Part 4: Introduction to the Jefferson Memorial

Background. Dedicated to our multi-faceted 3rd President, this site is busiest during the annual, world-famous Cherry Blossom Festival held each spring. As with the Lincoln Memorial, the building's design poses safety hazards to visitors along the steps and the high walls. This is a popular site for commercial and wedding photographers, as well as 1st Amendment gatherings.

Because Jefferson was a native Virginian and due to the popularity of Monticello, there is a large Jefferson following in the area. Therefore, a small number of visitors will pose quite difficult questions about Jefferson's life and philosophies, offering great opportunities to Rangers with an interest in early American history and political thought.

Congress authorized the creation of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial in 1934 to honor the forward-thinking President and political philosopher of the American Revolution. Through his writings, notably the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson articulated the philosophy of self-government and how it could be applied in the fledgling independent states.

Construction of the Jefferson Memorial was completed between 1938 and 1943 under National Park Service auspices. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the chief proponent for building the memorial, attended the 1943 dedication ceremony.

Architect John Russell Pope incorporated Jefferson's own architectural tastes into the design of the memorial. The memorial, like Jefferson's Monticello, incorporates elements from the Roman Pantheon, built in 27 B.C. to honor all Roman gods. The interior ceiling is modeled on the Pantheon's lacunar (sunken panel) design.

The exterior of the monument is made of Vermont Imperial Danby marble. Interior walls are Georgia White marble; the floor Tennessee pink marble; and the ceiling Indiana limestone.

In the center of the circular chamber stands Rudulph Evans' statue of Jefferson, surrounded by four wall panels housing excerpts of Jefferson's writings. On the gable above the entrance is a sculptural depiction of the Declaration Committee by artist A. A. Weinman.

The Jefferson Memorial overlooks the Tidal Basin around which flourish the Japanese flowering cherry trees which bloom each spring for nearly two weeks.

The statue of Thomas Jefferson looks out from the interior of the Jefferson Memorial toward the White House. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had trees removed between the two sites in order to oversee construction of the Memorial. This view is still clear, allowing sitting Presidents to ponder the memorial and seek inspiration from the man it honors.

Daily and Standing Operating Procedures for Duty at the Jefferson Memorial. Park Rangers will normally open the Memorial by 8:00 AM and close it by Midnight. In the morning, it is critical that the Rangers check with the housekeeping staff (if on site) to ensure that the floors of the lower lobby are dry and safe for visitors to enter. For specific procedures for opening and closing, see SOP #1-J in Annex D of this guidebook.

Video Equipment. Due to numerous changes and technical problems, we do not have an SOP that addresses the proper use and maintenance of the video equipment in the lower lobby. Currently, the equipment is activated by an automatic timer and Rangers have little responsibility for its control. Should you determine any problems, consult with your Lead Ranger, Supervisory Ranger, or appropriate technician at Harper's Ferry. Failure to follow instructions may result in damage to the equipment.

Alarms. There are many new, sensitive alarms in the Jefferson Memorial that go off periodically. Our Fire Evacuation SOP is being revised to help clarify your responsibilities should any of the alarms sound in the Memorial. In the meantime, if an alarm sounds, immediately check the alarm panel in the Ranger contact station to determine the problem area, notify your lead Ranger that you have an audible alarm, and, if possible, proceed to the appropriate area to determine if there is smoke, high water, or other problems. If you determine there is a safety threat to visitors and employees, ask the Site Manager for permission to evacuate the building and call for US Park Police, EMS, or Fire and Rescue, as needed.

Elevator Problems. See SOP #2-J in the SOP Annex section of this guidebook. However, due to recent renovations, we do not directly control the elevator keys and there is little we can do except unlock the appropriate door for the elevator technician. If visitors are trapped in the elevator, call Survey, inform them of the problem, and request they contact the elevator service company. Do what you can to reassure any occupants that we will have them out soon. Determine the health and status of the occupants and advise Survey if there are injuries or health problems. The elevator service team will need access to the room adjacent to the elevator at the lower lobby level—be prepared to guide them to the area if necessary.

Twenty Most Frequently Asked Questions.

Visitor Services/ Needs:

1) **Where are the nearest bathrooms?** In the lower lobby. If closed, the closest are at the FDR Memorial, ten minutes walk to the west.

2) **Where are the nearest pay phones?** Near the FDR Memorial, about a ten-minute walk west along the Tidal Basin sidewalk. The phones are along West Basin Drive, outside the memorial.

3) **Where can I buy film?** In the souvenir shop at the east end of the lower lobby.

4) **Where is the nearest Metro?** The L'Enfant Plaza Metro (D Street and 7th) and Smithsonian stops (Independence Ave. and 12th) are both about .9 miles away, or 20-30 minutes walk.

5) **Where can I get something to eat?** At the small kiosk southwest of the parking lot, closed during winter. The nearest restaurants are along Water and Maine Streets, 10-20 minutes walk to the east of the Memorial.

Historical or Cultural Questions:

6) **Where is Jefferson buried?** Not in this Memorial. Thomas Jefferson is buried at his Monticello estate, near Charlottesville.

7) **How tall is the statue?** 19 feet.

8) **What number President was he?** Third. He actually campaigned to be our second President, but lost to John Adams. At that time, the runner-up became Vice President, and Jefferson served in that capacity from March 4, 1797 until he began his first term as President on March 4, 1801.

9) **What does the number of steps to the Memorial mean**? Nothing.

10) **Who was the sculptor?** Rudulph Evans. (see biographical section).

11) **Is it true that there is a bird hidden in the statue?** No. There are items in the base of the statue to symbolize indigenous American agricultural crops, architectural columns, and Jefferson's love of farming and architecture, but there is no historical record that confirms the presence of a bird.

12) **Is it true that Jefferson fathered a child by one of his slaves?** Recent DNA testing indicates that it is very likely that Thomas Jefferson did father at least one child by Sally Hemings, one of his slaves. This controversy may never be completely settled, but the foundation that runs Monticello is changing their interpretation to include the subject.

13) **Who did the relief sculpture on the pediment and what is it?** A.A. Weinman sculpted the relief of the five members of the committee who drafted the Declaration of Independence: Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Sherman, and Livingston.

14) **How old is this building?** Workers broke ground in 1938 and President Franklin Roosevelt dedicated the memorial in April, 1943.

Adjacent Sites:

15) **How far to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing?** Less than 1/2 mile, or about 10-15 minutes. You can see the large white building from the north steps. Tickets are available from a kiosk on Raoul Wallenberg Place. Tours run for about 40 minutes and are offered between 9:00 and 10:40 AM and 1:00 PM to 1:40 PM, Monday through Friday only. No tickets are required for winter tours.

16) **How far to the FDR Memorial?** A little over 1/4 mile to the west on the Tidal Basin. About 10 minutes by foot.

17) **How far to the Lincoln Memorial?** About .9 miles, or 25-30 minutes walk through the FDR Memorial, then left on Independence Avenue to French Drive.

18) **How far to the Washington Monument?** About .7 miles, or 20 minutes up Raoul Wallenberg Place.

19) **How far to the Holocaust Museum?** Just over 1/2 mile, or about 15-20 minutes. You can see the glass pyramid just past the large white building. Tickets are available from the booth on 14th Street, just this side of Independence Avenue. Tours daily, 10:00 AM to 5:30 PM

20) **Where can I rent a paddle boat?** From the booth by the boat docks on the northeast side of the Tidal Basin, closed in winter.

Description of the Cultural Resource.

(Much of the following is adapted from Shrine of Freedom, by Tescia Ann Yonkers, Ph.D)

The Jefferson Memorial sits majestically along the south end of the Tidal Basin. The Memorial's landscaping, designed by Frederick Law Olmsted, is dominated by flowering cherry trees, planted to replace the ones uprooted during construction.

Olmsted chose plants native to areas where Jefferson lived, worked, or visited. Flanking the portico, to the east and west, are English and Irish yews, while American holly trees line the steps leading to the portico. Firethorns, jasmine, dogwood and Oriental holly as well as pine, boxwood, crab apple, elms and periwinkles are used to accent various features of the Memorial.

From the Memorial grounds, one can view many of the Capital's major landmarks as well as federal buildings, the Smithsonian Institution and other museums. The principal facade of the Memorial faces north, overlooking the Tidal Basin toward the Washington Monument and White House. In fact, President Roosevelt ordered trees to be chopped down from the White House grounds, so that he could have an unobstructed view of the Jefferson Memorial from the south portico of the White House. To the northwest, one can see the Franklin Roosevelt Memorial, the Robert E. Lee Memorial, and the Lincoln Memorial.

The Jefferson Memorial stands on a granite, circular base consisting of broad terraces and steps that lead to the main entrance at the north portico, facing the White House. The portico entrance is 8 columns wide, part of 54 total columns in the memorial.

On the pediment atop this portico is Adolph A. Weinman's sculptural relief of the committee appointed by the Continental Congress to write the Declaration of Independence. The relief shows Thomas Jefferson reading the completed document before his fellow committee members Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman and Robert Livingston.

The chamber opens to the three remaining cardinal directions: south, west, and east, but there are no steps which permit visitors to enter or leave the memorial via these openings.

The entire structure, with a diameter of 183 feet 10 inches, weighs approximately 32,000 tons. The exterior dome and columns are made of Imperial Danby Vermont marble, carefully matched for veining.

The central circular chamber measures 80 feet in diameter and is surmounted by a dome measuring 96 feet in height. The dome's exterior is 103 feet from the ground. The side panels and interior columns are all composed of Georgia white marble with its characteristic black veining, while the floor is of Tennessee pink marble and the inside dome is of Indiana limestone.

Origins of the Memorial. The current site of the Jefferson Memorial was underwater during Jefferson's time. In order to understand the positioning of the Jefferson Memorial, one must understand the early history of the site.

Even before the founding of Washington, D.C., the Potomac River was plagued by siltation. The current carried debris downstream and deposited it in the shallower tidal areas around the confluence of the Potomac River and the Eastern Branch (now Anacostia River). As deforestation and farming activities increased upstream, silt deposits deepened near the developing city.

As the federal city grew, its building projects, street grading efforts, and burgeoning population created new alluvial deposits in the Potomac. Commerce was eventually hindered as parts of the river became impassable. As early as 1833 engineers proposed to remove the silt by dredging the river.

By the middle of the 19th Century, Washington, D.C. was served by two bridges that spanned the Potomac River in this area: Long Bridge, completed in 1809, and a second bridge seventy-five feet downstream which had been directed by Congress to relieve pressure on Long Bridge. The area between the bridges became so silted and vegetated that it became known as "Potomac Flats. In 1857 civil engineer Alfred Landon Rives submitted plans to reclaim 166 acres of those mudflats.

However, work was not initiated until 1875, specifically under a plan devised by Mr. T. Abert, Army Corps of Engineers. His workers began to dredge and deepen the river channel and use the arisings to fill in Potomac Flats, thus reclaiming land and making the river navigable again.

This work was continued by career Army officer, Major Peter Hains, who replaced Abert in 1882. In his nine years of tenure, Hains completed the majority of dredging and reclamation. The project reclaimed 600 acres of land that stood several feet above high tide and flood level.

The land was separated into two separate tracts. To the north, the fill area extended nearly a mile westward from the old water line near the foot of the Washington Monument. The second area stretched approximately two miles to the south, parallel to, and just west of the old shoreline of the Potomac River. Between this new land and the old shoreline ran the newly deepened Washington Channel, providing access to wharves and docks. This southern area is now called East Potomac Park, home to the Jefferson Memorial.

Between the two reclaimed areas, Hains directed construction of a tidal basin. This ingenious design called for a reservoir fed by the waters of the Potomac River via mechanical water gates. The reservoir would harness the tidal ebb and flow to flush the Washington Channel and keep it navigable.

Around the Tidal Basin, the reclaimed land was extremely fertile and vegetation flourished quickly. In 1893, Hains' replacement, Major E.L.B. Davis, advocated development of the new area as a public park.

Despite the wishes of many people who wanted the land sold for private use, Congress finally passed Bill No. 3,307 on March 3, 1897, which established the area of the Tidal Basin and former flats as a public park for the recreation and pleasure of the people. Workers continued to elevate the land.

In 1901, the government transferred control of thirty-one acres of this park to the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds which cleared much of the natural vegetation and graded the site, giving it a more tamed, controlled, and "park like" appearance.

They raised the Tidal Basin revetment wall, and built a forty-foot wide drive of tarmacadam (layers of compacted crushed stone sprayed with tar, then rolled) along the east side of the reservoir. Almost as a by-product, these engineering feats extended the Potomac River shoreline south of the White House, along the north-south axis of L'Enfant's plan.

The first recommendations for a tribute to the President. On January 7, 1926, members of the 69th Congress introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to authorize the erection of a memorial to Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States. However, the motion did not gain overwhelming support and the issue was neglected for another decade. On June 24, 1934, in a Joint Resolution presented to Congress, Rep. John J. Boylan (D-N.Y.) stated:

"There exists no adequate permanent national memorial to Thomas Jefferson in the Nation's Capitol; and…the American people feel a deep debt of gratitude to Thomas Jefferson for the services rendered by him."

President Roosevelt backed Boylan's resolution because when he first came to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1918) he had looked around for a memorial to Jefferson and found none.

Congressional Resolutions. Congress passed the Joint Resolution on June 26, 1934, establishing the:

> *Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission, for the purpose of considering and formulating plans for designing and constructing a permanent memorial in the city of Washington, District of Columbia. Said Commission shall be composed of twelve commissioners as follows:*
>
> *Three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States, three Senators by the President of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives, and three members of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Incorporated, to be selected by such foundation.*

In June of 1936, Congress passed another resolution giving the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission complete power to select a site and design plans for the Memorial. The resolution also put all relevant government agencies at the disposal of the committee, including the Commission of Fine Arts. It also appropriated a total of $3,000,000 to cover all expenses incurred in the planning and construction of the Memorial. The original bill also stated that the Memorial was to be located in front of the National Archives Building on the apex block of Constitution and Pennsylvania Avenues.

At the Commission's first meeting, however, President Roosevelt declared this site as being too small for an appropriate monument to our third president, and he outlined instead a three-part plan for the Memorial. This plan included:

-Moving the Declaration of Independence from the Library of Congress to a shrine in the Archives Building

-Erecting a suitable monument to Jefferson halfway across the Mall, on a line with the Archives Building. This proposal called for a simple inscription:

> *Author of the Declaration of Independence, third President of the United States, Author of the statute for religious liberty in the State of Virginia*

-Construction of a colonial building, on the opposite side of the Mall from the Archives building, called the Thomas Jefferson Building, in which would be placed all the manuscripts of Thomas Jefferson and books connected with him.

At first the Jefferson Memorial Commission devoted its full attention to President Roosevelt's idea, but after further discussion

found it unsatisfactory. It then considered suggestions to place the Memorial in Anacostia, Lincoln Park or on an island in the middle of the Tidal Basin. All of these ideas were dismissed as inappropriate, since the Commission desired a structure and location better suited to Jefferson's important position in American history.

