MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF DOCTOR PHILIP MAZZEP
Translated by Dr. E. C. Branci
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First Installment

Before dawn, as we were nearing Cape Charles and Cape Henry, a pilot came aboard. I learned from him that the Colonial Assembly was still in session in Williamsburg, and that it was about to adjourn. I also learned that Williamsburg was not far distant from the James River, and that Mr. Egges' house, where I could stop, was between the City and the River. We were then forty miles from the coast, but the wind and tide being in our favor, we soon landed. Mr. Egges' house was four miles from the River, and the same distance from Williamsburg. The pilot had a boy accompany me to the house, where we found everyone at lunch. I did not join them, as I had already taken lunch. Mr. Thomas Adams, Mr. Thomas Jefferson, and
Mr. Samuel Griffin had previously given notice of my arrival, and Mr. Egges, whose wife was the sister of Mr. Jefferson's wife, had not

At once, he hitched up two carriages. With the first, he sent his two little girls to take Marie and her daughter from the ship, and with the other he conducted me to Williamsburg to the home of Mr. Richard Adams. I had formerly told Mr. Adams, whose home was in Richmond, about sixty miles above Williamsburg, I believe, that I had sent a ship with my gold pieces in London. The next day, we received an early visit from Mr. Adams' brother Thomas, who had been notified of my arrival by Mr. Egges, the houses of the two men being only sixteen miles apart.

Williamsburg could really be called a town rather than a city, although it was the site of the Governor's Palace, the Capitol, the College, the Court, and the residence of all the representatives of the Colony when the Assembly was in session. There was a great number of people in town when I arrived, for the Assembly was in session, but adjourned that very day; and the various representatives who were about to leave remained a day longer in order to see the new citizen of whom Mr. Adams had spoken so favorably.

Before the arrival of Mr. Adams, two gentlemen had welcomed me: first of whom was Mr. George Washington, later famous as Commander of the American Army during the war against England, as a result of which was born the Republic of the United States, whose first President was Mr. Washington. The other was Mr. Warne, a resident of Williamsburg, and one of the greatest teachers that the world has produced in its history, and the teacher of Mr. Jefferson. Several others came, to whom Mr. Adams remarked that I had made an expression of an arrival of a new ship to Lephor, in which there had never been a ship from Virginia. There were many ships already loaded, having the Sugar Islands (West Indies) as their destination. The orders of twelve of these ships were changed, and the ships sent to Leghorn, Italy. I had also agreed to send a ship, and I was obliged to buy both the ship and grain cargo, and to have the grain transported from the seller. I forewarned that by the other ship's leaving such a long time before mine, I risked losing, rather than making money, but my vanity was stronger than my prudence. I wanted to show them in Tuscany that to send aid quickly to my native land was a greater reward to me than personal gain.

I soon learned that the large number of good and helpful friends (greater than my expectations) that came on every ship was due, without doubt, to the kind and favorable notice given of me before my arrival by Jefferson, Adams, and Griffin.

The ship which I had chartered was the largest in Leghorn, and the largest he had seen in the port. When I arrived, I had obtained it for a good price, having promised the captain to find a load of tobacco for him.

The tobacco was procured before the contracted time had expired, and the good and able Captain Rogers was pleasantly surprised; but on the eve of sailing, he was stricken with a fever which endangered his life and caused a long and painful recovery.

There was much for me to do: I had to buy a ship and grain to send to Leghorn, to fix the place of my residence, and to provide for the comfort of the people with me as well as for myself, in a completely new country. Hence I could not help Captain Rogers as I desired; but I recommended to him my new friends who were able to assist him, and every time I saw him I could not speak highly enough of their attention and courtesy, attributing it entirely to the esteem and the good will in which they held me.

Mr. Thomas Adams advised me in everything. He conducted me to Norfolk, where he helped me to buy from Philip and Edward in a good brigantine of 170 or 180 tons, which I put under the command of Captain Woodford, a young Virginia gentleman and a friend of Mr. Adams and of Mr. Jefferson. He possessed an education far superior to that of the ordinary seaman, and he was well-known and accepted for his true worth by my friends in Florence and in Leghorn.

I gave Captain Woodford a present for the Grand Duke Leopold — three deer, two male and one female, a little smaller than ours, but much more beautiful because their hide is somewhat similar to that of the tiger; three kinds of birds, one of which was so brilliantly red that it was called a cardinal; and a letter in which I reported that the action of the Cabinet of Saint James in attempting to tax tea was frivolous, as I had predicted, and I foretold other probabilities.

I also sent him a fifteen-year-old rattlesnake in a box almost full of sawdust, covered with a glass top. Seven years later I saw it in the scientific laboratory of the Grand Duke, and I was told that the snake died four or five years after its arrival.

The ship was soon provided. Then, wishing to send two barrels of flour as a gift to my relatives and to friends in Leghorn, we went to Mr. John Banister, a great handower who had many mills continuously in operation, and whose flour was equal, if not superior, to the best of Virginia, which was the finest of all the Colonies. He frequently sent flour to Philadelphia in quantities, and had abundant stores of flour; while in Virginia there was an abundance of planters. He gave me the two barrels that I desired, and I wrote to my relatives to distribute a barrel and a half to some friends as Philadelphia flour, adding, 'I am sure they have never seen it before. Then say that you have made a mistake—that it is from Virginia, and not from Philadelphia. And if they insist that it is from Philadelphia although the ship has come from Virginia, put before their eyes this letter that I have written in order that they may realize that I have foreseen what they might expect.'

I had asked Mr. Adams before he sailed for England what land might be expected for the vineyard; and he obtained five thousand acres for me from the Legislature; but it did not suit me to accept it, for it was divided into many pieces, far distant from one another.

Mr. Adams has sold the house in which he lived, and also all his properties, and he had bought another about one hundred sixty miles above Williamsburg, in Augusta County, and about fifty miles beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains (a name given them by the first European immigrants because the atmosphere at a distance lent that color), the top of which separates Augusta County from Albemarle County, in which Mr. Jefferson is living; about twenty miles this side of the mountains.

We left together to go there. We desired to determine where it was possible to construct a house, and to have an opportunity of seeing if I might buy a tract of land next to his, if the region were suitable to me. We agreed to stay two or three days with Mr. Jefferson, who lived a very short distance off our route.
Mr. Jefferson was thirty-two years old, or eleven younger than his wife, when he married her at the age of twenty-three, and they had a baby girl a few months old. We arrived there on a morning, and the following morning Jefferson and I, while others were out, met walking in the neighborhood. He took me to the home of a poor man, which he had a small house and about four hundred and fifty of land bordering Mr. Jefferson's, of which he had cleared and cultivated about an eighth part which he wanted to sell, for he had never seen, and by going farther inland about a hundred miles he could, with half of the money, from the land which he had sold, buy a quantity sufficient to leave to each of his sons a portion equal to that which I bought.

That little house was more than sufficient for the presents I had brought with me. It was in a small valley which sloped upward on two sides, and on one of which formed a spring, and the other—lumber—on the hill, on which we agreed to build a log cabin for myself. As the land of Mr. Jefferson was hilly and low, more than he needed, he made me a present of a tract of land that contained about two thousand acres.

He had other possessions in the county adjoining Albemarle, the products of which sold for about two thousand pounds sterling, after seeing what he needed for himself and for his relatives. When we returned, all the others had risen, and Mr. Adams, seeing Mr. Jefferson, said, "I see in your face that you have taken him from me, and I expect it will be difficult to find another without paying any attention to him—looked at the table and said, "Let's take breakfast, and later we'll arrange everything." In-law, Mr. Fipps, in which he told him to send us men from the ship, together with some things described in a note, and to tell them, and his son, and Madam Martin that soon after the arrival of my men, Mr. Adams and Mr. Adam's daughter would come for her and his daughter.

Mr. Adams left at once for Augusta. He did not return from his trip until after my men arrived. Jefferson knew the Italian language very well, but had never heard it spoken. Nevertheless, speaking it, and with men, he understood them and they understood him. This impressed by their demonstrations of joy at the circumstance, Jefferson had among his slaves the best tailors in every trade except tailoring. As soon as he saw the use of our safety and implements, he had them duplicated for the use of all his tenants. He hired them to his neighboring landholders, and they worked extending and extending to beyond the hill where I waited. I also could not exceed the work, for I hired two good negroes, but I did not use them in the work as they did the other people of the country.

To save work for Mr. Adams, I had letters for my men to work clearing the land, beginning in the fields already cultivated and extending to beyond the hill where I waited. As soon as I could set up the spout, I found a few more good negroes, but I did not use them in the work as did the other people of the country. I set up a pole from the ground to the trees, and cutting them far enough above the surface, I adopted the system of cutting them for enough to strike them. There were some landowners who, having to do so, I have carried my men to the field around the trees, and cutting them far enough above the ground that the stumps could not have to bend over to strike them with his axe. There were some landowners who, having to do so, I have carried my men to the field around the trees, and cutting them far enough above the ground that the stumps could not have to bend over to strike them with his axe. It was always better to do this. I did not have the unassumptions of resting from my house or from Mr. Jefferson's, the dried skeleton-like trees, or trunks about a yard high, become in that vicinity the land which was not wooded had been cultivated for half a century.

The top of the hill was a small plain, which to the naked eye appeared to be perfectly level, large enough to make on the south side a spacious meadow, perfectly secure; and also on the north another strip, about thirty yards wide, beyond which there was a gentle slope about a sixth of a mile long.

I ordered the entire plain to be cleared, with the exception of a few scattered trees which were to be trimmed so as to present the best appearance, the whole quadrangle to be enclosed by a stonewall, with another dividing the plain from the slope; the middle to have a gate, directly in front of the house, which was to be the same in the middle of the house on that side as the larger door on the other side. Also, there were to be two other gates on the lateral sides of the stockade, large enough to permit the passage of any loaded carriage, opposite one another, and a little distance from the road which passed in front of the house.

Mr. Jefferson burdened himself with overseeing the execution of this work, because I, at the return of Mr. Adams, wanted to send him to give Captain Woodford my dispatches and to send to Monticello and Colle the rest of the things, and to conduct Madame Martin with her daughter to the house of Mr. Jefferson, where they would remain until our house was finished. There were also to be four other houses, two of which were to be two stories high, and in a direct line with the big house, one of which I used as a magazine, and the other as my office; the remaining two houses were to be one story high, behind the other two, in order to form a quadrangle, and to be used as a meat house and a kitchen.

On going with Mr. Adams to attend to my business affairs, I was taken to the house of the widow he intended to marry as soon as his house was finished. He was my age, and she was much younger, charming, of good judgment, and well-behaved.

The next day when we were travelling, I talked with him of his future marriage, and I complimented him for his choice. He advised me to take the same step with Madame Martin. At first, I thought he was jesting; but seeing that he spoke seriously, I said that I had had a great affection for her husband, who was a gentleman and a good man. For love of him, only, I had taken upon myself the burden of taking care of his wife and his daughter. I told Mr. Adams I had helped them and that I would continue to help them in the future, but that I did not believe myself obliged to sacrifice my personal liberty. He said a woman in my house who would have an attachment for my person and my interests; that, having visited at my house for eighteen months in London, he realized that I could not wish for a better woman; that separating myself from those two persons would be a very cruel thing, and that by their living with me, his daughter would never marry in this country, where the slightest suspicion of living together without being married was an abominable thing, dis-
boring the man more than the woman, since he was supposed to be the elder.

I made objections, among which I said that in certain circumstances I had noted her to be vain and haughty. I was afraid of the development and consequences of this, for, passing from the state of dependence to that of owner, I was sure that she would lose all reserve and moderation. He contended that I deceived myself, and he spoke so convincingly that I was persuaded. Hardy had we arrived at the house of Mr. Epes before we all went to Mr. Richard Randolph, Justice of the Peace, who married us and gave us a magnificent banquet.

We remained here the next day, and then we went to Williamsburg, where I gave my letters and those of my countrymen to Captain Woodford, who sailed immediately for Leghorn. Afterwards, I went to see Lord Danmore, Governor of Virginia, to be naturalized. I had already visited him when I was formerly in Williamsburg, and he had extended me an invitation to dinner, which I was unable to accept. That day, I accepted and promised to return early, for he wished to present me to his Ladyship the Countess of Danmore.

At first sight, it seemed to me that she deserved a better husband, and I soon learned that I was not mistaken. There were two daughters—one seventeen and the other fifteen, and a half-year-old, as charming as their mother, both in personality and in appearance; and one son, who seemed disposed to imitate his father.

The unnatural policy pursued by the Cabinet of Saint James in subjugating the Colonies, was that of "Divide et impera," and to attack them separately. But the scheme was discovered, and the Governor of Virginia, shortly before my arrival, had elected a committee of seven persons to correspond with the other Colonies (all of which adopted the same method), so that if anything happened in one, it would immediately be known to all the others.

The institution of that plan which saved the Colonies, was due to Mr. Dahby Carr, cousin of Thomas Jefferson, of whom I have hinted before, and who died at the age of thirty, a little before my arrival. Jefferson, who often lamented that I had not known his illustrious cousin, preserved the memory of that plan by an inscription on his tomb.

The Governor had regarded the plan with indifference, but he was sharply reproached by the government for not dissolving the Assembly as soon as heard the proposal; and if he was not recalled, it was probably because he was at St. Thomas, a long way off.

The friction between the Cabinet of St. James and the Colonies increased, and the Governor followed the plan of the Cabinet only in order to retain his own position.

Believing that he could make a convert of me, he became so insistent that I easily saw the weakness of his mind and the meanness of his heart.

I returned with my wife and my stepdaughter to Monticello, and I told Jefferson what I had heard from the Governor, and that I had my own opinion regarding the future course of events. We agreed to prepare a periodic sheet attempting to inform the people about the true state of affairs and the necessity of preparing ourselves to ward off being taken by surprise, if attacked; for I knew the weak spots of the Cabinet of St. James, particularly, the actors. I wrote in my own language, and he translated into English.

This was the cause of the formation of a company of volunteers in every county, called "The Independent Companies"; and the cause later, of an election of representatives to compose a "Convention" instead of the Assembly; for we did not wish to separate from Great Britain, and the right of convening the Assembly rested with the Governor, who called the Assembly in order to break up the Convention. But the people elected the same men. The Governor did not recognize them as representatives, so they remained in the Convention. They elected a committee of nine to watch over the good order of the Colony in the absence of the Convention, and to correspond with the twelve other Colonies, which work until then had been carried out by a Committee of Correspondence of seven created by the Assembly. They also ordered that each County elect a committee of twelve to care for that county and to correspond with the committee of the Colony.

In my county there were about twelve hundred voters, and anyone who so wished could run for office.

The election was held about eight months after my arrival in Virginia, and more than half the time I was not in the country. Nevertheless, I was elected one of the twelve, only five of whom received more votes than I. Since Jefferson was a member of the Convention, he could not be elected later. I was elected one of the twelve members of the vestry to care for the poor of my parish, and among my colleagues I was elected one of the two administrators.

The Deputies of the Colony, who lived in the Capital during the session of the Assembly, received an emolument from the public treasury, which paid all the expenses; but my work, which did not oblige me to leave the County, was gratuitous. I was very happy in the result of both elections, because of the joy shown by the poor people I had brought with me.

Captain Woodford arrived from Leghorn with my brigantine and brought me many things which I had ordered, among which was a great quantity of cloaks and silk goods from Florence. I had hardly received Captain Woodford's letter when I went to visit him.

Signor Stefano Betolla, to whom I had shipped the brigantine, sent me two tons of horses and several things from my relatives. My young men from Luca, persuaded by what Antonio di Pibbalia had written to his county, came to enter my service.

Carlo Bellini and his wife also arrived, hoping that I might be able to obtain for Carlo more advantageous employment than that which he had under the Tuscan administration, and also because of our friendship which added to my eagerness to arrive at the ship as soon as possible. But, when I arrived I found only the captain and his crew; a landlord who lived nearby, knowing the captain and me, had taken care of both meat and bread, and he treated the Bellini couple as if he had known them since infancy.

The good Gaspara Bellini, widow of Mr. Benetani and daughter of the industruious watchmaker Simone Farolfi, being seriously ill some ten years later, as a result of an apoplectic stroke which caused her to lose the use of her limbs, said, as she looked at her husband and at me, who were both younger than she, "My sons, I am very sorry to die, for it seems that I have not been long enough among these good people."

She did not die then. She lived for three years more. I always con-
tent, notwithstanding her infirmity, in seeing herself esteemed and loved by all the inhabitants of Williamsburg, where the friends of her husband, in order that she might procure some means of living comfortably, had obtained for him the establishment of a chair of Modern Languages in the University. Bellini, besides his own language, knew the French perfectly, and the German and the Spanish passing well.

At once, I sent the men and the most needed things to Colle, leaving the rest—including the horses—with Colonel Cary (with whom I had already struck up a friendship, for he was an intimate friend of Mr. Adams and of Mr. Jefferson), and I returned immediately with the Bellini couple to Monticello. After two days there, we continued on to Colle, where everything was prepared to accommodate two families of five people each, without provision for increase.

We arrived before the six young Tuscani did. They came the day after our arrival, and the meeting with their countrymen was so touching at that moment a sensation which I cannot express comes back to me. How sweet are tears that are due to a happy reunion!

I had brought several kinds of seed with me, for I knew they would be well received in Virginia, particularly the corn and the winter wheat which grow in the hilly regions much better than any other. I remembered that this grain was extensively cultivated in the mountainous districts of Cosenzo and Valvarno in Tuscany.

The men appreciated the wheat and the corn. In Virginia—and I believe it is the same in the other Colonies—the wife directs everything in the house, and the husb. and looks after the outside affairs, excepting as to the purchase of certain provisions, of which the wife advised him of the need. This is observed with great exactness. When the woman needs a person employed in work outside the house, she asks the husband, and vice versa. Women are very ambitious and try to place before their guests, fruits and vegetables which are rare in season. Among nine or ten kinds of corn preferable to ours (one for the quantity, and others for different causes), not one arrived at maturity as soon as ours—fifty days. In Virginia, they prepare a very delightful dish with corn which is not entirely ripe. For this reason, the woman serves it in the corn, that is known as Mason Corn.

In every country in which I have been, I have heard the Tuscan language praised as being sweet and at the same time precise and lacking in carelessness. Italy was the first country to hold a high opinion. After he had translated a number of my articles for the newspapers, he told me to write in English, and he would correct all errors I made. I believed that he was vexed at translating, but I assured him to the contrary, and he said, "he would have a manner of expressing yourself in your language which I cannot translate without weakening your expression." Then wrote in English. After he had corrected the first page, it looked like a swarm of flies; but the number of errors diminished and after I had written seven or eight pages he told me that there was nothing to correct. I could not persuade myself of that, but he showed me several pages where I had expressed myself with great energy, and he said that they could not be corrected without a weakening of force. The phraseology is continued, "is not wholly English, but you will be understood by everyone, and that is the greatest important."

I have not said much about my agriculture for I did not attend to it as I should have, because the great public issue occupied almost all of my time; but I had the satisfaction of being understood and of being obeyed by my men.

It was clearly seen from the policy of the Cabinet of St. James that if we did not wish to be the victims, we should have to arm ourselves, and, necessarily, the result would be either liberty or the cruellest slavery. If we obtained freedom, we must establish a good government; but to do so, it was necessary to overcome the prejudices of those people who were accustomed to regard the English government as a model of perfection.

When I showed these defects to Jefferson, he was greatly surprised, and he said that he had never thought them. "This is the true and only cause," I said, "which has kept you from recognizing it: since boyhood, you have always believed that that government was the best possible, and you certainly have read the English writers who prove it to be preferable to the Roman republic. You believe that it is so, in comparison with the other European countries. Finally, you never dreamed of changing it because you had not occasion to criticize it. But I, provoked by its insolent manner of dealing (as in its relations with other nations), knowing it thoroughly, and having seen its essential defects, say that it is four hundred years behind the time."

Whereupon agreed that I should write a number of essays to be published at intervals, so that everyone might read and understand.

