration, the texts of his letter to Congress and his instructions to Lewis, a bibliography, a calendar of events, and links to other relevant sites on the Internet.
- The JLF's exhibit, *The Northern Journey of Thomas Jefferson & James Madison and Jefferson's Role in Vermont Statehood, 1791*, is currently on display at Berkshire School in Sheffield, Massachusetts. The exhibit opened in late April and will be up throughout the summer. Call 413-229-1390 for more information.
- *Religion and the Founding of the American Republic*, a traveling exhibit organized by the Library of Congress, will be on display at the Virginia Historical Society from June 7 through August 19, 2001. Through more than 200 objects and original documents, the exhibit explores how the First Amendment was conceived and addresses how the Founding Fathers defined the relationship between religion and government. Call 804-358-4901 or visit their web site at [www.vahistorical.org](http://www.vahistorical.org) for more info.
- Congratulations to JLF Director *Emeritus* and Pulitzer Prize-winning author, David McCullough, on the publication of his latest work, *John Adams*, just out from Simon & Schuster.

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## The JLF Publishes Its First Monograph

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has published its first monograph, *Discourse*. Marking the bicentennial of the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson on March 4, 1801, the theme of this thought-provoking issue is "The Election of 1800: Context and Implications for *A Rising Nation*. . ." Articles include "The New Republic of 1790s: Prelude to Revolution," "The World in 1800," and "Jefferson as President: A Bibliographic Essay." We hope to make *Discourse* an annual publication. Contact the JLF to order a copy.

## JOIN US:

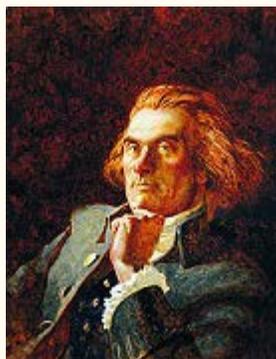
We urge you and other "kindred spirits" to join our efforts and become a member of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation. We seek support in advancing our mission: to encourage participation in public affairs in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals. We advocate continued examination of Thomas Jefferson's legacy, particularly as it applies to self-government, religious and intellectual freedom, and education. Charter members who join at the \$100 "sustaining" level of membership will receive an autographed copy of Merrill D. Peterson's classic, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. For more information, call, write, or e-mail us; or visit our web site. [Details...](#)

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation's News and Comment is published on a periodic basis and provided to members and friends of the JLF. For more information, contact News and Comment editor Wendy Leeds at The Jefferson Legacy Foundation, P.O. Box 76, Ripton, Vermont 05766.



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## NEWS AND COMMENT

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### Thomas Jefferson and the People's Government by Frank Shuffelton

For more than 200 years, people of diverse — and opposing-political leanings have professed Thomas Jefferson to be one of their own, the embodiment of their beliefs. For example, Jefferson has been claimed by liberals and conservatives alike. More recently, libertarians have pointed to Jefferson's letter to Sam Kercheval in July of 1816. "The true foundation of republican government," Jefferson wrote, "is the equal right of every citizen in his person and property, and in their management." (Thomas Jefferson: Political Writings, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 212). Kercheval, a resident of Winchester, Virginia, had been agitating for a convention to write a new state constitution, and he felt sure he would gain the support of Jefferson, who had been trying to give Virginia a new constitution since 1776.

Jefferson's response to Kercheval in 1816 outlined the necessity of "ward republics," small units of local government, within Virginia's existing counties. The counties were too large for direct participation of all the voters, thought Jefferson, but dividing the counties into "wards of such size as that every citizen can attend, when called on, and act in person ... will relieve the county administration of nearly all its business, will have it better done, and by making every citizen an acting member of the government, and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him, will attach him by his strongest feelings to the independence of his country, and its republican constitution." (Political Writings, 213)

Furthermore, since Jefferson thought that such ward republics, among their other functions, should elect jurors, these units of local government would act as a restraint on the judicial as well as the legislative and executive branches of government.