The memorial commission then considered a location that conformed to the 1901 Senate Parks Commission's plans for the city of Washington. This commission, chaired by Senator James McMillan and including such architects and artists as Augustus St. Gaudens, Charles Follen McKim and Daniel Hudson Burnham, revived the original design Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant had mapped out for the nation's capital.

The Senate Parks Commissioners wrote:

> *where the axis of the White House intersects the axis of Maryland Avenue a site is found for a great memorial. Whether this memorial shall take the form of a pantheon, in which shall be grouped the statues of illustrious men of the Nation, or whether the memory of some individual shall be honored by a monument of the first rank may be left to the future; at least the site is ready.*

The 1901 Senate Commission's plan for the terminus of the south White House axis and the southwest Capitol axis (the current location of the Jefferson memorial) called for a Founding Fathers monumental group. This would have entailed a domed central monument surrounded by small buildings designed to house baths, a theater, a gymnasium and other athletic facilities. Although the central monument was a square pantheon rather than circular, it resembled the Jefferson Memorial that would be built four decades later on the same site.

The Memorial Commission considered four possible sites. "Site A" is the site that was ultimately chosen; "Site B" would have placed the Memorial on the Mall; "Site C" on the east axis of the Capitol at Lincoln Park; and "Site D" near the Anacostia River.

In 1935 architect John Russell Pope was appointed official architect for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission. He submitted various designs for the Jefferson Memorial including:

-a proposal for a Memorial on the Mall as seen from near the National Archives

-designs for a Jefferson memorial in Lincoln Park on East Capitol Street (1936). In 1911, he had prepared a similar design for a Lincoln Memorial on the same ground.

-Pope submitted drawings for a monument in the style of the Pantheon at the Anacostia site.

-a Pantheon-style monument on the Tidal Basin site, which he called Scheme A, submitted November 1936.

On February 18, 1937 the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission selected the location for the tribute. The Commissioners decided that it would be most fitting to have a monument to our third President fill the site on the south shore of the Tidal Basin, 3,000 feet from the Washington Monument. Their embellishment of L'Enfant's design for the nation's capital called for a five-point composition for the center of the city, with major government buildings and monuments forming a great cross.

The Washington Monument was at the center of the cross axes. Up until 1934, only four structures had been erected: the Capitol Building, the Washington Monument and the

Lincoln Memorial, which made up the principle axis, and the White House, the right arm of the cross. The Commission reasoned that if Maryland Avenue was extended, the Jefferson Memorial would establish the fifth point in the imaginative geometric figure, completing the great cross.

Design Competition, or Lack Thereof. Contrary to protocol, the Memorial Commission chose not to hold a true design competition for the Jefferson Memorial. Because the Commissioners allegedly circumvented Jeffersonian ideals and democratic processes, the plan aroused considerable criticism.

The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission preferred the treatment recommended by the McMillan Commission, a round building with a low dome that resembled the Pantheon Building in Rome. It was a style that Jefferson himself utilized, both at Monticello and at the University of Virginia.

The Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) members objected, however, to the Pantheon design. They felt that a closed building with a statue in the middle competed too directly with the Lincoln Memorial. They argued that the Pantheon style was symbolic of Imperial Rome and “not representative of Thomas Jefferson and his significant contributions to the nation…” They argued that Jefferson was a man of vision, a forward-thinking progressive who should not be remembered with a stale mausoleum.

The CFA members were also worried since the plan called for the dome to be lined with limestone, totally unfit, in their opinion, for a tribute to one of our heroes. (Yet the CFA approved limestone for Lincoln Memorial.)

Thus, the CFA preferred a more open peristyle treatment. In 1925, John Russell Pope had submitted such a design for a proposed Theodore Roosevelt Memorial at the same site. The design included two semi-circular colonnades with an open treatment of the principal axis and some sort of sculptural point of interest in the center. The Memorial Commission reluctantly agreed to the open colonnade design at the urging of the Commission of Fine Arts.

However, Pope died in August, 1937. As the Commission waited for the approval of President Roosevelt, in March 1938, the relationship between Pope's partners and his widow deteriorated. Mrs. Pope did not want her late husband's design for a Theodore Roosevelt Memorial altered, not even to be used as a tribute to Jefferson. She made it clear that she would "give information to the press and say the design was stolen" if Pope's partners, Otto R. Eggers and Daniel P. Higgins, used it.

As a result, the Memorial Commission returned to the "Pantheon" design, recommending it to Congress on March 29, 1938.

Design Approval. The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission then took the design controversy to FDR, who preferred and authorized the pantheon design. The design therefore never went back to the Commission of Fine Arts for its approval.

The Winning Design and Designer. The design that President Roosevelt approved was one of Pope’s smaller pantheon versions. Pope had submitted the smaller design in an effort to appease Commission of Fine Arts members who opposed his original design.

After Pope's death, objections were raised concerning Eggers and Higgins' participation in the memorial project. The National

Competitions Committee for Architecture and the Allied Artists demanded a nationwide competition for the selection of another architect, claiming that the Commission had been "Un-Jeffersonian and undemocratic" in erecting this "tribute to one of the greatest of Americans." Other critics questioned the "reasonableness, if not the propriety, of erecting so imposing a Memorial to Jefferson here in our Capital city at this time. . ."

The Memorial Commission held to its decision, however, and allowed Eggers and Higgins to proceed with their version of Pope's design.

Architect's Ideas, Intent, and Theme

The Memorial design was inspired by the Roman Pantheon, which Thomas Jefferson himself considered the "perfect model" of a circular building. In fact, this same simple, classical form with its low, graceful dome inspired Jefferson in his design of the rotunda at the University of Virginia and his house at Monticello. In presenting his plan to the Memorial Commission, Pope explained that:

> *Immediate consideration is given to the evidence of Jefferson's aesthetic leanings as shown in works executed under his direction and also in his writings and drawings. Two forms of the classic type of building seem to have met with his approbation. The great prototypes of these forms are probably best illustrated by the Pantheon in Rome and the Villa Rotunda near Vicenza.*

However, Pope added an open, circular Ionic peristyle to the solid, circular structure of the Pantheon.

Construction Timeline of the Memorial

1882-1900. Engineers drained and filled the mud flats west and south of the Washington Monument, creating grounds which would become the Potomac Parks and the Tidal Basin.

190l-1902. The McMillan Commission proposed building monuments to prominent national figures at the intersection of Maryland Avenue and the axis south from the White House.

1925. A location for a memorial to Theodore Roosevelt was selected; John Russell Pope won the design competition.

1934. The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission was created by an Act of Congress on June 26.

1935. The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission chose architect John Russell Pope to execute designs for four possible sites.

1936. Congress appropriated $3,000,000 for a memorial to Jefferson.

1937. The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission chose the site at the intersection of the south axis of the White House and Maryland Avenue. Pope's round "Pantheon" design was opposed by the Commission of Fine Arts, although the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission endorsed it. Otto R. Eggers and Daniel P. Higgins continued to work on the project after Pope's death, altering his design.

1938. The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission submitted a design to Congress for approval on March 29. Congress approved the "Pantheon" design.

December 15, 1938. President Roosevelt turned the first trowel full of dirt, officially marking ground-breaking, despite the fact that the Commission of Fine Arts still opposed the design.

March 2, 1939. A jury was selected by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission to preside over an open competition to select a sculptor to execute a statue for the Memorial.

November 15, 1939. President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke at the cornerstone-laying ceremony. Roosevelt laid the cornerstone.

Ceremonial items were placed in the cornerstone, including:

- a copy of the Declaration of Independence
- a copy of the Constitution of the United States of America
- *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth* (prepared by Thomas Jefferson)
- *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* vols., Paul Ford, editor)
- *The 1939 Annual Report of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission*
- the signatures of Franklin D. Roosevelt and members of the Memorial Commission
- copies of the four leading Washington newspapers *(Washington Post, Washington Evening Star, Washington Times-Herald* and *Washington Daily News).*

Within a month, construction commenced on the main structure, however, further resistance was mounted by civic groups who opposed the removal of some of the cherry trees planted along the Tidal Basin.

Cissy Patterson led a group of 50 women to the White House and demanded that President Roosevelt stop the workmen. A nationwide radio appeal to save the trees generated a deluge of mail on Congress, the President and the National Park Service.

The protestors even went as far as chaining themselves to trees that were slated for removal. Work on the Memorial was halted for one day to give the opposition a chance to calm down before the president ordered the construction to proceed as planned.

Minor engineering and construction difficulties caused further short delays.

June 3, 1940. The outer colonnade was nearly completed; however, the dome had not yet been framed.

October 16, 1941. Rudulph Evans signed a contract with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission to execute the statue.

Summer, 1942. The Memorial was completed and opened. It was finished 21 years after the Lincoln Memorial and 55 years after the Washington Monument.

1943: Workers installed the plaster statue of Thomas Jefferson due to wartime metal shortages.

April 13, 1943. The formal dedication of the Jefferson Memorial, on the 200th anniversary of Jefferson's birth. President Roosevelt was the main speaker.

April 25, 1947. The plaster statue was replaced by Evans' 10,000-pound bronze statue.

Jefferson Memorial Statistics:

History:

Authorization: Public Resolution No. 49, 73rd Congress, Approved June 26, 1934.

Ground breaking: December 15, 1938

Cornerstone: Laid November 15, 1939

Dedicated: April 13, 1943 - 200th Anniversary of Jefferson's birth.

Architect: John Russell Pope (died 1937, Associates Eggers & Higgins carried on)

Inscriptions and Panels:

-Southwest Wall: Inscription from the Declaration of Independence.

-Northwest Wall: Inscription from the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom.

-Northeast Wall: Inscription from Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia.

-Southeast Wall: Inscription from the letter to Samuel Kercheval.

-Dome inscription: from a letter to Benjamin Rush.

Columns: 54 x Ionic
Height of Exterior Columns: 41 feet
Height of Interior Columns: 39 feet, 2 inches

Chamber Height: 91 feet 8 inches
Portico Height: 62 feet 2 inches
Road to Top of Dome: 129 feet 4 inches
Dome Thickness: 4 feet

Memorial Weight: 32,000 tons

Total Cost: $ 3,192,312

Statue: 1943-1947; plaster;
1947 –today; bronze

Sculptor: Rudulph Evans

Statue Height: 19 feet

Statue Weight: 10,000 lbs
or 5 tons (hollow)

Pedestal Height: 6 feet

Pediment:

Adolph A. Weinman (Depicts Jefferson standing before the committee appointed by the Continental Congress to write the Declaration of Independence. To the left (as viewed from the steps) are Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. Seated to the right of Jefferson are Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston.

Stone:
Exterior Walls and Columns: Danby Imperial marble (Vermont)

Inner Dome: Indiana limestone

Interior Walls: Georgia white marble

Chamber Floor: Tennessee pink marble

Pedestal: Minnesota black granite

Ring around Pedestal: Missouri gray marble

Jefferson: Born April 13, 1743.
Died July 4, 1826 (50th Anniversary of Declaration of Independence). He was 83.
John Adams died later the same day.

Artwork in the Memorial.

The Jefferson Statue.
On March 2, 1939, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission's Committee on Sculpture appointed a jury to preside over an open competition to select a sculptor to execute the heroic statue of Thomas Jefferson for the Memorial. The members of this jury were Henri Marceau, Professional Advisor and Chairman; and two noted sculptors, James Earl Fraser and Heinz Warneke.

Out of the 101 applicants, the following six men were selected on July 1, 1939, to submit models:

Rudulph Evans, Raoul Josset, Lee Lawrie, William Zorach, Sidney Waugh, and Adolph A. Weinman.

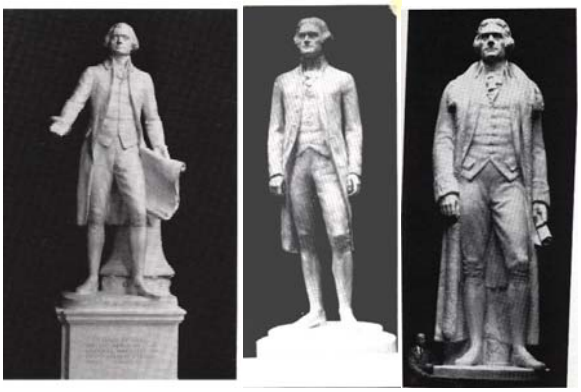
Pictures of the submissions are on display in the information room near the Memorial chamber.

None of the submissions was deemed appropriate; but since Lee Lawrie's showed the most promise, he was asked to submit a second model. This, too, was found unacceptable, so Evans and Weinman were asked to rejoin the competition on September 13, 1940. All three sculptors submitted an additional model, which was viewed by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission on February 21, 1941. The Commission asked the artists to execute still another model.

The second model submitted by Evans was also clothed in a short tailed coat. He depicted Jefferson as a more sedate, more mature, presidential figure. There were no symbols. It was simple in comparison to the first model.

Evans' third model depicted Jefferson wearing knee breeches, buttoned waistcoat with high turnover collar, hairdress, and a fur-collared coat, as if it was the cloak of freedom.

He portrayed Jefferson as a thinker, an intellectual, and a statesman-not as a man of physical action like his first model. Unlike Evans' first two models which captured Jefferson clad in short waistcoats, Evans' last model, begun in June, 1941, featured a mature Jefferson wearing a long, fur-trimmed coat.


Evans' statues: First, Second, and Third Submissions

Although the Commission reacted favorably to the model, they did not believe that Jefferson wore a fur-trimmed coat during his lifetime. Evans could not afford financially to further research this point of contention, and he considered dropping out of the competition.

A close friend, Lester Moffett, not only came to his aid and lent Evans $1,000 to explore the subject further, but also helped him trace its authenticity. They were able to prove the historical accuracy of the coat with a portrait of Thomas Jefferson painted by Thomas Sully. It was executed four years before his death and shows him wearing a fur-trimmed full-length coat, probably a gift of the Polish patriot of the American Revolution, General Thaddeus Kosciusko.

Now, it was a unanimous decision. On October 8, 1941, Rudulph Evans was finally selected to execute the statue.

Pope and his associates designed the memorial so that visitors could view the statue from the exterior at the cardinal points of the compass.

The metals needed to produce Evans' bronze statue were unavailable, since the United States was engaged in World War II. Thus, it was a plaster cast, made by A.J. Contini and painted to simulate bronze, that was installed in time for the dedication on April 13, 1943, on the 200th anniversary of Jefferson's birth. The permanent bronze statue wasn't executed until after the war when materials were plentiful once again.

In 1946, the Roman Bronze Company of New York began casting the dozen pieces that would form the bronze statue of Jefferson. The 19 foot statue was completed 9 months later, after 21 separate castings. It stood on a 6 foot high pedestal of black Minnesota granite, surrounded at its base by Missouri marble. Although the final work was hollow and measured only 3/16 of an inch thick, the work weighed 10,000 pounds. The statue was shipped to Washington, D.C

On April 17, 1947, workmen removed the head and shoulders of the plaster statue of Thomas Jefferson that stood in the memorial through the war years. The bronze statue was transported by truck on April 21, 1947, to Washington, D.C., where it was installed with the help of Evans after the plaster statue was removed. It replaced the plaster and was permanently installed in the Jefferson Memorial on April 25, 1947. The work measured 6 feet 5 inches wide, and workers barely squeezed it through the memorial columns. A system of pulleys was developed to lift the statue and lower it into place on its pedestal.