In order to carry out our plan, it was not only necessary to write, but also to introduce these topics into conversation, so that by means of popular discussion the prejudices of the time might be weakened and sounder principles advanced. Once, when attending a banquet of about thirty people in Williamsburg, the subject of conversation, as usually happened in these circumstances, turned upon the gold agamites of that critical situation in which we found ourselves. The first copies of my second paper, in which I showed how many of the bases of complete public freedom in England were fallacies, had just been printed. Mr. Carter Nichola, Treasurer of the Colony, and who was afterwards confirmed in that office by the new government (very deservedly, since because of his honesty and his earnestness there was no one who could be more fitted than he), looking at me, said, "Mr. Mason, what are you afraid of is to lose the constitution?" I replied, "Mr. Treasurer, if I had such a constitution, I should think myself a consumptive. Everybody was pleased with the answer, and laughed; especially, Mr. Richard Bland, who was near me, looked at me with great satisfaction.

He appeared to be about seventy years of age. I did not then know, as I afterwards learned, that some years earlier he had written and published a very sound pamphlet on the rights of the Colonies. I read it with much pleasure, and I cited it in my Histoire et Philosophie des Empechant.

Recherche des États-Unis d'Amérique. Septentrionales."

Among the guests was George Mason, an acquaintance, and an intimate friend of George Washington, later a general, who contributed so much to cause a call to arms to the establishment of Liberty in America. The second day after my arrival in Virginia, Mr. Adams introduced me to several cultured persons, one of whom was Mr. Mason. When we left his house, I told Mr. Adams that a man such as he ought without doubt to be esteemed highly, "but in my opinion," I added, "he is not well enough known. He is one of those brave, rare-talented men who cause Nature a great effort to produce—a Dante, a Machiavelli, a Galileo, a Newton, a Franklin, a Turgot, an Elzevir, and so on."

Mr. Mason made several profound, opportune and very useful re-
marks which, by means of the guests—of whom only two were from the same County—were quickly spread throughout the country, as was everything else which was said on that subject so interesting to everyone.

The same day that Mr. Adams introduced me to Mr. Mason, he took me to Mr. Peyton Randolph, for a long time Speaker of the Assembly, and later of the Convention, and finally President of the first Congress of the United Colonies in Philadelphia, where he died in the seventeenth year of his age. His death was universally lamented, and the ladies of Philadelphia were mourning for him an entire year.

He wanted me to dine with him, but I could not do it then. I promised him, however, that I would on the first occasion possible. The next day, after dining at the Tavern, I recounted the brief dialogue I had had with the Treasurer. All the guests greatly enjoyed it, especially the landlord, who said in a compassionate air, "He is a good man!" Everyone applauded my attempt to disillusion the people, saying that it could not be done at a more favorable time, and telling me not to tire in my efforts. Mr. Randolph said to them, "Of this, I have no fear. I knew it before he came among us, for Thomas Adams had pictured him to me.

From time to time, I went home to see how my orders were being carried out, and to issue new ones; also, to talk with Mr. Jefferson about affairs of my own and of the public.

I learned from my men, who had explored the woods, that they had observed a number of splendid grape vines. I myself had observed thirty-six on my own property—good, fair, and bad. I chose six of the best to be grafted on some of the best of the old vines which I had saved for myself, and the other I gave to my men. They did not drink the wine, but sold it for a shilling a bottle. In my opinion, when the country is populous in proportion to its extent, the best wine in the world will be made here. It must be remembered that the grapes from which I made the twelve barrels of wine picked from the top of a tree in a very dense wood, and the vines had a tremendous number of branches. When I pulled the corks three months later, it was like the sparkling wine of Champagne. I do not believe that Nature is so favorable to growing vines in any country as in this. I measured two which were more than a foot and a half in circumference. The shoots of the labriola grape produced vines of such size that my men wanted me to make wine. They offered me one-fourth of the branches of such length that my good Vincenzo Rossi told me, "Master don't write of this to our village, because you'll pass for a liar."

The second year after my arrival, an event occurred which had not happened before in the memory of man.

During the month of the fourth of May, 1774, the north wind sent a cloud which killed the grain and froze all the vines and young trees and caused them to remain without leaves until the next year. It was very destructive to the Countryside in Summer as in Winter. The grapes were rather small and frost-bitten; and the juice of the old variety infected; but the vines grew out again and produced about half the quantity of grapes of the preceding year, and ripened about the same.

Speaking about this with Doctor bland, a nephew of Richard, who had been in Europe to study medicine at Edinburgh, he said to me, "In this country, I assure you, it is possible to kill the vine only by fire."
William and Mary Quarterly

vitation retired prudently to Richmond, because the circumstances required that the public documents and representatives in charge of affairs be removed from the city.

Then came the news from Boston that the port had been blockaded by the British, and that the British fleet had gone to help their countrymen, and messengers had been sent to all the most distant colonies telling them that not men, but food, was needed, for all the men had been forced to leave their work. In a short while, a superabundance of food was sent.

When the news of the landing of the British at Hampton was received in Annapolis, "The Independent Company" was quickly called to arms. The Captain of the Company was Charles Lewis, who was skilled enough to command a regiment. His two brothers, as well as Jefferson and I, were privates. Mr. Jefferson's assistant manager was our sergeant.

The soldiers wanted Jefferson to be an officer, but he, as a member of the Convention, was engaged in a matter of greater importance. They wanted to make me a lieutenant, but I declined, staying that I was not able to be made so. They remarked that an officer ought not only to command, but also to lead, and I replied that if the officer were willing, I could give advice, though a private.

At the beginning of hostilities, we had no hunting pieces, and we had not fifty with us to form our own army of invention, for in less than a year, all the military arms were being made in every colony as well as in the town of London, and it was a rare thing to find a farmer who could not make gunpowder.

I had three hunting pieces of my own, and I kept one for myself, one I gave to Bellini, and the third I gave to the tailor, to whom I recommended the care of my horses, as I had written to Antonio what he should do in my absence. But Vincenti came to me and said very firmly, "Master, you have another hunting piece. If you give it in now, you can have another for when you return." I granted his request, and I did not take a club and come through the woods, because I wanted to go to war. I wanted to please him, so I granted his request.

I took three horses to Richmond, and I went to Richmond, because the bounding-place of Bellini and me was two hundred miles distant, besides other reasons. I was the only one who thought that the English nation would not suffer the Colonies to be separated from it, and that there was no desire to remain united to the land of their ancestors. I did not know whether it was true or false, or whether it was true or false, but I lived to be wise to take horses, but if we lived in any other way, would serve to maintain the union.

A company should be composed of eighty persons under officers. When we left, ours had about a hundred, because of the supernumeraries, two of whom were Vincenti and Bellini. That was stopped in the woods to avoid the rights of other men. We had only three written instructions, and we did not take a club, or any other of the love notes we slept in the open. I then discovered that it was impossible to take cold by sleeping out of doors, but Bellini Vincenti, and I had not done so before. I believed the contrary, but Jefferson confirmed what I had discovered.

About ten o'clock the next morning as we were crossing the boundary into Orange County, we not two young men sent from that

Country's company for the purpose of bringing the two companies together before arriving at Hampton.

They were the two Madison brothers, the elder of whom was twenty-two years old, and who was now President of the United States.

We had marched about eighty miles from our County when we reached Hampton, because the English, hearing that men were coming to join them, had thought from all parts of the Colony, to erect their new government.
Colonies, with full power to do what be judged best for their defense. But in Virginia, reflecting on the incompatibility of restoring unity between those who waged war, the Convention, with the universal consent of its constituents, declared its total independence from Great Britain, establishing a new government on the solid basis of equality. About three weeks later, Congress did the same, changing the name of the Colonies to that of the “United States.” The preambles of both Declarations contended that we were forced to separate from Great Britain; and the diction of the two was almost the same. Jefferson being charged to write both.

I, after remaining in Richmond several days to talk with Jefferson of various things—above all, of the object of co-operating to form a good government—returned to Albemarle with Bellini; and although I did not venture far from home, I was more occupied with national affairs than with my own.

[To be Continued]
MEMOIRS OF PHILIP MAZEPH
Translated by Dr. E. C. Branché

Third and Final Installment

In the 5th of April 1782, I advised him that I was kept informed of what was being done in England, both in the Cabinet and in Parliament, so that he could use such information to his advantage. In the sixth and the seventh, I emphasized what I had said in the first. In speaking about the condition of beggars in Florence, I was a member of the official board in Albernic County, pointed out how we used to keep them there; and, also, I suggested that he get the English, Dutch, and Hanseatic Cities regulations regarding the problem.

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The people in Florence believed that my advice was for the purpose of establishing my right of inheritance, since my brother had died; and when I informed the Grand-duke about this, he was pleased because the supposition dispelled any suspicion that I called on him about American affairs.

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Summarizing, then, I suggested in my letters to the Grand-duke Leopold the conduct that he ought to follow in regard to his American policy. I continued thus for another year, pointing out that he ought not to believe what Minister Mann told him, not because Mann was unsuitable personally, but that he had to believe what the Cabinet of St. James wanted him to believe. Despite this and despite what he said to me when he first saw me—"You were right in what you predicted about the Colonies and England. But what persuaded them that England would finally consent to their independence?"—I think she was compelled to do so in order not to lose the great advantage of commerce with them;—he believed everything that the English wrote to Mr. Mann, and he would not listen to me. I am of the

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This portion of the memoirs which do not refer to Virginia are omitted in this translation.
opinion that his stupidity and credulity came from his weakness of mind and lack of feeling—in which qualities he was very different from his eldest brother.

In the eighth letter, I stated that I knew what was going on in the Cabinet of St. James, and hence I could foetidulate the probability much more certainly than could Mr. Mann, because he received from London only the GAZETTE of the Ministry, but I received also the GAZETTE which related the former.

Two newspapers were printed in Florence at that time—the one entitled LA GAZZETTA UNIVERSALE, and the other, NOTIZIA DEL MONTE. The editor of the first got his news of England through Mr. Mann. I answered this in the other paper. It happened that the importance of the Cabinet of St. James was such that I was permitted to express completely the views which were intended to deceive the other European governments. Foreknowing what the GAZZETTA UNIVERSALE would print, I prepared a paper which was retouchal for the other paper, using as a trick the translation of a letter from an English gentleman in London, rewriting from the position he held because he could not subscribe to the falsehoods that were spread about so loosely by the London Cabal.

As the two newspapers were published at the same hour, it was expected that one of the two boys of the printer of LA GAZZETTA UNIVERSALE had sent copies of the articles from England to the printer of the other paper, in sufficient time to be answered by the latter.

In order to find out the truth, both boys were sent to prison. Knowing the enmity of Leopold, and wishing to free the innocent boy, I wrote to him the usual note for an immediate audience. After acquiring him with the facts, the two boys were liberated; and the Grand-duke, made happy by the discovery of the secret, said publicly that he always knew everything that was happening much better than his police officers, who knew nothing.

In the ninth letter (I am surprised, to-day, to note my patience—which seems almost to have amounted to stubbornness or inflexibility—in continuing to "peep into the water in the mortar" with that prince whose conduct towards me in political matters was so oppressive, but my only desire was to satisfy the needs of my adopted country and at the same time to help my native country), I asked an audience of the Grand-duke. My request was granted, and our meeting was much longer than usual. But it was utterly useless. His calibre is better measured by relating a small incident that occurred.

Telling him of the disposition and of the characteristics of my new countrymen, in order to show him that the Cabinet of St. James would never be able to accommodate for purpose, he answered me: "Yes, I believe that the Americans must help themselves, since it is impossible to trust the French." However, the Queen of France was his sister, he could not hide his esteem for the Bourbons and I have reason to suppose that he showed this hatred even in his private life, from this occurrence which I tell you. When the news of the victory of Admiral Rodney over the Count de Grasse was received in Florence, I happened to be going by the road of Pisa, the Prince of Piombino and I met, before the house of Mr. Mann, the prince, Francis, [later Emperor Francis II of Austria] On seeing Mr. Mann at the window, he stopped to felicitate him, but with such expressions that he could not have done as if it had not been prompted by his father. Among other absurdities, he said (alluding, without doubt, to the title of the Count de Grasse) that Rodney "Tavali degraded."

On another occasion, Leopold, speaking about the War between England and France, told me, "I do not think in my House will enter the war; but if we should, I think that we will act, rather than part, because we are not content with the behavior of France, particularly on account of that Bavarian affair."

The Emperor coveted Bavaria, but the Great Elector did not want to accept Flanders in exchange, which Joseph tried to force him to take; and Frederick the Great ridiculed him, saying that in a battle he had interfered with plans while in the middle of his cavalry. Hence, according to the code of the Austrian House, France must help the Elector in the dispute—Note of the Author.

Again, when he told me that the independence of the Colonies had been recognized by France, and I reminded him that Holland, also, had recognized it, he replied, "The Netherlands exists only by a hair, and therefore it does not stand to lose it."

I discovered then, the existence of a league to submit Holland to the South-Jurisdiction, in order to divide it. Feeling it my duty to report at once to the Count of Vergennes what I had learned, I went to M. Billerey, chargé d'affaires of France, and after dictating what he should write, I added that "if the Count of Vergennes thought it necessary to mention who had given the news, he might say that it was written in a letter of mine addressed to the Government of Virginia, because the person who gave me the information was not ignorant of the fact that it was my strict duty to tell my Government of such an important thing, relating to an ally of ours."
In regard to the offer of five million francs, which the other two bankers made to me, I said to them (and to the Vanstoffpers) that I was not well enough acquainted with the conditions of the State of Virginia at that time, and desiring to know it better myself first, I determined to suspend negotiations. Because it was possible that no more money was needed just then, furthermore, the amount authorized in my instructions was double that offered.

The brothers Vanstoffpers only wanted to make themselves known to me, and to have some gentlemen correspondents in my adopted country. The two brothers enjoyed great credit on account of the immense capital they possessed, and also because of their ability. They were esteemed for their prudence and discernment, and they were loved for their goodness and human-kindness. Jacob had a personality that unlooked one's heart.

The Countess Mariana Avversini had sent me her regards for Mr. Rendhorst, a very erudite and very pleasing man who had traveled throughout Europe, who had been Governor of Saluzzo, and who was greatly honored in his country. The Stadtholder wanted him to live at The Hague, but he went there rarely, and then only for a brief sojourn. Mr. Rendhorst introduced me to Madame Bout, whose son was the most frequented in the city. There I made so many acquaintances in the two months I stayed in Amsterdam. Things would not, from the first day of my arrival, have once at my lodgings.

When I was leaving, Jacob Vanstoffpers presented me with one of the letters that I was holding for a Mr. Rott, a Dutch banker living in Paris, and who was a representative of the Bank of France, which he had given to me as a means of communicating with my brother in Paris, and I apologized for not being able to present it.

After Amsterdam, I visited The Hague, Rotterdam, and Batavia, in order to please the Duc de la Vauguyon, ambassador of France, who had been very much interested in American affairs with Mr. John Adams, living in Paris (as well as in his representation of the American Colonies, to sign the preliminaries of peace with England), wished to speak with me of these matters. He showed me much courtesy that I had to accept.

I wanted to remain longer at Loden, where I saw my friend, M. J. Lesser, editor and writer of THE GAZETTE, and professor of Greek and of History at that University.

Leaving my friend Lesser, I crossed the two Flanders, I stopped for a day in Brussels, a day in Lille, and I arrived in Paris two or three days after the signing of the preliminaries of the peace between the United States and England.

After I had talked with each of the Ministers and learned the state of the situation in Europe and in America, I wrote the Grand Duke of Hesse on 16th, 1780. I did not dare to tell the Duke of Hesse in any letter, in the expectation of producing any effect, but rather to give want to my feelings toward him for his inability to trust me, and he answered me he had not been out for his own business to travel in Tuscany, perfectly and universally, the succession of the throne of the House of Austria.
because I was obliged to maintain a close friendship with Marmontel; the Due de la Rochefoucauld; his mother, the Duchesse d’Enville; Condorcet; Lavolier; the Count of Aranda, and various others.

Later, I was obliged to go to Versailles to maintain the good-will of the Minister and the friendship of M. Henner, whose influence on foreign affairs was great because he was much esteemed and loved by the King and by the Ministers.

During this time, I was torn by two opposite desires—I wanted to be, at the same time, in Virginia and in Paris. I knew that my wife had been in Paris and had left after a few days. I supposed that she was with her sister at Calbe, where I went her with my step-daughter before my trip to Italy. But I received a letter from the Count de Jaucourt, who invited me to pass some time in the country with his family at Tourouvre, because my wife was there visiting her daughter and her son-in-law.

Before returning to my adopted country, I had decided to see the cause of Languedoc, not only to satisfy my curiosity, but also to acquire some useful knowledge, in case it were necessary to build canals in Virginia. So I accepted his invitation which took me to the region I wanted to view.

I was preparing to leave when I received a letter from M. Gerard, brother of M. de Henner, who had just returned from America where he had been sent as Minister to the Republic of the United States. He informed me that our independence had been recognized by France. Both he and his brother were talented men, and both were creatures of the Count of Vergelesses.

He asked me for an appointment, desiring to know the most convenient day and hour for receiving him, in order to be sure of finding me at home when he called.

Before leaving, I went to seek with the Due de Vauquaillot. He told me that M. Gerard, as soon as he had recounted his mission in America, had gone to Metz, his native town, but that the Count of Vergelesses had received him at Versailles, asking him to speak with me about affairs in America, on which subject, afterwards, he wanted to speak with both of us. I agreed to go immediately to take his answer to him. M. Gerard was very much pleased, and he showed me my pamphlet which the Count of Vergelesses had given him to discuss with me; and he said that it was not more nor less than what we could and had to say. Notwithstanding this, we passed two days together, commenting on all the points, in order to show the results to the Minister, who was thoroughly satisfied and pleased.

I wanted to leave in five or six days, but I was obliged to remain longer because I had to tell many persons of good-ling and also because a very unpleasant incident happened to me.

In Paris, as in other cities where I was in the company of my friends in the daytime, but in the early evening I returned to my hotel. I retired the fire and went to bed about nine o’clock, getting up at four o’clock in the morning. At day-break, the porter of the Hotel used to come to my room to make up my bed and to do whatever else was necessary.

One evening, I remained up for a longer time than usual, writing a letter to send to the Government of Virginia; and so I went to bed very late. The following morning, I woke up late. I saw that the door was open. I turned to look at my watch, but it was not hanging on the wall. Thinking I might have left it in my pant’s pocket, I got up to look at it; but I did not find my pant’s there. I went downstairs in order to find the servant, but I discovered that the door of his room was closed and that the entrance to the hotel was open. I called the hotel-keeper, who, after being assured that the servant was not in the hotel, went to inform the chief of police. They made all possible search, but the servant was not found.

In my pant’s, there were the sum of twenty-five livres, some silver coins, and the keys of my trunk and of my chimney. I was obliged to send for a locksmith to take out all the locks and to put on new ones. This incident was irritating because it delayed my departure, especially since I had difficulty in finding another watch as good as mine, which was one of the best made in London.

I was obliged to go to the Barthier Bust to borrow one hundred louis to the order of the Brothers Vaut/inet, Jacques and Nicholas, from whom I had letters of credit; but he personally offered it to me, saying that he wanted to give me them on his own account. He had showed me so many courtesies that I could not refuse the offer, as I wrote to my friends in Amsterdam.

When I was ready, I went to Lyon. From there to Montpellier, whose location I enjoyed so very much. The following morning, I went out on the square, where one can see from the same place the Pyrenees and the Alps. From there I went to embark on the canal, which I observed with much satisfaction, admiring its beauty and its usefulness until I arrived at Toulouse.

As the time approached for the sailing of the ship on which I had secured a place to return to my native land, I went to Nantes, where I passed some days with my dear friend Lynch. Later, I went down the Loire, entered my ship, and arrived in Virginia in November, 1783.

As soon as I landed at Hampton, I found out that Jefferson had gone to Europe, where he was to stay for France as Minister Plenipotentiary instead of Franklin, who desired to end his days in this country. He had written me a letter before he left, so I wrote immediately to the Due de la Rochefoucauld, to Condorcet, to the Due de Vauquaillot, and to other persons, telling them that although they had lost in Franklin one of the greatest minds in the world, they would soon be compensated in his successor. Jefferson got my letters in time, and in his answer he informed me that I would find in his house everything I might need, commenting on all the points, in order to show the results to the Minister, who was thoroughly satisfied and pleased.

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WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY

distance, discussing that subject. He approved my plan, which I explained to him, of changing the opinions of our great orator.

