

His Masterly Pen

A BIOGRAPHY OF
JEFFERSON
THE WRITER

Fred Kaplan



HARPER

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NOTES

A NOTE ON SOURCES

Jefferson biography has been written mostly by political historians. The biographical emphasis has been on Jefferson as a political figure and political thinker. There are many fine biographical and analytical books about different periods in his life, especially his authorship of the Declaration; there are fine studies of his intellectual development, his personality, his engagement with his peers, his family relationships, his life as a slave-owner, and his relationship with his mistress, Sally Hemings. Dumas Malone deserves credit for his pioneering six-volume biography. So too does Fawn Brodie for her pathbreaking *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, the prelude to later fine explorations of Jefferson in excellent books by Peter Onuf, Joseph Ellis, Annette Gordon-Reed, and a host of exemplary scholars whose names anchor the endnotes to this book. No Jefferson biographer can avoid an immense debt to Julian Boyd and his heirs, the editors of the main series and the retirement series of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*.

This biography is anchored in primary sources, particularly Jefferson's own words. It is also indebted to many secondary sources.

Some are broad biographies and/or historical and interpretive overviews of aspects of Jefferson's culture, context, career, mind, and life. Some are focused on a particular issue or period. It would be tedious to acknowledge repeatedly in my notes the books that have influenced my overall approach to Jefferson and his world. The selective bibliography that follows these notes will suffice to direct the reader toward this valuable secondary literature. In the instances in which the narrative draws on a focused subject, such as Jefferson as a lawyer or Jefferson and the French Revolution, I have cited these works in the notes as books that I have relied on for my narrative in some particular way.

The vast majority of the citations are to Jefferson's own words. All such quotations come from *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Main Series, 1760–1809*, edited by Julian P. Boyd et al., vols. 1–42, currently to March 1804 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950–); or from *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series, 1809–1826*, edited by James P. McClure and Jefferson Looney et al., vols. 1–21, currently to April 1818 (Charlottesville, VA: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2015–). The Rotunda Press at the University of Virginia Press provides digital versions of both series. The National Archives Founders Online website created by the Library of Congress contains the *Thomas Jefferson Papers* without the annotation that the Rotunda and the printed versions provide. I have sometimes quoted from the footnotes in the main series, using Boyd as the citation attribution. The extraordinary contribution of these editors and sponsors has made this book feasible. No biographer of Jefferson can overpraise the editors of the *Thomas Jefferson Papers*.

With a rationale that will not please those editors, however, I have often modernized Jefferson's punctuation, abbreviations, spelling, and contractions (especially his use of "its" for "it's" and vice versa), as well as his practice of starting a sentence with a lowercase letter. In a book for a general readership, readability trumps originalism. I have also dispensed with the convention of "p." for page and "pp." for

pages in citations when what is being indicated is already obvious. The name of every correspondent who has three or more instances in the citations appears as an abbreviation, as below. All of the citations from letters by and to Jefferson come from the *Thomas Jefferson Papers*, the main series or the retirement series, with the exception of those letters not yet published in the *Papers* but which are available in the Founders Online series. It seems to me an unnecessary formality to include in each citation anything more than the name of the correspondent and the date of the letter. Those interested in examining the citation in relation to the letter in which it appears can use a search engine to locate the letter in the *Thomas Jefferson Papers*, which requires paid access, or on Founders Online, made freely available by the Library of Congress. The same is the case for all of Jefferson's writings. I've given a fuller citation in the rare instances in which Jefferson's words come from a source other than these.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA: Abigail Adams

AB: Aaron Burr

AC: Angelica Church

AD: Alexander Donald

BF: Benjamin Franklin

Boyd: Julian P. Boyd, et al.

BR: Benjamin Rush

EP: Edmund Pendleton

EWR: Ellen Wayles Randolph (Coolidge)

FE: Francis Eppes

GG: George Gilmer

GRC: George Rogers Clark

GW: George Washington
JA: John Adams
JBD: John-Baptiste Ducoigne
JJ: John Jay
JO: James Ogilvie
JM: James Madison
JM1: James Monroe
JP: John Page
JR: John Randolph
JT: John Trumbull
MC: Maria Cosway
MP: Mann Page
MJ: Mary Jefferson (Eppes)
MJR: Martha Jefferson Randolph
MVB: Martin Van Buren
NL: Nicholas Lewis
PC: Peter Carr
RP: Richard Price
TJ: Thomas Jefferson
TJA: *Autobiography* (New York: Library of America, 1984).
TJP: *Thomas Jefferson Papers*
TJR: Thomas Jefferson Randolph
TMR: Thomas Mann Randolph Jr.
TP: Tom Paine
WCN: Wilson Cary Nicholas
WGM: William Green Munford
WS: William Short

WS1: William Small

WSS: William Stephens Smith

CHAPTER ONE: MY WATCH HAD LOST ITS SPEECH

- 1 a good poem: Robert Frost, *Collected Poems, Prose, and Plays* (Library of America, New York, 1995), 336. In Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma*, the chorus sings a celebratory version of the theme of Frost's poem: "We know we belong to the land / And the land we belong to is grand." The United States government opened Oklahoma, the last of the territories labeled Indian Territory, to white settlement in 1907. The people of the musical *Oklahoma* are beneficiaries of the belief, from the colonial period on, that in regard to real estate owned by Indian tribes, white Christian expropriation has no moral implications. In his personal life, Jefferson was not an exponent or practitioner of expropriation. As a political leader, his synonym for expropriation was assimilation. In his personal life, he was owned by the land he inherited, "possessed" in Frost's sense. Regarding Indian land, see Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2019).
- 3 Without land ownership: See T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); Robert G. Kennedy, *Mr. Jefferson's Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery, and the Louisiana Purchase* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Christopher Michael Curtis, *Jefferson's Freeholders and the Politics of Ownership in the Old Dominion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Simon Winchester, *Land: How the Hunger for Ownership Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper, 2021). There is an extensive literature on TJ and slavery, starting with TJ's own words in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (see chapter 10), in his discussions of slaves, slavery, manumission, colonization, and emancipation in his letters, and in prominent books in the Jefferson bibliography, especially overviews and biographies.
- 4 "on which I was born and live": TJA, 3–4.
- 5 the family home, Shadwell: See Susan Kern, *The Jeffersons at Shadwell* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
- 6 "To state the differences between": TJ/William Wirt, 8/5/1815.
- 7 "had lost her speech": TJ/JP, 12/25/1762.
- 8 "This very day": TJ/JP, 12/25/1762.
- 8 "3d or 4th settler": TJA, 3.
- 8 "were somewhat greater": TJ/JP, 12/25/1762.
- 9 "When I went to bed": TJ/JP, 12/25/1762.
- 10 had fallen in love with: TJ/JP, 12/25/1762.
- 12 "the mountain": TJ/John Harvie, 1/14/1760.

- 12 “I was at Colo. Peter Randolph’s”: TJ/John Harvie, 1/14/1760.
- 12 “when I recollect”: TJ/TJR, 11/24/1808.
- 13 earliest memory: H. S. Randall, *Life of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1958), 11, 111. See “Tuckahoe” in The Jefferson Monticello, <https://Monticello.org>, in *Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia*.
- 13 “Whatever misfortunes may attend”: TJ/JP, 12/25/1762.
- 16 “will not accept of my service”: TJ/JP, 7/15/1763.
- 17 “Perfect happiness I believe”: TJ/JP, 7/15/1763.
- 18 “In the most melancholy fit”: TJ/JP, 10/7/1763.
- 20 “I began a regular course”: TJ/TJR, 12/7/1808.
- 23 “faithful and beloved Mentor”: TJ/William Duval, 6/14/1806.
- 23 “my most affectionate friend”: TJA, 4–5; TJ, *Notes for the biography of George Wythe*, 8/30/1820.
- 23 “Under temptations and difficulties”: TJ/John Saunderson, 8/31/1820.
- 24 “I am certain that this mode”: TJ/TJR, 11/24/1808.
- 24 to become a lawyer: See Frank L. Dewey, *Thomas Jefferson, Lawyer* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986), 65–70; Edward Dumbaul, *Thomas Jefferson and the Law* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978); and “Jefferson, Thomas, and the Practice of Law,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org>.