On April 26, 1947, scaffolding was removed and a permanent bronze statue of Thomas Jefferson stood in the Rotunda of the memorial. The bronze is covered with a wax solution to prevent the metal from oxidizing.

Symbols within the Jefferson Statue. The statue of a standing Jefferson is intended to represent the Age of Enlightenment, a philosopher and statesman, looking out onto the world. In his left hand, Jefferson holds a document, perhaps the Declaration of Independence, symbolic of his role as author of American documents.

The statue resembles Jefferson's pose captured by painter John Trumbull and represents Jefferson addressing the Second Continental Congress. The figure in his colonial costume is relaxed, standing erect with his weight on his right foot, gazing toward the White House.

At his feet are two architectural column capitals, on which are sculpted corn and tobacco-- indigenous products that were widely grown in Jefferson's Virginia. (Ironically, Jefferson wrote that tobacco farming was "productive of infinite wretchedness" and preferred wheat cultivation instead.)

Interestingly, Evans added the columns for practical reasons: to provide support and (like the long coat) to keep light from shining between Jefferson's legs and detracting from a visitor's ability to enjoy the detail of the statue. Also, capitals of this type are not unique--older parts of the US Capitol are adorned with Benjamin Henry Latrobe's capitals composed of tobacco and corn.

In what is described as "one of the finest portrait statues in this country," Evans captured not only a realistic likeness of the man, but also his strength of character and vitality of spirit. The sculptor strove to express the soul of his subject, which he attempted through both a factual and deeply intuitive knowledge of the man's personality. Evans' conception of Jefferson is of a man whose strength was centered more in his mind than in his body, a characteristic his brooding philosopher's brow further confirms.

Stuart G. Gibboney, Chairman of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission, stated, "The sculptor, in this ideal portrait, has embodied both the character and likeness of the subject, and the monumental treatment requisite for its position in the memorial." Devoid of the utilitarian, the statue compels contemplation of Thomas Jefferson and the ideals which he espoused. It was the crowning triumph of Evans' art, the exquisite summary of his skill, knowledge, and judgment.

The Pediment Decoration.
A marble bas-relief above the entrance to the memorial depicts the Declaration of Independence committee. A.A. Weinman, (who submitted one of the unsuccessful Jefferson statue designs) sculpted the five members of the Declaration Committee appointed by the Continental Congress: Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert Livingston of New York.

Congress appointed these members to draft the Declaration of Independence which they would then present to the whole Congress for approval. Because of his strong pro-independence views and his writing abilities, Jefferson did most of the actual writing.

That committee was to be balanced:

- The radical, pro-independence viewpoint was expressed by Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin.

- The moderate, undecided voice came from Sherman.

- The anti-independence viewpoint was presented by Livingston.

In the exhibit area in the lower lobby, visitors can see a copy of the John Trumbull painting that inspired Weinman's work- the painter shows the Declaration Committee presenting their document to the Congress.

The Chamber Inscriptions.
Inside the grand building, one may view excerpts from Thomas Jefferson's writings, chiseled into the limestone wall panels that stand between the four chamber openings.

These words reflect the diversity and complexity of Jefferson's thinking, addressing emotional issues of political independence, religious freedom, public education and the abolition of slavery.

The inscriptions were the source of much bickering and editing by the Memorial Commission members. Park Rangers can view some of the original drafts of Memorial Commission letters pertaining to these inscriptions in the National Archives. The finalized chamber inscriptions read as follow:

Inscription on Interior of the Dome:

"I HAVE SWORN UPON THE ALTAR OF GOD ETERNAL HOSTILITY AGAINST EVERY FORM OF TYRANNY OVER THE MIND OF MAN."

-Taken from a letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush, September 23, 1800.

Vice President Jefferson wrote this letter to Rush, his close friend, Philadelphia doctor, military surgeon, and signer of the Declaration of Independence. At the time, Democratic-Republicans were rallying around Jefferson as he headed for victory in the 1800 presidential election. Federalist clergy from New England were complaining that if Jefferson were elected President, he would doom their "hope of obtaining an establishment of a particular form of Christianity through the United States".

Jefferson's actual letter reads: "They believe that any portion of power confided to me, will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly: for **I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."**

Southwest Panel:

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT: THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN. WE... SOLEMNLY PUBLISH AND DECLARE, THAT THESE COLONIES ARE AND OF A RIGHT OUGHT TO BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES... AND FOR THE SUPPORT OF THIS DECLARATION, WITH A FIRM RELIANCE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, WE MUTUALLY PLEDGE OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES, AND OUR SACRED HONOUR."

--Taken from the Declaration of Independence, 1776.

Rather than a simple, verbatim copy of the Declaration, this memorial inscription underwent numerous changes, including some proposed by President Franklin Roosevelt. The following is taken from the Epilogue of the book, American Scripture, by Pauline Maier:

Unfortunately, designers told the Jefferson Memorial Commission that it could put no more than 325 letters on a panel. A section from the document's second paragraph seemed perfect, so the commission proposed the following inscription:

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL: THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN IN-ALIENABLE RIGHTS: THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS: THAT TO SE-CURE THESE RIGHTS GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CON-SENT OF THE GOVERNED.
WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT.

That wasn't an exact version of the official Declaration. The punctuation was changed; "unalienable" went back to "inalienable," a "that" was removed so the last statement became a separate sentence, and the final phrase of what was in the original a linked sequence-"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" was eliminated altogether. The proposed inscription still had too many letters, but in May 1941 it was sent to President Franklin Roosevelt for final approval. Excellent, he said, except that he

missed the last paragraph of the Declaration. Couldn't it be condensed and included? Roosevelt submitted a sample text to show how that might be done, complete with ellipses to indicate where words had been cut--something the Commission did not usually bother to include.

The Commission went back to work, whittling away parts of the passage it had first proposed. Another "that" was removed, and with it the assertion that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed, which was critical to Lincoln's understanding of the document. The Commission also eliminated the passage on the people's right to alter or abolish their government when it failed to protect their rights; that is, on the right of revolution, which was the point of the original sequence and essential to the meaning of the Declaration as Jefferson understood it down to the final weeks of his life.

As finally engraved on the Memorial, that part of the citation says:

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT: THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN.

Then, in deference to the president, the Commission added words from the document's final paragraph in a form much like what he proposed. Because the passage was then far too long, the architects removed a few more words without inserting ellipses, and someone-maybe a clerk, changed "honor" to "honour," so the final part of the inscription reads:

WE ...
SOLEMNLY PUBLISH AND DECLARE, THAT THESE COLONIES ARE AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES . . . AND FOR THE SUPPORT OF THIS DECLARATION, WITH A FIRM RELIANCE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, WE MUTUALLY PLEDGE OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES AND OUR SACRED HONOUR.

Again, the passage differed from the official Declaration. The real problem, however, is that most of those words were written by Richard Henry Lee or by some anonymous Congressmen between July 2 and 4, 1776, and inserted by Congress in place of Jefferson's prose. Did no one have the nerve to tell the President? Or were they unaware that much of the above quotation, now permanently inscribed on the Jefferson Memorial, was not of Jefferson's composition? Jefferson became very upset by the way Congress "mutilated" his draft. What would he have said about the Jefferson Memorial Commission?

The changes the Commission made tell more than the obvious, that pleasing the President was a high priority. The right of revolution was easily sacked, and with it all the punctuation and the "that's" that made clear how all previous assertion of equality, of inalienable rights, of the purpose and nature of government had led to the Declaration's assertion of the people's right to abolish their government and replace it with another.

Revolutionary documents are always uncomfortable for established governments. Even nations founded in revolutions quickly become conservative, if only to preserve the advances that revolution has brought. Once Americans had won their Independence, many leaders of the resistance to Britain condemned the followers of Daniel Shays and other domestic insurgents, insisting that in a

republic, where oppressive rulers could be removed through the ballot box, there could be no rightful resistance to government outside the ordinary procedures of politics and law.

Revolution was for other people, for those who had yet to establish their republic, such as the French, whose revolution awoke widespread American enthusiasm in its opening years, or the European and Latin American revolutionaries of the 1820s.

The predicament of preserving a nation that formally began with a revolutionary manifesto in a world torn by revolution fell to the Federalists in the 1790s. Their solution was to forget the Declaration of Independence. In 1861 Lincoln inherited the problem of preserving the Union; but by then he had already redefined the Declaration as a treatise for established societies whose function as a revolutionary manifesto was part of the dead past.

Once again in the twentieth century it became necessary to explain away the Declaration of Independence as Jefferson understood it. Consider the problem of Archibald MacLeish, the poet who, as Librarian of Congress, had to compose a foreword for Julian Boyd's The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text... in 1943, the two-hundredth anniversary of Jefferson's birth and the year the Jefferson Memorial was dedicated when the United States was an ally of Britain in a great war against fascism.

"It is not to wound our English friends and Angloman fellow citizens that we publish at this time a study of the evolution of the Declaration's text," he said, but, borrowing from an 1823 statement of Jefferson, "to cherish the principles of the instrument in the bosoms of our own citizens." The Declaration, he went on, was negative and divisive in denouncing British rule and setting Englishmen and Americans against each other, but it remained nonetheless "creative and unifying" in declaring "the basic principles of human liberty" and in "its proposal for the future of a society in which human liberty could flourish."

In that positive role, the Declaration, like Magna Carta, was part of the tradition of liberty among English-speaking peoples and "as such is a part of the British inheritance as it is of ours." Time had canceled the Declaration's negative aspects, MacLeish said, "but never at any time in the history of either country was the affirmative and creative significance of the Declaration of Independence more living than it is today." No less than Lincoln, and probably with more self-consciousness than the Jefferson Memorial Commission, MacLeish transformed a historical embarrassment into a living document.

To do that, he had to turn history upside down: just imagine George III's amazement at learning that the Declaration of Independence would one day become a constructive part of the British heritage! Yet MacLeish was right in describing the Declaration of Independence as part of a political tradition that united the British and American peoples. Even the sacralization of the Declaration of Independence has analogues in British history.

In 1895, F. W. Maitland, the great British legal historian, referred to Magna Carta as "a sacred text, the nearest approach to an ir-repealable 'fundamental statute' that England has ever had." Like the Declaration of Independence, Magna Carta began in 1215 as a political document, negotiated between the King and a group of barons. The "great charter" --whose greatness at first rested in its physical size, not its importance--was

reissued repeatedly in the thirteenth century (as, for example, by the charter of 1297 on display in the rotunda of the National Archives), then reinterpreted by Parliamentary statutes of the fourteenth century.

Three hundred years later the document was rediscovered by Sir Edward Coke and his legal colleagues, who saw it as an affirmation of fundamental law and England's "ancient liberty." Many parts of the document were quietly forgotten along the way. Other clauses were recalled and developed in both Britain and America because they proved useful. For example, the provision in Magna Carta that no one could be deprived of liberty except by the "judgment of peers" became in time trial by jury, something that existed "only in embryo in 1215" but which in March 1776 was for South Carolina's Judge William Henry Drayton a basic right that the Crown had violated in contempt, as he put it, of Magna Carta.

The document's continuing power depended on its adaptability and on the mythic qualities it assumed: Magna Carta "not only survived but it became a sacred text, glossed, interpreted and extended..."

Americans are accustomed to having the federal Constitution and Bill of Rights reinterpreted and adapted to changing circumstances; we have, in fact, institutionalized that process in the Supreme Court. But the Declaration of Independence has been no less "glossed, interpreted and extended" over time. MacLeish, like Lincoln, relegated the bulk of its words to the dead past and emphasized a handful of passages, most of which are on the Jefferson Memorial.

There the opening sentence of the Declaration's second paragraph leads to only three self-evident truths: that all men are created equal, that they have certain inalienable rights, including the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that governments are created to protect those rights. Those are the lines most Americans remember (indeed, memories tend to fade after "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness").

They are also the lines that Lincoln emphasized, but their implications have shifted since his time. In 1858 he wrote a correspondent that the language of the Declaration of Independence was at odds with slavery but did not require political and social equality for free black Americans. Few disagreed then. How many would agree today?

The gradual reinterpretation of the Declaration of Independence has not, however, been institutionalized. To be sure, the character of that process of change was affected by the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, which ended slavery and involuntary servitude, precluded states from depriving anyone of "life, liberty, or property, without due process of law" or denying them the equal protection of the laws, and assured that the right to vote would not be denied because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Those amendments, which emerged from the caldron of idealism and resentment that was Reconstruction politics, have served in some measure to read into the Constitution principles in the Declaration of Independence and so provide a legal foundation for equality and equal rights. Today the pursuit of gender or age equality is, as a result, often carried out in the courts.

The ultimate authority of the Declaration itself nonetheless rests, as it always has, less

in law than in the minds and hearts of the people, and its meaning changes as new groups and new causes claim its mantle, constantly reopening the issue of what the nation's "founding principles" demand.

In 1963, a century after Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation and presented his Gettysburg Address, Martin Luther King stood beside the Lincoln Memorial and called for the new birth of freedom that Lincoln had promised, a freedom that for King meant an end to the poverty, discrimination, and segregation that left black citizens "languishing in the corners of American society," exiles in their own land. His dream, that one day the sons of former slaves and former slaveholders would be able to "sit together at the table of brotherhood," and that his children would be judged by the quality of their character, not the color of their skins, was beyond anything Thomas Jefferson could imagine.

It was also beyond what Lincoln believed possible in his own day, although it fit Lincoln's conception of a Declaration of Independence whose maxims would be applied ever more broadly over time "as circumstances should permit," that is, as the people became more accepting. No less than Lincoln's vision, moreover, King's was an old American dream with legitimate roots in the American Revolution and its insistence that people should be judged for what they were and not by the accident of birth.

And the Shrine up the mall at the National Archives, with its curious altar, which would seem more at home in a Baroque church somewhere in Rome? Understand it, if you will, as a reminder of what happened in the 1820s, or, better yet, as a monument to the issues and peculiarities of the twentieth century, but not to the heritage of the American Revolution.

Why should the American people file by, look-up reverentially at a document that was and is their creation, as if it were handed down by God or were the work of superhuman men whose talents far exceeded those of any who followed them?

The symbolism is all wrong; it suggests a tradition locked in a glorious but dead past, reinforces the passive instincts of an anti-political age, and undercuts the acknowledgment and exercise of public responsibilities essential to the survival of the republic and its ideals.

Debate whether affirmative action is an anti-egalitarian bestowal of Special privilege or a necessary remedy for centuries of unequal opportunity; ask whether the "individualistic character" of those passages from the Declaration of Independence on the Jefferson Memorial has liberate the human spirit or fostered a self-centered culture of rights at odds with the public good. Let interests clash and argument prosper.

