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Thomas Jefferson's Conflicting Views of Europe

Toward the end of his first term as President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson wrote to a correspondent in France, "Our sky is always clear, that of Europe always cloudy." During his residence "of between six and seven years in Paris," he claimed in the same letter (he actually stayed a little over five years), he never "but once, saw the sun shine through a whole day, without being obscured by a cloud in any part of it." On his return to Monticello, on the other hand, in a period of only two months he had counted no fewer than twenty days on which "there was not a speck of a cloud in the whole hemisphere." No wonder that he preferred the American climate to that of Europe. "I think it a more cheerful one," he said, surmising that "it is our cloudless sky which has eradicated from our constitutions all disposition to hang ourselves, which we might otherwise have inherited from our English ancestors."¹

Like many of his contemporaries, Jefferson was convinced that the New World was superior to the Old, not only because of its better weather, but primarily because of its republican system that he had helped to establish. At the same time, he often paid tribute to European art and architecture, conceding that it is in the arts that "[the Europeans] shine."² If he saw the New and the Old World engaged in competition with each other – the letter from which I have quoted suggests the extent of that competition – Jefferson firmly believed that in the long run the New World would prevail: "Europe is a first idea, a crude production, before the maker knew his trade, or had made up his mind as to what he wanted," he wrote from Paris; America, on the other hand, was "made on an improved plan."³ It was destined to prevail not only because of its immense natural resources and the rate at which its population was growing, but also because of its moral superiority. "Before the establishment of the American states," Jef-

person held, “nothing was known to History but the Man of the old world, crouded within limits either small or overcharged, and steeped in the vices which that situation generates.” In the hands of such people – “the Canaille of the cities of Europe” – the freedom Americans had gained would “instantly be perverted to the demolition and destruction of every thing public and private.” Not so in America, where “everyone, by his property, or by his satisfactory situation, is interested in the support of law and order.”⁴ Jefferson was convinced that “reason and honesty” would govern the people of the United States, maintaining that “if ever the morals of a people could be made the basis of their own government, it is our case.”⁵ No “condition of society” could be more desirable than that prevalent in America; here, it seemed to him, “the happiness of the nation” was everyone’s happiness.⁶

Politically, the contrast between the two worlds Jefferson so frequently evoked is reflected in the policy of “non-entanglement” he advocated and which, in the 1790s, led him to exclaim that he wished for an “ocean of fire” that would separate the New World from the Old.⁷ Writing to James Monroe in 1823, Jefferson spoke of two different “systems” in America and Europe, each with its own set of distinct interests. Europe, he was convinced, would “become the domicil of despotism;” America, on the other hand, would forever try “to make [its] hemisphere that of freedom.”⁸ Yet despite such proclamations he never lost interest in Europe and continued to feel attached to the friends he had made there. Nor did he cease in his engagement with the world of science and the arts that flourished in Europe. More importantly, perhaps, he knew that, whatever his own convictions about a self-supporting, agrarian America may have been, such ideas were “theory only, and a theory which the servants of America are not at liberty to follow,” given that the Americans, like their British ancestors, had “a decided taste for navigation and commerce.”⁹ In short, Jefferson’s attitude towards Europe was ambivalent. While he feared any kind of political “entanglement” with the powers of Europe, he understood that a clear-cut separation between the Old and the New World was not only illusory, but undesirable as well.

In April 1788, on a return trip to Paris from Amsterdam, Jefferson stopped for a few days in Frankfurt, Germany. Here he met an old acquaintance of his, Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Geismar, an officer in the service of Landgrave William IX of Hesse-Hanau, one of the many small principalities scattered over Germany in the late 18th cen-

ture.¹⁰ Geismar was one of several German officers who, after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, had spent several months near Monticello as prisoners-of-war. Jefferson had taken a particular liking to the young aristocrat from Hanau, perhaps because, like himself, he was an accomplished musician. After less than a year in Paris, he had re-established contact with Geismar; the two men had exchanged several letters, and, writing from Amsterdam, Jefferson had announced his intention to visit the German officer in his garrison in Hanau. Now, nine years after his stay in Virginia as a prisoner-of-war, Geismar took the former governor of the State of Virginia and current American Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles on a tour of the town of Hanau and its environs.