CHAPTER TWO: BUILDING HOUSES

- 35 “as I am convinced”: George Wythe/TJ, 3/9/1770.
- 36 “we find it can no longer”: TJ and others, *Virginia Gazette*, 3/20/1773.
- 36 “his very affectionate speech”: TJ, 5/8/1769. That the statement is “purely ceremonial in nature” (Boyd, *TJP* 1.26) is debatable. Those who engage in such ceremonies usually do so because the ceremony represents community values. Does TJ believe that “*the Interests of Great-Britain . . . shall ever be discussed on this ruling Principle, THAT HER INTERESTS, AND OURS, ARE INSEPARABLY THE SAME?*” Or has the 1765 Stamp Act controversy given him pause, reservation, or even opposition to the rule of London? There seems to be no evidence to that effect. Why was he selected to write this resolution? Weren’t there more senior members of the House who might have been asked? Was it a routine task, easily assigned to a new member, something a senior person would be happy not to be assigned? The language of the 1766 and the 1768 resolutions of thanks to the governor differs considerably from the language of the 1769 resolution. See TJ/William Wirt, 8/5/1815; and Henry Read McIlwaine and John Pendleton Kennedy, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia: 1727/1734, 1736/1740* (Virginia State Library, 1905).
- 40 that it and other colonies could be provoked: There were additional issues in Virginia. The elite planters were finding it difficult to pay their debts to British merchants in a timely way or at all, partly because of the seasonal pattern

inherent in an agricultural economy. The gap between the delivery of products from Great Britain and the shipment of harvests to the European markets kept American balances usually in the red. British mercantile regulation required that foreign markets be accessed only through British ports. That made cash flow even more sluggish. Planters like Jefferson believed themselves to be rich. Extravagance was warranted, an expression of status and power. But credit, not tobacco, was king. And many planters spent beyond their means, avatars of extravagance. Sometimes they were victims of blight and bad weather. Bankruptcy lurked; it sometimes pounced. Even for the most competent, like Peter Jefferson, cash was in short supply. Debt was ever present. For some, it created high anxiety. The problem was the cyclic nature of eighteenth-century farming, but it was also the mercantile system, the coercive trading regulations that controlled commerce between Great Britain and its agricultural colonies. See Robert E. Sloan, *Principle and Interest: Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of Debt* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995); and Robert E. Wright, *One Nation Under Debt: Hamilton, Jefferson, and the History of What We Owe* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2008).

- 42 “If in the Course”: Resolutions for an Answer to Governor Botetourt’s Speech, 5/8/1769.
- 44 “Being deeply affected”: TJ signatory, *Virginia Nonimportation Resolutions*, 5/17/1769.
- 47 “I passed through”: TJ/JP, 5/25/1766.
- 47 “I was surprised”: TJ/JP, 5/25/1766.
- 48 “after a long, but agreeable trip”: TJ/Francis Willis, 7/23/1766.
- 48 his little mountain: See Jack McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder* (New York: Holt, 1988); and Roger G. Kennedy, *Mr. Jefferson’s Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery, and the Louisiana Purchase* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- 50 “a Mulatto slave called Sandy”: TJ, 9/7/1769, Advertisement for a Runaway Slave, *Virginia Gazette*.
- 51 “by which I am burned”: TJ/JP, 2/21/1770.
- 52 “I have often thought”: TJ/Charles W. Peale, 8/20/1811.
- 53 “To your committee therefore”: TJ/Archibald Cary and Benjamin Harrison, 12/9/1774.
- 54 “Indeed I should be much happier”: TJ/JP, 2/21/1770.
- 54 “the happiest man”: TJ/JP, 2/21/1770.
- 56 “the compass from Double G.”: TJ/Thomas Adams, 6/1/1771.
- 56 “Come then and bring our dear Tibby”: TJ/Robert Skipwith, 8/3/1771.
- 57 expecting much from the marriage: Bond for Marriage License, 23 December 1771. “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 fifty pounds current money of Virginia, to the payment of which, well and truly to be made we bind ourselves jointly and severally, our joint and several heirs executors and administrators in witness whereof we have hereto

- set our hands and seals this twenty third day of December in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy one. The condition of the above obligation is such that if there be no lawful cause to obstruct a marriage intended to be had and solemnized between the above bound Thomas Jefferson and Martha Skelton of the county of Charles city, Widow [spinster], for which a license is desired, then this obligation is to be null and void; otherwise to remain in full force.”
- 57 “My sister Skelton”: Robert Skipwith/TJ, 9/20/1771.
- 57 “serves me for parlor”: TJ/JO, 2/20/1771.
- 61 “We do not mean by this”: Alexander McCaul/TJ, 8/26/1770.
- 61 “I Spent two Months”: Alexander McCaul/TJ, 7/8/1772.
- 63 “I am not ashamed”: TJ/Charles Macpherson, 2/25/1773.
- 63 “the greatest Poet”: TJ/Charles Macpherson, 2/25/1773. See Thomas Curley, *Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- 63 “I should be glad to accommodate”: James Macpherson/Charles Macpherson, 8/7/1773.
- 65 One of Jefferson’s friends: See <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/ogilvie-james-1773-1820>.
- 66 “We took proper measures”: TJ/JO, 2/20/1771. See TJ/Thomas Adams, 7/1/1770; TJ/Peyton Randolph, 7/23/1770; TJ/Thomas Adams, 2/20/1771; JO/TJ, 4/26/1771; and JO/TJ, 7/19/1771.
- 67 “My life has been”: JO/TJ, 4/26/1771.
- 68 “I might to great advantage”: JO/TJ, 7/19/1771; and Agreement with JR, October [i.e., April?] 11, 1771.
- 71 “no Reason why”: JR/TJ, 8/31/1775.
- 73 “my best wishes”: TJ/JR, 8/25/1775.
- 74 “restoration of our just rights”: TJ/JR, 8/25/1775.
- 75 “Believe me dear sir”: TJ/JR, 11/29/1775.
- 75 “the melancholy intelligence”: TJ/JR, 11/29/1775.
- 76 “It is an immense misfortune”: TJ/JR, 11/29/1775. See Todd Cohen, “George III’s Battle to Save an Empire,” <https://www.colonialwilliamsburg.org/trend-tradition-magazine/autumn-2018/george-iiiis-battle-to-save-an-empire>; and James P. Ambuske, “Mourning Thomas Jefferson’s Estranged Father,” Georgian Papers Programme. “The Georgian Papers Programme is an ambitious project to transform access to the extensive collection of Georgian papers held in the Royal Archives and Royal Library at Windsor Castle.” See also Andrew Roberts, *The Last King of America: The Misunderstood Reign of George III* (New York: Viking, 2021).

CHAPTER THREE: OUR GREAT GRIEVANCES

- 79 “the inhabitants of this city”: Peyton Randolph and Others to Members of the Late House of Burgesses, Williamsburg, 5/31/1774.

- 79 “The most effectual Assistance”: Randolph and Others . . . , 5/31/1774.
- 81 Smuggling was an age-old practice: See Joshua M. Smith, *Borderland Smuggling: Patriots, Loyalists, and Illicit Trade in the Northeast, 1783–1820* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2019).
- 83 “divine Interposition”: Resolution of the House of Burgesses Designating a Day of Fasting and Prayer, 5/27/1774.
- 83 “A tender regard”: Association of Members of the Late House of Burgesses, 5/27/1774; and Proceedings of a Meeting of Representatives in Williamsburg, 5/30/1774.
- 84 “With the help therefore”: TJA, 8.
- 85 “the Freeholders of Albemarle County”: At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Albemarle, 7/26/1774.
- 86 “common rights of mankind”: At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Albemarle, 7/26/1774.
- 88 “My creed had been formed”: TJ, “Memorandum on Instructions to Virginia Delegates to Congress in 1774,” 1820 (?), “Historical and Bibliographical Notes on *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*,” TJP 1.671.
- 88 “Before I left home”: TJ, “Memorandum on Instructions . . .,” 671.
- 90 “Tamer Sentiments”: TJ, “Memorandum on Instructions . . .,” 670.
- 90 “hope that this their joint address”: TJ, Draft of Instructions to the Virginia Delegates in the Continental Congress [*A Summary View of the Rights of British America*], 7/1774.
- 91 “For themselves they fought”: TJ, Draft of Instructions . . . [*A Summary View . . .*], 7/1774. The claim that the British colonies in America were “conquered” by individuals exclusively acting as private citizens rather than as British citizens and consequently entitled to govern themselves independent of British legal, constitutional, and Parliamentary authority is an ahistorical claim, an “alternative fact.” It is belied by innumerable expressions and acts of fealty during the colonial period. Jefferson’s father had accepted and affirmed the legitimacy of every royal governor. Also, it is hard to maintain one’s rational perspective and still claim that in the eighteenth century the king was not “in Parliament” and the Parliament not in the king, that they were not unitary entities; that one could proclaim loyalty to the king and reject the authority of Parliament. Jefferson’s predecessors had taken possession of the land in the name of the mother country, adding possessions to what they already possessed, a territorial expansion of their self-identity as British nationals.
- 91 “authority over us”: TJ, Draft of Instructions . . . [*A Summary View . . .*], 7/1774.
- 93 “no more than the chief”: TJ, Draft of Instructions . . . [*A Summary View . . .*], 7/1774.
- 96 “prayer of all”: TJ, Draft of Instructions . . . [*A Summary View . . .*], 7/1774.
- 96 prolific slave trader: Boyd, TJP 1, 10/20/1772. “An advertisement in the *Va. Gaz . . .* for 8 Oct. 1772 (repeated 15 and 22 Oct.) reads as follows: ‘Just arrived from *Africa*, the Ship *Prince of Wales*, James Bivins Commander, with

- about four Hundred five healthy *Slaves*; the Sale of which will begin at *Bermuda Hundred* on *Thursday* the 8th of *October*, and continue until all are sold. *John Wayles. Richard Randolph.*”
- 97 “loved him most”: TJ/William Fleming, 5/19/1773.
- 98 “spotless integrity”: TJ/Dabney Carr, 1/19/1816.
- 98 unintentional laudatory self-portrait: TJ/Dabney Carr, 1/19/1816.
- 100 “The death of my mother”: TJ/William Randolph, 6/1776.
- 101 “I heartily join”: TJ/William Randolph, 6/1776.
- 102 “the unhappy news”: TJ/WS1, 5/7/1775.
- 103 “entertained high hope”: TJ/WS1, 5/7/1775.
- 103 “the dignity of parliament”: TJ/WS1, 5/7/1775.
- 104 “implore the divine”: Resolution of the House of Burgesses Designating a Day of Fasting and Prayer, 5/24/1774.
- 104 “the people met”: TJA, 9.