On the fifth day, I arrived at Patrick Henry’s place at dusk. But although he was not at home then, I was received by a lady whom I did not know, and who told me that he would return shortly. Seeing him coming, I went to meet him, and having embraced him, I asked him who he was the lady I had seen. “The mistress of the house,” he said. Then he told me of the loss of his first wife—that he was obliged to give up everything that recalled her memory, and that two years afterwards he remarried. That evening, we spoke only of my mission and about what happened to me after my separation. The following morning, at dawn, I took a walk about the place. I found the overcast sky, and as I knew that in that part of the country there had been no devastation caused by the war, I spoke of the good fortune, and I made some observations on the appearance of the English in other parts. “They will regret it,” he said, “for not only did they experience the exodus from entering the United States, but also their debt will not be paid, and the money owed will be distributed to those who have suffered.” To which I replied, “My good man, you must not mix the innocent with the guilty. The creditors are merchants and manufacturers who not only did not damage you, but who, by their petition to the King and to Parliament, have continuously defended your cause and have tried to stem the war.” From his aspect and his silence, I saw that he pondered what I said. I shook hands with him, and went away. While Patrick Henry and I were taking our meal, I spoke about my work, of what I had seen, of my conversations with the overlord; and I made some remarks hinting that good practices are one of the most solid bases of liberty. Then I thought it was not opportune to press this topic further, so I spoke only of the remembrance due me by the Government.

Madison had made another copy of my report. I gave it to Patrick Henry to read. In exchange, he gave me a letter for the then Governor. In this letter, he said that he could not form any judgment of my conduct or of my correspondence, because his terms as Governor had expired immediately after my leaving in June, 1779; but he had kept what Mr. John Adams wrote about me from Paris (June 23, 1783), in a letter that he gave me when I left for America. In one paragraph, he said, “Mr. Mazel has uniformly discovered in Europe an attachment and zeal for the American honor and interest which would have become any native of our country. I wish upon his return he may find an agreeable reception.”

In Virginia, differences of opinion did not breed friendships. I well knew the character, talent, and patriotism of Mr. John Adams. But, in turn, had conceived a favorable opinion of me, as I heard in Congress from the Virginia delegation there.

In Paris, he was told that in Europe the Constitution of the United States was bitterly criticized. In order to defend it, he wrote three thick volumes that he called *Apologetics*; but instead of an apology, he wrote, no doubt unintentionally, of course, a satire.

During the last three months of my stay in Paris, I often visited Mr. Adams. We took long walks in the Champs Élysées, and we always disputed certain questions about which I thought he held erroneous ideas. When I was ready to leave, I said to him, “I hope we shall see each other in America, perhaps in Boston; and wherever
it may be, it will always be my duty to come to see you in order to combat your principles, which would produce as bad an effect on the country in proportion to the greatness of your merits. You have the advantage over me of being eloquent in a language that you know better than I; but I have the advantage of reason.

You have seen in what manner he spoke about me in his letter to Patrick Henry, after I had made this statement; and he wrote much more in my favor in other letters that he wanted to give me for his friends in Boston, saying that when one travels on the sea, one does not know where one will arrive, and it was possible that I might land in that region; hence, he wanted his friends to know me.

In the letter from Patrick Henry to the then Governor, he named the Virginians who had composed the Council in his day; but not remembering well what they had done on that at that time, he suggested that I see Mason, Page, Digges, Madison, Jamieson, and he was in doubt whether there was also Mr. Prentiss in the Council.

I returned to Madison, who heard with great pleasure the version of Patrick Henry in the matter of the payment of debts. I went afterwards to Page, Digges, and Jamieson, but not to Prentiss, because I was assured that he had been a member of the Council. I found out from the testimony of the others that Jamieson was a member of that Council, but that he was not present at the meeting on the account of an unfortunate event—his wife had just died.

I took to the Governor the letter of Patrick Henry, the certificates of Madison, Page, and Digges; and the depositions of Jamieson. The Governor called a meeting of the Council on June 10, 1781, and they decided to give me six hundred pounds a year from January 1, 1784, to April 1, 1784, with a view of the following resolution signed by Secretary Blair: "That in all that time Mr. Mason has conducted the state business, asking him to lend Darien the necessary furniture, and also to help him in purchasing any, if those lent were not sufficient.

When Darien was located in my house at Colle, he came to see me. I showed him that he owed me one hundred and thirty pounds sterling, and I gave him one hundred and seventy more. I had him promise that he would repay, without interest, the three hundred pounds sterling when he was able to do so. I advised him in the best manner possible what to do in order to support his family—that is to say, that by not paying rent on my estate he could cultivate my land to his profit along with his other business. From that time on, thank goodness that Darien had a large family and was very poor, I burned the note.

The State of Virginia did not need any more loans from Europe, but economic conditions were very unstable because of the abundance of paper money. This made it extremely difficult to explain through letters to the European securities that business transactions with American customers was safe. My desire to help my countrymen, and at the same time to help my European friends—first the brothers Vansant, then the nobleman who had been my friend, Jefferson; and no longer having my house at my disposal, persuaded me to cross the ocean again. Montecello was a sad place for me, because I often remembered the angelic deceased wife of Jefferson. She vividly remembered that house. When Jefferson was Governor of Virginia, in the second year of the independence, he went for a few days to Monticello. While he was there, a raid by the British obliged him to flee. In so doing, he fell from his horse, breaking his arm; and his wife was so frightened that she died as a result of the incident. That terrible misfortune induced him to accept the place of Minister to France, where he took his thirteen-year-old daughter, educating her in the best institutions. The other daughter, three years old, was left with his sister-in-law, Miss Eppes.
While I was preparing for my journey to Europe, a shipmaster came with joyful confidence to tell me that he had landed his wife and two children at Hampton, and that he asked me to pay her fare because he had to continue his trip. My friends did not want me to pay, but I felt that the captain, who had known me by reputation, had belatedly been disposed to give me a great deal of help in starting my voyage. I asked him how much I owed him, and he told me to pay what I thought just. I insisted that he specify the amount, and he was very modest in his request.

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His wife gave him some trouble, but last she went to live with her daughter, Mrs. Daviex. Two years later, she died, as Mazzini heard in Paris in a letter from Mr. John Blair Jr.—Note of the translator.

Our Government, although organized in haste and in troubous times, was better than any other, old or new; but we knew before long that it could be made better. During my stay in Virginia, we agreed to wait until someone of us could conveniently devote his time to improving it.

After my arrival from Europe, while Jefferson was in Boston getting ready to leave, I discovered that Mr. Franklin and the other representatives had made a motion to amend the law, which was received by Mr. Jefferson. I am occupied with the organization of society in the State of the Constitution, to discuss before-hand privately everything that would probably be discussed and decided in the Assembly.

They wanted to elect me President, but I refused because of my intention to return to Europe after my stay with the Government, and nominated Mr. John Blair. He was elected unanimously.

We met several times in Williamsburg at the house of the President. I had reserved my place on a twenty-two gun French vessel which was to sail for France from New York in about two months. Having sailed from France, I wanted to visit some friends in the northern part of Virginia, because I had already visited those in the southern part. So, the first day, I came in a small vessel and called on Mr. John Page. He was very good, because his goodness was proverbial. He was a great mathematician, and had been well-versed in sciences. Everybody loved and esteemed him; and he was so obliging to persons that he often neglected his family and himself. When a representative from the County was to be elected, Mr. John Page did not care to be a delegate, because he had more business than he could attend to. People said, "If he neglects his own business, he will not look after it.

He was a college-professor of mathematics, and loved one another dearly.

The following day, I visited his brother, Mr. Mann Page, on the Rapidan River, where his brother-in-law came to see me. We dined together, and we spoke about the danger of being captured, especially on the hills. In my last stay in Virginia, I told Jefferson of the dangers of the war, and he suggested a special law, after which I gave him a report on the navigability of the four principal rivers of Virginia. Jefferson agreed with me that the law was useful, but it was expounded to him.
On the evening of June 16, 1785, I went aboard the vessel because the captain, having heard that I wanted to sail early the following morning. In less than three hours, we lost sight of land, and the captain called everybody to breakfast. There were twenty-three of us, of whom seventeen were passengers, and six were officers, with the captain.

On July 9, we arrived at Lorient. On the following day, I went to Vannes, instead of going directly to Paris, because I wanted to see again my good friend Lynch.

Arriving at Paris, I lodged in the Hotel des Colonies, Rue des Pronaires, taking the same room as before. Then, I went as usual to the Café de la Régence; but to see Jefferson, who lived in a beautiful villa with a charming garden, at the end of the Champs Elysées, while the inhabitants of the city wall passed on going to Versailles. I took an enjoyable and interesting walk, arriving about an hour before dinner. I had informed my host of my arrival at Lorient, as soon as I landed; and I wrote to him from Nantes, also. So he expected me daily. Nevertheless, our meeting was moving to both. We had many things to say, and we had a great deal of time at our disposal, for on that day no one came to dine with him, and his secretary, Mr. Short, was at dinner with the Countess de Fetz, cousin of the Marquis de la Fayette. After discussing public matters, we spoke about our affairs. I found out, then, that when I sent him my letters from France, I had forgotten to send one for M. de Marmontel, and we agreed to visit him the next day.

On the following morning, Jefferson and I went to Marmontel's house. We found him outside. He wanted us to go inside with him, and though Jefferson had to pay several calls at the same morning, nevertheless our conversation lasted for two hours. They had much to say, and more to ask Jefferson, among other things, and that he did not understand why the diplomats of the European powers inside a mystery of things entirely unimportant. Marmontel answered him, "It is true, they have always a lock on their mouth; but if you take off the lock, you will see that the handbag is empty.

When we were ready to leave, there arrived the Abbot Morellet, maternal uncle of Marmontel, and the greatest French logician, who lived in the same house. So, we remained for another half hour. From there, we went to Lavater's, to Cordier's, to the Rue de la Rochefoucauld's, and finally home, where, having only Mr. Short at dinner, we spoke about the affairs of our country.

Jefferson was greatly pleased when I told him of my conversation with Patrick Henry and of the manner in which I spoke of the new republic in America.

On the evening of June 16, 1785, I went aboard the vessel because the captain, having heard that I wanted to sail early the following morning. In less than three hours, we lost sight of land, and the captain called everybody to breakfast. There were twenty-three of us, of whom seventeen were passengers, and six were officers, with the captain.

On July 9, we arrived at Lorient. On the following day, I went to Vannes, instead of going directly to Paris, because I wanted to see again my good friend Lynch.

Arriving at Paris, I lodged in the Hotel des Colonies, Rue des Pronaires, taking the same room as before. Then, I went as usual to the Café de la Régence; but to see Jefferson, who lived in a beautiful villa with a charming garden, at the end of the Champs Elysées, while the inhabitants of the city wall passed on going to Versailles. I took an enjoyable and interesting walk, arriving about an hour before dinner. I had informed my host of my arrival at Lorient, as soon as I landed; and I wrote to him from Nantes, also. So he expected me daily. Nevertheless, our meeting was moving to both. We had many things to say, and we had a great deal of time at our disposal, for on that day no one came to dine with him, and his secretary, Mr. Short, was at dinner with the Countess de Fetz, cousin of the Marquis de la Fayette. After discussing public matters, we spoke about our affairs. I found out, then, that when I sent him my letters from France, I had forgotten to send one for M. de Marmontel, and we agreed to visit him the next day.

On the following morning, Jefferson and I went to Marmontel's house. We found him outside. He wanted us to go inside with him, and though Jefferson had to pay several calls at the same morning, nevertheless our conversation lasted for two hours. They had much to say, and more to ask Jefferson, among other things, and that he did not understand why the diplomats of the European powers inside a mystery of things entirely unimportant. Marmontel answered him, "It is true, they have always a lock on their mouth; but if you take off the lock, you will see that the handbag is empty.

When we were ready to leave, there arrived the Abbot Morellet, maternal uncle of Marmontel, and the greatest French logician, who lived in the same house. So, we remained for another half hour. From there, we went to Lavater's, to Cordier's, to the Rue de la Rochefoucauld's, and finally home, where, having only Mr. Short at dinner, we spoke about the affairs of our country.

Jefferson was greatly pleased when I told him of my conversation with Patrick Henry and of the manner in which I spoke of the new republic in America.
WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY

16

When I came back to Paris, I undertook seriously to demonstrate the falsity of the observations of Mahly, and in order to render my writing less dry, I added some notes for the purpose of informing Europeans about that side of the United States which they could not otherwise know.

The Abbé Morrell approved my work, but he said that it was not a simple refutation, because I added things which had no relation to it. For myself, I thought it was not a bad thing to offer the reader more than he expected; but Morrell was of the contrary opinion.

When I was in Virginia, I heard of a book by the Abbé Reynal. It made a great noise, especially because of the prepossession title, A PHILOSOPHICAL HISTORY OF THE TWO INDIAN. After my arrival in Paris, I sent the author casually, and he spoke to me about a new enlarged edition that was being printed in Geneva, and he was seeking subscribers for one and one-half leva. I subscribed, and on my return I found the work in the hands of one of my friends. I had not time to read all the seven volumes, so I restricted myself to reading only what he said about North America, and I observed that not only was it misleading from beginning to end, but I noticed also that in speaking of the different tribes, the colonies and England, and of the war between them, he did not err solely from ignorance. I wanted to express to him my intention to write a book relating to the Abbots and giving the truth about the Revolution.

I consulted about this work with Jefferson, and he approved it. When I finished my writing, Jefferson, Short, and the others went to Rocheguyan, a beautiful villa belonging to the Duchesse d'Épernon, on the border of Normandy, where I found many gentlemen whom we had met in Paris at the Hotel de la Rochefoucauld. After my description of the organization of the American Republic, many of them desired one to write a complete and impartial description of that interesting country, because none of those who had previously written had the truth. The Duchesse de la Rochefoucauld and her husband, among the most intimate of whom was the Marquis de Condorcet, decreed this work was to be undertaken more than any others. The Duchesse had spoken to Jefferson several times about having this done, and Jefferson said that he was able to answer all of his questions, provided they were restricted to the State of Virginia, only.

This was the truth, and it was the only reason why Jefferson wrote those NOTES ON VIRGINIA that afterwards were translated into French and published by the Abbé Morrell. The Abbé Morrell printed one hundred and fifty copies in England to present them to his friends. I received and kept a copy.

The Abbé Morrell wanted a map of Virginia to add to his translation. Jefferson had never made one, and he had never even seen his father make one. As he had great manual skill and a thorough knowledge of the State, he tried, and he succeeded marvellously well. He was successful, in fact, in everything he tried to do. For example, he took to Paris a pharisaic made by Negro slaves under his direction, and it was considered by French experts to be superior to any they had seen, so far as beauty, lightness and strength were concerned. Again, in order to save himself from a fall while walking in

the Champs Elysées in Paris, he broke the wrist of his right arm, and was never able afterwards to use it, in three months he was writing with his left hand, and his characters were not noticeably different from those written with his right hand.

Condorcet was of the opinion that my answer should be published, and he advised me to write another work to give a clear idea of Virginia and its historical development, as well as of the Revolution, with a direct reply to the two Abbots. In this case, the work would show their error without attacking their characters.

I agreed, and I began my writing among the small woods. In the chaos, I found a large library and every comfort. My book, in three volumes, was entitled, RECHERCHES HISTORIQUES ET POLITIQUES SUR LES ETATS UNIS DE L'AMERIQUE SEPENTRIONAL.

In four weeks, I had finished the first part of it, as soon as I had arrived in Virginia, in 1723, I began to inform myself about its history, from the time of the first settlement, so that my memory was then very fresh. When I was in doubt about the dates, I wrote to my old friends in England, and they had the patience to make researches in the archives and to send me the information desired.

In my hotel, there lived a certain M. Farey, a young Norman who spoke Italian very well, besides English, Spanish, German, and French. Knowing that I was publishing my book in French, he asked my permission to translate it, giving the reason that it would be an easy opportunity for him to improve his Italian.

He began the translation with great ease, and when I was not satisfied, I asked him to revise it. Despite this work, I did not abandon my plan. The Marquis de Condorcet was not satisfied with the translation of M. Farey, and he wanted her husband to help her to revise it. Condorcet was very busy, yet he was unable to deny any request made by his wife. I had already written about three-fourths of my work, so I could not object. One day, I left a part of my manuscript in her hands, and the chapter about the Society of the Cinematique, which was translated by a friend of mine, was published in the Monthly Magazine of the society, in which the husband translated the style of a sensitive soul, and in the other, that of the geometrical.

One evening, speaking about my book, of which the last sheet had been printed, Gallièse proposed that, when it was finished, we should all dine together and drink a toast to the success of the work.

On the evening preceding its completion, a courier brought a note to my house, addressed "From the Other World, January 24, 1728," and signed "The Abbé de Mahly" (who had died some time before). It was written in an unrecognized handwriting, but I could detect the style of Gallièse. I answered, addressing it to "The revered Abbé Mahly, in the Other World.

Just as we dined, I observed that the guests watched me closely, and that they strove hard to keep from laughing. I pretended not to notice it. When we finished the dinner, I got up and feigned to have forgot something. I said, "By the way, can you possibly imagine
that the Abbe Mably would have the hardihood to write me a letter of reproof from the Other World? Yes, I answered him, as he deserved. Gallois, if you will please read the letter of Abbot de Mably, I will read later my answer.

While Gallois read the letter, everyone, including myself, laughed. In turn, Gallois laughed when I read my answer; but not when I critized his work, at which he seemed to me to be chagrined, without good reason.

These two letters amused all my friends, and Marmontel and Condorcet more than the others; but the wife of the latter believed that the expressions of Gallois were too strong, so that she could not persuade herself that he was a friend.

* * * * * *

Not long after the publication of my book, there came from Landau, a Swiss named Villain, who had been for twenty-two years the private secretary of the King of Poland. He was very friendly with Priestley. When he heard that the Prince Lobkowitz, cousin of the King of Poland, who was called the Marshal, was in Paris, he went to call on him.

The King had written to him that he was not satisfied with his agent in Paris; that conditions demanded an intelligent, attentive, active, gentleman in that city; and Glaire promised him that he would go at once to Paris in order to secure a suitable person. Two gentlemen were recommended to him, but he did not like either of them; and having made acquaintance through the Abbe Piatelli, he asked me if I would accept that place.

The Abbe Piatelli assured me that it was all right. So I asked him to come with me to Jefferson, feeling that to serve a king would prejudice me in the opinion of my countrymen. But Jefferson assured me of the contrary, saying that the King of Poland was better known in America than in Europe, because he was at that time of a Republic, and was not a despot; and that he was considered the best citizen of his country.
I never knew anyone in Virginia who could not read or write. Even in the houses of those who work the land with their own hands, or who engage in any of the mechanical arts, there are books; an inkstand and writing-paper; and it is rare that they do not know arithmetic. Education causes them to respect those who are better educated, and they think it their right to consult them when in doubt, particularly in matters of public welfare.

The absence of Mr. Jefferson and of a certain Mr. Harvey, who lived about the same distance from my house, made most of them come to me.

Another fact which contributed to give them a highly favorable opinion of me was this: about three months after my arrival, some men went to Jefferson to ask for information about me. He told them, "As to my character, I can speak for him; and as to the rest, I can say, that his presence is most useful to me." If he referred to the useful knowledge of England that I had, he did not miss the truth; for people used to come to consult me from every part of the county, which was about one hundred and sixty miles in circumference.

One morning as I stood outside the door of my house, about a dozen persons came up and congratulated me on arriving in the gate of my garden. They attested their intelligence to me that they had come to hear the true state of our affairs; and since I had an education which they could not have, it was only just that I instruct them.

"You do not know us, but we know you." Then he asked for a half-hour or so of my time, if my business permitted. I invited them to come indoors. After they had sat down, they told me that they had come to learn the true state of our affairs; and since I had an education which they could not have, it was only just that I instruct them.
them, as it was their duty to communicate to their neighbors what they learned. They were all Presbytery men.

When they were satisfied with what I had told them, they asked me if I had intended to present myself as a candidate for the office of Representative from the County. "No, certainly," I answered; "for there are not lacking in the County more able persons than I." But they would not hear me, saying that John Hodgerson and another (whose name I do not remember) were persons of good judgment, and that after all, Jefferson was the best man in the County.