We know about Jefferson's response to his visit primarily from the travel-notes he jotted down during or shortly after his trip. In addition, his correspondence provides information about the sights he saw and the spirit in which he reacted to the scene around him. More than by anything that attracted his attention in Hanau, a bustling town of about 12,000 inhabitants, he seems to have been fascinated by Wilhelmsbad, an elegant, picturesque watering place just beyond the Hanau town limits which Prince William had completed a few years before. Even today Wilhelmsbad, with its row of pavilions, an arcade, a theatre and, above all, a beautifully landscaped park, has retained a good deal of its former charm.

Jefferson, accompanied by Geismar, focussed his attention on a small castle Prince William IX had built for his private use. Designed as a ruin, it served the prince as a hide-away where he would retreat with his various mistresses in order "to enjoy . . . the pleasures of life, a happiness so rarely accorded a Prince," as he said in his memoirs.¹¹ As the Prince did not make any secret of his affairs, Geismar doubtless knew the purpose for which the castle was built. Jefferson's curiosity, however, was not to be diverted by any prurient reflections. In his notebook he recorded the design of the castle, sketched its ground plan as well as that of the upper story, described both the platform above it and the parapet encircling it, and also noted a sentry box placed in front of the castle: "A sentry box here covered over with bark, so as to look exactly like an old tree. This is a good idea, and may be of much avail in a garden." That the Prince during his sojourns at Wilhelmsbad actually posted a guard in the sentry box in order to protect his privacy may have escaped Jefferson's attention; perhaps he did not find the fact worthy of being recorded. He thought the ruin "clever."

Ever interested in details, he also took note of a small hermitage, in which, as he wrote, there “is a good figure of a hermit in plaster, coloured to the life, with a table and book before him, in the attitude of reading and contemplation. In a little cell is his bed, in another his books, some tools &c.” Finally, Jefferson described a pyramid Prince William had erected in memory of his son who had died at the age of twelve. We get a sense of the intensity of Jefferson’s curiosity when we try to imagine the effort it must have taken him to obtain the exact measurements of the pyramid (18 ½ ft) and the angle at which its side declined from the perpendicular (22 ½ degrees) – the pyramid stood on a small island in an artificial lake that could only be reached by boat.¹²

Were it not for our knowledge of the use to which he possibly wanted to put all this factual information, we could easily attribute the very specific descriptions in Jefferson’s travel-notes to his well-known obsession with details. But the curiosity he displayed about Prince William’s artificial ruin in Wilhelmsbad had a purpose. Gardens, Jefferson maintained, are “peculiarly worth the attention of an American, because it is the country of all others where the noblest gardens may be made without expence. We have only to cut out the superabundant plants.”¹³ As we know, in Monticello his labors far exceeded the cutting out of plants. Long before he set foot in Europe, he had designed (and partly executed) elaborate plans for a landscape garden in the English style that was to be laid out on his property.¹⁴ One of the main attractions of his short stay in England in the spring of 1786 had been a tour of English gardens that he had taken together with John Adams and for which he had carefully prepared himself; the notes he took there resemble those he took in Germany.¹⁵ In fact, as he walked around in Wilhelmsbad, memories of the earlier tour came back to him. “Clever” as he found the ruin built by Prince William, he preferred the one he had seen in Hagley in England.¹⁶