CHAPTER FOUR: WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS

- 106 “unhappy disputes. . . .”: Virginia Resolutions on Lord North’s Conciliatory Proposal, 6/10/1775.
- 107 “our Faith and true Allegiance”: Instructions for the Deputies Appointed to Meet in General Congress on the Part of This Colony, 8/1–8/6/1774.
- 107 inherited from the Wayles estate: Boyd, 7/15/1773. “Notice of Sale of Wayles Properties . . . Two Thousand five Hundred and twenty Acres of land in *Cumberland*, commonly known by the Name of Saint James; one Thousand four Hundred and twenty Acres in the Counties of *Goochland* and *Cumberland*, on both Sides of *James River*, opposite to *Elk Island*; and one Thousand four Hundred and eighty Acres on *Herring Creek*, in *Charles City County*. The above Tracts of Land were of the Estate of the late *John Wayles*, deceased, devised to the Subscribers, and are now offered for Sale. Persons disposed to purchase may be informed of the Terms, on Application to any one of the Subscribers; and the Times of Payment will be made easy, on giving Bond and Security to *Thomas Jefferson. Francis Eppes. Henry Skipwith.*”
- 109 “We are sufficiently united”: Report of Committee to Prepare a Plan for a Militia, 3/25/1775.
- 110 “The New Englanders”: TJ/FE, 7/4/1775.
- 112 “our Friends and Fellow-Subjects”: Declaration for Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms, 6/26–7/6/1775.
- 113 “But when the world reflects”: TJ, Resolutions of Congress on Lord North’s Conciliatory Proposal, 7/25/1775; the resolutions as adopted by Congress, 7/31/1775.
- 115 “My collection of classics”: TJ/JR, 8/25/1775.
- 115 “returning wisdom”: TJ/JR, 8/25/1775.

- 119 "I arrived here": TJ/Thomas Nelson, 5/6/1776.
- 120 "I am here": TJ/Thomas Nelson, 5/6/1776.
- 121 a dramatically articulate speaker: Resolution of Independence Moved by R. H. Lee for the Virginia Delegation, 6/7/1776.
- 121 a resolution declaring complete independence: There is a library of literature on the origins of the various proposals for independence, some of them in similar language, by the legislatures of the individual colonies, in pamphlet literature, and in the resolutions and voices in the Continental Congress, preceding and then including the Declaration of Independence, the most influential of which is Pauline Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (New York: Random House, 1997).
- 124 "That all men": George Mason, The Virginia Declaration of Rights, America's Founding Documents, <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/virginia-declaration-of-rights>.
- 124 "acquiring and possessing property": Mason, Virginia Declaration of Rights.
- 125 "The great questions": TJ/Thomas Nelson, 5/16/1776.
- 126 "When in the Course of human events": See Julian R. Boyd and Gerard W. Gawalt, *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1999).
- 126 a matter of dispute: See Mark Somos, *States of Nature: The Origins of Independence, 1761–1775* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- 127 "no writer has exceeded": TJ/FE, 1/19/1821.
- 128 "shall be appropriated": First Draft by Jefferson for the Virginia Constitution, before 6/13/1776.
- 134 "painful situation to be": TJ/William Fleming, 7/1/1776.
- 134 "I am sorry the situation of my domestic affairs": TJ/EP, 6/30/1776.

CHAPTER FIVE: AN ANGEL IN THE WHIRLWIND

- 137 Boswell and Lee had become friends: James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1791), 2.177–84.
- 139 "reserved by heaven": *Committee of the Boston Sons of Liberty to John Wilkes*, 6/6/1768.
- 139 "race of convicts": James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1791), 2.312.
- 139 "To suppose, that Americans": Samuel Johnson, *The Patriot* (London, 1774).
- 140 "We have now, for more than": Samuel Johnson, *Thoughts on the Late Transactions Respecting Falkland's Islands* (London, 1771).
- 142 "The suspense under which": TJ/FE, 11/7/1775.
- 142 "I have set apart": TJ/JP, 10/31/1775.
- 142 "the indisposition of Mrs. Jefferson": EP/TJ, 8/10/1776.

- 142 "I am highly pleased": JP/TJ, 7/20/1776.
- 143 "I hope you'll get cured": EP/TJ, 8/10/1776.
- 144 "In my judgment, the most eminent services": Richard Henry Lee/TJ, 9/27/1776.
- 144 "No cares for my own person": TJ/John Hancock, 10/11/1776.
- 145 "I wish my domestic situation": TJ/BF, 8/13/1777.
- 145 "heard with much regret": Richard Henry Lee/TJ, 11/3/1776.
- 146 "also wanting much": EP/TJ, 7/22/1776.
- 148 "decisions of the people": TJ/EP, 8/26/1776.
- 150 "to illuminate, as far as practicable": A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, 6/18/1779.
- 153 "Well aware that the opinions": A Bill for Protection of Religious Liberty, 6/18/1779; Boyd 3.545. The bill was not made law until January 1786.
- 154 "We the General Assembly": A Bill for Protection of Religious Liberty, 6/18/1779.
- 156 "given me much pain": TJ/JP, 6/3/1779.
- 156 "Should you resign": JP/TJ, 9/22/1780.
- 157 "your Love of Study": JP/TJ, 12/9/1780.
- 158 "many letters of absolute necessity": TJ/Richard Henry Lee, 6/17/1779.
- 160 "I must take the liberty": JR/TJ, 10/25/1779.
- 161 "there will be no necessity": GW/TJ, 11/23/1779.
- 162 "Difference in opinion": JR/TJ, 10/25/1779.
- 163 "Nothing which I forget": JR/TJ, 10/25/1779.
- 163 "the fixed Purpose": JR/TJ, 10/25/1779.
- 166 "when we came to look": TJ to the speaker of the House of Delegates, 3/6/1781. Boyd: "The Remonstrance, containing exaggeration and inaccuracies, was not adopted, partially, no doubt, because the approach of Lafayette's army made some of its statements obsolete. TJ sent an urgent request to the Assembly for a revision of the militia laws when that body reconvened in May."
- 169 "daughter Lucy Elizabeth": TJ/David Jameson, 4/16/1781. "Mrs. Jefferson in a situation in which I would not wish to leave her." Boyd: "TJ's Account Book under date of 15 Apr: 'our daughter Lucy Elizabeth died about 10. o'clock A.M. this day.' Lucy Elizabeth was four and a half months of age."
- 171 "time to remove": TJ/William Gordon, 7/16/1788.
- 173 "at present busily employed": TJ/Charles Francois D'Anmours, 11/30/1780.
- 173 "in a condition": TJ/François Barbe-Marbois, 3/4/1781.

CHAPTER SIX: UNMEASURABLE LOSS

- 175 "in an application": TJ/FE, 2/15/1783.
- 175 "He has proposed to me": TJ/FE, 2/15/1783.