The vitality of the Declaration of Independence rests upon readiness of the people and their leaders to discuss its implications and to make the crooked ways straight, not in the mummified paper curiosities lying in state at the Archives; in the ritual of politics, not in worship of false gods who are at odds with our eighteenth-century origins and who war against our capacity, together, to define and realize right and justice in our time.

Northwest Panel:

"ALMIGHTY GOD HATH CREATED THE MIND FREE. ALL ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE IT BY TEMPORAL PUNISHMENTS OR BURTHENS... ARE A DEPARTURE FROM THE PLAN OF THE HOLY AUTHOR OF OUR RELIGION.... NO MAN SHALL BE COMPELLED TO FREQUENT OR SUPPORT ANY RELIGIOUS WORSHIP OR MINISTRY OR SHALL OTHERWISE SUFFER ON ACCOUNT OF HIS RELIGIOUS OPINIONS OR BELIEF, BUT ALL MEN SHALL BE FREE TO PROFESS AND BY ARGUMENT TO MAINTAIN, THEIR OPINIONS IN MATTERS OF RELIGION. I KNOW BUT ONE CODE OF MORALITY FOR MEN WHETHER ACTING SINGLY OR COLLECTIVELY."

--Taken from A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, drafted in 1777. First introduced in the Virginia General Assembly in 1779, after he had become Governor. Passed by the Virginia Assembly in 1786, while Jefferson was serving as Minister to France. The last sentence is taken from a letter to James Madison, August 28, 1789, as he was returning to America to assume his position as Secretary of State.

Jefferson had served as a member of the Committee on Religion in the Virginia legislature, and late in 1776, he drafted notes which proposed the disestablishment of the Church of England.

He drew heavily upon the writings and beliefs of John Locke, but went beyond Locke's tolerance of just some religions. These ideas formed the basis of Jefferson's bill for religious freedom.

Jefferson's original passage from Section I of A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom actually reads:

"Well 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** . . . ."

Jefferson's bill was, as he later described, an attempt to erect a "wall of separation between Church and State."

The second paragraph of his bill demanded that "no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship…nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief."

Northeast Panel:

"GOD WHO GAVE US LIFE GAVE US LIBERTY. CAN THE LIBERTIES OF A NATION BE SECURE WHEN WE HAVE REMOVED A CONVICTION THAT THESE LIBERTIES ARE THE GIFT OF GOD? INDEED I TREMBLE FOR MY COUNTRY WHEN I REFLECT THAT GOD IS JUST, THAT HIS JUSTICE CANNOT SLEEP FOR-EVER. COMMERCE BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE IS DESPOTISM. NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE. ESTABLISH THE LAW FOR EDUCATING THE COMMON PEOPLE. THIS IT IS THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE TO EFFECT AND ON A GENERAL PLAN."

Original Passages that the Jefferson Memorial Commission used to create the Northeast Panel:

"But let them [members of the parliament of Great Britain] not think to exclude us from going to other markets to dispose of those commodities which they cannot use, or to supply those wants which they cannot supply. Still less let it be proposed that our properties within our own territories shall be taxed or regulated by any power on earth but our own. The **God who gave us life gave us liberty** at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them." -- A Summary View of the Rights of British America

"For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And **can the liberties of a nation be** thought **secure when we have removed** their only firm basis, **a conviction** in the minds of the people **that these liberties are the gift of God?** That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? **Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever** . . . ." -- Notes on the State of Virginia

"The whole **commerce between master and slave is** a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting **despotism** on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. . . ." -- Notes on the State of Virginia

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free. Nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion has drawn indelible lines of distinction between them." -- The Autobiography

"Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance; **establish** & improve **the law for educating the common people**." -- letter to George Wythe, August 13, 1780

"It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that too of the people with a certain degree of instruction. **This it is the business of the state to effect, and on a general plan."** -- letter to George Washington, January 4, 1786

Southeast Panel:

"I AM NOT AN ADVOCATE FOR FREQUENT CHANGES IN LAWS AND CONSTITUTIONS, BUT LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS MUST GO HAND IN HAND WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE HUMAN MIND. AS THAT BECOMES MORE DEVELOPED, MORE ENLIGHTENED, AS NEW DISCOVERIES ARE MADE, NEW TRUTHS DISCOVERED AND MANNERS AND OPINIONS CHANGE, WITH THE CHANGE OF CIRCUMSTANCES, INSTITUTIONS MUST ADVANCE ALSO TO KEEP PACE WITH THE TIMES. WE MIGHT AS WELL REQUIRE A MAN TO WEAR STILL THE COAT WHICH FITTED HIM WHEN A BOY AS CIVILIZED SOCIETY TO REMAIN EVER UNDER THE REGIMEN OF THEIR BARBAROUS ANCESTORS."

--Taken from a letter to Samuel Kercheval, July 12, 1816.

The inscription may mislead readers into beliving it was part of Jefferson's revolutionary rhetoric. However, it is from a period well after the writing of the Declaration of Independence. Moreover, Jefferson was not arguing for revision of our national laws. At the time of Jefferson's letter, Kercheval was writing a pamphlet that called for a new state constitution for Virginia. Jefferson was writing Kercheval to pledge support for this localized cause.

Original passage that led to Southeast Panel: "**I am** certainly **not an advocate for frequent** and untried **changes in laws and constitutions**. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with; because, when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their ill effects. **But** I know also, that **laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths** disclosed, **and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the** same **coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors**." -- to Samuel Kercheval, July 12, 1816

The letter also contained more insight into Jefferson's mind:

"Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the arc of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment."

Jefferson continued and urged other Virginians to "avail ourselves of our reason and experience, to correct the crude essays of our first and unexperienced, although wise, virtuous, and well-meaning councils". After all, Jefferson himself had worked feverishly on an earlier proposal for the Virginia state constitution, his draft losing out to a more conservative document.

Jefferson's recommendation was that constitutions should be revised at "stated periods" of nineteen or twenty years, the average period of a generation in those days.

The 1943 Dedication Ceremony.

At noon on Tuesday, April 13, 1943, on the 200th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, Franklin D. Roosevelt dedicated the national memorial to the author of the Declaration of Independence.

Ten to twenty thousand people attended the ceremony. The original copy of the Declaration of Independence was exhibited at the Memorial, guarded by four Marines, while various other ceremonies honoring Jefferson were held at the Library of Congress and at Monticello.

The 30 minute ceremony began around noon with an invocation, singing of the National Anthem, and introductory remarks by Stuart Gibboney, chairman of the Jefferson Memorial Commission.

Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered the dedication address. The President spoke of Jefferson, who "faced the fact that men who will not fight for liberty can lose it", thus comparing the Revolutionary War to World War II that was raging at the time of the dedication.

Roosevelt went on to say that "'Jefferson was no dreamer," and "he thought in terms of the morrow as well as the day…"

President Roosevelt concluded the dedication by declaring he would bear, as Jefferson did, "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

The Legacy: Relevant Celebrations or Gatherings at the Site.

The Thomas Jefferson Memorial routinely ranks third or fourth among the monuments on the Mall in general popularity, with roughly half the visitation as the Lincoln Memorial.

Aside from the regular tourist traffic, the Memorial is also the site of various special events. During past summer months, the U.S. Military bands gave free concerts at the Memorial on a regular basis. Memorial wreath laying ceremonies are held annually on April 13, the anniversary of Jefferson's birth, under the cosponsorship of the District of Columbia Society Sons of the American Revolution, the National Park Service, and the Military District of Washington.

During the first part of April, the Annual Cherry Blossom Festival is held near the Tidal Basin. The event is held under the auspices of the National Park Service, the Washington Board of Trade and other participating civic organizations. The Japanese flowering cherry trees are a famous part of the landscape around the Jefferson Memorial and the Tidal Basin. The flowering cherry trees were presented as a gift from the city of Tokyo to the city of Washington. The first shipment of 3,000 trees arrived in Washington in 1912. The First Lady, Helen Taft, and the wife of the Japanese ambassador, Viscountess Chinda, planted the first two trees at the north end of the Tidal Basin.

In 1952, cuttings from these trees were returned to Japan to help stabilize the trees along Arakawa River whose care had been neglected during the war. Another 3800 trees were donated by Japan in 1965 and accepted by the First Lady, Lady Bird Johnson. A 350 year old lantern was donated by the Japanese ambassador in 1954 to celebrate Japanese-American friendship, and a small Shinto pagoda was donated in 1958.

The trees flower in late March-early April for two weeks only, peaking for a mere three

days. Since 1935, there has been an annual Cherry Blossom Festival to celebrate the flowering of the trees. Massive crowds will flock to the site and media groups will send photographers and video teams to capture the beauty of these blossoms.

Possible Themes and Universal Concepts for Rangers at the Jefferson Memorial.

-Freedom

-Creativity

-Liberty

-Diversity

-Perseverance

-Optimism

-Service

Recent Restoration Efforts. Damaged over the years by heavy visitation and environmental factors, the Jefferson Memorial underwent major restoration in 1969-70 as workers stabilized its surroundings and again in the 1990s when projects concentrated on a long-term study of cracks in the volutes or scrolls of the column capitals, replacement of the plaza steps and patios, and renovation of the exhibit area and Visitor Information room.

Visitors will see netting that still surrounds several column capitals as the studies continue. The netting provides safety in the event a volute fails and falls, as occurred in 1961 and again in 1990. Seven other volutes have been removed by workers, including one that they accidentally dislodged during an inspection.

Biographical Sketch of the Architect.

Architect John Russell Pope (24 Apr. 1874 - 27 Aug. 1937) was born in New York City, the son of John Pope, a portrait painter, and Mary Avery Loomis, a landscape painter and piano teacher. After the death of his father when Pope was six, he was influenced by a relative, Dr. Alfred Loomis, to study medicine. Pope spent three years at the City College of New York before turning to architecture, which was an early love of his, and entering the Department of Architecture in the School of Mines at Columbia University.

At Columbia, Pope studied with William Robert Ware, an early proponent of professional training for architects. In 1895, the year after graduating from Columbia, Pope won both a McKim traveling fellowship and the Schermerhorn scholarship to the American School of Architecture in Rome (later the American Academy in Rome). After spending eighteen months studying in Rome, Pope traveled to Paris, where he studied the principles of classical architecture at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.

At last returning to New York City in 1900, Pope joined the firm of Bruce Price. Three years later, encouraged by Charles E. McKim of the firm of McKim, Mead, & White, he opened his own practice and served as director of the Atelier McKim at the Columbia University School of Architecture. In 1912, he married Sadie Jones; they had three children.

Pope's obvious talent, seasoned with his social connections and personal charm, earned him his initial residential projects. These include the Stowe (Roslyn, N.Y., c. 1903) and Jacobs (Newport, R.I., 1905) residences that had a distinctive beaux-arts look. Other early domestic projects include the William K. Vanderbilt gatehouse (Roslyn, N.Y, 1905) and the Stuart Duncan house (Newport, R.I., 1911) that were built in northern Renaissance style.

Pope also began to design residences that were more restrained and based on a variety of styles including Tuscan and Georgian. Though sometimes severe, these homes appealed to clients uninterested in an ostentatious display of wealth. Examples include residences for Steven R. Hitt (Washington, D.C., 1908, destroyed) and Marshall Field (Lloyds Neck, N.Y, 1928). Pope also designed his own home and studio, The Waves (1928-1930), in Newport, Rhode Island.

It is for his great public buildings, however, that Pope became well known. His first major public project was Freedman's Hospital (Washington, D.C., l903-1908). This was quickly followed by a commission for the Lincoln Birthplace Memorial (Hodgenville, Ky., 1908). Returning to Washington for his next project, Pope completed the Scottish Rite Temple (1910), whose severe design was based on a reconstruction of the tomb of Mausolus in Halicarnassus. Participating in the competition for the proposed Lincoln Memorial in Washington, Pope's design, though praised by the judges, came in second.

After designing the Plattsburgh City Hall (New York, 1915), Pope returned to memorials with a design for the Theodore Roosevelt memorial in Washington (1925, unbuilt). This was followed by Pope's American Battle Monument at Montfaucon, France (1932), where a white shaft of granite was dedicated in the presence of General John J. Pershing and other notables. Major projects from this time include the Richmond, Virginia, Terminal (1913-1919), and the Daughters of the American Revolution Constitution Hall (Washington, D.C., 1924-1932).

In addition to his architectural skills, Pope was interested in planning and the larger context of built structures. This interest led to his campus plans for Yale University (1917-1919) and Dartmouth College (1924). Pope's work at Yale included the Yale Gymnasium (1932), which was selected by the Olympic Games Committee in 1932 as the world's finest athletic facility.

Serving as a member of the quasi-governmental Commission of Fine Arts (1917-1922)-appointed by Congress and the president to advise on all structures in the District of Columbia's "monumental core"-and as design critic for the Federal Triangle (1929-33) building project, Pope had a great influence on the planning and design of the nation's capital. He was also responsible for the design of the keystone of the Federal Triangle, the National Archives (1929-1934). Although Pope's offices were located in New York City, because of the large number of projects in Washington, he maintained a small residence there.

As a designer of museums, Pope had few competitors in the first half of the twentieth century. He was selected by Lord Duveen to design the additions to the British Museum that houses the Elgin Marbles as well as the Tate Gallery (London, 1929-1932). This project was followed in quick succession by the Baltimore Museum of Art (1929), additions to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1930) and the American Musem of Natural History (New York City, 1936), designs for the Metropolitan's Cloisters (1930, unbuilt), the conversion of the Frick mansion to an art gallery (New York City, 1932-1935), and designs for additions to the Art Institute of Chicago (1934, unbuilt).

His museum career culminated in his design for the National Gallery of Art (1937, completed 1941). Pope's other last major work was the Jefferson Memorial (1935-1937, completed 1941), which caused controversy because it involved the removal of a number of the cherry trees at the Tidal Basin site. He died in New York City.

In 1933 Pope was elected president of the Academy in Rome, a position he held until his death. Among the other numerous awards he held were the Architectural League's medal of honor (1916), the gold medal from the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (1919), and the Medal Jean Leclaire of the Institute of France (1922). He was also a chevalier of the French Legion of Honor (1922) and a member of the Academy of Arts and Letters.

At the time of his death, Pope was hailed as the leading architectural figure in the United States. Pope's classically inspired work can be seen as a logical successor to that of McKim. In the years after his death, Pope's work, with its classical antecedents, was denounced by adherents of the modernism of the International Style, popular in the 1940s and 1950s. But in the greater context of architectural history, Pope is one of the finest neoclassical architects.

Find out more about John Pope. Sketches and drawings for many of Pope's projects reside with the institutions for which he designed them. Among these collections are the National Gallery of Art, Gallery Archives (Washington, D.C.) and the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York City).

The National Museum of American Art, Juley Collection (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.) holds a large number of photographs of plans, elevations, and renderings of Pope's projects that are otherwise unlocated.

Official papers of Pope from his tenure as president of the American Academy in Rome are available on microfilm at the Archives of American Art (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.). *The Architecture of John RusseIl Pope* (1924-1930), with an introduction by Royal Cortissoz, includes numerous plates and plans of Pope's work.