Clearly, Jefferson’s notes about Wilhelmsbad have to be seen in the context of his plans for the grounds in Monticello. Thus the contemplation of the marble monument the Prince had erected in memory of his son who had died “ante tempus,” as the inscription said, must have reminded him of his designs for a burying ground at Monticello which he had drawn up as early as 1771. They included a pyramid “of the rough rock stone; the pedestal made plain to receive an inscription” as well as “a small Gothic temple of antique appearance.”¹⁷ Did he perhaps also think of building a ruin? On his trip through Ger-

many ruins continued to engage his attention. In Heidelberg, where he arrived a week after his visit to Hanau and Wilhelmsbad, he found the castle “the most noble ruin” he had ever seen and praised its “situation [as] romantic and pleasing beyond expression,” so much so that he “should have been glad to have passed days at it.” In the gardens of Schwetzingen, whose “strait rows of trees, [and] round and square basons” he did not like at all, he was satisfied by at least one “good ruin.”¹⁸

In his predilection for ruins, artificial or real ones, Jefferson was in harmony with current European fashions. William Shenstone, whose estate “The Leasowes” Jefferson and Adams had visited in 1786, had praised the “ruinated structures [that] appear to derive their power of pleasing from the irregularity of surface, which is VARIETY”; Lord Kames held that gardens ought to have ruins because they inspired “a sort of melancholy pleasure.” Melancholy according to Kames was one of the emotions the art of gardening could raise, next to feelings of “grandeur, of sweetness, of gaiety, . . . of wildness and even of surprise or wonder.”¹⁹ We know of Jefferson’s fondness for the poetry of Ossian and the “pleasures of melancholy” it evoked: “These pieces have been, and will I think during my life continue to be, the source of daily and exalted pleasure. The tender, and the sublime emotions of the mind were never before so finely wrought up by human hand,” he wrote in 1773.²⁰ From here it is but a small step to actually imagine a ruin in Monticello – which, of course, Jefferson never built. Nor did he build a hermitage. But as we learn from his notes about Wilhelmsbad, his imagination was thoroughly absorbed by the European model, and it seems that he had no problem at all in envisaging a version of it in an American setting. The irony involved in having a sentry box in the form of a hollow tree covered over with bark in Monticello is hard to be missed – a replica of the foible of one of Europe’s “petty tyrants” he so much detested on the grounds of one of America’s foremost republican leaders. Yet Jefferson thought it “a good idea, . . . of much avail in a garden.”

While the notes about Wilhelmsbad never once refer to Prince William or to the absolutist system to which the park and its buildings owed its existence, it is clear from what they say about the town of Hanau that Jefferson never forgot where he was. In fact, his comments about Hanau – they immediately precede those about Wilhelmsbad – are among the most acerbic statements about the evils of European feudalism he ever put on paper:

The road [from Frankfurt to Hanau] goes thro' the plains of the Maine, which are mulatto and very fine. They are well cultivated till you pass the line between the republic and the Landgraviate of Hesse, when you immediately see the effects of the difference of government, notwithstanding the tendency which the neighborhood of such a commercial town as Francfort has to counteract the effects of tyranny in it's vicinities, and to animate them in spite of oppression. In Francfort all is life, bustle and motion. In Hanau the silence and quiet of the mansions of the dead. Nobody is seen moving in the streets; every door is shut; no sound of the saw, the hammer, or other utensils of industry. The drum and fife is all that is heard. The streets are cleaner than a German floor, because nobody passes them.²¹

The entry is astonishing for a number of reasons. As mentioned above, in 1788 Hanau, the seat of the Landgraviate of Hesse-Hanau, was a busy town, even though three years before William IX had moved most of his court to Cassel. The town was renowned for its manufactures, its textile crafts, the production of silk, and especially the manufacture of jewelry and diamonds. In addition, a number of people were employed in the processing of tobacco grown in the area. As a series of articles published in the 1780s in a local journal suggests, Hanau was proud of its thriving industry which, as elsewhere, was actively supported by the reigning prince. Contemporary travel accounts support the view of Hanau as a center of "important manufactures" and a generally attractive town.²²

April 8, the day of Jefferson's visit, was a normal weekday. We can only speculate why he failed to notice any of the activities that must have gone on in Hanau while he was there; interestingly, his remarks about the "effects of tyranny" are at once more emotional and less specific than his observations in Wilhelmsbad. His notes mention neglected fields in the area, allude to the presence of the military ("the drum and the fife is all that is heard"), and emphasize the *absence* of industry and traffic: "the silence and quiet of the mansions of the dead." These, in Jefferson's view, were "the effects of tyranny." In the "commercial town" of Frankfurt, on the other hand, a republic, as Jefferson saw it, all was "life, bustle and motion." How close, one may wonder, did the American statesman actually get to the system of government he so deeply despised? Or to the people who suffered under it?