- 176 "I am sorry to hear": TJ/JP, 8/5/1776.
- 177 "The end proposed": TJ/GRC, 1/1/1780.
- 177 "We have reason to believe": TJ/GRC, 12/25/1780.
- 179 "only great Inducements": William Christian/TJ, 4/10/1781.
- 180 "We, like you, are Americans": TJ, Speech to JBD, c.1/6/1781.
- 182 "You complain, brother": TJ, Speech to JBD, c.1/6/1781.
- 187 "a very beautiful river": Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Paden (New York: Norton, 1954). The quotations from *Notes* are not referenced to the page in the Paden edition but can readily be located by the internal references to the sections in which the quotations appear. *Notes* is a seminal source for scholarly discussion of numbers of concerns of Jefferson and of Jefferson scholars, especially slavery and race.
- 200 If it "were possible for me": BF/TJ, 7/15/1782; TJ/Edmund Randolph, 9/16/1781.
- 200 "in great Hopes": BF/TJ, 7/15/1782.
- 202 "Mrs. Jefferson has added": TJ/JM, 5/20/1782.
- 202 "the report of each succeeding day": JM/TJ, 6/28/1782.
- 202 "and every time": Lines Copied from *Tristram Shandy* by Martha and Thomas Jefferson, *TJP* 6.196.
- 203 "even in the house of Hades": Epitaph for Martha Wayles Jefferson [after 9/6/1782], Homer, *Iliad*, book 22, lines 389–90, given here in the translation by Augustus Taber Murray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924).
- 203 "Mrs. Jefferson has at last": Edmund Randolph/JM, 9/30/1782; Boyd, *TJP* 6.1782.
- 204 "The girls being unable": TJ/Elizabeth Wayles Eppes, 10/3/1782.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PERPETUAL GRATITUDE

- 209 "You should not decline": JM1/TJ, 5/11/1782.
- <OV> "a little emerging": TJ/François-Jean de Chastellux, 11/26/1782.
- <OV> "little motherless daughter": TJ/JJ, 1/3/1783.
- <OV> "The ice has since": TJ/JM, 2/7/1783.
- <OV> "free and independent states . . . to take effect": Boyd, 2/14/1783; and George III/Parliament, 12/1792.
- <OV> "with fear and trembling": TJ/FE, 3/4/1783.
- <OV> "The appointment with which": TJ/Isaac Zane, 6/17/1783.
- <OV> "Nine states appeared": TJ/WS, 3/1/1784.
- <OV> "The winter here": TJ/Isaac Zane, 3/17/1784.
- <OV> "All the world is becoming commercial": TJ/GW, 3/5/1784.
- <OV> "crippled state of Congress. . . .": TJ/GW, 3/5/1784.

- <OV> “the restitution of all estates”: Report on the Definitive Treaty of Peace and the Letter from the American Commissioners, 2/16/1783.
- <OV> “subject to the government”: See *TJP* 6.571–616 for the text and editorial notes.
- 220 a lesson in the politics of slavery and nation building: See Joseph Ellis, *The Cause: The American Revolution and Its Discontents, 1773–1783* (New York: Liveright, 2021).
- 221 “resigning my commission”: GW, Farewell Address to the Army, 11/2/1783; and Washington’s Address to Congress Resigning his Commission, 12/23/1783.
- 221 “Having now finished”: Washington’s Address to Congress Resigning his Commission, 12/23/1783.
- 221 “I send you the sketch which I have been obliged”: TJ/Elbridge Gerry and James McHenry, 12/21/1783.
- 222 “The spectators all wept”: Boyd, *TJP* 6.402–8.
- 222 “The U.S. in congress”: TJ, Report of a Committee on the Response by the President of Congress, 12/22/1783.
- 224 “important literary compositions”: Boyd, *TJP* 6.405.
- 224 “the shining traces of his pen”: JM/Samuel Smith, 11/4/1826.
- 224 “The moderation and virtue”: TJ/GW, 4/16/1784.
- 225 “seems to prevail”: TJ/WS, 4/30/1784.
- 225 “Your Services might”: John Tyler/TJ, 5/20/1784.
- 226 “greatest illusions”: WS/John Hartwell Cocke, 8/12/1826, Library of Congress, WS Papers, 1778–1853.
- 226 “magnanimous king and nation”: Report of a Committee on the Response by the President of Congress.
- 227 “The very important Share”: GW/TJ, 11/30/1781.
- 227 “will be able to give you”: TJ/BJ, JA, JJ, 10/5/1781.
- 229 “In these circumstances”: TJ/Benjamin Harrison, 3/18/1784.
- 230 “the position of the vessel”: TJ/David Humphreys, 7/4/1784.
- 231 “If we are to chuse”: TJ, Abstracts of Gouverneur Morris’ Letters on Commerce, 3/1784.
- 231 “I understand the French so imperfectly”: TJ/William Temple Franklin, 8/18/1784.
- 232 “There shall be a firm”: See *TJP* 7.261–71, Boyd: From Charles Thomson, with Instructions and Commissions, 16 May 1784, Enclosure I: Commission for Negotiating Treaties of Amity and Commerce, 16 May 1784, Enclosure II: Instructions for Negotiating Treaties of Amity and Commerce By The United States in Congress Assembled, 29 October 1783, Enclosure III: Instructions to the Commissioners for Negotiating Treaties of Amity and Commerce, 7 May 1784; and *TJP* 7.471–79, I. Summary Notes of Provisions in Treaties with France, the Netherlands, and Sweden, 6 February 1778, II. Classification of

- Treaty Provisions, 1783, III. Notes for Consideration of the Commissioners, 7 May 1784, Draft of a Model Treaty, 1784.
- 234 “Your kindness and attention”: JM1/TJ, 5/6/1782.
- 236 “I have at length procured”: TJ/Abigail Adams, 9/4/1785.
- 237 “lately returned from”: TJ, before 11/20/1784, TJ’s Reply to the Representations of Affairs in America by British Newspapers.
- 238 “give of the affairs of France”: TJ, before 11/20/1784, TJ’s Reply.
- 239 “was as erroneous”: WS/William Nelson, 1/25/1786; Boyd; *TJP* 10.3. See *TJP* 10.3–64, The Article on the United States in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*; and Boyd, “The Article on the United States in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*. I. Answers to DéMeunier’s First Queries, 24 January 1786. II. Additional Queries, with Jefferson’s Answers, [ca. January–February 1786]. III. From Jean Nicolas DéMeunier, [February? 1786]. IV. Jefferson’s Observations on DéMeunier’s Manuscript, 22 June 1786. V. To Jean Nicolas Démeunier, [26 June 1786]. VI. From Jean Nicolas DeMeunier, [26 June 1786].”
- 240 “What a stupendous”: TJ/Jean Nicholas Démeunier, 6/26/1786.
- 241 “I could not get my notes printed”: TJ/JM, 5/25/1784.
- 241 “you shall assuredly have one”: TJ/Charles Thomason, 5/21/1784.
- 242 “at the time of writing”: TJ/C.W.F. Dumas, 2/2/1786.
- 242 “I admire your generous indignation”: David Ramsay/TJ, 5/3/1786.
- 243 “I pity this people”: JA/TJ, 5/22/1785.
- 244 “with singular pleasure”: RP/TJ, 3/21/1785; 7/2/1785.
- 245 “nothing can excuse”: RP/TJ, 7/2/1785.
- 246 “Northward of the Chesapeake”: TJ/RP, 8/7/1785.
- 247 “A daily habit”: TJ/Chastellux, 10/1786.
- 248 essay in the form of a letter: TJ, “Thoughts on English Prosody,” *Library of America*, 593–622.

CHAPTER EIGHT: GETTING INTO A SCRAPE

- 249 “How the right hand”: TJ/WSS, 10/22/1786.
- 250 Maria Luisa Caterina Cecilia Hadfield: See Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson’s Impossible Love* (Lausanne, Switzerland: Column House, 1977); and Gerald Barnett, *Richard and Maria Cosway: A Biography* (Tiverton, Devon, UK: Lutterworth Press, 1995).
- 252 “passed the night”: TJ/MC, 10/5/1786.
- 253 “very sorry indeed”: MC/TJ, 10/5/1786.
- 253 “Having performed the last”: TJ/MC, 10/12/1786, “Dialogue Between the Heart and the Head.”
- 253 “I turned on my heel”: All “Head and Heart” quotations are from TJ/MC, 10/12/1786.

- 254 "The left hand is learning": TJ/JT, 10/13/1786.
 267 "I found that your name": TJ/MC, 10/13/1786.
 268 "as long as the bible": TJ/MC, 10/12/1786.
 268 "kind things": MC/TJ, 10/30/1786.
 270 "sends you a thousand": MC/TJ, 10/30/1786.
 271 "I wish she could": TJ/MC, 11/19/1786.
 271 "determined not to suppose": TJ/MC, 12/24/1786.
 271 "heart has been duped": TJ/MC, 11/29/1786.
 271 "I begin, my dear Madam": TJ/MC, 11/19/1786.
 272 "I should trouble you": TJ/MC, 11/29/1786.
 274 "Of all the torments": MC/TJ, 2/15/1787.
 275 "I attempt, I exercise": MC/TJ, 2/15/1787.
 276 "She is a child": AA/TJ, 7/6/1787.
 277 "Tell Mrs. Cosway": TJ/JT, 2/23/1787.
 277 "You conclude, madam": TJ/MC, 7/1/1787.
 278 "a mountain cloven": TJ/MC, 7/1/1787.
 278 "Do you deserve": MC /TJ, 7/9/1787.
 279 "You spoiled me": MC/TJ, 7/9/1787.