The so-called "liberal, conservative, or libertarian Jefferson" might seem to be just another of the many contradictions that he supposedly embodies, but these Jeffersons are perhaps less contradictory than they seem: for behind each position is a political thinker and statesman who is confident in the ability of ordinary men and women to govern themselves as citizens of a nation. Jefferson strongly believed that liberty could only be preserved by a knowledgeable people willing to act on the basis of their reason

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and morality. As he wrote from France to a Virginia correspondent, "Cherish therefore the spirit of our people, and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you & I, & Congress & Assemblies, judges & governors shall all become wolves." (Political Writings, 153) If a republican government had a responsibility to be open about its affairs with the citizens, it therefore had another responsibility as well: to provide for their education, for the acquisition of knowledge that would enhance their natural powers of judgment and moral sense.

Between 1776 and 1779 Jefferson served on the "Committee of Revisors" with George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton to revise Virginia's laws. He is most remembered for his authorship of the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, and when in France he later informed Wythe that the law on religious freedom was "extremely applauded." But he went on to say, "I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised, for the preservation of freedom and happiness ... Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the people." (Political Writings, 251)

Jefferson's Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge [1779] was never passed in the form he proposed—in fact, only well into the nineteenth century did Virginia set up a system of mandatory common schools — but he continued to campaign for public education as the safeguard of republican citizenship. One of the crowning achievements of his life was the University of Virginia whose ultimate object was to form its students "to the habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves." (Political Writings, 300)

When we look closely at Jefferson's 1779 education bill and his later plan for the University (1818), we notice a number of interesting features. The 1779 bill proposed a three-tiered system of public education from primary schools, through what we would know as high schools, and finally to college. Because the College of William and Mary already existed, the Bill focused on the primary and secondary levels. Jefferson's Bill proposed that each county would be divided into "hundreds ... so as that they may contain a convenient number of children to make up a school, and be of such convenient size that all the children within each hundred may daily attend the school to be established therein." Jefferson's deliberate use of the term "hundreds" echoes the Anglo-Saxon term for such a political sub-division because he along with many of his contemporaries believed that English liberties—and by extension American liberties—were rooted in Anglo-Saxon political life. Moreover, in these "hundreds" we see the origins of Jefferson's later conception of "ward republics," political units so small that "every citizen, can attend, when called on, and act in person." (Political Writings, 212) Just as the schools were envisioned as a tiered system, so the ward republics were the smallest, most intimate scenes of political life and the basis for state republics and the national republic.

Jefferson's ward republics turn out to be an expanded version of his earlier "school hundreds," reconceived now as sites in which adults can practice citizenship as the unbounded use of reason. His theory of ward republics evolved in parallel with his concern for an enlightened citizenry; recognizing the affinity between Jefferson's ideas for education in Virginia and his plan for a tier of republics with the system of local governments supporting it all, we discover that his scheme may not be so utopian after all.

If government in the United States has evolved in directions contrary to Jefferson's wishes, at least his dream of local political life still survives in our school systems. Perhaps to truly understand the role of Jeffersonian liberty in our society we need to look more closely at the political implications of his ideas about schools. The idea of the ward republic, that bastion of local government and face-to-face politics, is certainly a central expression of his confidence in an enlightened people — but it is also the

ground upon which young Americans would first exercise their reason in the interest of citizenship.

Frank Shuffelton is a member of The Jefferson Legacy Foundation Board of Directors and professor in the department of English and American Literature at the University of Rochester. This article is based on lectures sponsored by the JLF and the Vermont Humanities Council, which he presented at Chimney Point and Old Constitution House State Historic Sites.

## **Thomas L. Benson Assumes JLF Presidency**

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation is delighted to announce the unanimous election of JLF Board Director Thomas L. Benson to President. President Emeritus Clarence W. Leeds, III, has been named Vice-Chairman. Look for a complete profile of Tom Benson in the next issue of News and Comment as well as on our web site ([www.jeffersonlegacy.org](http://www.jeffersonlegacy.org).)