The contrast between the almost violent, rhetorically charged outburst about the "effects of tyranny" in Jefferson's remarks about the town of Hanau, where, for all we know by contemporary reports, these effects may have been rather difficult to discern, and the silence about

the evils of feudalism in his account of Wilhelmsbad is striking. No less surprising is Jefferson's silence about the trysts of a typical European prince with which in a different context he almost certainly would have found fault. The landgrave's numerous adulterous affairs indeed furnished telling examples of the "condition of the great" in Europe and their constant "intrigues of love" which, as Jefferson said in his famous letter to his friend Charles Bellini, while they may "dazzle the bulk of spectators," invariably lead to "pursuits which nourish and invigorate all our bad passions, and which offer only moments of ecstasy, amidst days of restlessness and torment."²³

Feudalism stayed on Jefferson's mind as he returned to Frankfurt. Travelling through the country, he believed that he could tell by the quantity of game he saw in the fields whether he was on the land of one of "the little tyrants" or in republican territory – in a republic, where, as he (erroneously) presumed, everybody was allowed to bear arms and to hunt on their own lands, there was little game left; in those parts of the country, on the other hand, where the feudal lords "had disarmed their people," game abounded.²⁴

The split in Jefferson's perception of the world he encountered on his trip to Hanau mirrors a contrast we often find in the way in which he responded to "the vaunted scene of Europe."²⁵ While he praised the world of European art and architecture, of sculpture, music and painting, he never reconciled himself to the institution of monarchy. Shortly after his return to Paris from his trip down the Rhine river he wrote to George Washington, "I was much an enemy to monarchy before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so since I have seen what they are. There is scarcely an evil in these countries that cannot be traced to their king as its source."²⁶ But what exactly these "evils" consisted of he rarely enumerated in detail. More important in the context of this paper, he never established a connection between the system of feudalism he abhorred and the realm of the arts and sciences he so much admired. As in the case of the castle in Wilhelmsbad and the artefacts surrounding it, there did not seem to be any link between the objects he liked to contemplate and the conditions and circumstances that had given rise to them.

Even when we take into account Jefferson's belief in "an innate sense of what we call beautiful," a concept he shared with the leading philosophers of the Enlightenment, most notably Lord Kames, the contrast in his perceptions of the phenomena he encountered on his trip to Hanau remains striking.²⁷ Did he really believe that the hermit-

age or the artificial ruin he saw in Wilhelmsbad had a kind of universal appeal? In any case, his response confirms what Elizabeth Marvick has described as an element of “acquisitiveness” or “possessiveness” in his European experience – he reacted positively to the things he saw whenever he felt himself in a position “to incorporate them, to make them his own, or to imagine them as part of what belonged to him.”²⁸ This may explain why he paid no attention in his notes to the two splendid castles he must have seen in Hanau – they were beyond his reach, so to speak, nor could they be of any use to him, in contrast to the “ruin” and its accoutrements in Wilhelmsbad.