CHAPTER NINE: THE ELOQUENCE OF DEBT

- 280 "I set out on my journey": TJ/Madame de Tessé, 2/28/1787.
 281 "gazing whole hours": TJ/Madame de Tessé, 3/20/1787.
 281 "a charming place": TJ/WS, 4/7/1787.
 282 "I presume that you think": TJ/WS, 4/7/1787.
 282 "seek therefore for the good things": TJ/Madame de Tott, 4/5/1787.
 <?> "the sunshine of life": Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 1.22.
 283 "anger only serves to torment": TJ/MJR, 4/7/1787.
 285 "a continued feast": TJ/Chastellux, 4/4/1787.
 285 "The olive tree": TJ, *Notes of a Tour into the Southern Parts of France, &c: Memorandums Taken on a Journey from Paris into the Southern Parts of France and Northern of Italy, in the Year 1787*, 6/10/1787–5/2/1788. See TJ/William Drayton, 7/30/1787.
 287 "The people here": TJ/WS, 3/15/1787.
 287 "shoemakers, tailors": *Notes of a Tour into the Southern Parts of France*, 6/10/1787–5/2/1788.
 288 "the soil is rich mulatto loam": *Notes of a Tour into the Southern Parts of France*, 6/10/1787–5/2/1788.
 289 "do only light work": *Notes of a Tour into the Southern Parts of France*, 6/10/1787–5/2/1788.
 289 "Now and then a few gleamings": TJ/WS, 3/15/1787.

- 289 "My hand recovering": TJ/Vergennes, 2/11/1787.
- 289 "I have great anxieties": TJ/JM, 1/30/1787.
- 290 "very useless voyage": TJ/JA, 7/1/1787.
- 290 "dislocated wrist, badly set": TJ/Martha Jefferson Carr, 7/25/1787; and TJ/James Currie, 8/4/1787.
- 290 "A poet is as much the creature of climate": TJ/WS, 5/21/1787.
- 290 "every moment of every day": TJ/Chastellux, 4/4/1787.
- 290 "The accident of a dislocated wrist": TJ/GG, 8/12/1787.
- 290 "in constant hope": TJ/John Baptiste Le Roy, 11/13/1786.
- 291 "to see what I have never seen before": TJ/Lafayette, 4/11/1787.
- 291 "The soil of Champagne and Burgundy": TJ/Lafayette, 4/11/1787.
- 293 "great mass of People": TJ/Charles Bellini, 9/30/1785.
- 294 "very much inferior": TJ/Charles Bellini, 9/30/1785.
- 295 to write private letters: TJ/JJ, 8/14/1785; 8/30/1785.
- 298 "Since the Peace": Brailsford & Morris/TJ, 10/31/1787.
- 300 "wiser, but less happy": TJ/PC, 8/10/1787.
- 301 "Be good, be learned": TJ/PC, 8/10/1787.
- 302 "These observations are founded in experience": TJ/PC, 8/10/1787.
- 302 "a sense of right and wrong": TJ/PC, 8/10/1787.
- 304 "My proposition," TJ/Thomas Mann Randolph Sr., 8/11/1787.
- 305 "I must beg your pardon": TJ/Thomas Mann Randolph Sr., 8/11/1787.
- 306 "The torment of mind": TJ/NL, 7/29/1787.
- 306 "I have sold too much . . . already": TJ/NL, 7/29/1787; TJ/FE, 7/30/1787.
- 307 "I feel all the weight": TJ/NL, 7/29/1787.
- 307 "I am governed solely": TJ/NL, 7/29/1787.
- 308 "I look forward to it": TJ/AD, 7/28/1787.
- 308 "When this arrangement": TJ/FE, 7/30/1787.
- 309 "I therefore accede": TJ/NL, 7/11/1788.
- 309 "supplies a good table": TJ/James Currie, 8/4/1787.
- 310 "I look back to the time": TJ/Henry Skipwith, 7/28/1787.
- 312 "the confederation of the States": TJ, "Anecdotes of Benjamin Franklin," c. 12/4/1818; and TJA, 24–31.
- 313 "Happy for us": TJ/C.W.F. Dumas, 9/10/1787.
- 313 "will neither effectually answer": JM/TJ, 9/6/1787.
- 314 "negative on the laws of the States": JM/TJ, 10/24/1787.
- 315 "How do you like our new constitution?": TJ/JA, 11/13/1787.
- 315 "less than a miracle": Edward Carrington/TJ, 10/23/1787.
- 315 "what signify a few lives": TJ/WSS, 11/13/1787.
- <?> "from time to time with the blood of patriots": TJ/WSS, 11/13/1787.
- 317 "You will perceive": TJ/William Carmichael, 12/15/1787.

- 317 "You are afraid of the one": JA/TJ, 12/6/1787.
 318 "I am not a friend": TJ/JM, 12/20/1787.
 319 "it will be only a change": TJ/JA, 2/20/1788.
 319 "with an affection that can never die": JA/TJ, 1/2/1789.

CHAPTER TEN: HIS MASTERLY PEN

- 320 Count of Vergennes: TJ/JM, 1/30/1787.
 321 "I afterwards saw proofs": TJ/JM, 1/30/1787.
 321 "a most valuable auxiliary": TJ/JM, 1/30/1787.
 324 "an unjust proportion": TJ, Jefferson's Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe, 6/1788.
 324 "The king loves business": TJ/JM, 6/20/1787.
 325 "happy that he is an honest unambitious man": TJ/JJ, 5/9/1789.
 325 "*the king is a good man*": TJA, 80.
 325 "Our good ladies": TJ/Ann Willing Bingham, 5/11/1788.
 326 "not a single doubt": TJ/John Mason, 7/16/1789.
 326 "honest and wishes the good": TJ/JJ, 6/17/1789; and TJA, 80–92.
 328 "he would have willingly acquiesced": TJA, 92–93.
 331 "I may say with truth": TJ/WS, 4/2/1785.
 331 "You lost much": TJ/WS, 4/2/1785.
 332 "probably a civil war": TJ/JJ, 6/17/1789.
 334 "love us more": TJ/JM, 1/30/1787.
 335 "This little attendrissement": TJ/JM, 10/28/1785.
 335 "The property of this country": See Christopher Michael Curtis, *Jefferson's Freeholders and the Politics of Ownership in the Old Dominion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
 335 "It is too soon yet": TJ/JM, 6/19/1785.
 336 "an equal division": TJ/JM, 10/28/1785.
 337 "the earth is given": See "The Earth Belongs in Usufruct to the Living," 9/1–9/9/1789.
 337 "The small landholders": TJ/JM, 6/19/1785.
 338 "no doubt that the misery": JM/TJ, 6/19/1786.
 338 "from a more equal partition": JM/TJ, 6/19/1786.
 339 "But I forget that": JM/TJ, 6/19/1786.
 339 "Within an hour": TJ/JT, 9/9/1789.
 340 "That one generation": TJ/JM, 9/6/1789.
 340 "whether one generation": TJ/JM, 9/6/1789.
 341 "On similar ground": TJ/JM, 9/6/1789.
 343 "the earth belongs": TJ/JM, 9/6/1789.

- 344 "a contract in perpetuity": JM/TJ, 2/4/1790.
- 345 "The evils suffered": JM/TJ, 2/4/1790.
- 347 "I have been to see": TP/TJ, 6/17/1789.
- 347 "being alone and wanting amusement": TP/TJ, n.d. 3/1788.
- 348 "a small ratifying convention": TP/TJ, n.d. 3/1788.
- 348 "to be spectator only": TJ/Madame de Brehan, 5/9/1788.
- 349 "and explained to him": TJA, 96.
- 349 "state of things": TJA, 95.
- 350 "mobs of 10; 20; 30,000 people": TJ/JA, 8/30/1787.
- 350 "I think that in the course": TJ/JA, 8/30/1787.
- 350 "A spirit of distrust": TJ/Ralph Izard, 8/1/1787.
- 351 "There is no remedy": TJ/St. John de Crevecoeur, 8/9/1788.
- 351 "within two or three years": TJ/JM1, 8/9/1788.
- 352 "the public mind seems": TJ/Fulwar Skipwith, 3/1/1789.
- 353 "to be going on well": TJ/William Carmichael, 3/4/1789.
- 354 "to see this great meeting": TJ/Eleonore François Elie, Comte de Moustier, 3/13/1789.
- 354 "a very considerable riot": TJ/William Carmichael, 5/8/1789.
- 354 "They were the most abandoned banditti": TJ/JJ, 5/9/1789.
- 354 "revolution of this country": TJ/JJ, 5/9/1789.
- 354 "The three orders": TJ/JA, 5/10/1789.
- 355 "We shall know": TJ/JM, 6/18/1789.
- 356 "the king assailed by lies": TJ/JJ, 6/24/1789.
- 356 "This is the first time": TJ/JJ, 6/24/1789. Boyd: "Mazzei related that he and TJ were together at the Church of St. Louis and that, as TJ stood on the threshold, he remarked: 'This is the first time that the Churches have been made some good use of.'" (Philip Mazzei, *Mémoire* 2.24, cited by Garlick, *Philip Mazzei* [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933], 126).
- 356 "the Nobility were in triumph": TJ/JJ, 6/24/1789.
- 357 "nothing remarkable past": TJ/JJ, 6/24/1789.
- 358 "entered into debate": TJ/JJ, 6/29/1789.
- 359 "all is settled . . .": TJ/JT, 6/29/1789.
- 359 "man who sustained": A Fourth of July Tribute to Jefferson, 7/4/1789.
- 360 "a countryman and friend": TJ/MC, 7/25/1789.
- 360 "searched every shop": TJ/JT, 8/5/1789.
- 361 "should this revolution succeed": TJ/RP, 7/12/1789.
- 361 "The progress of things": TJ/TP, 7/13/1789.
- 361 "The Declaration of the rights of man": TJ/RP, 7/12/1789.
- 361 "a body of German cavalry": TJ/RP, 7/17/1789.
- 363 "Troops to the number": TJ/JJ, 7/19/1789.