They insisted that I announce myself as disposed to serve the County, adding, "It is possible that you will not be elected the first time, for everyone doesn’t know you as we know you. Some have said, ‘He has been in England for a long time, and it may be that if he is in league with the English ministry, since he is more talented, he may do us more harm.’ Others believe that you have the intention of introducing Catholicism among us, and that for this reason you have spoken and written so well that all sects are equal. These doubts might be the reason why you could not be elected the first time; but you must present yourself a second time in order to show that you are [1]."

The Assembly of Virginia had elected from among its members five lawyers, some of whom were philosophers, to examine all the existing codes, and to adopt the best wherever found, in order to form the most perfect government possible; and the plan formulated was to be given to the Assembly for consideration and approval.

Because I had made some reflections on that subject from my youth, and had discussed it in England with first-rate lawyers such as Dr. Sharp, Jefferson sent me anything about which he wanted my opinion. Of all that he sent me, I had nothing to remark on, excepting one matter pertaining to religion; but he pointed out that he had set it out in a harmless manner, and that he was afraid of playing with lightning.

Four of the members were always in agreement; but Mr. Edmund Pendleton, a greater lover of legal matters than of philosophy, was often a dissentier, especially on the articles about religion and about inheritance. In regard to the latter, after deploiring his failure to succeed, he proposed the right of the first son to inherit a part of the estate equal to twice that of any of the others, at least, saying that Nature had demonstrated it. "If Nature has demonstrated it," answer ed Jefferson, "I do not oppose it. If the first-born eats double, drinks double, works double, and the body does double, it is right that he should have double."

The way put his thumb to his nose; but the proposed code was approved in toto by the Representatives.

The one article about religion gave much trouble because the followers of the Anglican sect were more numerous than those of all the other sects in the State. The act could not suffer to be on terms of equality with the others, and to be reduced to live on the voluntary contributions of their followers after being maintained by the State.

This was foreseen; and several persons who were not prejudiced by a religion inherited from their parents, attempted to enlighten the people on such a matter of importance in his own Country. For my part, I acted as did the others. Besides not failing to speak before meetings of people on every occasion and in private conversations, every Sunday I went to a church of one sect or another, and either before or after the sermon of the minister, I made a speech attempting to show the justice of equality and the advantages which resulted from its destruction of jealousy.

Although I had not intended to visit the Anglican churches, friends in my Vicinities begged me to do so. I went, and I was received much more cordially than I had anticipated.

Then I learned that the inventors of the rumor that I wished to introduce Catholicism, and that I was probably in correspondence with the Ministers of England, were that protector of the legal rights of the eldest son and that advocate of the supremacy of the Anglican Church, and the rector of my parish. Each of them had his motive. Equality in religious matters reduced the rector to living on the voluntary contributions of those of his sect. As for the lawyer, I described him so clearly in one of my papers that nobody could mistake him. When Jefferson read the description, he said, "Pendleton will recognize his cap." And I added, "If it fits him, let him wear it." I felt it my duty to strip off his mask, for his doctrines could have undermined us. In every circumstance, he recommended "moderation," so that if he had been able to influence the opinion of the people the English could have conquered us without opposition. Men of clear vision called him "Moderation," instead of Pendleton.

Besides enlightening the people on the advantages of the good laws which were passed, it was necessary to deal with another subject. I was told that a Methodist minister, recently arrived from England, preached on Sunday afternoons in our County, and that he attracted many people. The Methodist ministers in England were then called, and probably are yet, the "Jesuits of the Protestants." I already knew that many of them had come to the other American colonies. I knew that Lord Dartmouth was an intimate friend of the leader of the sect, and that he had been made Secretary of State. This made me suspicious, and I talked with a neighbor of mine, Bennett Henderson, whose wife was the sister of Jefferson, and who was the younger brother of that John Henderson I have mentioned before.

We agreed to go with two other friends to hear the new preacher. When we arrived, he had already talked of the danger of losing one's soul and by sudden death, and he was then speaking of the greatness of that danger in time of war, reminding mothers and fathers of their obligations toward their sons to remove that peril.

We saw clearly the purpose of his argument. Hardly had he left his post when I went to him and told him that I had listened to his evangelical doctrine, and that I hoped he would deign to hear mine. He showed without answering that he wished to leave; but my friends told him in an emphatic manner to remain.

I began to place before the congregation the intentions of the English Government, made evident and unequivocal by the blockade of ports, the resort of arms in the vicinity of that city, the conduct of our Governor, the landing of the English troops at Hampton, and so on.

I told of Lord Dartmouth, made Secretary of State because of his close friendship with the head of the Methodists, in order to send his preachers to the Colonies to preach the doctrine that we had just heard from that minister, and that soon they would place the rode on our neck without opposition from us; but, looking toward him, I predicted that he would make the voyage in vain. He next waxed confused, without opening his mouth; but we remained unable to talk with the people on that subject. When I arrived at home, I made a
Mr. George Mason said much more; and he showed the necessity of educating them before taking such a step, teaching them to make good use of their freedom. "Each one of us knows," he said, "that the negroes consider the work as punishment." He also assured us that if they were not educated before being freed, the first use they would make of their liberty would be looting, and hence they would become thieves out of necessity.

All were persuaded—Jefferson from the first—of the soundness of the reasons advanced by Mr. Mason and by me. We decided to postpone action on the two laws mentioned above, and to talk around that another would be drawn up, obliging masters to send their negro boys to the public schools of each County, in order to teach them reading, writing, arithmetic, and how to make good use of the freedom which the masters would give to all those who behaved in a manner meriting it.

These two laws were approved as soon as they were proposed. When they were understood, they were adopted by all the other States.

As for the other laws which were to be considered, circumstances kept me from knowing what occurred. But I do know this, that the number of negroes freed by their masters increased daily.

At that time, General Washington was obliged to withdraw his troops from Long Island, for he hadn't even a shutdown of war and the English were masters of the sea; and on the following day, and crossing the State of New Jersey and the Delaware River, he retired into Pennsylvania.

The English had the good fortune of having a gauntlet printed in New York. By means of their sympathies, they distributed it over all the colonies, boasting about the number of their forces, and the English were masters of the sea; and on the following day, and crossing the State of New Jersey and the Delaware River, he retired into Pennsylvania.

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When I returned to Williamsburg, everything was fixed and in readiness—the commission and the instructions, to which I had added the obligation of talking matters over with Dr. Franklin, in order to use his information and advice. Congress had previously determined to send him to France. The Assembly had adjourned its session, and Jefferson had gone to the seat of his properties about three miles off the main highway. For this reason, I did not find him. I then went to the Governor, as I had already prepared everything. I dined with him, and after dinner he called a meeting of the right counselors, the last and the youngest of whom was James Madison whom I have already said is now the President of the United States. The Governor gave them to read to us, afterwards taking them back and giving them to me, asking if I believed that one thousand pounds sterling would be enough for my expenses. I answered that I thought that much would be necessary for the first year, and I told him who; but if I should remain more than a year, six hundred would be sufficient, as we would be more exceted—though not unlimited—by showing a decent republican economy.

Even from the beginning I had thought that if Congress should want to send someone to Europe, especially to France, and to all the members of the Virginia Assembly I had always tried to show this—they should see that Dr. Franklin would be sent, for, being immensely esteemed by all the scientists of Europe, particularly by the greatest celebrities of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, he would enjoy more confidence than any other American who was then only known by name. I was still in Williamsburg when the news came of the capture of General Burgoyne with all his British army at Saratoga. A part of the prisoners was kept in Massachusetts, and the rest was sent to Virginia with two Generals—Phillips, an Englishman, and Riedeau, a German. On the following day, while I was in the Council discussing things relative to my mission, a soldier from Illinois arrived with a letter from Colonel Clark, informing the government that he had re-taken the fort he had built, and had taken prisoner General Hamilton, with all his garrison. They had come from Detroit, where Hamilton was Governor, and had taken possession of the fort during Clark’s absence. The messenger told us that Hamilton must be near the boundaries of our State. Whoever wishes to be informed of the astonishing feat of Colonel Clark can read it in page 107 of the second part of my correspondence-politique sur les Etats-Unis de l’Amérique Septentrionale.

The taking of the fort was some importance, but the capture of Burgoyne and his army was of greater importance. I then returned to Colle very happy. In all the places where I usually stopped, I found a letter from the Governor, telling me that he had received my house to four young officers among the prisoners—one a German, and the other Englishman. I was so happy I would not rent it to anyone else, for he knew that I had been asked.

Now, I must talk to you about my wife. I had not been mistaken in the judgment I had formed of her character and temperamento. My good friend Adams was very charming, and I, so that, on account of the delicacy of the situation, I did not talk to him on the matter. But he, having been told the true state of affairs by Belloni, as well as having had some indications beforehand, talked seriously to her; and he had clear proof of her nature when she turned on him with surprising audacity and secured him of partiality for me. He talked about

it with Jefferson, and he learned that not only he himself, but his wife also, had known her well while she stayed at their house.

As it was against the character of a husband in that country to be lacking in politeness towards his wife, and as he was of such a manner that I was known for what she was, I compensated myself in such a manner that I was believed to be in love. This caused her to be well-treated, apparently, by the ladies, although they did not like her manners. But she, on the contrary, mentioned that it was I who was not liked, and that they consulted me on her account. We then agreed that I should take her to Europe with me and send her to Calais to her older sister, to whom I would send money for her maintenance.

For this reason, Jefferson had rented my house to the four young captured officers; and he would have been sorry if I had engaged it to someone else, because the German officer, besides being a young and innocent young man, played the violin and was a violinist passably. I found him an interesting person to live next. I had just arrived at Colle when General Riedeau came to see me about renting my house during my absence, for he had heard that my business demanded my going to Europe to remain for some time. He was quite downcast when I told him it was already engaged. He wanted me to break the contract, saying that the young officers could very well arrange themselves elsewhere, while he, in addition to his advanced age and to being obliged to remain near his troops who were quartered in the neighborhood, waited that very night for the arrival of his wife and two young girls, and he did not have a home in which to place them. "Such being the case," I said, "Mr. Riedeau may have my own room also for the time that I remain here, but after my departure, I am no more an owner. He was very appreciative. I saw his gratitude engraved on his face as he repeated what I had said to an officer with him, as I divided, for I did not understand the German language. The General spoke French very well, although his wife spoke it only fairly so.

I decided to sell at auction everything except my real estate. I required three days to make an inventory, and even if they would not have been sufficient of the General had not asked me to sell him, at a price to be estimated by a third party, the vegetables in my garden, the chickens in the coops, and other things as he had to buy, together with some tithes that his wife desired. There were six coops, besides having chickens and geese, also had two kinds of ducks and two kinds of turkeys. There were three vegetable gardens, in each of which there was a spring giving a superabundance of fresh water.

The large variety of articles I offered for sale brought out a great number of persons, some of them coming a distance of forty miles. We began the auction early in the morning, and we continued without interruption until night, excepting during meal hours. The sale lasted for four days. Some things were sold for more than they cost me.

During that time, the General and his family boarded at my house; afterwards, I was their guest. His wife confided to me that the General had to pay some money to one of the three English officers who was in charge of the party, in order to obtain from him the lease to his house, in which he was billeted by the Government. This information was confirmed by Jefferson, in whose home I passed the two days before I left to embark on my journey.

When we left home, my step-daughter cried; but she cried more when we left Jefferson’s. The girl had acquired the characteristics of her father. I noticed that Mrs. Jefferson was fond of her. When I
arrived in Williamsburg, I spoke about it with Mrs. Bellini, and she told me that she was liked by all the ladies, but that her mother, my wife, was not so popular. I was sorry not to have known this before, because my behavior would have been different, and I should have suffered less.

When we arrived in Williamsburg, I heard that an English squadron had put in at Norfolk, and I had heard the merchant ships there (one of them was the ship on which I was to have gone to Europe), and that General Matthews, commander of the land troops, had landed about four thousand men. This occasion was different from the first time the enemy had landed, for then we had only muskets to use against them; now, I had my own gun, and I went to register in order to be notified when it was my turn to report for service. The Governor objected to my doing so, saying that I could serve the country in much more important things than by being a private soldier. I did not want to follow his advice, and when I heard the call to arms, I went to the General, who put in my hand an order of the Government prohibiting me from leaving Williamsburg; and he showed me another by which he was forbidden to permit me to go away.

I went at once to complain to the Governor, but he calmed me, assuring me that the Englishmen would re-embark just as they had done when they landed some years ago at Hampton, and he told me that if the Potomac River was not found the right route into Virginia, the chief person engaged in the expedition, whose ship was wrecked, would make a request to his Majesty to have the map ordered to the Cape of Good Hope, where the ship was caught in a storm. The governor also informed me that the Englishman had a great number of arms, and that they were well armed, but that they were not well accustomed to the arms, and that they were not able to march.

Before leaving Williamsburg, we received orders that all the English had re-embarked and that the fleet had sailed. So, having everything necessary for my trip, I went aboard my vessel and started for the voyage, and after having been out at sea for several days, we arrived at the next port, and then went to the city of Richmond, where I was allowed to stay a few days. I wrote to my wife and father, and then went to the state of Virginia, where I found my family.

I left a short time in which I did not want the things I had to attend to in the various parts of Europe. The words were abbreviated in such a manner that I was unable to understand their meaning. I used the same scheme for my credentials and for my letters, and I was unable to find the words that would not fill out the hands of the enemy.

We left the ship on the 20th, and on the following day, at a distance of about thirty miles from land, we saw an English privateer coming towards us, and which seemed to have been lying in wait there for us. I descended to my stateroom, and as soon as the privateer came alongside, I threw overboard, without being observed by anyone, the little sack with all my papers.

Our captain was a Scot, and in Virginia everyone was convinced that he was a fellow of the American patriots. His features displeased me as soon as I saw him, however, and he proved to me clearly that I was right in aversion to him. He obliged me to put aboard so many provisions that they would have been sufficient for making a voyage to the East Indies, and he also required me to give him thirty guineas and three hundred pound sterling for two small cabins in the stern of the ship.

He was evidently in league with the privateer, because I heard one of his crew say to him, "I expected you yesterday morning." But I did not hear the traitor's answer. The behavior of this scoundrel was such that it also discredited the officer of the vessel whom the captain of the privateer put on our ship to accompany us to New York. I am persuaded that the purpose which our officer bore the Scot skipper helped me, because I realized that what was helpful to me in my predicament.

Since I was a mariner with a vessel, the officer was obliged, as soon as we arrived at New York, to present me to the Commodore of the fleet, a man who was arrogant and haughty, according to what the officer told me. So, when we reached New York, I presented myself before him with a serious demeanour, and with no signs of worry, looking at him without attempting to say a word. He asked me where I was going, and the nature of my mission.

I inferred that he knew something about my errand, and I desired not to understand him. I answered that I was bound for Tuscany, being called there by my interests, and that I was obliged to disembark at New York because I could not find another ship going for a port nearer in Leghorn. He was convinced that I had papers concerning public matters; but, with a smiling face, nonchalantly answered that he feared me too much, and, looking at the officer from the privateer, he said that I was in my stateroom. I had a box full of papers which he could send for, as well as for my trunk, to satisfy the Commodore, who, without replying, despatched the officer to bring both of them.

I opened the trunk myself, and after examining it, I looked at it. I did not do the same with the box, from which I noticed some days later that the last few laws voted by the Assembly of Virginia and a letter given to me by Mr. George Mason for his son, who was then in Europe, were missing. For my own safety, I did not care about them, because I not only knew the substance of the laws, but, too, I could repeat by heart the letter to young Mason. The letter finished as follows: "God bless you, my dear child, and may that we may meet again in your native country as freemen; otherwise, I hope we may never see each other more, in the prayer of your affectionate father, George Mason."

However, when I was in Paris in the Spring of 1783, after the preliminaries of peace, in which the King of England recognized the independence of the United States, had been concluded, I learned from the Englishman, Mr. Edward Bridget (an estimable and very well-educated young man), that the Commodore was in London, where he did not enjoy any more esteem than I had judged him to neglect.

I wrote to him then, and, having found the sketch of my letter and his reply, I reproduce both:
to bring his wife and children to visit me. I was glad of this opportunity for my step-daughter's sake, for her tastes were like theirs.

The officer left, and the Commissary asked me if I knew General Patterson. Although I did not know him personally, I was persuaded to call upon him, being assured that he would enjoy a visit from me, because this very morning in a bookshop on the public square where many persons were talking together, he had heard many good reports about me. I went to visit the General on the following morning, and I was received as if we had been childhood friends. He named many common friends, through whom he had known me in London. He told me that it was a pleasure for him to meet a person with whom he was already acquainted by reputation, but whom he had not had an opportunity of knowing personally when so near one another. He answered that it was no wonder, because London was such a large city and so very crowded with people who were always busy. He told him that it took one two years to meet Dr. Mary and the Marquis of Carneadl, both close friends of mine, at the same place, after each of them had asked me to become acquainted with the other.

My friendship with General Patterson gave me some standing and lightened the sorrow occasioned by my capture, because I did not know whether I would be permitted to continue my voyage. The General explained that I was obliged to leave in a city whose population had tired it, and in which the cost of living had increased so much, made it necessary for me to make a draft of two hundred pounds, payable in London, at a loss of ten per cent., on a relative in Leghorn. I spoke about this with General Patterson, and he advised me to go to General Clinton, the Commander-in-chief, and to ask him to send me to Long Island, there to wait for permission to continue my journey. Moreover, he told me that in regard to the exchange on drafts, even General Clinton himself was obliged to pay such an amount because he did not receive prompt remittances from the Government.

I went, but I was not able to see him. However, his aide-de-camp promised to tell him what I requested, and to send me his answer at once. I received the answer that same evening. When the aide saw me, I noticed his look of surprise, which was followed by a wineful expression. I readily understood the reason for this, and I also noticed the expression of sympathy he showed when he saw me, and the goodness of heart that he had evidenced from infancy; it gave me a brotherly affection as I have only experienced at the death of my own father.

I left General Patterson and went to the Commissary of Prisoners of War, to whom I gave General Clinton's order. The former, after congratulating me, sent a man to take me and my family to Long Island, telling me where we were to reside, and giving him orders to make us comfortable.
William and Mary Quarterly

While we crossed the bay, our guide told us that in the part of the island where we were going, the inhabitants were all English, but in the other half of the island, they were all loyal to the English.

I had cordially thanked the Commissary for his friendly attention to me, but I could not show him my gratitude afterwards because three months later, when they permitted me without any previous notice to go to Ireland gratuitously with the supply fleet, I had not time to go and salute him.

The host of the house where he brought us to take up our lodging was such good people that I should have wanted to remain even if I had not been so comfortably fixed as I might have desired. To be a prisoner of war in the house of such people was an honor for them, and they were very kind to us and always asked us what we wanted to have. Their treat in us was so great that they even took us to see where, every Saturday evening, they buried the dead, and many soldiers during the week by selling fish and vegetables, for besides being farmers, they were fishermen, too. That caution came from the fear of being footed in case the English defeated the Americans. They told me that the first part of the island everybody did the same thing. They were not all cultivated in that neighborhood, so I passed three months reading, writing, and taking long walks.

When the fleet was ready to the Captain of the ship on which I was obliged to embark, came personally with some of his crew to take me and all my belongings aboard. The misery induced from the moment I discovered the scotch traitor until my meeting with General Patterson was great, and I suffered very much; but because I had so many moments of happiness, I did not regret my suffering, although the expenses were enormous, for the three hundred guineas and forty Portuguese ducats that I possessed on leaving Virginia, plus the two hundred pounds that I had on London drafts, there remained only four ducats when I landed at Cork, Ireland.

I am not positive that the attention and kindness shown me were due solely to the courtesy of General Patterson, Lord Cardock, and the Commissary of Prisoners of War, but I am reasonably certain that they were instrumental in my being so kindly treated.

Before leaving, I learned that the young Scotch officer of whom I have formerly spoken was a member of the military court; that he was court-martialed and was condemned to death. General Patterson heard about this and ordered him released, saying that he "devoted to me because I was the greatest rebel in the American army" and that he was 15 years old when he was condemned. I am not sure if this is true, but it is possible that he may have been 15 years old at the time of his trial.

About two days after leaving New York, we met a small French sailing vessel laden with merchandise consigned to Boston. We sold all our goods and sailed for France. We arrived in Paris on February 27, 1815.