## **Jefferson & Adams Draws Raves in VT and VA**

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation was proud to present a dramatic production of Howard Ginsberg's stage play, *Jefferson & Adams*, to audiences in Colonial Williamsburg and Middlebury, Vermont in Summer 2002. As described in a past issue of News and Comment, the JLF first co-produced *Jefferson & Adams* at the newly restored Kimball Theatre in Colonial Williamsburg as a costumed reading in October 2001. It traveled there once again for three performances (as a full production) in July 2002 before more than 1,000 people, receiving standing ovations.

We were privileged to received the following note from a member of the audience in Williamsburg: "I have just joined your wonderful organization, and I had to write to tell you that my husband and I were privileged to see last night the fabulous production you sponsored, *Jefferson & Adams*. We live in Williamsburg and feel so fortunate to be able to experience so many of the terrific programs and productions at Colonial Williamsburg. The play we saw last night is one of the finest we have ever seen! [The actors] were superlative! What a fabulous way to learn history! I sat in the audience wishing that every single person in our country could see this play and learn about the relationship between these extraordinary leaders! How blessed was our young country to have these men to guide and mold it. Thank you for all you are doing to educate our citizens about Thomas Jefferson and the incredible legacy he left for us."

The JLF was delighted to then bring a production of *Jefferson & Adams* to its own backyard in Middlebury, Vermont in August. With both shows sold out a week before the performances, we were extremely gratified by the interest and enthusiasm that greeted the production, including three curtain calls on opening night. The Town Hall Theater provided a wonderfully intimate setting for actors and audience alike. A member of the audience wrote, "Sunday evening my wife and I were treated to a great evening at the theater. The production of *Jefferson & Adams* was the most inspiring and moving piece I've seen in years. It certainly won't soon be forgotten. Thank you for the part that you played in bringing it to Middlebury."

*Jefferson & Adams* tells the story of the turbulent 50-year friendship through the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Abigail Adams. The play focuses on both the intersections and divergences in their lives and beliefs from their work together at the Continental Congress until the year of their deaths. The two summer productions were directed by Douglas Anderson and featured Bill Barker as Thomas Jefferson, Sam Goodyear as John Adams, and Abigail Schumann as Abigail Adams.

The United States is facing its most challenging tests at this time. We are asking

ourselves what we stand for, where our national character is rooted, what we aspire to perpetuate and preserve. Jefferson & Adams provides two hours of thought-provoking and stimulating awareness of America as a nation and America as a people. The JLF is seeking significant funding to bring the play to a wider audience through grants, private contributions, and corporate sponsorship. Venues include historic and restored theaters throughout the country. Jefferson & Adams is an extraordinary vehicle with which to further our mission and is assuming a significant role as part of the JLF's outreach programs to encourage civic responsibility. It is an inspiring example of the two great minds of American independence.

## A Letter from the Chairman

With record-low voter turnout in the election behind us, we would like to bring your attention to this issue's feature article, "Thomas Jefferson and the People's Government," by Frank Shuffelton, along with former U.S. Senator Gary Hart's new book, *Restoration of the Republic: The Jeffersonian Ideal in the 21st Century* (Oxford University Press, 2002). Each examines Thomas Jefferson's vision of free society, offering the most timely and relevant treatment of that vision ever published. For Jefferson, free society is more than just citizen rights. It is about the responsibilities that accompany those rights — the responsibility of informed participation.

As America debates the troubling aftermath of 9/11, Hart and Shuffelton succeed in identifying what has been called "the revolutionary tradition and its lost treasure" - the town meeting system of self-government — and the failure to incorporate this system into our constitutional framework. This failure was a direct result of Shays Rebellion in 1786, an event which caused fears of anarchy and violence. In response to those fears, the United States adopted an elaborate check and balance scheme based on representation.