- 364 "I went yesterday to Versailles": TJ/JJ, 7/19/1789.
 364 "the tumults of Paris": TJ/John Bondfield, 7/16/1789.
 365 "done on individuals": TJ/JJ, 8/12/1789.
 365 "the tree of liberty must be refreshed": TJ/WSS, 11/13/1787.
 365 "my fortune has been singular": TJ/MC, 7/25/1789.
 365 "his body drawn through": TJ/JJ, 7/23/1789.
 365 "I think there is nothing further": TJ/Edward Bancroft, 8/5/1789.
 366 "Upon the whole I do not see": TJ/JJ, 9/19/1789.
 366 "I have multiplied my letters": TJ/JJ, 7/29/1789.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE STAGE OF PUBLIC LIFE

- 367 "a tolerably free constitution": TJ/JM1, 8/9/1788.
 368 "colonies of plants": TJ/JT, 11/1/1788.
 368 "It is my Duty to return": JT/William Pitt, 9/24/1789; and 10/9/1789.
 369 "my commission expires": TJ/GG, 8/12/1787.
 369 "I consider myself here": TJ/GG, 8/12/1789.
 369 "I had rather be shut up": TJ/AD, 2/7/1788.
 370 "been led on by events": TJ/JJ, 11/19/1788.
 370 "a Siberian degree of cold": TJ/FE, 12/15/1788.
 370 his daughters' "future welfare": TJ/Elizabeth Wayles Eppes, 12/15/1788.
 371 "Though I foresee": TJ/FE, 12/15/1788.
 372 "I leave here a scene of tumult": TJ/MC, 5/21/1789.
 373 "withered hand and swelled and crooked fingers": TJ/GG, 12/16/1788.
 374 "In the middle steerage": TJ/JT, 11/25/1789.
 374 "I shall proceed first": TJ/JJ, 11/23/1789.
 375 "that you may be as happy": Address of Welcome of the Officials of Norfolk, 11/25/1789.
 375 "that my country should": TJ, Reply to the Address of Welcome from the Mayor, etc. of Norfolk, 11/25/1789.
 375 "to be made acquainted": GW/TJ, 11/30/1789.
 377 "as far as I can judge": TJ/Edward Bancroft, 1/26/1788.
 379 "worthy and respectable member": TJ/Condorcet, 8/30/1791.
 379 "*with the same genius*": Jefferson's Notes from Condorcet on Slavery, n.d. 1788.
 380 the service of his country: GW/TJ, 10/13/1789.
 381 "Calculation has convinced me": TJ/GW, 11/4/1788; and 12/5/1788.
 382 "to glide unnoticed": TJ/John Paradise, 7/5/1789.
 383 "energetic general government": GW/TJ, 1/1/1788.
 384 "embracing as it does": TJ/GW, 12/15/1789.

- 385 "But it is not for an individual": TJ/GW, 12/15/1789.
- 385 "it was impossible to give": TJ/WS, 12/14/1789.
- 386 "The testimony of esteem": TJ/WS, 12/14/1789.
- 388 "Your desire that I should": TJ/GW, 2/14/1790.
- 390 "I am anxious to hear from you": TJ/MJR, 4/4/1790.
- 392 "we are in a wilderness": JM/TJ, 6/30/1789.
- 393 "I never saw him so keen": AD/TJ, 11/12/1787.
- 394 "Mr Madison and myself": TJ/Elijah Griffiths, 5/15/1820.
- 397 "I was duped": TJ/GW, 9/9/1792.
- 400 "His passions were naturally strong": Thomas Jefferson's Explanations of the Three Volumes Bound in Marbled Paper (*Anas*), 2/4/1818.
- 401 "I made memorandums": Thomas Jefferson's Explanations of the Three Volumes Bound in Marbled Paper (*Anas*), 2/4/1818.
- 402 "when I received the news": Memoranda of Conversations with the President, 3/11–4/9/1792.
- 402 "a stricter connection": TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington on French Affairs, 12/27/1792.
- 405 "That in urging this measure": TJ, Memoranda of Conversations with the President, 3/1/1792.
- 405 "in an affectionate tone": TJ, Memoranda of Conversations with the President, 3/1/1792.
- 405 "growing old": TJ/MP, 5/16/1796.
- 406 "No man had ever": TJ, Memoranda of Conversations with the President, 3/1/1792.
- 407 "He here expressed his fear": TJ, *Anas*, 74, 4/6/1792.
- 407 "That the ultimate object": TJ/GW, 5/23/1792.
- 408 "I am perfectly aware": TJ/GW, 5/23/1792.
- 409 "That with respect": TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 7/10/1792.
- <?> "difference of opinion must be tolerated": TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 7/10/1792.
- 410 "I had the following conversation": TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 10/1/1792.
- 411 "As to that interested spirit": TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 10/1/1792.
- 412 "to continue somewhat longer": TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 2/7/1793.
- 413 "I hired him exclusively as a translator": TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 5/23/1793.
- 414 "had not confidence enough": TJ, Notes of Cabinet Meeting on Edmond Charles Genet, 8/2/1793.

- 415 “a foolish incoherent sort of speech”: TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 8/6/1793.
- 416 “My excessive repugnance”: TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 8/6/1793.
- 417 “he believed the views”: TJ, Notes of a Conversation with George Washington, 8/6/1793.
- 418 “I have at length”: TJ/AC, 11/27/1793.
- 419 “Against us are the Executive”: TJ/Philip Mazzei, 4/24/1796.
- 420 When Jefferson visited: See Kathryn Gehred, “Did Martha Washington Really Hate Thomas Jefferson?,” *WashingtonPapers.org*, 5/18/2018; and Ron Chernow, *Washington: A Life* (New York: Penguin Press, 2010), 816.

CHAPTER TWELVE: THE CHAINS OF THE CONSTITUTION

- 421 “without comparison”: TJ/MJR, 5/31/1791.
- 421 “I think to avail myself”: TJ/GW, 5/15/1791.
- 421 “I shall set out tomorrow”: TJ/MJ, 5/8/1791.
- 422 “We have still pretty constant fires”: TJ/MJ, 5/8/1791.
- 422 “on the bark of Paper birch”: TJ/MJ, 5/30/1791.
- 423 “take a map and trace”: TJ/MJ, 5/8/1791.
- 423 “formed by a contour of mountains”: TJ/MJ, 5/31/1791.
- 423 “We were more pleased”: TJ/TMR, 6/5/1791.
- 424 “as sultry hot”: TJ/MJR, 5/31/1791.
- 424 A product of the age of sentiment: See Andrew Burstein, *The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).
- 425 “which cost so much blood”: TJ/TMR, 6/5/1791.
- 427 “for whom my heart”: TJ/AC, 11/27/1793.
- 428 “In the struggle which was necessary”: TJ/WS, 1/3/1793.
- 428 “liberty of the whole earth”: TJ/WS, 1/3/1793.
- 429 “Madame Cosway in a convent!”: TJ/AC, 11/27/1793.
- 430 “the happiness of those”: TJ/AC, 11/27/1793.
- 430 “A twenty years desuetude”: TJ/Charles Rose, 4/17/1794.
- 431 “Monocrats & Papermen”: TJ/JM, 4/3/1794.
- 431 “the ruin of our commerce”: JM1/TJ, 3/16/1794.
- 431 “rumor of a declaration of war”: TJ/JM, 4/3/1794.
- 432 “from a wish to serve him”: TJ/Benjamin Franklin Bache, 4/22/1791.
- 433 “I cannot be satisfied”: TJ/GW, 6/19/1796.
- 433 “I have formerly mentioned”: TJ/GW, 6/19/1796.
- 434 “The assurances you have given”: GW/TJ, 7/6/1796.
- 436 “was no party man”: GW/TJ, 7/6/1796.