My conversation with him was very profitable, because I was obliged to remain in bed almost all the time. Those who are not accustomed to the sea are usually taken with sea-sickness. I resisted for some days, but afterwards I was obliged to remain abed, where I continued to suffer until the end of my trip and for some days after.
me the entire management of their business, shahing a part of the profits
with me. I repeat, I am not rich, but a sum of eighty or a hundred
pounds, enabling you to go to Nassau, will not ruin me, and you will
cause me deep sorrow if you do not accept what you need."
He forced me to take eight guineas that he had in his pocket; but
when he wanted to give me the balance making up the hundred pounds,
I showed him that fifty were sufficient to bring me to Nassau, espe-
cially since he had already arranged for my accommodations on a
Portuguese ship that was sailing in a few days.
When he gave me the fifty pounds, I put in his hands a sight
draft for the same amount against me, payable at Nassau. However,
I forgot about the eight guineas he had given me before the fifty
pounds.
We went aboard during the night, in order to avoid the risk of
being discovered, because any suspicions that I was performing a pub-
lc mission would cause me to be arrested and to be put in the Tower of
London until peace had been declared, as had happened to Mr.
Lawrence [Laurens], Jr. of South Carolina, who was President of Cong-
gress.
(The Portuguese ship made a very politic voyage, and it
was nearly wrecked on account of the incompetency of the skip-
per. As the leader of the passengers, Mazzei obliged the cap-
nain and the crew to put them ashore at La Rochelle instead
of at Nassau, where it was not possible to arrive on account of con-
trary winds. Finally, he landed at La Rochelle, with his
wife, his step-daughter, and Ferdinand del Maglio. There he
presented the draft of these hundred pounds given him by the
Government of Virginia drawn against the firm of Penet, d'Assosa
& Cie. but that concern no longer existed, and its successors,
d'Arcy, Fresay & Cie., told him they would not pay without
receiving funds from America. After waiting for some weeks
without receiving orders from Virginia to pay, he left, taking two
hundred pounds on credit from Mr. Mark Lynch, an Irish banker,
who very generously lent them to him.)
Before leaving Nassau, I wrote to the Governor of Virginia, tell-
ing him about everything and that I had to return to that time,
and of the critical situation in which I found myself, especially since
I did not find in Nassau any copies of my instructions; and I remarked
on their promise to send several copies, for the sake of prudence.

The letter of June 4, 1781, that was addressed to Nassau, reached me
only a few days before my return trip to America; and that of August 4, 1781, reached me in Virginia.

Before visiting some persons that it was necessary for me to be-
come acquainted with, I was obliged to learn several languages

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[Note: This text was formatted from a Ms. Eleanor Burrow, the greatest
woman of the State of Virginia (at that time).]
DECLARING that I spoke only for one of the thirteen States, because I was not authorized to do so by the other twelve.

One day I spoke with Marquis Casacuberta—Ambassador for the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily—on the commercial advantages that France and Italy could obtain with the American States. He reported my conversation to the Count of Vergennes, who desired to know my opinions in reference to France, asking me to summarize my ideas and to submit them to him. When I went to leave the Court of Vergennes and to ask him if he wanted anything from Italy, he thanked me for my report, which he had on his table.

I spent more time in Paris than I had intended; because, as I had written from Nantes to the Government of Virginia, I waited for the duplicatas of my mission and of my instructions. However, every day I had very helpful news, and I met important persons in many spheres. For this, I was indebted to the goodness of Marquis Casacuberta, who was universally esteemed and belovéd, and who later became Viscount of Caffarelli. I visited the homes of the Duchesse d’Orléans, mother of the Due de la Rochefoucauld; of M. d’Alembert; of the famous historians, Marmontel; and of the Count of Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador, who called upon me to explain the situation in America.

Among other well-known persons, at the dinner of the Count of Aranda I met Mr. Walpole, who mentioned to me in his letter written from Philadelphia. I avoided him as much as possible before the dinner, but I could not do so when we sat down at table, because he took a place near me. At last, he told me that he was very sorry not to have made my acquaintance when I could in London. He said this, referring to his character, rather than to my person; but I understood the person, and I answered that I was not surprised by this, because his preference would make those who did not know me suppose that I was a flatterer, as happened in my countrymen who enjoyed his favor at that time.

He agreed, and he told me enough to make me understand that the letter which arrived at Naples, and the other from Leopold of Tuscany referring to the plan of renting the designs to China, were written at the instance of Martinelli, the Prime Minister, as was guessed by Franklin in the letter he wrote me from Philadelphia. The life that I lived in Paris was very pleasing, but since I did not receive the letter and duplicatas from the Government of Virginia, without which I could not explain my mission, I did not enjoy it as much as I had hoped. I decided to live in such a way that I could lay the foundations for making progress more rapidly when I received the letter, and I wrote to have all my correspondence addressed to Dr. Franklin. I went to him and revealed my plans, asking him to send my letters to me at Mr. Paxton's, who had promised to send them to me wherever I might be.

[At last, in March, 1781, Mazzei left Paris for Italy, passing through Lyons, stopping three weeks in Genoa as guest of the Marquis Celestia. Knowing the trick used by the Minister of England in Florence, he had mail sent to his address with false information as to his mission in Europe. So letters were sent from Paris, Lyons, and Genoa, and this correspondence disappeared in the postoffice in Florence. He was received the day after his arrival by the Grand Duke Leopold, and he complained at the consecration of his letters, obtaining an order that his letters must have special attention. The Grand Duke kilnizated him on his work in Virginia, for he was interested in American affairs.]

Referring to the letters stolen from the postoffice, I reminded the Grand Duke that I had written him several times from America in regard to Mr. Mann—Minister of England—cautioning him not to believe anything about American affairs, although Mr. Mann might be insinuating himself into the government of England, because he had a blind trust in the government of England, and he was convinced of the supremacy of his master and I told him that I wished everything that my letters had been sent to England.

I had assured the Virginia Government of my friendship with the English Minister, and I asked what attitude I should show toward him. The Government gave me freedom of action. On the following Sunday morning, I went to see Mr. Mann, remembering that in that season he breakfasted in the garden. And every Sunday morning persons came there in order to know the news that had just come from England.

When I arrived, they were reading the English Gazette. They spoke of the embarrassment of the person, so I stopped reading; but I knew the embarrassment of the person, so I stopped speaking. I went away at once, saying that I had many others to see before breakfast. While I went out through the garden, Mr. Mann entered the conservatory in the part from which I was leaving. I did not see him at first, but as I turned to go towards the door of the street, I saw him come toward me, and I understood that he came to speak to me without any witnesses. I went towards him. I shook hands with him, but he could not speak. "Mr. Mann," I said, "I see in your heart what your lips cannot say." I felt myself in the same embarrassment that he showed. "You can believe," he told me, putting, "what extreme joy it is for me to see a dear friend after so long an absence. But I am not my own master. . . . I deplore." And he said this, always keeping his hand in mine.

The Grand Duke afterwards wanted to know the happenings during our first meeting. I told him, and he said he was very happy because of it.

In order not to attract the English Minister’s attention too much, we decided that I should write when I wanted to communicate with him, and when it was necessary to have an interview I used to go there on the day of the general audience, as a subject, informing him by note on the day preceding, because he had commanded that I should be admitted at once, not waiting my turn with the other persons.

In speaking about my handwriting, I told him that I wrote very legibly and that it was not at all easy to understand my characters; but he answered that he had made a special study of manuscripts and could understand it all right.
I wrote many letters to the Grand Duke, and I remember them all. I kept the letters of that period. The first was written in May, 1781. With it I sent three pamphlets of mine, whose titles were: The Importance of Procuring Commerce with Virginia; The Reason Why the Title of "Rebels" Cannot Be Given to the American States; and The History of the Issuance of Paper Currency in the United States. In the letter, I demonstrated the justice of the American cause, and I foretold the probability of England granting independence to the American Colonies.

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The second letter was written in August, 1781, with a translation of a letter from Franklin, a copy of which I have lost.

In the third, written in the same month, I showed the wisdom of European states helping America, in order to have the gratitude of the latter, and so obtain help from them later.

In the fourth, written in April, 1782, I sent along a short entitled Reflections Tending to Prevent the Ruins of the Present War. I reminded him that what I had predicted in 1773 was afterwards proved.
The Poet of the Third Italy, Giuseppe Cavallucci, was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1906. He was born on July 27th, 1835, at a small country village in Tuscany called Val di Castello. His father was a country doctor noted for his violent liberal opinions in politics. He suffered a term of imprisonment because of his active participation in the Romagnol revolt of 1831.

At the time the poet was born, Europe was enduring political reaction, particularly Austria and Italy. The excesses of the French Revolution, the mob violence, the destruction of much that was noble and beautiful, and the subsequent misery and bloodshed of the Napoleonic wars had made people, who loved law, order, and religion, inclined to forget the high ideals that had inspired liberal politics.

Metternich, as Prime Minister of Austria, left no stone unturned to suppress all liberal tendencies that had in his opinion caused so much damage.
In those days Austria ruled over North Italy from Venice to Milan, and had a very powerful influence on the grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Papal States, and in the Kingdom of Naples.

In contrast to the conservative sentiments of Austria, people with liberal views could only note with increasing alarm the steady suppression of all freedom of person and thought which Metternich's policy entailed. Italy in particular was suffering from a corrupt and inefficient government. In most of the States education was neglected, brigandage was rife, and there was great poverty. The authorities regarded anyone who attempted any reform as a criminal.

It was no wonder that people like the Carducci family, intelligent, well-bred and patriotic, filled with proud memories of their country's former greatness, were burning to do something to bring about a change. Freedom from the repressive domination of the foreigners was the first and all important need; then ideas came of what should be done with that freedom.

Most of the emancipationists professed their faith in the political creed of Republicanism. The Carducci family were at first ardent republicans, like Garibaldi and other stalwarts. But these men were far too intelligent not to perceive that too great an insistence on Republicanism might mean the loss of the national independence and of the establishment of liberal principles which they desired. They came to realize that their greatest hope lay in the help which the King of Sardinia and his powerful minister Cavour were prepared to give them.

The history of the Italian "Risorgimento" shows us a most interesting combination of diverse activities all converging on one objective. In North Italy the King of Sardinia waged war against Austria in 1848, '59, and '66. In 1859 with the help of France, he gained much ground in Italy, but the King paid the assistance by ceding to Napoleon III his ancestral heritage of Savoy and Nice.

Then Garibaldi in 1860 led the amazingly heroic private expedition against the Kingdom of Naples. Crossing from Genoa to Sicily in two small steamers crowded with a thousand poorly equipped volunteers, by sheer bravery and
enthusiasm he compelled the surrender of 30 times his own number of Neapolitan troops in Palermo.

Vitor Emmanuel and Cavour were quick to take advantage of the situation. Advancing on Naples from the North they joined Garibaldi's forces on the mainland and added the Kingdom of Naples to the growing unification of Italy.

In 1866 a timely alliance of the new Kingdom of Italy with Prussia restored Venice to Italy, and the withdrawal of the French from Rome in 1870, permitted the entry of Italian troops and completed the unity of Italy for which so much effort had been expended.

One cannot imagine what stirring and dangerous times these were for the Italians like the Carducci family. Meetings of Italian patriots had to be held secretly. Austrian, Papal and Neapolitan policies were on the lookout everywhere to ferret out rebels, who ran the risk of being shot for high treason. Among the patriots themselves were bitter arguments; the radical Republicans fiercely resenting the spreading influence of the party who stood for a constitutional monarchy under Victor Emmanuel.

Then again, there was the matter of religion. Many of the Republicans were so bitter against the methods of the Papal government that they were outright atheists, and as such they greatly resented the attitude of more tolerant reformers, who remained good Catholics.

It was in such surroundings that Carducci grew to manhood. At first his tendencies were with the radical Republicans and anti-church party. As a young man he even went so far as to write a "Hymn to Satan."

From his early boyhood, Carducci was a great student. Not only was he profound of knowledge of his own country's literature and history, but he also kept keenly in touch with all contemporary thoughts of the day.

The Carducci family moved to Florence in 1848. Here and at Pisa young Gonzo soon achieved a great reputation as a scholar. At the age of 21 he became a professor at the Gimnasio of San Minisio al Tedesco and soon afterward published his first poem "Le Poetae."
Carducci's political opinions however, caused the Tuscan Government to object to his holding an educational post, and he therefore spent some years working as a journalist in Florence in great poverty. Here he was surrounded by literary and political friends, and he became happily married to the daughter of one of them. His married life appears to have been very tender and beautiful, although the loss of his only son in infancy was the cause of great sadness to him.

Apart altogether from politics, Carducci gradually became recognized as a great poet. But even his poems that were not political stirred his compatriots and greatly by presenting to them ideals of national hopes and glorious memories of the national traditions that breathed a living spiritual enthusiasm into the material politics of the day.

Victor Emmanuel's government from Turin offered Carducci few educational positions which he declined, but in 1860 he was offered and accepted the professorship of eloquence at Bologna University, a position which he held for 25 years in spite of the fact that his political opinions were often resented by the national government.

Eventually, Carducci's fiery criticism of the government policy calmed down and he became in later life a loyal supporter of the Constitutional Monarchy, a great friend of Crispi, the prime minister, and was made a Senator. With advancing years his literary fame grew ever greater and the Queen of Italy was one of the most enthusiastic admirers of his work. He was recognized as the Poet of the Third Italy. Foreign countries joined in recognizing Carducci's greatness, and in 1906 he received the Nobel Prize for literature.

The man who had written the "Hymn to Satan" was in his later works to pay more than one tribute to the benefits which humanity had derived in the Dark Ages from the influence of the Church, but to the last Carducci retained an ardent wish for the revival of the culture of classic antiquity and the glories of ancient Rome.

Carducci died on February 16, 1937, honoured not only by his own country but by the whole civilized world.
To Terenzo Mamiani, a Minister of Education of the King of Sardinia, we owe deep gratitude for having at the end of 1859, surmised “il genio profondo e originale sortito da natura” to Carducci and for having called this almost unknown man up to the chair of “Eloquenza” at the University of Bologna.

What must have impressed Mamiani, a man of vast doctrine and of great learning, must have been the essays and the notes on Italian classics published in the same time of the “Poesie.” Carducci’s first poem was not composed with verses of an ordinary gifted young man of 21: there is nothing amateurish about them. You may, here and there, find an image or phrase which reminds you of Dante, Petrarca, Tasso, Berni, Monti, Prati, or Monsignore della Casa, or take from the Latin: Lucrece, Catullus, Virgil, and particularly Horace. Yet the author thinks and reasons for himself; his verses are resounding and harmonious, his sonnets are little pictures that you can put in a frame, there is a sparkling fire, a contour, a brilliancy of imagination, that reveals an unmistakable poetical personality.

You feel that this self-assurance is not academical, and you look forward to the moment when he can free himself of these complaisances and give entirely his own forms to the flow of his thoughts, of his images, and of his phantoms.

The atmosphere of Bologna was very congenial to Carducci’s temperament. In his act of faith he remembers: “Io toscano e fiorentino — che vuol dire il più feroce, il più insistente, Il più noioso chez’瘤 del mondo — io amo anatutto e sopra tutto e pertutto, l’Italia; e poi dopo, Bologna.”

This young professor, eager for erudition and beauty, who as a boy of 15 had said:

Con me regina l’està passata
Con me la immensa bôla creata,
this young poet knew what he wanted,
what is expected of him; he put, therefore in his new office the whole force of his intelligence and energy. To be a teacher, one must become a learner. He plunges "arrabbiatamente e col capo chino" into the study of the ancient classics, in the study of German and English poets. His essays on Italian literature — and no period is left untouched — bear witness of a knowledge, which is both direct and complete, of a minute and attentive philology, of accurate comparisons, and reconstruction. The vast erudition amassed, will lead him to write some ten years later (1868-1871) those marvelous synthesis, which are the "Discorsi dello sviluppio della Letteratura Nazionale" and those on Dante and his age, and on Petrarch.

The work of Carducci as an essayist and as a critic stands between that of D'Ancona and that of De Sanctis, says a modern commentator: a blend between the two. He has the analytic accuracy of the first named, but discards the eloquence of the second. While Carducci, the poet, leaves his imagination go free under the stimulus of his poetical inspiration, Carducci the critic is restrained and reflective; philological derivations, references, history of metrical forms, developments of thoughts and emotions, are illuminated by the conscience of an artist.

Here we can trace already the elements of that conception of the continuity of Italian literature; of the conception of the equilibrating influence between thought and sensation, between idea and phantom, between spirit and matter, which Italian literature exercised through the ages — almost spurred by the "circostanze stessi delle natura." Here we can trace already the elements of that conception of life moulded in the minds of Latin, contrasting with the Bizantinism, the Oriental ancent and the Nordic extravagances of the Middle Ages, and which recur, like a light motive, in many of Carducci's writings particularly in his poems, from the crudish "Inno a Satana" to the elevated "In una chiesa gotica" to the impetuous "Alle fonti del Ciümarsa" to the lofty, serene, contemplative "La Chiesa di Polenta."

It is with these finalities that he sets himself to his duty as a teacher. He was convinced that we were suffering in art and in the social life from too much
"facloneria" (I cannot find an equivalent English word for it unless I call it easy-goingness) and he conceived the school as the instrument whereby the minds of the intelligence should be trained. For this reason he informed his work as a teacher to a very great ideal, contrasting and opposing the prevalent professorial pomposness, which camouflaged superficiality and insufficiency of preparation and learning.

Early in 1860, in an opening lecture he said: "I consider it is my duty — a man among young men — to impress on you "il senso del bello, l'ardore del vero, il culto di tutto che è generoso e gentile. E a me giova sperare che, se l'ingegno e la dottima mi verrà meno, non fallirà certo il cuore; il cuore infiammato nel l'amor dell'Arte e della dignità santa di lei; il cuore sorgente prima di quante sono inspirazioni puramente belle che conforti la vita."

Yes, the name of Carducci will last as a poet: but he was essentially an educator. He believed that the school should be an instrument for the preparation of the rising generations, and put the whole force of his intelligence and his erudition to fulfill the mission.

For them, for his students, in order to make them citizens prepared for the future, he unearthed and susciated the traditions of the past. He became the champion of this ideal, and a born fighter, he entered into polemic with the fervour of a Paladin with the shield of solid arguments and documents, with the lance of invective, with the whip of sarcasm.

For this reason, he, a great admirer of Manzoni, who before any other thing learned by heart the "Coro del Carmagnola," he who in his fifteen had read the "Promessi Sposi" five times, he who considered Manzoni superior to Goethe "in simpatica caldezza di rappresentazione," superior to Hugo "in armonica savieza d'invenzione," but could not sympathize with Manzoni's temperament and supreme resignation. No such an attitude of mind — as represented by the Romantic School — with its return to the Mysticism and the Sentimentalism of the Middle Ages — such an attitude of the mind, by which Romanticism, although remaining faithful to the idea of the Unity, adhered in the Revolution and although recognizing the importance of the
popular elements in literature, cannot represent but a decadence in literature and civil life.

Therefore, he was what is termed a “classic” opposed to the decadent deviations of all school and particularly to the Romanticism of the time, in which he saw “la corruzione del bene e la fermentazione del male” represented by the Arcadic patriotism of Aleardi, by the easy muse and the lukewarm patriotism of Pratì, and the moralizing pseudo-scientific naturalism mixed with religion of the Abate Zanella. The classicism of Carducci moves free from any scholastic preoccupation. From some aspects it can be linked to the school of the great Italian poets that flourished during the period of the French Revolution and of the Restoration: to Alberi, Parini, Foscolo, Monti and Leopardi. It has in common with them the Illuminist of the Encyclopedist, brought to date, and the same hatred for tyranny in politics and art. But he never closed himself into formulae; rather he accepted from modernity whatever suited his temperament.

The Rime Nuove are indeed expressions of pure, modern poetry. In “Ves-
dette della Luna” we can even trace elements of symbolism suggesting Baudelaire. The sonnet “Il Rove” is an agricultural picture that Virgil would envy. “Una Sera in San Pietro” has a touch of actualism. “Alba Stazione in una Mattina di Autunno” is a realistic representation of modern life. The “Prima e fanciulla” are intimate conversations with “the poets and the belles” of ancient Greece. While “Idillo Maremmano” is a door wide open on modernity and “Visioni,” soft and gentle, caresses “Tania pensi” like a lullaby.