See also:

"Office Manual of John Russell Pope, Architect-Routine and Procedure," *Architectural Record* (Feb. and Mar.1931);

Brendan Gill, "An American Beaux Arts master receives his due;' *Architectural Digest* 48, no.4 (Apr.1991): 28-36;

William James Williams, "John Russell Pope)' *Apollo,* n.s., 133, no 349 (Mar. 1991): 166-70;

and Lamia Doumato, *John Russell Pope* (1982), which is a bibliography.

For a discussion of Pope's museum designs, see Steven Bedford, "Museums designed by John Russell Pope," *The Magazine Antiques* 139 (Apr.1991): 750-63; for information on his National Gallery of Art design, see Christopher A. Thomas, *The Architecture of the West Building of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C (1992*). Obituaries are in the *New York Times,* the *Washington Post,* and the *Washigton Herald,* all 28 August, 1937.

Biographical Sketch of the Artist.

Rudulph Evans. Rudulph Evans (1878-1960) executed more than 140 other known works. The sculptor was born in Washington, D.C., in 1878. He later studied there at the Corcoran Art School, before going to Paris for further education at the Academie Julian and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Evans eventually settled in New York City, where he stayed until 1949 when he returned to Washington, D.C. His first major commission was the Arbor Day Monument in Nebraska, executed in 1903. During the next three and one-half decades, he would execute many more notable works including *The Golden Hour* (1914), formerly in the Luxembourg Museum; the *Robert E. Lee* (1931) in Richmond, Virginia; and the *William Jennings Bryan* and *J. Sterling Morton* statues (1935) for the U.S. Capitol.

On October 16, 1941, Evans signed a $35,000 contract with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission. Under the terms of the contract, Evans was obliged to provide the necessary preliminary models, as well as the final plaster cast, from which the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission would have the bronze work cast.

Even after receiving the commission, Evans studied many portraits and statues of Thomas Jefferson, as well as every document he could find on Jefferson. He confessed,

> *"I spent many months reading books and papers by and about our third president. At last I came to know something of his humanity, his physical attributes, his intellectual integrity, the driving idealism of the man."*

He was guided primarily by Jefferson's first major biographer, H.S. Randall, who had made meticulous observations of the statesman during the height of his political career:

> *"His face, though angular, and far from beautiful, beamed with intelligence, with benevolence, and with the cheerful vivacity of a happy, hopeful spirit. His complexion was ruddy, and delicately fair; his reddish chestnut hair luxuriant and silken. His full, deep-set eyes, the prevailing color of which was light hazel (or flecks of hazel on a groundwork of grey), were peculiarly expressive, and mirrored, as the clear lake mirrors the cloud, every emotion which was passing through his mind. He stood six feet two and a half inches in height, and though very slim at this period, his form was erect and sinewy, and his movements displayed elasticity and vigor."*

Evans encountered numerous difficulties before the work was completed. Less than two months after the contract was signed, the United States entered World War II. The war led to severe shortages in both supplies and skilled workers, causing a 31-day delay in the completion of the full-sized model. It took much heated discussion before liquidation damages assessed against Evans for the delay were dropped.

Further problems arose when A.J. Contini & Son in New York City, hired to execute the plaster molds, charged Evans for a mold that the government had already paid for, resulting in a lawsuit between Evans and Contini. As World War II expanded, the draft board called up the last of Contini's sons, unfortunately one that was very involved in the project. In addition, the sculptor's health was impaired by the long, strenuous hours he worked in order to finish the statue in the allotted time. Additionally, Evans was injured in a fall from the scaffolding.

Evans described his trials:

> *"The cruel conditions under which the statue was made at times seemed insurmountable and it would be difficult to enumerate the problems that confronted me at every turn-It was truly a battle-And above all, due to the rush imposed by the contract, it was a severe trial to maintain integrity to the work and loyalty to Jefferson. Little can the spectator know of the exhausting and devoted labor which went into this work."*

Despite his hard work, Evans discovered, much to his displeasure, that the lighting of his finished work was incorrect, as had been the case with the Lincoln Memorial statue by Daniel Chester French. He had designed it to be illuminated from above. But the lights shone upon the statue from below, sending all the shadows upside down and giving the work a harsh look. Despite years of trying to correct the situation, Evans never found the lighting satisfactory.

In 1949 Evans even moved back to Washington, D.C., to persuade government officials to adjust the lighting. Finally, Milton Eisenhower, President Dwight Eisenhower's brother, took up the cause and convinced Congress to appropriate the money to correct the lighting.

Although it was markedly improved, Evans was still not totally satisfied. Unfortunately, government officials were content, and Evans died heartbroken that one of his greatest works was left in such a state.

Quick Facts: Thomas Jefferson

3d President of the United States (1801-09)

Nicknames: "Man of the People"; "Sage of Monticello".

Born: Apr. 13, 1743, Shadwell plantation, Goochland (now in Albemarle) County, Va.

Education: College of William and Mary (graduated 1762).

Profession: Lawyer, Planter.

Religious Affiliation: None.

Marriage: Jan. 1, 1772, to Martha Wayles Skelton (1748-82).

Children: Martha Washington Jefferson (1772-1836); Jane Randolph Jefferson (1774-75); infant son (1777); Mary Jefferson (1778-1804); Lucy Elizabeth Jefferson (1780-81); Lucy Elizabeth Jefferson (1782-85).

Political Affiliation: Democratic-Republican.

Writings: Writings (10 vols. 1892-99), ed. by Paul L. Ford; The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (1950-), ed. by Julian P. Boyd, et al.; Notes on the State of Virginia 1781 (1955), ed. by William Peden; Autobiography (1959), ed. by Dumas Malone.

Died: July 4, 1826, Monticello, near Charlottesville, Va.

Buried: Monticello, near Charlottesville, Va.

Vice-President: Aaron Burr (1801-05); George Clinton (1805-09).

Cabinet Members:

Secretary of State: James Madison.

Secretary of the Treasury: Samuel Dexter (1801); Albert Gallatin (1801-09).

Secretary of War: Henry Dearborn.

Attorney General: Levi Lincoln (1801-04); John Breckinridge (1805-06); Caesar A. Rodney (1807-09).

Secretary of the Navy: Benjamin Stoddert (1801); Robert Smith (1801-09).

Biography of Jefferson.

The following is taken from the Internet site Grolier Encyclopedia:

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), 3d President of The United States. As the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, he is probably the most conspicuous champion of political and spiritual freedom in his country's history. He voiced the aspirations of the new nation in matchless phrase, and one may doubt if any other American has been so often quoted. As a public official--legislator, diplomat, and executive--he served the province and commonwealth of Virginia and the young American republic almost 40 years.

While his services as a Revolutionary patriot have been honored by his countrymen with only slight dissent, his later and more controversial political activities have been variously interpreted. Believing that the government was not being conducted in the spirit of 1776, he turned against the administration in Washington's second term and remained in opposition during the presidency of John Adams. Jefferson, who was president from 1801 to 1809, was the acknowledged head of his political party, and his election to the highest office has been interpreted as a vindication of the right of political opposition. His election checked in the United States the tide of political reaction that was sweeping the Western world, and it furthered the development of political democracy. Throughout his life he sought to do that, though the term he generally used was republicanism.

Opinions differ about his conduct of foreign affairs as president. He acquired the

vast province of Louisiana and maintained neutrality in a world of war, but his policies failed to safeguard neutral rights at sea and imposed hardships at home. As a result, his administration reached its nadir as it ended. Until his last year as president he exercised leadership over his party that was to be matched by no other 19th century president, and he enjoyed remarkable popularity. He was rightly hailed as the "Man of the People," because he sought to conduct the government in the popular interest, rather than in the interest of any privileged group, and, insofar as possible, in accordance with the people's will.

He was a tall and vigorous man, not particularly impressive in person but amiable, once his original stiffness wore off. He was habitually tactful and notably respectful of the opinions and personalities of others, though he had slight tolerance of those he believed unfaithful to republicanism. A devoted family man who set great store by privacy, he built his house upon a mountain, but he did not look down on people. A distinguished architect and naturalist in his own right, a remarkable linguist, a noted bibliophile, and the father of the University of Virginia, he was the chief patron of learning and the arts in his country in his day. And, with the possible exception of Benjamin Franklin, he was the closest American approximation of the universal man.

Early Career

Jefferson was born at Shadwell, his father's home in Albemarle county, Va., on April 13 (April 2, Old Style), 1743. His father, Peter Jefferson, a man of legendary strength, was a successful planter and surveyor who gained minor title to fame as an explorer and mapmaker. His prominence in his own locality is attested by the fact that he served as a burgess and as county lieutenant. Peter's son later held the same offices. Through his mother, Jane Randolph, a member of one of the most famous Virginia families, Thomas was related to many of the most prominent people in the province.
Besides being well born, Thomas Jefferson was well educated. In small private schools, notably that of James Maury, he was thoroughly grounded in the classics. He attended the College of William and Mary--completing the course in 1762--where Dr. William Small taught him mathematics and introduced him to science. He associated intimately with the liberal-minded Lt. Gov. Francis Fauquier, and read law (1762-1767) with George Wythe, the greatest law teacher of his generation in Virginia.

Jefferson became unusually learned in the law. He was admitted to the bar in 1767 and practiced until 1774, when the courts were closed by the American Revolution. He was a successful lawyer, though his professional income was only a supplement. He had inherited a considerable landed estate from his father, and doubled it by a happy marriage on Jan. 1, 1772, to Martha Wayles Skelton. However, his father-in-law's estate imposed a burdensome debt on Jefferson. He began building Monticello before his marriage, but his mansion was not

completed in its present form until a generation later. Jefferson's lifelong emphasis on local government grew directly from his own experience. He served as magistrate and as county lieutenant of Albemarle county. Elected to the House of Burgesses when he was 25, he served there from 1769 to 1774, showing himself to be an effective committeeman and skillful draftsman, though not an able speaker.

The Revolutionary Era

From the beginning of the struggle with the mother country, Jefferson stood with the more advanced Patriots, grounding his position on a wide knowledge of English history and political philosophy. His most notable early contribution to the cause of the Patriots was his powerful pamphlet A Summary View of the Rights of British America (1774), originally written for presentation to the Virginia convention of that year. In this he emphasized natural rights, including that of emigration, and denied parliamentary authority over the colonies, recognizing no tie with the mother country except the king.

As a member of the Continental Congress (1775-1776), Jefferson was chosen in 1776 to draft the Declaration of Independence. He summarized current revolutionary philosophy in a brief paragraph that has been regarded ever since as a charter of American and universal liberties. He presented to the world the case of the Patriots in a series of burning charges against the king. In the light of modern scholarship some of the charges require modification. But there is a timeless quality in the philosophical section of the Declaration, which proclaims that all men are equal in rights, regardless of birth, wealth, or status, and that government is the servant, not the master, of human beings. The Declaration alone would entitle Jefferson to enduring fame.

Desiring to be closer to his family and also hoping to translate his philosophy of human rights into legal institutions in his own state, Jefferson left Congress in the autumn of 1776 and served in the Virginia legislature until his election as governor in 1779. This was the most creative period of his revolutionary statesmanship. His earlier proposals for broadening the electorate and making the system of representation more equitable had failed, and the times permitted no action against slavery except that of shutting off the foreign slave trade. But he succeeded in ridding the land system of feudal vestiges, such as entail and primogeniture, and he was the moving spirit in the disestablishment of the church. In 1779, with George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton, he drew a highly significant report on the revising of the laws. His most famous single bills are the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom (adopted in 1786) and the Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, which was never adopted as he drew it. His fundamental purposes were to destroy artificial privilege of every sort, to promote social mobility, and to make way for the natural

aristocracy of talent and virtue, which should provide leadership for a free society.

As governor from 1779 to 1781, Jefferson had little power, and he suffered inevitable discredit when the British invaders overran Virginia. An inquiry into his conduct during his last year in office was voted by the legislature after his retirement in June 1781. He was fully vindicated by the next legislature, but these charges were afterward exaggerated by political enemies, and he was hounded by them to some extent throughout his national career. The most important immediate effect of his troubles was to create in his own mind a distaste for public life that persisted in acute form until the death of his wife on Sept. 6, 1782, which reconciled him to a return to office. He also acquired an aversion to controversy and censure from which he never wholly recovered.

During this brief private interval (1781-1783) he began to compile his Notes on the State of Virginia, which was first published when he was in France (1785). This work was described at the time by competent authority as "a most excellent natural history not merely of Virginia but of North America." Undertaken in response to a series of queries by the secretary of the French legation, it was ostensibly an account of the resources, productions, government, and society of a single state. But it spanned a continent and contained reflections on religion, slavery, and the Indians. It afterward appeared in many editions and was the literary foundation of his deserved reputation as a scientist.

In the Continental Congress (1783-1784), Jefferson's most notable services were connected with the adoption of the decimal system of coinage, which later as secretary of state he tried vainly to extend to weights and measures, and with the Ordinance of 1784. Though not adopted, the latter foreshadowed many features of the famous Ordinance of 1787, which established the Northwest Territory. Jefferson went so far as to advocate the prohibition of slavery in all the territories.

Minister to France

Jefferson's stay in France (1784-1789), where he was first a commissioner to negotiate commercial treaties and then Benjamin Franklin's successor as minister, was in many ways the richest period of his life. He gained genuine commercial concessions from the French, negotiated an important consular convention in 1788, and served the interests of his own weak government with diligence and skill. He was confirmed in his opinion that France was a natural friend of the United States, and Britain at this stage a natural rival, and thus his foreign policy assumed the orientation it was to maintain until the eve of the Louisiana Purchase. The publication of his book on Virginia symbolized his unofficial service of information to the French. His services to his own countrymen were exemplified by the books,

the seeds and plants, the statues and architectural models, and the scientific information that he sent home. His stay in Europe contributed greatly to that universality of spirit and diversity of achievement in which he was equaled by no other American statesman, except possibly Franklin. Toward the end of his mission he reported with scrupulous care the unfolding revolution in France. His personal part in it was slight, and such advice as he gave was moderate. Doubting the readiness of the people for self-government of the American type, he now favored a limited monarchy for France, and he cautioned his liberal friends not to risk the loss of their gains by going too fast. Though always aware of the importance of French developments in the worldwide struggle for greater freedom and happiness, he tended to stress this more after he returned home and perceived the dangers of political reaction in his own country. Eventually he was repelled by the excesses of the French Revolution, and he thoroughly disapproved of it when it passed into an openly imperialistic phase under Napoleon. But insofar as it represented a revolt against despotism, he continued to believe that its spirit could never die.

Because of his absence in Europe, Jefferson had no direct part in the framing or ratification of the Constitution Of The United States, and at first the document aroused his fears. His chief objections were that it did not expressly safeguard the rights of individuals, and that the unlimited eligibility of the president for reelection would make it possible for him to become a king. He became sufficiently satisfied after he learned that a bill of rights would be provided and after he reflected that there would be no danger of monarchy under George Washington.