- 438 "I am not satisfied": TJ/Henry Tazewell, 9/13/1795.
- 438 "I have never known the public pulse": TJ/JM, 3/2/1796.
- 438 "looking to you": TJ/JM, 3/27/1796.
- 439 "had you remained": Edward Rutledge/TJ, 4/30/1796.
- 439 "being the enemy of one Nation": TJ/GW, 7/9/1796.
- 439 "honesty and his political errors": TJ/JM, 3/27/1796.
- 440 "You drew up the Act": BR/TJ, 3/1/1796.
- 441 "In truth if anything": TJ/MP, 8/30/1795.
- 441 "I am become . . . a real farmer": TJ/MC, 9/8/1795.
- 442 "to practice innocence": TJ/MC, 9/8/1795.
- 442 "in general it is impossible": TJ/Thomas Digges, 6/19/1788.
- 443 "if any manufacture": TJ/Thomas Digges, 6/19/1798.
- 443 "Our citizens are divided": TJ/Count de Volney, 12/9/1795.
- 444 "Never was a finer canvas": TJ/JA, 2/28/1796.
- 445 "that fourteen out of fifteen": TJ/MP, 8/30/1795.
- 445 "It is on politics": TJ/JA, 2/28/1796.
- 445 "my private business": TJ/Horatio Gates, 2/3/1794.
- 446 "There is not another person": TJ/JM, 4/27/1795.
- 447 "I have not the arrogance": TJ/William Cocke, 10/21/1796.
- 447 "I am glad to see": TJ/JA, 2/28/1796.
- 447 "I know my own principles": TJ/Samuel Smith, 8/22/1798.
- 448 "It has been so impossible": TJ/JM, 5/26/1800.
- 448 "it is not the less true": TJ/TMR, 11/28/1796.
- 448 "not possible yet to calculate": JM/TJ, 12/5/1796.
- 448 "I know well that no man": TJ/Edward Rutledge, 12/27/1796.
- 449 "It is both my duty": TJ/JM, 12/17/1796.
- <?> "to be the second": TJ/TMR, 11/28/1796.
- 449 "You must prepare yourself": JM/TJ, 12/19/1796.
- 450 "I become more and more disgusted": TJ/MJR, 6/8/1797.
- 450 "There can be no doubt": Elbridge Gerry/TJ, 7/6/1797.
- 452 "Politics and party hatreds": TJ/MJR, 5/17/1798.
- 452 "the black (or English) cockade": TJ/JM, 5/10/1798.
- 454 "Let the honest advocate": TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
- 454 "bind him down from mischief by the chains of the constitution": TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
- 455 bound tightly by the "chains of the Constitution": TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
- 455 The "chains of the Constitution," Jefferson argued: TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
- 456 "I must write sparingly": TJ/Tadeusz Kościusko, 2/21/1799.

- 458 "I am among those": TJ/WGM, 6/18/1799.
 458 "present despots of the earth": TJ/WGM, 6/18/1799.
 459 "with the tenderest affection": JA to Young Men of Philadelphia, 5/7/1798.
 460 "parricide hands": TJ/WGM, 6/18/1799.
 461 "who like myself are going": TJ/WGM, 6/18/1799.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE FUGITIVE OCCURRENCE

- 464 "the candle of life": TJ/Elizabeth House Trist, 12/15/1786; and TJ/Francis Willis Jr., 4/18/1790.
 465 "every difference of opinion": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 466 the "chains of the Constitution," the narrow interpretation: TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
 467 The actual "chains of the Constitution": TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
 469 "Senators sat on one side": Boyd, *TJP* 33.134.
 469 "face all the terrible passions": TJ/WCN, 3/26/1805.
 469 "We are all Republicans": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 470 The "chains of the Constitution" and Jefferson's policies: TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
 <?> "When this government was first established": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 472 "task is above my talents": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 473 "I do not believe": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 475 "Sometimes it is said": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 475 "Kindly separated by nature": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 476 "justify the ways of God to man": John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book 1, line 26.
 476 "a wise and frugal government": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 478 "With experience enough in subordinate": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 478 "greatest misfortune our nation": Boyd, *TJP*, 5/31/1802.
 479 "This loss is the more felt": TJ/Thomas Law, 5/31/1802.
 479 "I shall often go wrong": TJ, First Inaugural Address, 3/4/1801.
 480 "have been thoroughly tried": TJ/John Dickinson, 3/6/1801.
 481 "the majority of the present legislature": TJ/Pierre-Samuel du Pont de Nemours, 1/18/1802.
 482 "the eastern people": JM1/TJ, 1/6/1801.
 483 "In those days how sanguine": TJ/Pierre Jean Georges Cabanis, 7/13/1803.
 484 "on the event of this mission": TJ/JM1, 1/13/1803.
 485 "a fugitive occurrence": TJ/John Breckinridge, 8/12/1803.

- 486 as a believer in the “chains of the Constitution”: TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
- 487 “The Constitution has made no provision”: TJ/John Breckinridge, 8/12/1803.
- 488 an end run around the Constitution: See Jeremy D. Bailey, *Thomas Jefferson and Executive Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- 488 “The unprofitable condition”: TJ/MJ, 1/7/1798.
- 489 “If something is not done”: TJ/St. George Tucker, 8/28/1797.
- 490 “I congratulate you, fellow citizens”: TJ, Sixth Annual Message to Congress, 12/2/1806.
- 491 “the office of hangman”: TJ/Larkin Smith Washington, 11/26/1804.
- 491 “the fatigues of the table”: TJ/MJR, 10/7/1804.
- 493 “I determine to withdraw”: TJ/John Taylor, 1/6/1805.
- 493 “the two parties which prevailed”: TJ/Count de Volney, 2/8/1805.
- 494 “On taking this station”: TJ, Second Inaugural Address, 3/4/1805.
- 494 “It may be the pleasure”: TJ, Second Inaugural Address, 3/4/1805.
- 495 “During this course of administration”: TJ, Second Inaugural Address, 3/4/1805.
- 496 “I am sensible of no passion”: TJ, Second Inaugural Address, 3/4/1805.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: THE LADIES OF WILLIAMSBURG

- 498 he had met with John Baptiste Ducoigne: See TJ/JBD, 6/1/1781.
- 499 “The aboriginal inhabitants”: TJ/JBD, 6/1/1781.
- 500 “our Indian neighbors”: TJ, First Annual Message to Congress, 12/8/1801; and TJ, Annual Message to Congress, 1808.
- 501 “we shall endeavor in all things”: TJ, First Annual Message to Congress, 12/8/1801; and TJ, Conference with Little Turtle, Jefferson’s Reply, 1/7/1802.
- 502 “the most intelligent man”: Samuel Mitchell/Catherine Mitchell, 1/13/1802.
- 502 “fell to my lot”: Little Turtle to TJ, Conference with Little Turtle, Address of Little Turtle, 1/4/1802.
- 503 “Made by the same great spirit”: TJ, Conference with Little Turtle, Jefferson’s Reply, 1/7/1802.
- 503 “when you visited me the last winter”: TJ to Handsome Lake, 11/3/1802.
- 504 “in preparing them ultimately”: TJ to the Senate and the House of Representatives, confidential, 1/18/1803.
- 504 “The wisdom of the animal”: TJ/Benjamin Hawkins, 2/18/1803.
- 504 “that these preparations are meant”: TJ/Henry Dearborn, 9/2/1807.
- 505 “We shall push our trading houses”: TJ/William Henry Harrison, 2/27/1803.
- 506 “For the most part they were chosen”: Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian World*

- of *George Washington: The First President, the First Americans, and the Birth of the Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018). See Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). See Claudio Saunt, *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans and the Road to Indian Territory* (New York: Norton, 2020).
- 507 “we continue to receive proofs”: TJ, Annual Address to Congress, 12/2/1806.
- 507 “I take you by the hand of friendship”: Thomas Jefferson to Chief Wolf and People of the Mandan Nation, 12/30/1806.
- 508 “My friends and children”: Thomas Jefferson to Chief Wolf and People of the Mandan Nation, 12/30/1806.
- 509 “With our Indian neighbors”: TJ, Annual Message to Congress, 11/8/1808.
- 509 “It must not be a river of blood”: TJ to the Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, 1/10/1806.
- 509 “to obliterate from the Indian mind”: TJ, *Special Message to the Senate of the United States*, 1/15/1808.
- 511 “message which I disapprove”: TJ/Albert Gallatin, 11/24/1818.
- 511 “From 40 years of intimate conversation”: TJ/Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, 1/18/1802.
- 512 in which land would be bought: See Christopher Michael Curtis, *Jefferson’s Freeholders and the Politics of Ownership in the Old Dominion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- 512 “I found the country entirely”: TJ/Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, 1/18/1802.
- 513 “It will be for ever seen”: TJ/Benjamin Hawkins, 2/18/1803.
- 516 “We have seen with sincere concern”: TJ, Third Annual Address to Congress, 10/17/1803.
- 518 “Our coasts have been infested”: TJ, Fifth Annual Message to Congress, 12/3/1805.
- 520 “I am panting for retirement”: TJ/Lafayette, 5/26/1807.
- 520 “jumping into the water”: TJ/MJR, 10/12/1807.
- 522 “Reparation for the past, security for the future”: TJ/William Duane, 7/20/1807.
- 522 “all armed vessels bearing commissions”: TJ, Proclamation re British Armed Vessels, 7/2/1807.
- 523 “extremely disposed for peace”: TJ/TMR, 10/26/1807.
- 525 “bad account of the patriotism”: TJ/EWR, 2/23/1808.
- 526 “cooked up by Marshall”: TJ/EP, 1/29/1799.
- 527 “intriguing and cajoling talents”: TJ/Tench Coxe, 5/21/1799.
- 527 “We had a very familiar intercourse”: TJ/William Wirt, 8/4/1805.
- 530 “Though the newspapers give”: TJ/AB, 6/17/1797.
- 531 “If a prospect could be”: TJ/AB, 6/17/1797.