How to account for the split in Jefferson’s response to what he saw in Hanau? It is clear that despite his critical remarks about the “effects of tyranny” he observed in the streets of the town he quite enjoyed the days he spent in Geismar’s company. On his return to Paris, he told John Rutledge Jr. and Thomas Lee Shippen, two young American protégés of his who were on a “grand tour” of Europe, that they ought to include Hanau in their itinerary and present themselves to Geismar in Jefferson’s name – this would ensure them all the attentions they might wish for. He also advised them to travel to Wilhelmsbad, “a seat of the Landgrave of Hesse, well worth visiting.”²⁹ Moreover, for a while at least he continued his correspondence with Geismar. Should the German officer ever decide to revisit Monticello, Jefferson wrote, “I shall be able there to give you a glass of Hock or Rudesheim of my own making.” Subsequently to his trip to Hanau, he had explored some of the vineyards in the region, again accompanied by Geismar, and taken some vines back to Paris which, as he said, were growing “luxuriously” in his garden there, and which he planned to take home to America with him on his return there in the coming winter.³⁰

While most of his compatriots shared Jefferson’s aversion to feudalism, his interest in European culture probably did not find favor everywhere. Some of his contemporaries openly expressed their disagreement. John Adams, for example, whose diplomatic service in Europe lasted longer and was more varied, in its way perhaps also more effective than Jefferson’s, famously wrote his wife that, while he “could fill volumes with descriptions of temples and palaces, paintings, sculptures, tapestry, porcelain, etc., etc., etc.,” he could not do this “without neglecting [his] duty.” His task, he maintained, was to study “the science of government.” Adams reserved the right to enjoy the fine arts for later generations; for his own generation he insisted that “the arts of legislation and administration and negotiation ought to

take place of, indeed to exclude, in a manner, all other arts.”³¹ In contrast to Jefferson, he never really developed a serious interest in things European, with the exception perhaps of European constitutions. At home, too, Jefferson clearly was an exception; neither George Washington nor James Madison or James Monroe ever shared his devotion to the arts and sciences of the Old World.

What we are left with, then, is the puzzling picture of a man who evidently saw no problem in divorcing the products and artefacts to which he felt himself attracted in Europe from the political conditions which generated them. Jefferson's disdain for the feudalist system of government, his fears of becoming entangled in the political affairs of Europe, and his frequent censure of European manners and morals neither diminished his personal sympathy for his European friends nor did they affect his curiosity about the things he considered useful or that appealed to his taste. No doubt it would be rash to weigh this conflicting attitude as another piece of evidence for the case Robert Palmer has made about “the dubious democrat” Thomas Jefferson, but what it was that kept Jefferson from facing the connection between the culture he loved and the system of government he hated remains open to question.³² John Adams, in any case, understood the connection, never losing sight of the cost necessary to “produce all this Magnificence,” as he dourly noted in his diary.³³

Perhaps the best way to account for the incongruity in Jefferson's response to his European experience, then, is once again to refer to his remarkable ability not to allow the things he did not want to see to disturb his vision of the world, an ability almost all of his biographers have noted.³⁴ If pressed, he might well have conceded that the works of art which he enjoyed largely depended on the desires and favors of the tyrants he detested, but he rarely, if ever, seems to have been willing to pursue the point.

Jefferson's lack of interest in the relationship between the world of politics and that of the arts is underscored by the absence in his travel notes of any reference to the possible effects *republican* forms of government may have had on the arts. The “bustle and motion” he observed in Frankfurt point to the city's commercial activities; likewise, the one entry in his notes about the distinctions between the republican form of government in the Netherlands and Prussian despotism refers to the economic consequences Jefferson thought he could make out: “The transition from ease and opulence to extreme poverty is remarkable on crossing the line between Dutch and Prussian terri-

tory,” he noted, adding that while “the soil and climate are the same, . . . the governments alone differ. With the poverty, the fear also of slaves is visible in the faces of the Prussian subjects. . . . There are no chateaux, nor houses that bespeak the existence even of a middle class. Universal and equal poverty overspreads the whole.” When a few days later he visited the gallery in the palace of the Palatinate Elector in Düsseldorf whose paintings he found “sublime,” he duly recorded the fact, but the circumstances to which the collection owed its existence again do not seem to have interested him, even though, as he later said, the gallery may have been “equal in merit to anything in the world.”³⁵