Secretary of State

Although his fears of monarchical tendencies remained and colored his attitude in later partisan struggles, it was as a friend of the new government that he accepted Washington's invitation to become secretary of state.

During Jefferson's service in this post from 1790 to 1793, Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, defeated the movement for commercial discrimination against Britain, which Jefferson favored. Hamilton, also, connived with the British minister George Hammond to nullify Jefferson's efforts in 1792 to gain observance of the terms of peace from the British, and especially to dislodge them from the northwest posts. Jefferson's policy was not pro-French, but it seemed anti-British. Hamilton was distinctly pro-British, largely for financial reasons, and he became more so when general war broke out in Europe and ideology was clearly involved. In 1793, Jefferson wanted the French Revolution to succeed against its external foes, but he also recognized that the interests of his own country demanded a policy of neutrality. Such a policy was adopted, to the dissatisfaction of many strong friends of democracy in America, and was executed so fairly as

to win the reluctant praise of the British.

Jefferson was greatly embarrassed by the indiscretions of the fiery French minister, Edmond Charles Genet, who arrived in Washington in the spring of 1793, but he skillfully brought about Genet's recall and avoided a breach with the revolutionary government of his country.

Jefferson helped Hamilton gain congressional consent to the assumption of state debts, for which the location of the federal capital on the Potomac was the political return. His growing objections to the Hamiltonian financial system were partly owing to his belief that the treasury was catering to commercial and financial groups, not agricultural, but he also believed that Hamilton was building up his own political power by creating ties of financial interest and was corrupting Congress. The issue between the two secretaries was sharply joined by 1791, when the Bank of the United States was established. They gave to the president their rival interpretations of the Constitution in this connection. The victory at the time and in the long run was with Hamilton's doctrine of liberal construction, or interpretation, of the Constitution and his assertion of broad national power. But Jefferson's general distrust of power and his reliance on basic law as a safeguard have enduring value.

By late 1792 or 1793 the opponents of Hamiltonianism constituted a fairly definite national party, calling itself Republican. Jefferson's recognized leadership of this group can be more easily attributed to his official standing and his political philosophy than to his partisan activities. In the summer and autumn of 1792, by means of anonymous newspaper articles, Hamilton sought to drive Jefferson from the government. The alleged justification was the campaign being waged against Hamilton by the editor of the National Gazette, Philip Freneau. Jefferson had given Freneau minor employment as a translator for the State Department, but he claimed that he never brought influence to bear on him, and there is no evidence that he himself wrote anything for the paper. But he had told Washington precisely what he thought of his colleague's policies, and had already said that he himself wanted to get out of the government.

Early in 1793 the Virginians in Congress vainly sought to drive Hamilton from office or at least to rebuke him sharply for alleged financial mismanagement. Jefferson undoubtedly sympathized with this attack and probably drafted the resolutions that were introduced by Rep. William Branch Giles (Va.) and soundly defeated. A degree of unity was forced on the president's official family by the foreign crisis of 1793, which also caused Jefferson to delay his retirement to the end of the year.

Vice President

During a respite of three years from public duties, he began to remodel his

house at Monticello and interested himself greatly in agriculture, claiming that he had wholly lost the "little spice of ambition" he had once had. He was outraged by Washington's attack on the Democratic societies, which were identified with his party, and by what he regarded as the surrender to the British in Jay's Treaty, but at this stage he was playing little part in politics.

Nonetheless, he was supported by the Republicans for president in 1796, and, running second to John Adams by three electoral votes, he became Vice President.

His Manual of Parliamentary Practice (1801) was a result of his experience as the presiding officer over the Senate. His papers on the extinct megalonyx and on the moldboard of a plow invented by him attested to his scientific interests and attainments. These papers were presented to the American Philosophical Society, of which he became president in 1797. A private letter of his to his friend Philip Mazzei, published that year, severely criticized Federalist leaders and was interpreted as an attack on Washington. Jefferson's partisan activities increased during his vice presidency.

He deplored the Federalist exploitation of a dangerous quarrel with France, although Jefferson's own sympathy with France had declined. The notorious Alien and Sedition Acts were the principal cause of Jefferson's disapproval of the Adams administration. Jefferson's grounds were both philosophical and partisan. The historic Republican protest against laws that attempted to suppress freedom of speech and destroy political opposition was made in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions (1798). Jefferson wrote the former, as James Madison did the latter. Jefferson's authorship was not known at the time. In the Kentucky Resolutions he carried his states'-rights doctrines to their most extreme point in his career. In invoking the authority of the states against laws that he regarded as unconstitutional, his resolutions were in the tradition that finally led to nullification and secession. But they were also in the best tradition of civil liberties and human rights.

President: First Term

Jefferson's victory over John Adams in the presidential election of 1800 can be partially explained by the dissension among the Federalists, but the policies of the government were unpopular, and as a party the Federalists were now much less representative of the country than were the Republicans. Jefferson's own title to the presidency was not established for some weeks, because he was accidentally tied with his running mate, Aaron BURR, under the workings of the original electoral system. The election was thrown into the House Of Representatives, where the Federalists voted for Burr through many indecisive ballots. Finally, enough of them abstained to permit the

obvious will of the majority to be carried out.

Jefferson later said that the ousting of the Federalists and the accession of his own party constituted a "revolution," but that statement was hyperbole. He was speaking of the principles of the government rather than of its form, and his major concern was to restore the spirit of 1776. He regarded himself as more loyal to the U. S. Constitution than his loose-constructionist foes were, though in fact he was less a strict constructionist in practice than in theory. Although he had objected to features of Hamilton's financial system, he had no intention of upsetting it now that it was firmly established. Instead, the purpose he had in mind, and was to be highly successful in carrying out, was to obviate some of the grave dangers he saw in the system by reducing the national debt.

Jefferson's accession to the presidency is notable in American history because it marked the first transfer of national authority from one political group to another, and it is especially significant that, despite Federalist obstructionism for a time, the transition was effected by peaceful and strictly constitutional means. Jefferson himself emphasized this in his conciliatory inaugural address. These events set a precedent of acquiescence in the will of the majority. The new president described this as a "sacred principle" that must prevail, but he added that, to be rightful, it must be reasonable and that the rights of minorities must be protected. His accession removed the threat of counterrevolution from his country. The government he conducted, in its spirit of tolerance and humanity, was without parallel in his world.

His first term, most of it in a period of relative international calm, was distinctly successful. He was the undisputed leader of a party that had acquired cohesion during its years in opposition. In James Madison as secretary of state and Albert Gallatin as secretary of the treasury, he had lieutenants of high competence whom he treated as peers but whose loyalty to him bordered on reverence. By virtually ruling himself out of the party, Vice President Aaron Burr relieved Jefferson of a potential rival. Working through the Republican leaders in Congress, whom he treated with the utmost respect, Jefferson exercised influence on that body that was unexampled in previous presidential history and was to be rarely matched in later administrations.

Because of his own commitment, and that of most of his countrymen, to the doctrine of division of powers between the executive and legislative branches, his leadership, except in foreign affairs, was indirect and generally unadmitted. He also shared with most of his fellows a rather negative concept of the functions of the federal government in the domestic sphere. The policy of economy and tax reduction that the favorable world situation permitted him to follow served to reduce rather than

increase the burdens of his countrymen, and it contributed no little to his popularity.

Dispute with the Judiciary

Jefferson restored the party balance in the civil service, but he was relatively unsuccessful in his moves against the judiciary, which had been reinforced by fresh Federalist appointees at the very end of the Adams administration. In the eyes of Jefferson and the Republicans, the federal judiciary constituted a branch of the opposing party and could be expected to obstruct the administration in every possible way. He treated as null and void late appointments by Adams that seemed of doubtful legality, and the Republicans repealed the Judiciary Act of 1801 with his full approval. But he was rebuked by Chief Justice John Marshall in the famous case of Marbury v. Madison (1803) for withholding the commission of a late-hour appointee as justice of the peace. The effort to remove partisan judges by impeachment was a virtual failure, and the Federalists remained entrenched in the judiciary, though they became less actively partisan.

The Louisiana Purchase

These partial political failures were more than compensated by the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the most notable achievement of Jefferson's presidency. His concern for the free navigation of the Mississippi River had caused him, while secretary of state, to assume a more belligerent tone toward Spain, which controlled the mouth of the river, than toward any other nation. The retrocession of the province of Louisiana from Spain to France, now powerful and aggressive under Napoleon, aroused his fears and, for the first time in his career, caused his diplomatic friendship to veer toward the British.

The acquisition of an imperial province, rather than the mouth of the river, was a fortunate accident that added the West to the American Union. The treaty that Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe sent home aroused constitutional scruples in Jefferson's mind, which he expressed privately. Because this vast acquisition of territory would inevitably change the character of the Union, it seemed to him that it should be authorized by a constitutional amendment. But the process of amendment was painfully slow, and the treaty had to be ratified by a specified date. Napoleon, who was thought by some to have already repented this transaction, could not have been expected to tolerate any departure from its terms. Recognizing that this was no time for constitutional purism, the president yielded to his friends, while strict constructionist arguments were taken up ineffectually by the New England Federalists. Nearly everybody else enthusiastically approved of the acquisition.

In May 1801 the Pasha of the piratical state of Tripoli, dissatisfied with his tribute, declared war on the United States. Jefferson ordered a naval

squadron to the Mediterranean Sea to blockade Tripoli. The bizarre conflict that ensued served as a training school for the American Navy, and the relatively favorable treaty of 1805 justified Jefferson's resort to force.

Personal Attacks on Jefferson

During his first term Jefferson was subjected to attacks on his personal character that have rarely, if ever, been matched in presidential history. In 1802 sensational charges against him were publicized by James Thomson Callender, a dissolute and unscrupulous journalist whom he had unwisely befriended and who had turned on him when not given a lucrative federal appointment. These charges were gleefully taken up by Jefferson's political enemies, but he maintained his policy of making no public reply to personal attacks. The abuse he suffered from newspapers weakened his confidence in a free press. He believed that his triumphant reelection in 1804 justified his toleration of his critics and reflected approval of his public conduct.

But the Federalists in their desperation continued to publicize the stories Callender had told, and in 1805 in a private letter Jefferson admitted that, while unmarried, he had made improper advances to the wife of a friend. For this he had made honorable amends, and he denied all the other charges. There appears to be no evidence that he ever again referred to them, and he undoubtedly believed that the best answer to them was the whole tenor of his life.

From an early stage in his public career, Jefferson had been subjected to attacks on religious grounds. While he kept his opinions regarding religion very much to himself, believing that they were a private concern, his insistence on the complete separation of church and state was well known. This gained him the support of "dissenting" groups, notably the Baptists, but it aroused bitter opposition among Congregationalists in those parts of New England where the clergy and magistrates still constituted a virtual establishment. From the presidential campaign of 1796 at least, New England clergymen denounced him from their pulpits as an atheist and as anti-Christ.

Unlike Thomas Paine, who attacked all sects, Jefferson attacked none, and he contributed to many churches, but he was distinctly anticlerical and was as opposed to absolutism in priests and presbyters as in kings. In a private letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush in 1800, he said: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." That assertion is properly recognized as one of his most characteristic.

In another strictly private communication to Dr. Rush, made in his first term as president, Jefferson revealed his own religious opinions. He

believed in God and immortality and was a Unitarian in theology, though he rarely used the term. Comparing the ethical teachings of Jesus with those of the ancient philosophers and the Jews, he expressed the highest appreciation of the former. He began at this time, and finished in old age, a compilation of extracts from the Gospels in English, Greek, Latin, and French. He carefully excluded miracles from the compilation. Entitled The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, it remained unpublished until the 20th century. While opposed to what he regarded as the corruptions of Christianity, he described himself as a Christian, and he undoubtedly sought to follow the ethical precepts of Jesus.

President: Second Term

On both the domestic and foreign fronts Jefferson encountered greater difficulties in his second term than in his first. But he was relatively successful at home during most of it. Factionalism increased among Republicans. But the revolt of John Randolph, an uncompromising strict constructionist and formerly the Republican leader in the House of Representatives, was contained. Until the last session of Congress in his presidency, Jefferson maintained his influence over that body and his undisputed leadership of his party.

The Burr Conspiracy

Meanwhile, the conspiracy of former Vice President Aaron Burr was foiled. It is still uncertain whether that adventurer proposed to separate the western states from the Union or to invade Mexico, but his expedition down the Mississippi River was unquestionably a threat to national unity and domestic security. Heeding the warning of Gen. James Wilkinson, the governor of the Louisiana Territory, Jefferson took steps in the fall of 1806 that led to the seizure of most of Burr's boats on the Ohio River and his later apprehension on the Mississippi. Burr's trial for treason and afterward for a misdemeanor, in the federal circuit court presided over by John Marshall, became a fiasco when Marshall's rulings made conviction impossible. Jefferson erred gravely in saying in advance that Burr's guilt was beyond dispute, but his conduct in connection with the trial did not support the charge of persecution made by Burr's lawyers and the Federalists. Jefferson was more justly criticized for his support of Wilkinson, to whom he was grateful for the exposure of the conspiracy, but whose actions against alleged supporters of Burr in New Orleans was high-handed.

Jefferson's persistent efforts to acquire West Florida, which he continued to claim as part of the Louisiana Purchase, may be regarded as an exercise in futility. But he was properly concerned to round out the territory of the United States, and he contributed significantly to its exploration. In his first term he projected the expedition to the Pacific that was concluded by Lewis and Clark during his second term. Other expeditions that he sent out failed or had slight geographical and scientific significance, but his title

as the chief presidential patron of exploration remains unchallenged.

The Embargo

The situation of the United States as a neutral nation became increasingly hazardous as the conflict between Britain and France, which embraced the whole Western world, increased in ruthlessness and desperation. Both powers trampled on neutral rights, but Britain, because it commanded the sea, was the greater offender. Despite reiterated protests by the U.S. government, the British policy of impressing American seamen was pursued with increased vigor. The attack of the British man-of-war Leopard on the American frigate Chesapeake in 1807 could have been regarded as an act of war. It was the subject of negotiations, but proper atonement for it was not made in Jefferson's administration.

American commerce was caught in the crossfire between British Orders in Council and Napoleonic decrees. Recognizing the impossibility of coping with both blockades, but undisposed to take sides in this conflict and convinced that peace was in the best interest of his young country, Jefferson and his government sought to safeguard American life and shipping and to bring pressure on the rival powers by suspending commerce. The embargo, adopted in December 1807 and strengthened by later legislation, was regarded by Jefferson as the only alternative to war and submission. The act barred all exports to Britain and France. But it had less effect abroad than had been expected and caused economic difficulty at home. This was especially true in New England, heavily reliant on commerce, where it was strongly opposed from the outset by pro-British Federalists and was resisted more extensively and more successfully than elsewhere.