Outside the Studio, the political and social atmosphere was very heated. Enormous problems both political and economical were facing the new Kingdom: paramount among them was the problem of Venice still subject to Austria and above all the “Questione Romana.”

Against Rome were converging centuries of traditions and rights: indeed the very history of Italy and Europe. Against Rome stood not only the Vatican and the feelings of millions of Catholics all over the world, but also
the interests of Germany, Austria and above all, France whose Emperor Napoleon III "Imperial Cairo" had assumed the pose of protector and was keeping a military garrison in the city.

Carducci participated into those agitations, into those contrasts with the ardour and the spirit of Garibaldi, with the hatred of a born fighter, with the faith of Mazzini. It is a battle of 10 years waged under the symbolic name of "Economia Romana". His wrath reaches the highest violence against the Papacy and Napoleon: the two forces which prevent the annexation of Rome to the new Kingdom. The "Giambi ed Epodi," the "Confessioni e Battaglie," the "Levita Greco" with their dramatic contrasts and rather spectacular effects, reveal not only the indignation of a passionate soul, but also the moral, and I would say, also physical travail which the young nation, not yet united, was passing at the time.

He is the champion of liberty: a lofty goddess who demands a heavy toll from her worshippers:

_Le santo libertà non è fasciulla_
_ da poco rame;_
_Dura virago elfi, dure domanda_

20

de perigli e d'amor prorove famose:
in mezzo al sangue de la sua gloriosa
crescon le rose.

(Ca lira)

He is the champion of humanity; a humanity in which work may be happy and love secure, where may be no more usurper especially foreign tyrants:

_Quando il lavoro sarà lieto?_
_Quando secco sarà l'amore?_
_Quando una forte plebe di liberi_
_dirà guardando nel sole — illumina_
_non ovi e guerre a i tiranni_
_ma la giustizia pia del lavoro?_

(Odi Barbari)

He is the champion of the Revolution, in so far the Revolution was the means of achieving the unity of Italy. After Mentana he hurls his indignation against his own country:

_Oh, rivolto che val l'ira dei forti_
_di Dante padre l'ira?_
_Salir voto, in su l'urne dei morti_
_in voi ti aspetta la lira._

_Accogetemi, adite, o de gli eroi_
exercito gentile:
_Terite novella lo recherò tra voi:_
_la nostra patria è vile.

(Giambri)
Today, some 75 years after, we may turn back to look dispassionately into that time; we can turn back to these poor Italian people, to this country “dolce far niente”, with proud, and see them setting themselves going up with an almost religious fervour.

With the occupation of Rome, the Unity of Italy, has become “nostanza di cose sperate.” The poet of Liberty and Unity is at last appeased. He can now leave his imagination move freely, pursuing the “fantasmi della sua mente” — a rest after the battle the dispassionate contemplation of nature, of life, expressed in the “Rime Faure.” While the political and moral horizon of the country widens, the horizon of the poetical inspiration of the poet enlarges. Yet, the sources of his inspiration are deeply rooted into the conscience, the reality and reality of his people: a reality projected against a background open for the future, framed by glorious traditions. He, the “poeta civile,” cannot ignore the ideals of the people, and when he sees the Italians enthusiastically united around their King, the poet who had sung the revolutionary King in 1839, reverting to Republicanism after Vittorina, admitting loyally, that “la monarchia fu ed è un gran fatto storico e rimane per molta gente una idealità realizzata” and pays his homage as a poet and as a citizen to the royalty. Later other melodies shall arrest the imagination of Carducci. He, then feels the Arcanum of melodies passing between Heaven and Earth, as sounds of mysterious flutes. At the vertex of his creative power, at the ebbing of his stormy life, at the summit of wisdom he bent his serene head in meditation. Like Dante, like Childe Harold, he shall listen to the beauty of prayer; he shall be arrested by enchanting, reposeful, pensive whisper of the “Ave Maria”:

Ave Maria! Quando su faeore corre
l'onnal saluto, e piccoli mortali
scorrono il capo, curvano la fronte
Dante ed Araldo.

Una di flauti lenta melodia
passa invisibili fra la torre e il cielo
spiriti forse che furono, che sono
e che saranno?

Un ombro lene de la faticosa
vita, un pensoso sospirar di quiete
una soave volontà di piace
l'anime invade.
Tacciam le forze e gli uomini e le cose,
rasseti il tramonto ne l'azzurro sfuma,
mormoran gli alti vortici ondeggianti.

Arve Maria!

(Le Chiesa di Polenta)

And Queen Margherita, who in 1882 in the radiance of her youth and beauty met the rebel poet, the poet of the Revolution, reciting his poem, shall greet at the end of her life, some forty years later, the leader of another Revolution, which may be regarded as the necessary development of the "Risorgimento."

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Do not look for love songs in this admirer of Petrarch. Carducci was only the poet of the Third Italy. Italy was above all in his heart. On the track of History he traces the mythical origin of the Italian race:

Emergono lunghe nei fiumi voli natali azzurre, e per la chiara sera chiamaun alto le sorelle brune
dai monti, e danse sotto l'immenente luna
guidavon, liete ricantando in coro

---

di Giano eterno e quanto amor la visse
di Cesena.
Egli del cielo, autonoma virtù
ella: fu letto l'Appennin fumante:
velato i nembi il grande amleto e
l'itala gente,

(nascere

He traces the origin of the Italian civilization surging from the obscurity of the Middle Ages by virtue of Rome: Schiavi percosi e disposti, a voi oggi la chiesa, patria, casa, tomba,
una avanza: qui dimenticate
qui non vedete.
E qui percosi e disposti ancora i principi e spogliatori un giorno vengono. Come se la spemegento vendemmi il tino
forse, e de' colli italici la bianca
area, e le nere calpestiate e frenta
se' disfacendo il forte e redente
vino matura:
qui, nel capo eto a Dio vendicatore e
perdonante, vincitori e vinti,
quei che al Signor pacifici, pregando
Tedeschi,
quei che Gregorio insidia d'oravi
coppi tornando nel suo torvo e Roma
memore forza e amore nero spari
fanno il Comune

(Le Chiesa di Polenta)

25
The veneration of Rome recurs in almost every line of Carducci, with passion and nobility, as an inspiration towards an ideal of greatness which is not only past but a present reality “neve immense lantlata ver’ l’impero del mondo.” And when the resurgent Germania seemed to have tramped in Sedan, not only over France, but over Latinità itself; when the newly unbridled Valkyrie, spurred by the blast of the bugles of Wagner, were launched into the world to escort the triumph of the German Kultur; when the German historians of Rome proclaimed the “absence of artistic and poetical content in the Latin civilization” the “Finis Romanus,” Carducci hurls into eternity the Song of the Songs – l’Inno degli Idoli – the song of the spiritual tradition of Italy, formed in millenniums of Glory:

*e tutto che al mondo è civile,
grande, augusto, eglì è romano ancor,*

(Old Barbaric)

*and all in the world is civilized,
great and noble, is still Roman.*
national rights; those traditions, which Leopardi, Monti, Manzoni had continued and of which Berchet and Manzoni had been the popular exponents; those traditions which Mazzini had warmed with the fire of his religious, civil, political, humanitarian apologetics, had been broken after attaining consummation in Carducci.

Neither Pascoli's philosophical elegiac sentimentality, nor the poetical eclecticism of the "arbitrii elegantiarum" of the Italian poetry, Gabriele d'Annunzio, could appease our avidity for nobility in life and art, for national prestige, for honesty of purpose.

Carducci had closed the heroic literary period of the Third Italy; but his spirit worked up in us a new national conscience: The Italy of Today!

San Francisco, February of 1936

Author's Bibliography

Dr. E. C. Brandt, Professor at the University of San Francisco, author and journalist — whose pride but had the honor to be reproduced in Italian dictionaries — has written several books in three different languages. We quote, as trended in the "Who's Who of Italians in America" his bibliography.

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MAZZEI'S MEMOIRS
Translated By E. C. BRANCHI
(Continued from last issue)

In every country in which I have heard the Tuscan languages praised as being sweet, and at the same time, as prolix but lacking in forcefulness. Jefferson was the first man I ever heard to hold a different opinion. (1) After he had translated some number of my periodical papers (2), he told me to write in English and he would correct my papers if they needed corrections. I believed that he was wearied of translating, but he assured me to the contrary and said: "You have a manner of expressing yourself in your language which I cannot translate without weakening your writing." I then wrote in English, and after he had corrected the first page it looked like a spoiled puzzle. But the number of errors gradually diminished and after I had written six or seven pages he told me that there was nothing to correct. I could not so persuade myself, but he showed me several places where I had expressed myself energetically and said that it could not be corrected without being made less forceful. "The phraseology," he continued, "is not entirely English, but it will be understood by everybody, and that is of the greatest importance."

I have not said much of my agricultural affairs, to which I had not attended as I should have because of the great public questions which occupied almost all of my time. But I had the satisfaction of being understood and obeyed by my men.

It was clearly seen that, by the policy of the cabinet of St. James, if we did not wish to be victimized we should have to arm ourselves. The result necessarily would be either liberty or the cruelest slavery. In obtaining liberty we should have to establish a good government, but to do so, it was necessary to destroy the prejudice of those people who used to regard the English as a model of perfection.

Jefferson was greatly surprised at this when I pointed it out to him. He said that he had never noticed it (3). "This is the true and only cause," I said, "which has kept you from recognizing it. Since boyhood, you have always said that that government was the best possible. You would permit the English writer to prove it was preferable to the Roman republic, would see that it is such in comparison with the other European countries. Finally, you never dreamed of changing it. So you never thought to criticize it. But we, provoked by their insolent manner of expressing
themselves (referring to the English relations with the other nations), and having it accurately, and having seen the essential defect, will say that they are four hundred years behind." Then it was agreed that I should write a number of periodic papers that all might see and understand.

In order to obtain our end, it was not only necessary to write, but also to introduce these topics into the conversation in order to modify through discussion the prejudice of the time and to present sounder principles. Once, in Williamsburg, when I was attending a banquet of about thirty people, the subject of conversation was, as it usually was in these circumstances, the quid agendum (4) of that critical situation in which we found ourselves. The first copies of my second paper had already been printed. I had shown how many of the bases of complete public freedom in England were fallacious. Mr. Carter Nicholas (5), treasurer of the Colony, later confirmed by the new government (meritoriously, since, because of his honesty and exactness, there was no one who could be chosen over him), looked at me and said: "Mr. Mazzei, what I am afraid of is of losing the constitution." And I replied, "Mr. Treasurer, had I such a constitution, I would think myself a consumptive." The answer had pleased everybody, especially Mr. Richard Bland (6) sitting near me, who looked at me with great satisfaction. Mr. Bland seemed about seventy years of age. I did not know, but later learned, that, some years earlier, he had written and published a very rational pamphlet on the rights of the colony. I read this pamphlet with great satisfaction and I will cite it on many occasions in my "Recherches Historique et Politique des Etat Unis de l'Amérique du Nord."

Among the guests was George Mason (7), a comrade and intimate friend of George Washington, who later as a general contributed so much "col senso e colla mano" (8) to the establishment of liberty in America. The second day after my arrival in Virginia, Mr. Adams introduced me to several persons of intellect, one of whom was Mr. Mason. When we left his house I told Mr. Adams that a man such as he ought without doubt to be highly esteemed. "But in my opinion," I added, "he is not well enough known. He is one of those brave, rare-talented men, which cost Nature a great effort to produce, such as a Dante, a Machiavelli, a Galileo, a Newton, a Franklin, a Turgot, an Elvezio, etc."

Mr. Mason made several profound, opportune, and very useful remarks, which by means of the guests (only two of whom were from the same country) were quickly spread throughout the country as well as everything which was said on that subject—the most intriguing for all mankind.

The same day that Mr. Adams introduced me to Mr. Mason, he took me to Mr. Peyton Randolph's (9), long time speaker of the Assembly and later of the Convention. Randolph finally became President of the first Congress of the United Colonies in Philadelphia, where he died in his seventieth year. His death was universally lamented and the ladies of Philadelphia mourned for him an entire year.

He wanted me to dine with him, this day, but I could not. I promised him, however, that I would do so on the first possible occasion. The next day after dining at the Tavern I recounted the short dialogue I had had with the Treasurer, which all of the guests had greatly enjoyed and especially the landlord. The latter had said in a compassionate air: "He is a good man!" All had applauded my attempt to enlighten the people, saying that it could not be done at a more opportune time, but urging me not to weary. Mr. Randolph told them: "Of this, have no doubt. I knew him before he came among us. Thomas Adams had his portrait made for me."

From time to time, I went home to see how my orders were being carried out, and to issue new orders. Also I talked with Mr. Jefferson about my own and public affairs.

I learned from my men, who had explored the woods, that they had observed two hundred varieties of wild grapes. I myself had observed thirty-six on my property, among which were good, mediocre, bad, and fertil. I chose six of the best to make two barrels of wine. One of the barrels I saved for myself, and the other I gave to my men, who did not drink the wine, but sold it instead for a shilling a bottle (10). It is my opinion that when this country is populated in proportion to its extent, the best wine in the world will be made here. It must be considered that the grapes from which I made the two barrels of wine were picked from the top of a tree in a very dense woods from a vine having an immense quantity of branches. Three months later I popped the corks as if it was foaming wine of Champagne. It is my opinion that in no other country is nature so favorable to the growth of wine as in this. I measured two grape-vines which were more than a foot and a half in circumference. The shoots of the lausiliola grape produced vines of such size that my men wanted me to make wine. The first year they produced branches of such length that my good fellow Vincenzo Rossi told me: "Master, don't write of this to our village, because they won't believe it and you'll pass for a liar."
The second year of my arrival, something had happened to me which had never happened before in the memory of man. During the night of the fourth or fifth of May, 1774, the north-west wind caused a frost which killed the grain and froze all the vines and other young trees, causing them to remain without leaves until the next year. So, it was very strange to see in summer the woods as bare of leaves as in winter. The grapes, which were rather small, were frosted and the joints of the new branches also suffered. But the vine grew out anew and produced about half the grapes of the preceding year, ripening about the same time of the year.

Speaking about this with Dr. Bland, a nephew of Richard's, who had been in Europe to study medicine at Edinburgh, I was told: "In this country, I assure you, it is only possible to kill the vine by fire."

I remained at home very little, but recommended the Bellinis to Mr. Jefferson and returned to Capt. Woodford to get the rest of my things and settle my business affairs. The most convenient place for me was the home of Col. Carey. I stayed there three days very happily even though they did laugh a lot at my expense because of the horses I had received. I had never had horses before, nor had tried to be a judge of them. On my arrival in Virginia, I had bought a beautiful riding mare and a carriage and horse to make my long trips in a comfortable manner. Seeing that they cost much more than in Italy (I had not known the difference) and the ship having to return empty, I ordered two carriage horses from Mr. Bettoia, who had written me of his having made a great purchase. But they were very ugly in comparison to the other carriage horses. Worse still, they were stallions and in Virginia only those horses remain stallions which are used for breeding. Col. Carey, therefore, after having described the horses with such an irony as to cause a hypochondriac to laugh and after having named the good things I had brought, added that my adopted country owed to me also the introduction of a new race of horses. After the joke which made everybody laugh, and me more than the others, he castrated the horses himself and took care of them until they could travel. Then he sent them to my house with the goods which had already arrived. All this he did gratuitously.

Before they recovered I was obliged to return there, called by the arrival of the brigantine "George," commanded by Master William Grives, which was one of the twelve ships that went to Leghorn with grain. He brought me a great quantity and variety of things which had not been ready when my ship sailed.
Upon my arrival in Virginia I observed that they used the mule for very heavy work. But they were only small grey asses, so that they were of very poor quality. I therefore got three asses and a jenny of the Malta race, of greatest beauty and unlimited price, persuaded that I would gain both money and distinction. In fact the sight of those beasts surprised me. So well accepted were they that their fame soon spread throughout the district. I kept one ass and the jenny for myself and sold the other two for a price equal to the cost of all four plus the expenses. From the great quantity and variety of things which were sent me, I should have been totally concerned with rural affairs. But public interests forbade me.
Notes

(1) In another part of the "Memoirs" Massen writes: "... Thomas Jefferson, a Virginian of great talent, encyclopedial, supreme as well in the abstract sciences as in law, who has learned by himself the Italian language without having heard a word of it."

(2) At that time, 1774 and 1775, these existed in Williamsburg three different papers with the name "Virginia Gazette." All three used to publish supplements. Massen's supplements were published in Mr. Pinkney's "Virginia Gazette" (1774-1775) below the pseudonym of "Puteus."

(3) The influence of Massen on Jefferson is a matter of fact, but we cannot evaluate it because of the lack of materials. When thirty years of age, Massen mentions in his letter to the publisher to have lent his personal papers from 1772 until 1782. In Virginia in 1776, Turckintz found Monticello having a lot of Jefferson's and Massen's papers. In 1785 Massen left them in this country hoping to return from Europe in the same year—but he never did. So the relations between them is not known and their correspondence is not complete.

(4) "Oui! Ah! allez!"—"What is to be done."

(5) Nicholas Robert Carter, statesman (1715-1790). He represented Williamsburg in the House of Burgesses and later in the House of Delegates (1777). He was treasurer of the Cabot in 1766-67 and in 1777 was a member of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence.

(6) Rand, Richard, statesmen (1716-1774). In 1773 he was a member of the Committee of Correspondence, and in 1774 a delegate to Congress. He was also a fine Classical scholar.

(7) George Massen, statesman and patriot (1725-1793). At a meeting of the inhabitants of Parke, July 18, 1776, he offered twenty-five resolutions reviewing the whole ground of the pending controversy, recommended a general suspension, and urged the non-intercourse policy. In 1775 he was a member of the Virginia Committee of Safety, and in 1776 he drafted the Declaration of Rights and the State Constitution of Virginia, both of which were adopted unanimously. In 1777 he was elected to the Continental Congress, and in 1778 he was a leading member of the Convention which framed the National Constitution.

(8) "sol esse e con la mano"—"with his brain, his heart, and his hands."

(9) Randolph, Peyton, statesman, (1725-1775). Elected to the College of William and Mary in 1740. He was appointed king's attorney for Virginia, in 1746 elected speaker of the House of Burgesses; chairman of the committee of Correspondence in 1773; president of the First Continental Congress in 1775.

(10) Wine was very much appreciated in Virginia at that time. They thought to make it one of the principal industries in Virginia. After the failure of the Pennsylvania to grow grapes, Massen succeeded, but, as we know, in a week the houses of the German General, Robert F. A. Rabe, destroyed the vines of Collis. Meanwhile, Massen was sending America as an agent of Virginia in Europe. Jefferson learned wine and always concentrated the six bottles of Tuscans that he had drunk with Massen in Virginia, the last of which was empty four years later (1777). It is curious to note that the only product permitted to enter American Colonies without having to pass through an English port was wine—the wine of Madesia.
A Duel of Mussolini

E. C. Branchi

In the autumn of 1914, when the tremendous tide of Von Moltke's troops lay checked in the plains of France, and when the press of the world was violently denouncing the turpitude of the Germans in invaded Belgium, Germany issued an invitation to the journalists of the neutral countries, requesting that they make as detailed an investigation as they liked in her front lines. In doing this, Germany hoped not only to prove the falsity of many accusations of brutality, but also to convey to the Allies an impression of the formidableness of her war machinery. Among the ten journalists who responded from Italy was my friend and companion on several African jaunts, Doctor Licurgo Tioli. We should probably have been colleagues on this mission had I been in Italy at the time, but I lay bedridden in a hospital in Peru. My trip around the world had been interrupted by the declaration of war, and I was forced to put ashore in South America, where I was taken with "dengue" fever while in the Tarapaca desert.

After more than a month of observing, the journalists returned to Italy and flooded the country with articles which they believed to be written without partiality or prejudice—an opinion which the general public failed to share with them. As a result, the correspondents were charged with having received bribes to uphold the cause of Germany, by the Interventisti—that portion of the press in favor of the war. In order to defend his honour and that of his colleagues, my friend Tioli brought suit against the Secolo, Milan's leading democratic newspaper.