Hart's book and Shuffelton's article focus on this tragic oversight in our political development, and they re-establish Jefferson as the primary exponent for a public space where the voice of the whole people can be, as Jefferson said, "fairly, fully, and peacefully expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of society." Jefferson believed that violence could be avoided by creating, along with public education, a place for a redress of grievances. A place, he thought, where citizens could be "participator[s] in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day."

Jefferson's vision of republican government has profound implications for the 21st century, and both Hart and Shuffelton deserve high praise for identifying and bringing focus to the central legacy of Thomas Jefferson.

Sydney N. Stokes, Jr., Chairman

## JLF Publishes BroadSides

The Jefferson Legacy Foundation has published a set of three BroadSides representing Thomas Jefferson's "triple faith" in self-government, religious freedom, and education. The BroadSides are: *The Declaration of American Independence, 1776*; *the Statue of Virginia for Religious Freedom, 1777*; and *Goals for Public Education, 1778/1818*. Jefferson intended these documents to serve as instruments by which people live in free society. Please call us for more information or visit our web site.

## Noteworthy

- JLF Chairman Chip Stokes and the JLF Library were featured in a lengthy Associated Press interview by reporter Krista Larson that ran in newspapers across the country on the Fourth of July. As a result, we received many e-mails,

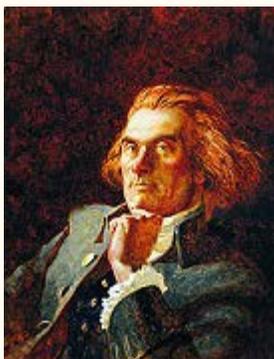
phone calls, and letters from people interested in learning more about our mission.

- The JLF co-sponsored (along with the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia) an Evening Conversation at Monticello in July. Guest speaker Ted Koppel provided a fascinating and illuminating evening of discussion.
- Hardly slowing down long enough to celebrate his 80th birthday, Norman Lear is spearheading the Declaration of Independence Road Trip-a three-and-a-half-year cross country tour which began on July 3, 2001 to rekindle a "connection to country" in Americans of all ages. Lear's presentation illustrates the "cherished values and ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence that laid the foundation for personal freedoms and individual rights." Bringing the multi-media presentation (which includes one of only 25 known original Declaration of Independence broadsides) to towns and cities across America, Lear wants to inspire participation in free society-to "get Americans to their feet." For more information visit [www.independenceroadtrip.org](http://www.independenceroadtrip.org)
- The JLF was delighted to welcome Natalie Bober, distinguished historian and author, in October. We were also happy to again host Thomas Jefferson Foundation Librarian Jack Robertson in August, in town to attend Frank Shuffelton's lecture at Chimney Point (see related article).
- The JLF presented the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation with a Declaration of Independence broadside (see related article) on the occasion of "Old Home Day" at the site. Founding Father interpreters (Bill Barker as Jefferson, Bill Sommerfield as Washington, and Jim Cooke as Coolidge) participated in a roundtable discussion on such topics as democracy, independence, and governance.
- The JLF had a rewarding year with its outreach program. In April, 200 children, parents, and teachers attended our birthday for Thomas Jefferson, featuring an appearance by the Thomas Jefferson Lady; in June, we brought Colonial Williamsburg's Bill Barker to the Vermont History Expo, where a standing-room-only crowd enjoyed his interpretation of Thomas Jefferson; then we presented two productions of Jefferson & Adams (see related article); our exhibit, 1791: Thomas Jefferson & James Madison in Vermont, was mounted in two historic Vermont venues throughout the summer, complemented by lectures by Board member Frank Shuffelton; we had a third successful summer in the Community Garden; and, finally, we are helping local schools commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Lewis & Clark Expedition with the distribution of Monticello's poster series and teacher's guide.



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# THE JEFFERSON LEGACY FOUNDATION

Inspiring participation in public affairs —  
in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's life, thought, and ideals.

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