In the effort to enforce the embargo, the government was drawn step by step into infringements on the liberties of individuals that were inconsistent with Jefferson's most cherished principles. He exercised no authority that was not vested in him by law, and, distrustful of power as he was, he did not seize it for its own sake. He believed that individuals should accept financial sacrifice on patriotic grounds. Many did so, but there was little glamour in this commercial warfare and the negative heroism it required. Toward the end of his administration, he assented to the embargo's repeal, to save the Union, he said. A more moderate measure was adopted, but it did not avert war with Britain in 1812.

Retirement

Jefferson, meanwhile, was succeeded as president in 1809 by his loyal lieutenant, James Madison. During the last 17 years of his life, Jefferson remained in Virginia. His failures tended to be forgotten, and as the "Sage of Monticello" he engaged in a vast and rich correspondence with John Adams and others. He abandoned newspapers for Tacitus and Thucydides, he said, and until his dying day he feasted on classical writings. He read them in the

original, as he did authors in French, Spanish, and Italian. Toward the end of the War of 1812, he sold his magnificent collection of books to the government for the Library of Congress, of which he has been regarded ever since as the virtual founder.

Jefferson resigned the presidency of the American Philosophical Society, which he had held for many years, but maintained his interest in all branches of human learning. He kept charts of the temperature. He personally directed the operations of his mills and farms into his 70s. He never ceased his efforts to advance agriculture. Jefferson's last great public service was the founding of the University of Virginia, which was chartered in 1819. He inspired the legislative campaign for a university, got it located in his own county, planned the buildings, and served as the first rector.
He gave much attention to the education of his grandchildren, chiefly the offspring of his daughter Martha and Thomas Mann Randolph. His daughter Maria, who married John W. Eppes, died during his first term as president. For her son Francis, he built a gem of a house at Poplar Forest in Bedford county. This served him as a retreat from the host of visitors at Monticello.

Jefferson had long been troubled by debt, and the failure of a friend whose note he had endorsed brought him to virtual bankruptcy. But he was rich in honor, friendship, and domestic happiness when he died at Monticello on July 4, 1826 just hours before John Adams, on the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

-------- Biographical Sketch of Jefferson from Dumas Malone,
University of Virginia, Author of Jefferson and His Time

Jefferson's Writings and Speeches.

First Inaugural Address, Washington, D.C. Wednesday, March 4, 1801

Chief Justice John Marshall administered the first executive oath of office ever taken in the new federal city in the new Senate Chamber (now the Old Supreme Court Chamber) of the partially built Capitol building. The outcome of the election of 1800 had been in doubt until late February because Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the two leading candidates, each had received 73 electoral votes. Consequently, the House of Representatives met in a special session to resolve the impasse, pursuant to the terms spelled out in the Constitution. After 30 hours of debate and balloting, Mr. Jefferson emerged as the President and Mr. Burr the Vice President. President John Adams, who had run unsuccessfully for a second term, left Washington on the day of the inauguration without attending the ceremony.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye--when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue, and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking.

Utterly, indeed, should I despair did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression.

Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long- lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. 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. If there be any among us 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. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter--with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration. I will compress them

within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected.

These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose preeminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional, and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past, and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

Second Inaugural Address
Monday, March 4, 1805

The second inauguration of Mr. Jefferson followed an election under which the offices of President and Vice President were to be separately sought, pursuant to the newly adopted 12th Amendment to the Constitution. George Clinton of New York was elected Vice President. Chief Justice John Marshall administered the oath of office in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol.

Proceeding, fellow-citizens, to that qualification which the Constitution requires before my entrance on the charge again conferred on me, it is my duty to express the deep sense I entertain of this new proof of confidence from my fellow-citizens at large, and the zeal with which it inspires me so to conduct myself as may best satisfy their just expectations.

On taking this station on a former occasion I declared the principles on which I believed it my duty to administer the affairs of our Commonwealth. My conscience tells me I have on every occasion acted up to that declaration according to its obvious import and to the understanding of every candid mind.

In the transaction of your foreign affairs we have endeavored to cultivate the friendship of all nations, and especially of those with which we have the most important relations. We have done them justice on all occasions, favored where favor was lawful, and cherished mutual interests and intercourse on fair and equal terms. We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations as with individuals our interests soundly calculated will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties, and history bears witness to the fact that a just nation is trusted on its word when recourse is had to armaments and wars to bridle others.

At home, fellow-citizens, you best know whether we have done well or ill. The suppression of unnecessary offices, of useless establishments and expenses, enabled us to discontinue our internal taxes. These, covering our land with officers and opening our doors to their intrusions, had already begun that process of domiciliary vexation which once entered is scarcely to be restrained from reaching successively every article of property and produce. If among these taxes some minor ones fell which had not been inconvenient, it was because their amount would not have paid the officers who collected them, and because, if they had any merit, the State authorities might adopt them instead of others less approved.

The remaining revenue on the consumption of foreign articles is paid chiefly by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comforts, being collected on our seaboard and frontiers only, and incorporated with the transactions of our mercantile citizens, it may be the pleasure and the pride of an American to ask, What farmer, what mechanic, what laborer ever sees a taxgatherer of the United States? These contributions enable us to support the current expenses of the Government, to fulfill contracts with foreign nations, to extinguish the native right of soil within our limits, to extend those limits, and to apply such a surplus to our public debts as places at a short

day their final redemption, and that redemption once effected the revenue thereby liberated may, by a just repartition of it among the States and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied in time of peace to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each State.

In time of war, if injustice by ourselves or others must sometimes produce war, increased as the same revenue will be by increased population and consumption, and aided by other resources reserved for that crisis, it may meet within the year all the expenses of the year without encroaching on the rights of future generations by burthening them with the debts of the past. War will then be but a suspension of useful works, and a return to a state of peace, a return to the progress of improvement. I have said, fellow-citizens, that the income reserved had enabled us to extend our limits, but that extension may possibly pay for itself before we are called on, and in the meantime may keep down the accruing interest; in all events, it will replace the advances we shall have made.

I know that the acquisition of Louisiana had been disapproved by some from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory would endanger its union. But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association the less will it be shaken by local passions; and in any view is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children than by strangers of another family? With which should we be most likely to live in harmony and friendly intercourse?

In matters of religion I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the Constitution independent of the powers of the General Government. I have therefore undertaken on no occasion to prescribe the religious exercises suited to it, but have left them, as the Constitution found them, under the direction and discipline of the church or state authorities acknowledged by the several religious societies.

The aboriginal inhabitants of these countries I have regarded with the commiseration their history inspires. Endowed with the faculties and the rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence, and occupying a country which left them no desire but to be undisturbed, the stream of overflowing population from other regions directed itself on these shores; without power to divert or habits to contend against it, they have been overwhelmed by the current or driven before it; now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter's state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts; to encourage them to that industry which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence and to prepare them in time for that state of society which to bodily comforts adds the improvement of the mind and morals. We have therefore liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and household use; we have placed among them instructors in the arts of first necessity, and they are covered with the aegis of the law against aggressors from among ourselves.

But the endeavors to enlighten them on the fate which awaits their present course of life, to induce them to exercise their reason, follow its dictates, and change their pursuits with the change of circumstances have powerful obstacles to encounter; they are combated by the habits of their bodies, prejudices of their minds, ignorance, pride, and the influence of interested and crafty individuals among them who feel themselves something in the present order of things and fear to become nothing in any other.

These persons inculcate a sanctimonious reverence for the customs of their ancestors; that whatsoever they did must be done through all time; that reason is a false guide, and to advance under its counsel in their physical, moral, or political condition is perilous innovation; that their duty is to remain as their Creator made them, ignorance being safety and knowledge full of danger; in short, my friends, among them also is seen the action and counteraction of good sense and of bigotry; they too have their antiphilosophists who find an interest in keeping things in their present state, who dread reformation, and exert all their faculties to maintain the ascendancy of habit over the duty of improving our reason and obeying its mandates.

In giving these outlines I do not mean, fellow-citizens, to arrogate to myself the merit of the measures. That is due, in the first place, to the reflecting character of our citizens at large, who, by the weight of public opinion, influence and strengthen the public measures. It is due to the sound discretion with which they select from among themselves those to whom they confide the legislative duties. It is due to the zeal and wisdom of the characters thus selected, who lay the foundations of public happiness in wholesome laws, the execution of which alone remains for others, and it is due to the able and faithful auxiliaries, whose patriotism has associated them with me in the executive functions.

During this course of administration, and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been leveled against us, charged with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science are deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as they tend to lessen its usefulness and to sap its safety. They might, indeed, have been corrected by the wholesome punishments reserved to and provided by the laws of the several States against falsehood and defamation, but public duties more urgent press on the time of public servants, and the offenders have therefore been left to find their punishment in the public indignation.

Nor was it uninteresting to the world that an experiment should be fairly and fully made, whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth--whether a government conducting itself in the true spirit of its constitution, with zeal and purity, and doing no act which it would be unwilling the whole world should witness, can be written down by falsehood and defamation. The experiment has been tried; you have witnessed the scene; our fellow-citizens looked on, cool and collected; they saw the latent source from which these outrages proceeded; they gathered around their public functionaries, and when the Constitution called them to the decision by suffrage, they pronounced their verdict, honorable to those who had served them and consolatory to the friend of man who believes that he may be trusted with the control of his own affairs.

No inference is here intended that the laws provided by the States against false and defamatory publications should not be enforced; he who has time renders a service to public morals and public tranquillity in reforming these abuses by the salutary coercions of the law; but the experiment is noted to prove that, since truth and reason have maintained their ground against false opinions in league with false facts, the press, confined to truth, needs no other legal restraint; the public judgment will correct false reasoning and opinions on a full hearing of all parties; and no other definite line can be drawn between the inestimable liberty of the press and its demoralizing

licentiousness. If there be still improprieties which this rule would not restrain, its supplement must be sought in the censorship of public opinion.

Contemplating the union of sentiment now manifested so generally as auguring harmony and happiness to our future course, I offer to our country sincere congratulations. With those, too, not yet rallied to the same point the disposition to do so is gaining strength; facts are piercing through the veil drawn over them, and our doubting brethren will at length see that the mass of their fellow-citizens with whom they can not yet resolve to act as to principles and measures, think as they think and desire what they desire; that our wish as well as theirs is that the public efforts may be directed honestly to the public good, that peace be cultivated, civil and religious liberty unassailed, law and order preserved, equality of rights maintained, and that state of property, equal or unequal, which results to every man from his own industry or that of his father's.

When satisfied of these views it is not in human nature that they should not approve and support them. In the meantime let us cherish them with patient affection, let us do them justice, and more than justice, in all competitions of interest; and we need not doubt that truth, reason, and their own interests will at length prevail, will gather them into the fold of their country, and will complete that entire union of opinion which gives to a nation the blessing of harmony and the benefit of all its strength.

I shall now enter on the duties to which my fellow-citizens have again called me, and shall proceed in the spirit of those principles which they have approved. I fear not that any motives of interest may lead me astray; I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of justice, but the weaknesses of human nature and the limits of my own understanding will produce errors of judgment sometimes injurious to your interests. I shall need, therefore, all the indulgence which I have heretofore experienced from my constituents; the want of it will certainly not lessen with increasing years. I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our fathers, as Israel of old, from their native land and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with His providence and our riper years with His wisdom and power, and to whose goodness I ask you to join in supplications with me that He will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

Letter from President Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis

The following letter was written by Thomas Jefferson for Meriwether Lewis, spelling reproduced as written.

To Meriwether Lewis, esquire, captain of the first regiment of infantry of the United States of America:

Your situation as secratary of the president of the United States, has made you aquainted with the objects of my confidential message of January 18, 1803, to the legislature; you have seen the act they passed, which, though expressed in general terms, was meant to sanction those objects, and you are appointed to carry them to execution.

Instruments for ascertaining, by celestial observations, the geography of the country through which you will pass, have already been provided. Light articles for barter and presents among the Indians, arms for your attendants, say from ten to twelve men, boats, tents, and other traveling apparatus, with ammunition, medicine, surgical instruments and provisions, you will have prepared, with such aids as the secretary at war can yield in his department; and from him also you will receive authority to engage among our troops, by voluntary agreement, the attendants abovementioned; over whom you, as their commanding officer, are invested with all the powers the laws give in such a case.

As you movements, while within the limits of the United States, will be better directed by occasional communications, adapted to circumstances as they arise, they will not be noticed here. What follows will respect your proceedings after your departure from the United States.

Your mission has been communicated to the ministers here from France, Spain, and great Briton, and through them to their governments; ans such assurances given them as to its objects, as we trust will satisfy them. The country of Louisana having ceded by Spain to France, the passport you have from the minister of France, the representative of the present sovereign of the country, will be a protection with all its subjects; and that from the Minister of England will entitle you to the friendly aid of any traders of that allegiance with whom you may happen to meet.

The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri River, and such principal streams of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregan, Colrado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practible water-communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce.

Beginning at the mouth of the Missouri, you will take observations of latitude and longitude, at all remarkable points on the river, and especially at the mouths of rivers, at rapids, at islands, and other places and objects distinguished by such natural marks and characters, of a durable kind, as that they may with certainty be recognised hereafter. The courses of the river between these points of observation may be supplied by the compass, the log-line, and by time, corrected by the observations themselves. The variations of the needle, too, in different places, should be noticed.

The interesting points of the portage between the heads of the Missouri, and of the water offering the best communication with the Pacific ocean, should also be fixed by observation; and the course of that water to

the ocean, in the same manner as that of the Missouri.

Your observations are to be taken with great pains and accuracy; to be entered distinctly and intelligibly for others as well as yourself; to comprehend all the elements necessary, with the aid of the usual tales, to fix the lattitude and longitude of the places at which they were taken; and are to be rendered to the war-office, for the purpose of having the calculations made concurrently by proper persons within the United States. Several copies of these, as well as of your other notes, should be made at leisure times, and put into the care of the most trust worthy of your attendants to guard, by multiplying them against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed. A further guard would be, that one of these copies be on the cuticular membranes of the paper-birch, as less liable to injury from damp than common paper.

The commerce which may be carried on with the people inhabiting the line you will pursue, renders a knowledge of those people important. You will therefore endeavour to make yourself acquainted, as far as a diligent pursuit of your journey shall admit, with the names of the nations and their numbers; The extent and limits of their possessions; Their relations with other tribes or nations; Their language, traditions, monuments; Their ordinary occupations in agriculture, fishing, hunting, war, arts, and the implements for these; Their food, clothing, and domestic accommodations: The diseases prevalent among them, and the remedies they use; Moral and physical circumstances which distinguish them from the tribes we know; Peculiarities in their laws, customs, and dispositions; And articles of commerce they may need or furnish, and to what extent.

And, considering the interest which every nation has in extending and strengthening the authority of reason and justice among the people around them, it will be useful to acquire what knowledge you can of the state of morality, religion, and information amoung them; as it may better enable those who may endeavour to civilize and instruct them, to adapt their measures to the existing notions and practices of those on whom they are to operate.