It will be remembered that at this time Italy was in a critical condition. She was sitting on a keg of powder which threatened to explode at any moment; there was stress from one side by France and England, and friction from the other by Austria and Germany. There was internal commotion caused by her own political difficulties; the old organizations were disintegrating, and in their places were arising every-
where new factions, each taking a title ending in *isti,* as for example, *Interventiisti,* *Parruccisti* and *Astromusisti.*

When Tioli's suit against the *Secolo* took place in 1915 in the Tribunal of Milan, it created an atmosphere so charged with electricity that it permeated the entire Kingdom. Immediately two distinct and antagonistic factions arose, and each used freely all the arms of verbal combat: polemics, disputes and insults. And at times the controversy lost its purely verbal aspect and gave way to actual physical encounter. Is it possible that in the midst of this confusion was Benito Mussolini, the young editor of *Il Popolo d'Italia,* who would take any occasion to advocate his belief that Italy should abandon its neutrality in favor of France and England?

Because of my fraternal friendship for Tioli, I stopped in Milan when I finally returned to Italy and watched the progress of the case with much anxiety. I attended all the hearings, and enjoyed watching the intricacies of the law unfold. I revelled in the passionate excitement that was in evidence everywhere, for in that historic hour opinions were clashing at fever heat in the court room, in the lobbies, on the streets, and in the news rooms of all the journals. To me it seemed that there was but one spot in all the world where peace reigned: that was in the *Savini* restaurant in the *Galleria Vittorio Emanuele,* where the erstwhile bitter enemies became delightfully subdued as they sat face to face, between them a plate of the traditional *risotto.*

One afternoon, in the midst of the fury, my friend Tioli rushed up to me and said: "We have chosen you to act as second to our lawyer, Merlino, in a duel!"

"But . . . without . . . ?"

"Yes. Without asking your permission. You dare not refuse. You must go tonight with Cortini to defy Benito Mussolini, editor of the *Popolo.*"

It promised to be a difficult and trying situation. I did not quite know how to view my new appointment. I knew nothing of the trouble between Merlino and Mussolini. True, I had heard a noisy discussion between the two men in the tribunal of the *Palazzo Beccaria,* but I had paid little atten-

A DUEL OF MUSOLINI

tion to it, for in time of war, corridor quarrels are of minor importance. But, had I investigated, I should have heard Merlino—one of Tioli's lawyers, an aristocrat with anarchic tendencies, but withal an honorable man—tell the journalist that he was a man of "little courage"; I should have seen Mussolini reply with some smarting slaps; and perhaps I should have helped to keep them apart as Merlino tried to free himself to return the blows.

* * *

I knew Mussolini at that time as a journalist, but as was the case with most people, I was much better acquainted with the name than with the man. However, I had met and spoken with him on several occasions over the table at a much frequented "café," and at the "Lombard Association of Journalists." Then he had often shown the claws of the lion, but the statistician was yet undeveloped. I was attracted to him by his square, strong, positive articles in favor of the war, and by the fact that he changed his political ideas concerning our intervention in the war, which demonstrated to me that he had a keen intellect; that, rather than being merely an opportunist, he was a person of deep, reflective nature. I recognized in him those genial and aggressive characteristics which were so prevalent in the pioneers of our Far West.

In spite of this admiration for Mussolini, and in spite of the fact that I agreed politically with him, and had no reason for animosity, I suddenly found myself opposing him, second to one of the most renowned anarchists in Italy—and without the right of answer or appeal, ratified by the Code of Honor.

* * *

That evening we met the challenged editor in the small, busy room which was Mussolini's office.

I remember distinctly that narrow, cobblestoned lane of old Milan in which the offices of the newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia* were located. They were in an old residence, a relic of the Austrian period, which stood in the middle of the block, pressed tightly on either side by other houses. Inside it was damp with dripping drops of water which had seeped
from the Milanese fogs. There was a dreary, silent corridor; then bank upon bank of marble steps, lighted only by an infrequent, unmanned gas burner. On the upper floor was an unfurnished, uninhabited news room, in which there stood a group of pugnacious Musketeers of the "intervention." At the far end was the private room of the Editor-in-Chief of Il Popolo—one could scarcely call it an "office" and not abuse the word. It was a poor, bare room, fairly upholstered with papers of every description, and the dusty air was laden with the tell-tale odor of printer's ink.

We entered the news room, closely followed by suspicious eyes. The atmosphere upon our entrance confirmed what we had heard whispered outside, that the editorial offices of Il Popolo d'Italia were a fortress within the crumbling walls of an old building; a fortress in which restless vigilance was the order, especially in those tumultuous days when the Camera del Lavoro (the Socialist Chamber of Work) and the socialist newspaper Avanti awaited only the signal to hurl the masses of proletarians against those bloodthirsty men, those journalists, those "bandits" upstairs who "had sold themselves to the war for French gold."

We were received with scrutinizing glances and temporizing responses which revealed to us the perplexity of those watchers, who were ordered to treat all strangers as dangerous persons until their amicability could be definitely established. Finally they were made to understand our mission, and the suspense broke. A duel? Pooh! Only a duel, when they expected an attack, a battle, a siege? When over the front lines of half Europe guns were roaring? When it was already obvious that the Great War would crash through the sacred boundaries of Italy?

Knee-deep in publications, Mussolini stood before the work table in his room, rapidly scanning one newspaper after another. He did not change his position when we entered, but merely turned his head and scrutinized us with eyes that probed our souls. He was taller than average, stout rather than robust, and his granite face scanned well the arc of his inflexible will. He eyed us suspiciously, but said nothing.

Signor Cortini, who was Merlino's other second, was a lawyer, and on the strength of his profession it was up to him to be spokesman. I would help him out, I thought, if he should get himself into deep water; otherwise I would spend my time in observing this ramshackle chamber which served as headquarters for one of the most discussed men in Italy. My colleague was brief, as circumstances required. Mussolini replied with two shouts: "Morgagni! Giuliani!"

Morgagni and Giuliani immediately came as far as the threshold, and stopped short; the "office" was already overcrowded. Mussolini motioned toward them with a lazy, disinterested gesture, and told us that we could settle everything with them—they were his representatives.

The two men at once resumed their hostile attitude, for anything concerning their chief alarmed them. I well remember that pair in the tense moments which followed: Manlio Morgagni, the administrative pilot of that fighting newspaper, fat, with a trace of joviality in his face; his comrade, Alessandro Giuliani, assistant editor and Mussolini's general handy man, tall and slender, nervous and gloomy. Morgagni was very serious and dignified. Giuliani was impatient, and looked at us as much as to say, "Go to hell, both of you—you are just messing things up!"

We exchanged cards and decided to meet the following morning in the lobby of the Corso Hotel for our first consultation. To that first, we were obliged to add a second meeting, in order to discuss fully the gravity of the situation and to take care of all the minutiae directly associated with the duel. Like an ancient knight, Merlino had decided that the offense should be washed away with the last blood, and Mussolini characteristically declared that he would accept any conditions of his opponent. Our duties as seconds were to attenuate the resentment of the two parties as much as possible, keeping in mind always that it was a personal insult which had arisen out of a political dispute, and to have the matter settled in a more dignified and less dangerous manner if we could manage it. But, unfortunately, those slaps were still smarting. Merlino's cheek, and they cried for vengeance . . .

Our meetings were characterized by a ghastly seriousness
and extreme discretion on the part of everyone. The seconds to Mussolini were intimate friends, but we did not know them, they did not know us, nor did Cortini and I even know each other. We were like a council of war. I recall how my colleague, the lawyer, kept the chivalric code always in his hands, eager to interpret its articles; and how his haughty attitude revealed that it was the first time he had acted in the capacity of a second. I recall Giuliani, who was nervous, asthmatic, diffident, but at the same time very obliging, and eagerly awaiting the moment when all would be over. I recall Morgagni, who assumed the air of a grand duke, and who was quite thoroughly preoccupied with thoughts of an important subsequent appointment. And lastly, I recall the remaining delegate to this council: unprejudiced to the point of insensibility, busying himself passing cigarettes and cocktails to those three who chaffed under what appeared to them to be a mammoth responsibility, and assenting politely and effusively to anything Cortini said.

In the end we arrived at the inevitable conclusion that the only possible solution to the situation would be a duel.
The place: the salon of the Alhambra Theatre. The day: the next that was a Tuesday. The hour: eight o'clock in the morning. The weapon: the sword, without limitation of blows.

And that Tuesday came, February 2, 1915. The day was cold and the atmosphere milky; clouds rushed madly through a gray sky and rain threatened. Five minutes before eight o'clock a car drew up in front of the Alhambra, on Semipino Square, and three men descended: Merlino, Cortini and I. Three doctors awaited us in the large hall. They were men I had not met before, but when introduced I learned that they were Giudol Bonzoni, Ambrogio Binda and Riccardo Porzi, three well-known Milanese practitioners.

Our attitude was that of peaceful men meeting with no purpose other than to have a congenial breakfast together. We chatted absently and were removing our overcoats when the tranquility was broken by the sudden appearance of a group of men who came toward us following a stern-faced leader. As they neared us, this leader threw open his coat and exposed the tri-color—the symbol of authority. He commanded: "Gentlemen, do not move!"

We were stupefied. I recognized in the newcomer an old acquaintance of the San Fedele Police Headquarters. His name was Rizzo; he was a commissary of police, leader of the crack squadron that stood behind him, and curiously enough, he had the incumbrancy, some years later, of arresting Il Duce. At present he was looking for us. He had heard of those slaps in the face, knew they would not go unavenged, and had traced us to this point in order to avert a duel.

Realizing that resistance would be futile, we surrendered our arms. Rizzo advised us, with exaggerated kindness, that we had better adjourn to our homes, and then he started to leave. Before the intruders had left the room—at exactly eight o'clock—in burst the other combatants, Benito Mussolini and his two seconds. Startled at this unexpected sight, Mussolini stopped short. Then, with great composure, and seemingly very diffident, he proceeded toward Gallerati, the director of the duel, whom he saluted efficaciously. Giulian was making a bold attempt to prevent the confiscation of his sword—case when Rizzo turned to us and said, with an air of finality:

"I am obliged to notify you that this duel cannot take place. It is prohibited by law. I request that you leave at once and avoid the necessity of our taking more drastic measures."

"And the swords?" asked Cortini.

"They remain in our hands," answered the police officer.

At this point Mussolini dropped his calmness. Turning upon Rizzo, he spoke sharply: "I object to the interference of the police in private affairs that do not concern them!" Then, realizing that the authorities were merely fulfilling their duty before the law, he paused a moment, and then said: "All right, we will go."

Merlino, who had been silently witnessing the scene from one side, led the way out of the hotel, and the doctors, Cortini and I followed. Giuliani came up close to me and whispered in my ear, "At eleven o'clock at Restorco, in the San Cristoforo Tavern!"
We divided. The automobiles sped off in different directions and disappeared down the avenues that ran along the side of the park. Our car turned from one narrow lane to another, from a square into a street, now in the center of Milan, now in the outskirts, crossing railroads, entering garages—employing all manner of trickery in an attempt to outwit the police, who, we assumed, were hot on our trail. It was a difficult matter to cover our tracks, in spite of the fact that the crack squadron was at that time compelled to use bicycles. As it turned out, our efforts to escape were unnecessary, for the police had not pursued us. We learned later than the law regarding duels was interpreted very liberally, and that the authorities considered a duel legally averted when the weapons had been confiscated. It is interesting to note that Mussolini himself, when Prime Minister twelve years later, swept away the old traditions and compelled the law to be enforced by the letter.

* * *

Restovco, in the San Cristoforo Tavern.
A large, rustic, white house with a red tile roof, facing a road which runs along the canal planned by Leonardo da Vinci in the fifteenth century. Over the massive doors of the house, a large sign: a liter of wine, a glass on either side, and the motto, “Vino Buono.” Inside, a spacious room with walls smoked by the open fireplace, at the side of which sits a peasant girl cooking polenta over the glowing embers. Through the glass door one saw the bowling alleys behind the tavern—in these alleys the duel was to take place.

When we arrived in the open yard our opponents were already there, and they were trying to persuade the peasants who were playing bowls to leave. This the peasants condescended to do only after they had received their fill of free wine.

We proceeded with the preliminaries of the encounter. Once alone, a solemn silence came over us which was broken only by the clashing of steel as we measured the blades. An advantageous location was chosen on one of the alleys, and the opponents were assigned their initial positions—a procedure very vital when there is a dazzling sun, but that day the cloudy sky kept it from being a cardinal point.

Both duellists appeared calm. Merlino seemed lost in abstract thought; Mussolini, his eyes brilliant, seemed as ready to attack with the sword as with the speech. He was nervous, not because he feared the duel, but because it is his nature to be constantly alert. The men had removed their coats and vests, and had rolled their sleeves up beyond the elbow. It was cold, and the breeze cut. All nature seemed lifeless in the queer light that was like the pallor of dawn, and the descending clouds veiled the surrounding fields in an austere sadness.

All was ready. On one side of the alley stood Mussolini, speaking with his seconds in whispers that came to us as haunting drafts. Across the alley we were encouraging Merlino, who remained motionless and sphinx-like. Then suddenly he turned and smiled, and shook hands with Cortini and with me. And that ghastly silence descended over us again.

Swordpoints down, the combatants stood fixed, facing each other. For a few brief seconds they appeared more indifferent than two amateurs about to engage in a friendly contest. The director of the duel, Gallerati, stepped into the alley and raised his sword... a moment of tense suspense, then:

“TI YOU, gentle!!”

After the obligatory salute the first attack began. It was one of those prudent attacks which we use to test our opponent’s strength, to find his play, and to help us decide upon a plan of attack. Neither appeared an expert fencer. On the contrary, one might have thought them novices who had been obliged that same day to visit a salle d’armes in order to loosen their wrists and test their skill. They were cautious in attack, careful in defense, and of about equal ability. Merlino was tenacious, for the offense still burned within him; Mussolini was aggressive because he is of aggressive nature.

Two antagonistic temperaments: Merlino, cold as an Anglo-Saxon, his physiognomy expressionless; Mussolini, Latin, his eyes expressive, biting his lip, frowning. The former a ponderer, calculating, rigid but retreating; the latter agile, on the offensive, advancing steadily. Both courageous.

In the beginning the procedure was extremely reserved,
and neither cared to venture off the guard position. As a result there was only the exchange of feints, and an occasional clash of rigid blades when a powerless thrust met a vigilant parry. The swords moved lazily as the two attempted to feel the distance that interceded between them. Mussolini seemed to find himself first, and the points of the blades became more animated as he advanced rapidly, forcing Merlino to retreat until his back struck the tavern wall. In this manner the first attack ended.

The director called the combatants back to position and started them off again. The second attack was more vivacious than the first. The ice was broken and the contest became warmer as the struggle, play and tactics of each became known to the other; they became more rapid, more energetic, more vibrant. Mussolini passed to the offensive immediately, but Merlino clung stubbornly to his guard, keeping his eyes riveted on the chest of his opponent, waiting for him to expose a vulnerable spot. The swords darted, glinted and rebounded. Often there were powerful thrusts which were destined to slip along the blade and die on the hilt-guard. With every forceful lunge, Mussolini caused Merlino to unconsciously retreat. The young editor was showing a superiority due less to his technique than to his persevering offense. But in retreat Merlino displayed a maneuver to force his opponent to expose himself—a maneuver which should have been ultimately successful had Merlino been sufficiently agile to take advantage of the openings. At times the thrusts became so frequent and so strong that we believed a bloody finish to be imminent, and we nervously awaited the impending disaster, but fortunately the blows were successfully parried, and each exhausted itself in "a svinto." The anarchist’s defense was perfect; slowly he retreated until he again met the wall, and the second attack ended as did the first.

After a short pause the third followed, and it was furious: no more feints, no more testing thrusts. Prudence, so evident in the first attack, lingering through the second, was now abandoned. Both men desired to conclude the affair—Mussolini more than Merlino. The journalist advanced with an impulsion that made us fear a catastrophe. Blows which had been reserved were now let loose; the etiquette of fencing was cast aside, and the duel degenerated into a violent battle of slashing and swinging blades. I shall remember this assault always for its intrepid fury. Here, as never before, was betrayed the lack of a method diligently learned. Each movement was now dangerous; if, in that furious confusion, any of the mad slashes had evaded parry, one of the participants surely have been cut in two.

Mussolini maintained his guard, which still rendered invulnerable all his body, and at the same time he controlled the thrusts of Mussolini, whose onslaught grew more vigorous momentarily. Their faces seemed petrified. On the one side, the stern face of the anarchist; on the other, the impenetrable mask of the Interventisti—that mask of Napoleonic resemblance which descends upon the face of Il Duce in critical moments; a mask which is an amalgamation of hardness, courage and rigidity, and which indicates that his brain, having reached a dynamic climax, is about to make a decision.

It seemed that under any of the sword blows, the thin body of Merlino should be crushed and halved, but the strokes fell short or were deviated from their fatal path. The swords now clashed, glanced, glittered. In the midst of his opponent’s pugnacious attacks, Merlino apparently believed that the moment had come to strike the coup de grace, and he tried vainly to take advantage of Mussolini’s carelessness.

Suddenly, swift as lightning, a deft blow, and Mussolini dropped back quickly. On Merlino’s right shoulder appeared a crimson stain that darkened into a living purple as it spread. The anarchist did not move; he stood firm, immobile, staring at Mussolini, who—without knowing it—was also bleeding from the right arm. A timely parry had stopped Mussolini’s blade as it tore through Merlino’s shoulder muscles, and a répétition had slashed Mussolini’s arm. Both were wounded; Mussolini less seriously than Merlino.

"Gentlemen, we shall continue!" announced Mussolini when he perceived the blood dropping from his elbow.

But the encounter was discontinued, and the seconds circled the duelists to aid the doctors. The silence was broken only by the voice of the young editor, saying, "It is nothing—nothing. A mere scratch."
With great difficulty, and not without considerable pain, Merlin’s hemorrhage was stopped, and he silently allowed the doctors to dress his wound. Perhaps he was uneasy, for, unlike Mussolini, he was among men of an hour’s acquaintance, not companions of faith.

The double wounding gave us pretext to proclaim the inferiority of one of the duelists, and thus to end the combat. As seconds it was our strict duty to make them continue, but after considering that both the first and second bloods had been shed—avenging technically Merlin’s honor—and after realizing the probable outcome of a fourth furious attack, we decided upon discontinuation entirely. And it was a wise decision, for at the climax of this violence we might have witnessed a fatality like that of the well known Italian writer and representative, Felice Cavallotti, seventeen years before; a fatality which would have removed from the political scene the leader of the New Italy, sacrificing at the point of the sword the future of a people, and—permit me to say—the honor of a nation.

Signor Merlin made no objection, but received the decision with an arrogant calm. When Mussolini came toward him with a smile, Merlin arose and extended his hand in reconciliation. The men embraced one another, sealing in their silence a past of battles fought side by side, but in different fields—battles fought for ideals.

"Bravo! You have a strong heart," said Mussolini, "and I recognize in you much of that 'little courage' which you accused me of having!"

So ended the duel fought on the frozen plains of Lombardia by the leading exponents of the two principles which divided Italy. It was a miniature prototype of the gigantic combat which a few years later was fought on the ground of the entire nation, and in which the participants represented the same—but stronger—political parties and in which the aggressiveness of Il Duce enabled him to once more defeat his opponents in the open field, redeeming his country and placing himself first in the hearts of the Italians.
IL PRIMATO
DEGLI ITALIANI NELLA STORIA
E NELLA CIVILTA' AMERICANA

di E. C. BRANCHI

LICINIO OAPPELLI - PUBLISHER
BOLOGNA
LE FASI STORICHE DEL PRIMATO

L'introduzione.
L'esordio.
Il vastissimo dell'America.
Il primato navale.
I progressi di Colombo.
La scoperta del Nuovo Mondo.
Gli esploratori dei mari.
Il bastiono dell'America.
La grandezza del Rinascimento Marittimo.
L'astrazione agli italiani.
Il baluardo dell'Europa.
Il primato dell'esercito.
Grandi italiani ignoti.
Nella gloria degli standard americani.
Il fattore dieciro dell'emancipazione.
Gli italiani nell'aura della libertà.
I fuochi di rinasciment.
L'area dei due mondi.
Italiani, italiani, sempre italiani.
L'emigrazione europea e l'emigrazione italiana.
L'evoluzione dell'emigrazione italiana.
La missione storica dell'America.
I destinatari della nostra terra.
Il primato nell'emigrazione italiana.
Orme italiane negli Stati Uniti.
Grandi italiani contemporanei.
I cardinali della civiltà.
Il nuovo primato.
L'apostolato dell'Italianità.
Il Commissario
Appendice
L'INVOCAZIONE

A Voi — enti fratelli presenti ed assenti — che nell'agone ultimi gladiatori siete discesi e che vi riallacciate al « primo immigrante » per la sorgente dell'origine, limitando fra i due attimi secolari la trasmissione di questi popoli che or l'ospitalità vi concedono;

Con Voi — enti fratelli vicini e lontani — che trasumanando l'eccele virtù e la ga-gliarda fibra della Stirpe, ingenti ilie ed urrie-chite la generosa e selvaggia terra di Powhatan, di Montezuma, di Atahualpa e di Caupolican;

Per Voi — enti fratelli noti ed ignoti — che dalla fonte millennia scaturite di quella Progenie che, fra l'altra del mondo civile, tutto all'America ha donato per non riceverne e non sopportazione e disprezzo:

A Voi, con Voi e per Voi — altissima Io elevo alla Corte suprema dell'Umana Giustizia l'orazione triestore del nostro Primato come una prova che più di ogni'altra prova comprova,

come un'arma che più di ogni'altra arma disarmi.