- 531 "I have not thought it discreet": AB/TJ, 2/3/1799.
- 531 "The Southern states": TJ/AB, 2/11/1799.
- 532 "my whole time and attention": AB/TJ, 12/23/1800.
- 533 "About a month ago": TJ, Notes on Aaron Burr, 4/15/1806.
- <?> "There was not a single voice": TJ, Notes on Aaron Burr, 4/15/1806.
- 535 "that sundry persons": TJ, Proclamation on Spanish Territory, 11/27/1806.
- 536 "I received intimations that designs": TJ, Special Message to Congress on the Burr Conspiracy, 1/22/1807.
- 541 "It is very long, my dear Anne": TJ/Anne Cary Randolph, 5/20/1803.
- 542 "So stands the account": TJ/EWR, 5/21/1805.
- 542 "I do not know whether": TJ/Anne Cary Randolph, 7/6/1805.
- 542 "Hope is so much pleasanter": TJ/EWR, 6/29/1807.
- 543 "I have nothing better to send": TJ/EWR, 10/19/1807.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: SOWING THE WIND

- 544 "Your character of the Federalists": TJ/John Wayles Eppes, 3/24/1811.
- 545 "now say that they do not": WS/TJ, 10/5/1817.
- 545 done around the "chains of the Constitution": TJ, Kentucky Resolution, 10/1798.
- 546 "affectionate address": TJ, To the Citizens of Washington, D.C., 3/4/1809.
- 546 "That the improvement of this city": TJ, To the Citizens of Washington, D.C., 3/4/1809.
- 547 "unmercifully long": TJ/MVB, 6/29/1824.
- 547 "the distressing burden of power": TJ, Message to the Inhabitants of Albemarle County, 4/3/1809.
- 547 "Returning to the scenes": TJ, Message to the Inhabitants of Albemarle County, 4/3/1809.
- 550 "some of the delightful conversations": TJ/BR, 4/21/1803.
- 552 "I have ever thought religion": TJ/Samuel H. Smith, 8/6/1816.
- 552 As he traveled to Washington in 1804: TJ, *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth (The Jefferson Bible)*.
- 552 "a Syllabus, or Outline": TJ/BR, 4/21/1803.
- 552 "It was the work of 2 or 3 nights": TJ/WS, 10/31/1819.
- 553 "proceed to a view of the life": TJ/BR, 4/21/1803.
- 553 "I should as soon think": TJ/Charles Clay, 1/29/1815.
- 553 "The genuine system of Jesus": TJ/Charles Clay, 1/29/1815.
- 553 "I too have made": TJ/Charles Thomson, 1/9/1816.
- 553 "In extracting the pure principles": TJ/JA, 10/12/1813.
- 554 "It is a paradigm of his doctrines": TJ/Charles Thomson, 1/9/1816.

- 555 his preference was that the president: See Jeremy D. Baily, *Thomas Jefferson and Executive Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- 555 "Some men look at constitutions": TJ/Samuel Kercheval, 7/12/1816; and TJ/Henry Tompkinson, 7/12/1816.
- 557 "The constitution, on this hypothesis": TJ/Spencer Roane, 9/6/1819.
- 557 "governments are republican only in proportion": TJ/Samuel Kercheval, 7/12/1816.
- 559 "we should have such an empire": TJ/JM, 4/27/1809.
- 560 "our laws, language, religion, politics": TJ/William Duane, 8/12/1810.
- 561 "by the combined effects": TJ/WS, 1/28/1814.
- 561 "I sincerely rejoice": TJ/WS, 2/24/1814.
- 562 "through the window": See *Selma Hale's Visit to Monticello*. Selma Hale/David Hale, 5/5/1818, postscript 5/7/1818; Selma Hale/William Plumer, 5/8/1818; Selma Hale/Arthur Livermore, 5/16/1818; and *Selma Hale's Notes on His Visit to Monticello* [after 1818].
- 563 "Nothing is so painful to me": TJ/Gideon Granger, 3/9/1814.
- 564 "furnace of politics": TJ/Ann Willing Bingham, 5/11/1788.
- 564 "to be anchored to a writing table": WS/TJ, 7/18/1816.
- 565 "To your encouragements": TJ/WS, 8/10/1816.
- 565 "You say I must go to writing": TJ/Josephus B. Stuart, 5/10/1817.
- 566 "After the lapse of 25 years": Thomas Jefferson's Explanations of the Three Volumes Bound in Marbled Paper (*Anas*), 2/4/1818.
- 566 "but he wished that the knowledge": Joseph C. Cabell, Memorandum on the Introduction to the "Anas," 4/9/1818: "On 31st March 1818, I was drawn to Monticello by my duties as a Visitor of the Central College. Mr Jefferson then put into my hands for perusal a manuscript covering four and a half sheets of letter paper, entitled Explanations of the 3 volumes in marble paper. It was a commentary written by himself on Marshall's life of Washington. Mr Jefferson observed that it would be published at his death by Col: Randolph, and his Grandson T. J. Randolph, to whom he should leave his papers: but he wished that the knowledge of the existence of this paper should not be confined to members of his own family; and that he should shew it to Mr Madison of Orange, late President of the U. States."
- 567 "as different from what Gen. Washington": Thomas Jefferson's Explanations of the Three Volumes Bound in Marbled Paper (*Anas*), 2/4/1818.
- 568 "In these three volumes": Thomas Jefferson's Explanations of the Three Volumes Bound in Marbled Paper (*Anas*), 2/4/1818.
- 569 "You express a wish": TJ/WS, 5/5/1816.
- 570 "At the age of 77": TJA, 3.
- 572 "You have doubtless seen": TJ/JM, 8/30/1823.
- 573 "the genuine effusion of the soul": TJ/Dr. James Mease, 9/26/1825.
- 573 "elaborate Philippic against Mr. Adams": TJ/MVB, 6/29/1824.

- 573 "I could not have believed": TJ/MVB, 6/29/1824.
- 574 "the very actions however": TJ/MVB, 6/29/1824.
- 574 "My last parting with General Washington": TJ/MVB, 6/29/1824.
- 575 "I am grown old, and worn down": TJ/William A. Burwell, 2/6/1817.
- 576 "Indeed my Physician interdicts": TJ/William E. Richmond, 12/25/1819.
- 576 "I found Mr. Jefferson tall": Francis Hall, Account of a Visit to Monticello, 1/7–8/1817.
- 576 "three long and dangerous illnesses": TJ/JA, 11/7/1819.
- 577 "You ask if I would agree": TJ/JA, 4/8/1816.
- 577 "Age, its ordinary infirmities and frequent attacks": TJ/L'Aine Meinadier, 11/12/1819.
- 577 "I am old and infirm": TJ/John Brazier, 11/22/1819.
- 579 "Four years of bad overseers": TJ/WCN, 3/26/1818.
- 580 "Will you do me the favor": WCN/TJ, 4/19/1818.
- 580 "But this consideration yields": TJ/WCN, 5/1/1818.
- 581 "The enormous abuses": TJ/Richard Rush, 6/29/1819.
- 583 "I am indeed a sore sufferer": TJ/JM1, 8/17/1819.
- 583 "establishment on the coast of Africa": TJ/Thomas Humphreys, 2/8/1817.
- 584 "I shall be willing to do anything": TJ/John Lynch, 1/21/1811.
- 585 "I have not perceived the growth": TJ/Thomas Humphreys, 2/8/1817.
- 585 "The public mind would not yet": TJA, 44.
- 585 "must shudder *at the prospect held up*": TJ/JA, 12/10/1819.
- 585 It was possible, he wrote: TJ/John Holmes, 4/22/1820.
- 586 "I have much confidence": TJ/Barbé-Marbois, 6/14/2017.
- 588 "rather thin and spare": Extract from Daniel Webster's Account of a Visit to Monticello, Dec 14–19, dated 1825 but actually 1824, <https://tjrs.monticello.org/letter/1855>.
- 589 "Here was buried": Thomas Jefferson, Design for Tombstone and Inscription, before 7/4/1826.
- 589 "ill health forbids me": TJ/Roger C. Weightman, 6/24/1826.
- 590 "The general spread of the light": TJ/Roger C. Weightman, 6/24/1826.

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