Other objects worthy of notice will be; The soil and face of the country, its growth and vegetable productions, especially those not of the United States; The animals of the country generally, and expecially those not known in the United States; The remains and accounts of any which may be deemed rare or extinct; The mineral productions of every kind, but more particularly metals, lime-stone, pit-coal, and saltpetre; salines and mineral waters, noting the temperature of the last, and such circumstances as may indicate their character; Volcanic appearances; Climate, as characterized by the thermometer, by the proportion of rainy, cloudy, and clear days; by lightning, hail, snow, ice; by the access and recess of frost; by the winds prevailing at different seasons; the dates at which particular plants put forth, or lose their flower or leaf; times of appearance of particular birds, reptiles or insects.

Although your route will be along the channel of the Missouri, yet you will endeavour to inform yourself, by inquiry, of the character and extent of the country watered by its branches, and especially on its southern side. The North river, or Rio Bravo, which runs into the gulf of Mexico, and the North river, or Rio Colorado, which runs into the gulf of California, are understood to be the principal streams heading opposite to the waters of the Missouri, and running southwardly. Whether the dividing grounds between the Missouri and them are mountains or flat lands, what are their distance from the Missouri, the

character of the intermediate country, and the people inhabiting it, are worthy of particular inquiry. The northern waters of the Missouri are less to be inquired after, because they have been ascertained to a considerable degree, and are still in a course of ascertainment by English traders and travellers; but if you can learn any thing certain of the most northern source of the Missisippi, and of its position relatively to the Lake of the Woods, it will be interesting to us. Some account too of the path of the Canadian traders from the Missisipi, at the mouth of the Ouisconsing to where it strikes the Missouri, and of the soil and rivers in its course, is desireable.

In all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey; satisfy them of its innocence; make them acquainted with the position, extent, character, peaceable and commercial dispositions of the United States; of our wish to be neighbourly; friendly, and useful to them, and of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums, and the articles of most desirable interchange for them and us. If a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers on their entering the United States, to have them conveyed to this place at the public expense. If any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, and taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct, and take care of them. Such a mission, whether of influential chiefs, or of young people, would give some security to your own party. Carry with you some matter of the kine-pox; inform those of them with whom you may be of its efficacy as a preservative from the small-pox, and instruct and encourage them in the use of it. This may be especially done wherever you winter.

As it is impossible for us to foresee in what manner you will be received by those people, whether with hospitality or hostility, so is it impossible to prescribe the exact degree of perseverance with which you are to pursue your journey. We value too much the lives of citizens to offer them to probable destruction. Your numbers will be sufficient to secure you against the unauthorized opposition of individuals, or of small parties; but if a superior force, authorized, or not authorized, by a nation, should be arrayed against your further passage, and inflexibly determined to arrest it, you must decline its further pursuit and return. In the loss of yourselves we should lose also the information you will have acquired. By returning safely with that, you may enable us to renew the essay with better calculated means. To your own discretion, therefore, must be left the degree of danger you may risk, and the point at which you should decline, only saying, we wish you to err on the side of your safety, and to bring back your party safe, even if it be with less information.

As far up the Missouri as the white settlements extend, an intercourse will probably be found to exist between them and the Spanish post of St. Louis opposite Cahokia, or St. Genevieve opposite Kaskaskia. From still further up the river the traders may furnish a conveyance for letters. Beyond that you may perhaps be able to engage Indians to bring letters for the government to Cahokia, or Kaskaskia, on promising that they shall there receive such special compensation as your shall have stipulated with them. Avail yourself of these means to communicate to us, at seasonable intervals, a copy of your journal, notes and

bservations of every kind, putting into cypher whatever might do injury if betrayed.

Should you reach the Pacific ocean, inform yourself of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri (convenient as is supposed to the waters of the Colorado and Oregan or Columbia) as at Nootka Sound, or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted throught the Missouri and United States more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised.

On your arrival on that coast, endeavour to learn if there be any port within your reach frequented by the sea vessels of any nation, and to send two of your trusty people back by sea, in such way as shall appear practicable, with a copy of your notes; and should you be of opinion that the return of your party by the way they went will be imminently dangerous, then ship the whole, and return by sea, by the way either of Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope, as you shall be able. As you will be without money, clothes, or provisions, you must endeavour to use the credit of the United States to obtain them; for which purpose open letters of credit shall be furnished you, authorizing you to draw on the executive of the United States, or any of its officers, in any part of the world, on which draughts can be disposed of, and to apply with our recommendations to the consuls, agents, merchants, or citizens of any nation with which we have intercourse, assuring them, in our name, that any aids they may furnish you shall be honourably repaid, and on demand. Our consuls, Thomas Hewes, at Batavia, in Java, William Buchanan, in the Isles of France and Bourbon, and John Elmslie, at the Cape of Good Hope, will be able to supply your necessities, by draughts on us.

Should you find it safe to return by the way you go, after sending two of our party round by sea, or with your whole party, if no conveyance by sea can be found, do so; making such observations on your return as may serve to supply, correct, or confirm those made on your outward journey.

On reentering the United States and reaching a place of safety, discharge any of your attendants who may desire and deserve it, procuring for them immediate payment of all arrears of pay and clothing which may have incurred since their departure, and assure them that they shall be recommended to the liberality of the legislature for the grant of a soldier's portion of land each, as proposed in my message to congress, and repair yourself, with your papers, to the seat of government.

To provide, on the accident of your death, against anarchy, dispersion, and the consequent danger to your party, and total failure of the enterprise, you are hereby authorized, by any instrument signed and written in your own hand, to name the person among them who shall succeed to the command on your decease, and by like instruments to change the nomination, from time to time, as further experience of the characters accompanying you shall point out superior fitness; and all the powers and authorities given to yourself are, in the event of your death, transferred to, and vested in the successor so named, with further power to him and his successors, in like manner to name each his successor, who, on the death of his predecessor, shall be invested with all the powers and authorities given to yourself. Given under my hand at the city of Washington, this twentieth day of June, 1803.

-- Thomas Jefferson President of the United States of America

Jefferson the Architect.

Thomas Jefferson gave form to the nascent United States by his writings, his service to the country and more literally his architecture.

Involvement In Planning The Federal City. The site for the capital city of Washington, D.C. was chosen by the Congress at their meeting in Philadelphia in 1791. It was to be fourteen miles from George Washington's home at Mount Vernon, at the confluence of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. Most of the land was covered by dense forests, flood plain and rural farmland, with three towns forming a triangle around the relatively flat area where the rivers converged.

Responsibility for the design of the new city was given to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, together with two other city commissioners. Earlier, while Jefferson served as Minister to France, he traveled widely in Europe and studied the relevant shape of cites.

His own first sketch shows his approach to urban planning along the unimproved shoreline of the river. The President's house and the Capitol were located on the higher ground, linked by promenades, giving them views down the Potomac river. The engagement of a professional town planner became a necessity and George Washington chose the French engineer officer, Pierre Charles L'Enfant.

He worked closely with Pierre L'Enfant as he designed Washington, DC, and Jefferson anonymously submitted plans for the President's House, although he did not win. L'Enfant's plan shows his intended changes to the rivers edge and the positioning of important elements on axis in the central mall area commanding views over the Potomac to the west and south. George Washington envisioned that the new city would develop as a major port with associated river commerce, and both the C&O (1828) and Washington canals (1815) were built to this end.

The Architecture of Thomas Jefferson. Because John Russell Pope's design for the Jefferson Memorial took into account Jefferson's preferences for classical architecture, it is fitting to study Jefferson's application of style. Between 1784 and 1809 he designed, built and then remodeled his home, Monticello, perched atop a hill in the Piedmont of Virginia. A low, red-brick structure with a white dome and Doric portico, it served as a laboratory for his ideas and reflected his interest in the neo-classical style, an architectural movement that he learned about during his years as Minister in Paris.

In 1819 Thomas Jefferson founded the University of Virginia to provide educational opportunity for all. His design for the campus included a central domed Rotunda, which served as the library with classrooms, and two rows of Pavillions containing student rooms and faculty lodgings on either side of the "Lawn." He modeled his buildings on Roman republican architecture. Thomas Jefferson was a man of creative genius whose writings and architecture embody ideals of universal freedom, self-determination and self-fulfillment that continue to inspire humanity.

Jeffersonian Democracy:
(Adapted from a biography from the History Channel Website.)

Looking back on the election of 1800, Thomas Jefferson described it as being "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." Jefferson saw his election as reversing an earlier trend away from republicanism. The departure from true republican principles, as he judged it, had begun with the economic policies of Alexander Hamilton favoring financial and manufacturing interests and the strengthening of the national government at the expense of the states. During John Adams's presidency, Jefferson was further alarmed by the threats to civil liberties posed by the Alien and Sedition Laws restricting freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. Under the administrations of both George Washington and Adams, Jefferson was also concerned that the rituals of the presidency resembled too closely the monarchical models of Europe, which he detested.

By 1800 Jefferson was convinced that the government must be put on a more republican tack if the new Republic were to succeed, and he directed his efforts in the election of 1800 toward that end. In a nation of farmers, Jefferson's belief in the virtues of an agrarian republic of independent farmers won wide support. The Republicans also drew support from artisans and workers in towns and cities, where Jefferson's opposition to an aristocracy of privilege gained him the image of a man of the people. The Jeffersonian Republicans found little support among the banking, manufacturing, and commercial interests attracted to Hamilton's vision of an industrial America. As a slaveholder who nevertheless opposed the institution of slavery, Jefferson drew support from both slaveholders and opponents of slavery; the Jeffersonian Republicans, however, did not include emancipation in their democratic agenda.

The philosophical roots of Jeffersonian Democracy are to be found in the ideas of the Enlightenment and in natural law that Jefferson expounded in the Declaration of Independence. In an address in 1790, he reiterated his faith in "the sufficiency of human reason for the care of human affairs" and stressed that "the will of the majority, the Natural law of every society, is the only sure guardian of the rights of man." This faith in the people was basic to the creed he enunciated in the election of 1800 and implemented as president. He wished to keep the government close to the people. "I am not for transferring all the powers of the States to the general government, and all those of that government to the Executive branch," he wrote at a time when a Federalist Congress had given the president extraordinary power over aliens. With civil liberties threatened by the Alien and Sedition Acts, Jefferson reaffirmed his commitment to the Bill of Rights. In a period of rising military expenditures and mounting debt, he promised a government "rigorously frugal and simple," reducing the army and navy and applying the savings to discharging the national debt. The desire to decrease the army also reflected a republican fear of standing armies that had roots in radical English thought.

Jefferson restated these principles in his inaugural address on March 4, 1801. That speech provides the best and most succinct statement of Jeffersonian Democracy. Reaffirming his commitment to an "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority" as a vital principle of republicanism, Jefferson added the "sacred principle that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their

equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression." In responding to Federalists' efforts to suppress minority opinions, Jefferson more clearly defined a basic tenet of American democracy.

Intermingling general principles and specific policies, Jefferson promised "equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political," and pledged a vigilant protection of civil liberties. He also vowed to protect the rights of states while preserving the general government in its whole constitutional vigor. The new president declared that he favored reliance on a well-disciplined militia for defense, the supremacy of civil over military authority, economy in public expenditures, the payment of debts, and the encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its "handmaid." Though an agrarian republic was Jefferson's ideal, he recognized the necessity of commerce, and as president he was committed to its protection.

President Jefferson promptly initiated simplicity and frugality in government. With a Republican majority in Congress, government expenditures were reduced, taxes cut, and progress made in paying off the national debt. The Republicans also reduced the army and the navy and the diplomatic establishment abroad. Altered circumstances, however, led to the modification of many of these policies before the end of his second term. Renewed war in Europe and interference with American commerce led to the imposition of an embargo and increased military expenditures. The purchase of Louisiana required alterations in the schedule to pay off the national debt and also posed a challenge to his strict construction of the Constitution. Initially inclined to push for a constitutional amendment, he yielded to the opinion of advisers that the treaty-making power provided adequate constitutional grounds. But strict construction remained a tenet of Jeffersonian Democracy.

Jefferson reduced the ceremonial role of the presidency that had developed under Washington and Adams. Setting a more democratic tone for the executive, he began by walking to his inauguration. His dress was that of an ordinary citizen, "without any distinctive badge of office," one reporter noted. That was a sharp contrast to Washington and Adams, who had dressed elegantly and worn swords at their inaugurations. Instead of appearing in person to deliver an annual address to Congress, as had been the practice of Washington and Adams, Jefferson sent a written message to be read by a clerk. He also eliminated formal presidential receptions, or levees, which his predecessors had held, and he ignored the formal European rules of diplomatic etiquette by receiving foreign diplomats informally and offering no seating by rank at diplomatic dinners.

Despite earlier expressions of concern about executive power, Jefferson exerted strong presidential leadership, and with the enactment of an embargo in 1807 the federal government became more intrusive than Jeffersonian principles envisioned. But the embargo was repealed before Jefferson left office, and when he retired from political life, he left a legacy of faith in the people and a widening popular participation that continued to shape the development of American democracy.

Jefferson and the Enlightenment, by Ranger John McCarthy:

In its most limited sense, the Jefferson Memorial is a tribute to our nation's third President, Thomas Jefferson. But in the broadest sense, and in the way Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the monument's principle champion probably understood it, this memorial is America's monument to the Enlightenment. For in the precepts of the Enlightenment can be found the philosophical underpinnings of the American political experiment.

The Enlightenment can be defined as that intellectual movement, most daring in its 18th. Century manifestation, which held there were not one but two routes to human understanding: revelation as outlined in the Judeo-Christian Bible and reason as exercised by the human mind. This was a radical departure from the Medieval philosophies espoused by such scholastics as Thomas Aquinas who insisted wisdom could only be achieved through subordination of the mind of man to the will of God.

In many respects, this was a return to the beliefs of the ancient Greeks, especially the disciples of Aristotle, Plato, and Plato's student, Socrates. These were the first theoreticians to believe (so far as we know) the world could be best understood through observation and detached reason. In other words, they were the world's first scientists.

They believed the world was knowable, that progress and so "history" was possible and that the human experience was more than an endless series of repetitive cycles culminating in the return of the Messiah. In the social sphere, they believed there existed a "natural law" which emanated from man himself and that it overrode any "mortal law" conceived by religious or state authority. Man functioned best when mortal law conformed to this natural law.

So what was this law or laws? Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes believed it could be reduced to a single overarching principle: man's right to self-preservation. John Locke, however, believed this overarching right could be broken down into three more specific rights: the rights to life, liberty and property. But it was left to Thomas Jefferson and his inspired turn of phrase in the Declaration of Independence to morph these rights into the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. For what is "happiness"? Can it always be found in the acquisition and control of property? Or did it vary man to man? Jefferson would not presume to say.

Jefferson's devotion to the fundamental principles of the Enlightenment led him inevitably into the radical camp of political theorists active in American politics in the late 1760s. He joined other radical thinkers such as Benjamin Franklin and Patrick Henry in their utter contempt for absolutist British authority, whether exercised by the Church of England or the English State. And he went on to view with suspicion any post-war attempt to reintroduce church or state control over the American mind.

All of these thoughts and beliefs are evident in the fragments of writings carved into today's Memorial. It is only up to us to remind the contemporary viewer of how much we owe their author.

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