This is not the place to discuss the differences Jefferson perceived between the various countries in Europe and the principles that dictated their politics. In many of his letters, Europe indeed appears as a surprisingly homogeneous entity, and he often seems to have thought of the continent as a whole rather than as a conglomerate of different states. As the examples quoted above suggest, this tendency comes to the fore when he compared the Old World with the New, emphasizing the superiority of the latter and the backwardness of the former. “Old Europe will have to lean on our shoulders, and to hobble along by our side, under the monkish trammel of priests and kings, as she can,” he wrote to John Adams in 1816, dreaming of the “Colossus” America would be once “the Southern continent comes up to our mark! What a stand will it secure as a ralliance for the reason and freedom of the globe.” In his thinking about the arts, however, this “apostle of Americanism,” as Gilbert Chinard called him, usually tended to disregard “the progress and the obliquities of ages and countries.”³⁶ He may have been convinced that Europe was “another world,” as he told James Madison, but the esteem in which he held its cultural attractions was unaffected by the ideological reservations he had about its political order.³⁷

Notes

- ¹ Thomas Jefferson [hereafter: TJ], letter to C. F. de C. Volney, 8 February 1805, Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Library of America, 1984) 1155 [hereafter: *TJW*]. Interestingly, in his letter to Volney Jefferson omits any reference to his fears that the cloudless skies in America might be responsible for the “scourge of the yellow fever” which often ravaged the country; see TJ letter to Governor William H. Harrison, 27 February 1803, *TJW* 1117.

- ² TJ letter to Charles Bellini, 30 September 1785, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd et al., 32 vols. to date, vol. 8 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950ff) 569 [hereafter *TJP*].
- ³ TJ letter to Angelica Church, 17 February 1788, *TJP* 12.601.
- ⁴ TJ letter to John Adams, 28 October 1813, *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Lester J. Cappon (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1959) 389.
- ⁵ TJ letter to John Adams, 28 February 1796, *ibid.* 260.
- ⁶ TJ letter to Dr. Thomas Cooper, 10 September 1814; *Jefferson: Political Writings*, ed. Joyce Appleby and Terence Ball (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 138-39.
- ⁷ TJ letter to Elbridge Gerry, 13 May 1797, *TJP* 29.364.
- ⁸ TJ letter to James Monroe, 24 October 1823, *TJW* 1481-82.
- ⁹ TJ letter to G. K. van Hogendorp, 13 October 1785, *TJP* 8.632.
- ¹⁰ On Geismar's career and Jefferson's visit in Hanau, see my "Thomas Jefferson and Friedrich Wilhelm von Geismar: A Transatlantic Encounter," *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 64 (2006): 1-27.
- ¹¹ *Wir Wilhelm von Gottes Gnaden: Die Lebenserinnerungen Kurfürst Wilhelms I von Hessen, 1743-1821*. Trans. and ed. Rainer von Hessen (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1996) 167, 170 [my translation].
- ¹² "Notes of a Tour through Holland and the Rhine Valley," *TJP* 13.17-18. On the architecture of Wilhelmsbad and the history of the individual buildings, see Bettina Clausmeyer-Ewers, *Staatspark Wilhelmsbad Hanau: Historische Analyse, Dokumentation, Gartendenkmalpflegerische Zielplanung*, Edition der Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Hessen: Monographien, Bd. 6 (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2002). The volume contains a number of contemporary illustrations that give a fine impression of what Jefferson saw.
- ¹³ "Jefferson's Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe," *TJP* 13.269.
- ¹⁴ See William L. Beiswanger, "The Temple in the Garden: Thomas Jefferson's Vision of the Monticello Landscape," *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century: Eighteen Illustrated Essays*, ed. Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984) 170-88; Frederick D. Nichols and Ralph E. Griswold, *Thomas Jefferson: Landscape Architect* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1978) esp. 90-125, and *passim*; also Charles A. Miller, *Jefferson and Nature: An Interpretation* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988) 115-16.
- ¹⁵ On Jefferson's tour of English gardens, see his "Notes of a Tour of English Gardens," *TJP* 9.369-75; also Nichols and Griswold, *Thomas Jefferson: Landscape Architect* 138-39.
- ¹⁶ See Jefferson's "Notes of a Tour of English Gardens," *TJP* 9.372; also illustration no. 551 and the accompanying text in *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. William Howard Adams (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1976) 321.
- ¹⁷ See Thomas Jefferson's *Memorandum Books: Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826*, ed. James A. Bear Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997) 1.245-50, 246f. According to Beiswanger, "The Temple in the Garden" 170-73, Jefferson's early plans were probably inspired by William Shenstone's "Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening" as well as by Thom-

as Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770). See also the discussion in Nichols and Griswold, *Thomas Jefferson: Landscape Architect* 90-96.

- ¹⁸ "Notes of a Tour through Holland and the Rhine Valley," *TJP* 13.23-24.
- ¹⁹ Quoted in Eleanor D. Berman, *Thomas Jefferson among the Arts: An Essay in Early American Esthetics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947) 158, 163.
- ²⁰ TJ letter to Charles McPherson, 25 February 1773, *TJP* 1.96. On Jefferson's appreciation of Ossian, see Andrew Burstein, *The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1995) 31-35, also Beiswanger, "The Temple in the Garden" 173.
- ²¹ "Notes of a Tour through Holland and the Rhine Valley," *TJP* 13.17.
- ²² *Hanauisches Magazin* 6 (1783): 441-57, 465-75. On Hanau's industry, see my "Thomas Jefferson and Friedrich Wilhelm von Geismar: A Transatlantic Encounter," note 10, above.
- ²³ TJ letter to Charles Bellini, *TJP* 8.568-69.
- ²⁴ *TJP* 13.18.
- ²⁵ The phrase occurs in the letter to Bellini, 30 September 1785, *TJP* 8.568.
- ²⁶ TJ letter to George Washington, 2 May 1788, *TJP* 13.128.
- ²⁷ Cf. Eleanor Berman, *Thomas Jefferson among the Arts* 45-48 and passim. For a more recent analysis of the influence of Lord Kames's ideas of beauty on Jefferson's thinking see Kenneth Hafertepe, "An Inquiry into Thomas Jefferson's Ideas of Beauty," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59.2 (2000): 216-31.
- ²⁸ Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, "Thomas Jefferson and the Old World: Personal Experience in the Formation of Early Republican Ideals," *Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen*, ed. James Gilreath (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1999) 155-76, 159.
- ²⁹ "Jefferson's Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe," *TJP* 13.266.
- ³⁰ TJ letter to Geismar, 13 July 1788, *TJP* 13.357.
- ³¹ John Adams, letter to Abigail Adams, (n.d., 1780), *The Letters of John and Abigail Adams*, ed. Frank Shuffelton (Penguin Books, 2004) 378.
- ³² Robert R. Palmer, "The Dubious Democrat: Thomas Jefferson in Bourbon France," *Political Science Quarterly* LXXII (1957): 388-404.
- ³³ Quoted from Edward Dumbauld, "Jefferson and Adams' English Garden Tour," *Jefferson and the Arts: an Extended View*, ed. William Howard Adams (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1976) 149: "A national Debt of 274 millions sterling accumulated by Jobs, Contracts, Salaries and Pensions in the Course of a Century might easily produce all this Magnificence. The Pillars, Obelisks &c. erected in honour of Kings, Queens and Princesses, might procure the means."
- ³⁴ For an overview, see Garry Wills, "The Aesthete," *The New York Review of Books*, 12 August 1993: 6-10.
- ³⁵ "Notes of a Tour through Holland and the Rhine Valley," *TJP* 13.13-14; "Jefferson's Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe," *TJP* 13.264.
- ³⁶ TJ letter to John Adams, 1 August 1816, *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 484; Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929).
- ³⁷ When Jefferson invited James Madison to come to Europe, he spoke of "the knowledge of another world" that such a trip would provide; see TJ, letter to James Madison, 8 December 1784, *TJP* 7.559.