Il presente glo
L’ESORDIO

Nell’ora presente in cui la sacra e mille-aria quercia della Stirpe di novelle fronde e di novelle bacche s’adorna irrobustendosi alla nuova primavera in una più pura e più ter-sa atmosfera — tempo è venuto di raccogliere le sparse gesta eroiche dell’Italia progenie in una grande opera affinché possa rimanere, nella storia internazionale, monumento di par-ragone fra le nazionalità più civili lanciate alla conquista morale del mondo.


L’istoria più fulgida, quella che parla alle gesti del mondo, quella che attesta la nostra supremazia non è stata ancor scritta.
IL VATICINIO DELL'AMERICA

Chi se non Dante — il sommo dei poeti umani — poteva vaticinare la scoperta dell’America due secoli prima che le caravelle di Colombo — il Navigatore — salpassero da Pales?

È nel XXVI canto dell’Inferno che la prodigiosa predizione si ammira. Dante supera Omero nell’“Odissea” animando con divina fantasia e con scientifica precisione il tragico viaggio di Ulisse. Egli immagina che l’eroe greco con i suoi ardimenzi argonauti dopo aver solcato il Mediterraneo, lasci

...quella foce stretta
ov’Ercole segnò il rivo riguardi
ancor che l’acqua più oltre non si metta
raggiungendo ciò che acce se oltre lo stretto di Gibilterra — che allor prendeva il nome di
"colonne d’Ercole" — alla ricerca dei “mondo senza gente”. La nave volge la poppa nel mastino e allontanandosi dal vecchio continente semplice accostando dal lato mancino
ci addita per la prima volta la rota del sud-crist, verso cioè l’America meridionale. Sor-

montata la linea dell’equatore ci descrive con

esattezza astronomica l’emisfero australe nel quale è penetrato:
Tratte la stella già dell’altro polo
vede la notte, e il nostro tanto basso
che non sporge fuor del marin cieco.

La navigazione procede nel mar ignoto per ben cinque mesi, per tanto tempo cioè quanto avrebbe dovuto impiegare una “triere” alata a compiere la traversata oceanica:
cinque volte ronzano, e tanto vasto lo aere era di sotto della luna.

Ed ecco che finalmente profetizza la sco-
perta del nuovo continente suggellando l’im-
presa del “folle volo”:
Quando s’appare una montagna bruna
per la distanza, o pervenir alla terra
quando veduta non l’averra alunna.

Quale “montagna bruna” se non quella
di Capo San Rocco, l’estrema prominenza atlan-
tica del Brasile sulla quale tutte le rotte del-
ell’Europa convergono per mutare il rombo e
seguiere costaeggando il litorale americano?
Dante, dunque, vaticina l’esistenza del
“Mundus Novus” con incredibile esattezza,
nell’epoca in cui lo splendore della civiltà ita-
lica aveva riscoperto la vita, dopo millenari
di barbarie, le giovani Nazioni atlantiche che
comincieranno a chiamarsi Francia ed Inghil-
terra, Spagna e Portogallo, Olanda e Germania.
IL PRIMATO NAVALE

Al vaticinio segue l'azione.
L'eredità delle genti fenicie, strappata da Roma alle flotte di Cartagine, aveva denominato il Mediterraneo «Mare Nostrum» per la stipe italicca. Il mondo civile si raccoglieva ancor attorno all'azzurro cuore del Mar Mediterraneo, fin dove cioè le legioni di Roma portato avano le aquile imperiali. Solitario all'oriente uno sprazzo di luce, ostenebrato tosto dalla notte dei turcomanni, si era rivelato alla conoscenza umana fino al Cataio fino al Cipango — per opera di Marco Polo.

Ormai è l'ora che l'ardimento italicco prema alle porte lontane del Mar aperto malgrado che le nozioni geografiche dell'epoca, basate su narrazioni di pochi fantasiosi, tramutino i deserti in oceani e gli oceani in deserti, segnalino l'Atlantide e i baratti spaventosi del termine terrestre ed animino le onde di mostri portentosi, di sirene ammalatrici e anco di tali perturbazioni atmosferiche che neppure l'omnipotenza del Dio Creatore avrebbe potuto e saputo placare.

Siamo nell'epoca aurea delle Repubbliche marinare.
costruire le navi altiorie e della scienza di navigare le azzurre distese.

Navigatore, nell'auero periodo dell'ardimento navale, ha un sinonimo solo: « Italiano ».

I PRECURSORI DI COLOMBO

Fra Dante e Colombo due secoli sono dedicati al tentativo di navigare all'Ocidente e sono sempre e quasi tutti piloti italiani che marcano la tappe della scoperta maggiore, avvistando oltre i terreni del Capo No, le terre sorgenti dall'acqua. La storia della geografia s'inizia quando, sfondata la porta del Mediterraneo, la scia azzurra delle galeotti italiane — sudeste — s'avanza di onda in onda, di scoglio in scoglio sulla via dell'America sconosciuta.

Madera e le isole Azzorre sono scoperte da navigatori genovesi un secolo prima che i Portoghesi se ne attribuiscano la scoperta. Niccolò e Antonio da Zeno nel XIV secolo rimontano, con navi di loro proprietà, le coste del Mediterraneo e dopo aver avvistato le isole Farover, l'Islandia, la Groenlandia e Terranova percorrono al Labrador, precedendo di un secolo la scoperta del grande Genovese, scoperta che non viene ad essi attribuita perché la relazione del viaggio prodigioso sarà solamente data alle stampe nel 1556. 5) Lanzarotte Malocello scopre le isole Canarie, Alvise Cadamosto ed Antonio da Noli scoprono le isole di Capo Verde costeggiando l'Africa per conto del Re di Portugalio. I fratelli Vivaldi scoprono la Sene-gambia e periscono naufragando sulle coste della Guinea. San't'Elena, di啮齿动物的象牙, è segnata sulle carte del Trecento col nome genovese di « isola de Braxe ». Oltre queste estreme vedette oceaniche non vi è altro che il continente ignoto seppellito nella note dei tempi: vi è l'America !

Le crociate e gli ardimenti delle statue marine attrarono gli sguardi delle giovani nazioni dell'Atlantico.

« Navigare cognisi e... »

Sistibondi di gloria azzurra i Reami d'Europa chiamano i maestri d'ascia italiani per farsi apprestare le flotte veicole per la conquista dell'Atlantico. Dalle baie sperute dell'ignoto oceano s'irradia la febbrile navale... Ma perché nessuno ardisce ancor scostarsi dalle rive domestiche ? Perché nessuno ancor osa scrutare nel fondo del terreno sconosciuto ?

È perché i Reami non hanno navigatori dal saldo cuore, né piloti che sappiano di matematiche e di astrolabio, né gabbieri capaci
LA GRANDEZZA DEL RINASCIMENTO MARITTIMO

Or ditemi, o lettori miei, avete mai conosciuta una storia più fulgida, più geniale, più eroica di questa dell'era dei discoprimenti? Avete mai udito di una stirpe tanto superiore che, sprezzando il bene materiale, s'immola per l'idale supremo dell'arte e della scienza per impingiare d'oro le nazioni che le sono e le saranno nemici?

La storia del «Rinascimento Marittimo» è una rivelazione meravigliosa d'italico ardimento che i nostri storici non hanno saputo vagliare. Ne abbiamo finora ignorato la grandezza. Essa ebbe per la scienza la stessa importanza che per l'arte ebbe il «Rinascimento fiorentino». Noi esaltiamo la storia delle Repubbliche marinare ma tacciamo della vicenda eroica dei Navigatori. La prima ha importanza europea; la seconda mondiale. La prima rchiude l'aurora dei traffici moderni; la seconda getta le basi delle scienze nautiche: della geografia, dell'astronomia, della navigazione, della cosmo grafia, dell'oceano grafia, della idro grafia, della cartografia e del magnetismo terrestre.

IL PRIMO BIO.

Su le genti anglo-sassoni potessero annoverare fra i loro grandi gli scopritori italiani, il mondo eseghirrebbe della gloria di quest'ultimi alla pari di quella di Platone e di Aristotile. Appartengono alla nostra prosapia secondono invece alla qualifica che da Diego, figlio di Colombo, ci proviene.

E noi, per i primi, li abbiamo dimenticati. Dimenticati perché ignoriamo in patria per fin lo storico giorno da cui ha iniziato l'era presente — il 12 Ottobre — e lasciamo che il tributo di riconoscenza sia ogni anno portito alla memoria di Colombo dagli americani con le commemorazioni del «Columbus Day» e del «Dia de La Raza».

Or ditemi, o lettori miei, dopo tanto splendore di storia radiosa vi è proprio il bisogno che in questa prima parte della mia opera io proclami il primato degli italiani?

L'OSTRACISMO AGLI ITALIANI

Lasciamo pure che, ornati rivelato dai nostri, il nuovo mondo sia disputato fra le nazioni marittime e che v'invilino i loro pionieri unitamente ai rifiuti delle sabbie europee.

Nell'America settentrionale s'installano gli...
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MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF DOCTOR
PHILIP MAZZEI
Translated by Dr. E. C. Branchi
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First Installment

Before dawn, as we were nearing Cape Charles and Cape Henry, a pilot came aboard. I learned from him that the Colonial Assembly was still in session in Williamsburg, and that it was about to adjourn. I also learned that Williamsburg was not far distant from the James River, and that Mr. Epe's house, where I could stop, was between the City and the River. We were then forty miles from the coast; but the wind and tide being in our favor, we soon landed. Mr. Epe's house was four miles from the River, and the same distance from Williamsburg. The pilot had a boy accompany me to the house, where we found everyone at lunch. I did not join them, as I had already taken lunch. Mr. Thomas Adams, Mr. Thomas Jeffeson, and...
Mr. Samuel Griffin had previously given notice of my arrival, and Mr. Eppes, whose wife was the sister of Mr. Jefferson's wife, had not neglected it. At once, he hitched up two carriages. With the first, he sent his wife to take Madame Martin and her daughter from the ship, and with the other he conducted me to Williamsburg to the home of Mr. Richard Adams. I had previously told Mr. Adams, whose home was in Richmond, about sixty miles above Williamsburg, I believe, that I had sent a ship of wine from London. The next day, we received an early visit from Mr. Adams' brother Thomas, who had been notified of my arrival by Mr. Eppes, the husbands of the two men being only sixteen miles apart.

Williamsburg could really be called a town rather than a city, although it was the site of the Governor's Palace, the Capitol, the College, the Court, and the residence of all the representatives of the Colony when the Assembly was in session. The greater number of people in town when I arrived, for the Assembly was in session, but adjourned that very day, and the various representatives who were about to leave remained a day longer in order to see the new citizen of whom Mr. Thomas Adams had spoken so favorably.

Before the arrival of Mr. Adams, two gentlemen had welcomed me; first of whom was Mr. George Washington, later famous as Commander of the American Army during the war against England, as a result of which was born the Republic of the United States, whose first President was Mr. Washington. The other was Mr. Wythe, a resident of Williamsburg, and one of the greatest teachers that the world has produced, supreme in the Law, and the teacher of Mr. Jefferson. Several others came, to whom Mr. Adams remarked that he had made an engagement to send much grain to Leghorn, in which port there had never been anchored a ship from Virginia. There were many ships already loaded, having the Sugi Islands (West Indies) as their destination. The orders of twelve of these ships were changed, and the grain was brought to Philadelphia, and I was obliged to buy both the ship and grain cargo, and to have the grain transported from the seller. I foresaw that by the other ship's leaving such a long time before mine, I risked rather than making money; but my vanity was stronger than my business acumen, and I bought the ship and grain cargo. I wanted to show them in Tuscany that it is not necessary to be greedy to be rich, and I hoped that they might treat me personally with more respect.

I soon learned that the large number of good and helpful friends (greater than my expectations) who assisted me in everything, did not, without doubt, bring the kind and favorable notice given of me before my arrival by Jefferson, Adams, and others.

The ship which I had chartered was the largest in Leghorn, and also larger than any I had seen in Virginia when I arrived. I had obtained it for a good price, having promised the captain a large load of tobacco to carry to London.

The tobacco was procured before the contracted time had expired, and the good and able Captain Rogers was pleasantly surprised; but on the eve of sailing, he was stricken with a fever which endangered his life and caused a long and painful recovery. He had much for me to do: I had to buy a ship and grain to send to Leghorn, to fix the place of my residence, and to provide for my safety for the persons with me as well as for myself, in a strange new country. Hence I could not help Captain Rogers as I desired; but I recommend him to his new friends who were able to assist him, and every time he saw me he could not speak highly enough of their attention and courtesy, attributing it entirely to the esteem and the good will in which they held me.

Mr. Thomas Adams advised me in everything. He conducted me to Norfolk, where he helped me to buy from Philip and Rodman a good brigantine of 170 or 180 tons, which I put under the command of Captain Woodford, a young Virginia gentleman and a friend of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. He possessed an education far superior to that of the ordinary seaman, and he was well-known and accepted for his true worth by my friends in Florence and in Leghorn.

I gave Captain Woodford a present for the Grand Duke Leopold—three deer, two male and one female, a little smaller than ours, because their hide is somewhat similar to that of the tiger; three kinds of birds, one of which was so brilliantly red that it was called a cardinal was in session. The action of the Cabinet of Saint James in attempting to tax tea was fruitless, as I had predicted, and I foretold other possibilities.

I spent about a month in Leghorn, and then went to Florence, where I saw the famous scholar, the famous painter, and the young Countess of Leghorn. I did not see any more of the city, as I had been in Leghorn for five years. The city of Florence is the most beautiful in the world, and I have seen many fine cities. The people are polite, and the women are very pretty.

The grain was soon provided. Then, wishing to send two barrels of flour as a gift to my relatives and friends in Leghorn, I went to Mr. John Banister, a great landowner who had many mills continually in action, and whose flour was equal, if not superior, to the best in Virginia, which was the finest of all the Colonies. He sent frequently an enormous quantity to Philadelphia where there was an abundance of merchants, while in Virginia there was an abundance of planters. He gave me the two barrels that I desired, and I wrote to my relatives to distribute a barrel to each of the friends of Philadelphia flouring. I am sure they have never seen its equal. Then say that you have made a mistake,—that it is from Virginia, and not from Philadelphia. And I am sure that it is better than the flour you are used to (although it has come from Virginia), put before their eyes this letter that I have written in order that they may realize what I have once seen, but they may not expect.

I had asked Mr. Adams before he sailed for England what land might be expected for me in the legs of land that he obtained five thousand acres for me from the Legislature; but it did not suit me to accept it, for it was divided into many pieces, far distant from one another.

Mr. Adams has sold the house in which he lived, and also all his properties, and he had bought another about one hundred sixty miles above Williamsburg, in Augusta County, and about fifty miles beyond the Blue Ridge mountains, a name given them by the first European immigrants because the atmosphere at a distance that extends to the top of which separates Augusta County from Allegheny County, in which Mr. Jefferson is living, about twenty miles this side of the mountains.

We left together to go there. We decided to determine where it was possible to construct a house, and to have an opportunity of seeing if I might buy a tract of land next to his, if the region was suitable to me. We agreed to pass two or three days with Mr. Jefferson, who lived a very short distance off our route.
Mr. Jefferson was thirty-two years old, or eleven younger than his wife; both were widows when they married at the age of twenty-three, and they had a baby girl a few months old. We arrived three
out evening, and the following morning Jefferson and I, while the others slept, went walking in the neighborhood. He took me to the house of a poor man, who had a small house and about four hundred acres of land bordering Mr. Jefferson's, of which he had cleared and cultivated about an eighth part which he wanted to sell, for he had several sons, and by going farther inland about a hundred miles he could, with half the money from the land which he had sold, buy a quantity sufficient to leave to each of his sons a portion equal to that which he bought.

That little house was more than sufficient for the peasants I had brought with me. It was in a small valley which sloped upward on two sides, one of which formed a spagagna, and the other—longer and higher—a hill, on which we agreed to build a house for my travelers. The land of Mr. Jefferson bordered that which I had bought, and as he had much more than he needed, he made me a present of a tract the contents of which appeared to be about two thousand acres.

He had other possessions in the county adjoining Albemarle, the products of which he sold for about two thousand pounds sterling, always using what he needed for himself and his relatives.

When we returned, all the others had risen, and Mr. Adams, seeing Mr. Jefferson, said, "I see in your face that you have taken him from me, and I expected it." Jefferson, without paying any attention to him, looked at the table and said, "Let's take breakfast, and later we'll arrange everything." After breakfast, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr. Eppes, in which he told him to send us my men from the ship, together with some things described in a note, and to tell Madame Martin that soon after the arrival of my men, Mr. Adams and I would come for her and her daughter.

Mr. Adams left at once for Augusta. He did not return from his trip until after the men arrived. The ship was well, but had never heard it spoken. Nevertheless, with my men, we understood him and they understood him. I was impressed by their demonstrations of joy at the circumstances. Jefferson had among his slaves very skilful workers in every trade except tanning, so soon as he saw the use of our spades and implements, and well-educated, he had them duplicated for the use of all his tenants. He liked our carriages, or hunting-coats, and adopted it at once. His neighbors imitated him, and the use of the coat spread with great rapidity. This was good for the tailor, because, being obliged to work for me and my men, it had to support him in everything. Any other work he might find was entirely to his profit.

While I waited for Mr. Adams, I put my men to work clearing the land, beginning at the part already cultivated and extending to beyond the hill where I wanted to build my house. In order to accelerate the work, I hired two good negroes, but I did not use any of our spades and implements, which he might have used and the work as did the other people of the country.

To save work, instead of digging around the trees and cutting them below the surface, I adopted the system of cutting them far enough above ground that the chopper would not have to bend over to strike them with his axe. There were some landowners who, by their living with me, the daughter of Jefferson's, could not marry in this country, where the slightest suspicion of living together without being married was an abominable thing, dis-

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I continued this work for four years, each year using more help. I did not have the unpleasantness of seeing from my house or from Mr. Jefferson's, the dried skeleton-like trees, or trunks about a yard high, because in that vicinity the land which was not wooded had been cultivated for half a century.

On the top of the hill there was a small plain, which to the naked eye appeared to be perfectly level, large enough to make on the south side a spacious meadow, perfectly secure; and also on the north another strip, about thirty yards wide, beyond which there was a gentle slope about a sixth of a mile long.

I ordered the entire plain to be cleared, with the exception of a few scattered trees which were to be trimmed so as to present the best appearance, and whole meadows to be enclosed by a stockade, with another dividing the plain from the slope; the middle to have a gate, directly in front of the house, which was to be the same in the middle of the land on that side as the larger door on the other side. Also, there were to be two other gates on the lateral sides of the stockade, in case there was a load of baggage, opposite one another, and a distance from the road which passed in front of the house.

Mr. Jefferson burdened himself with overseeing the execution of this work, because, at the return of Mr. Adams, wanted to go with him to give Captain Woodford my dispatches and to send to Monticello and Colle the rest of the things, and to conduct Madame Martin with her daughter to the house of Mr. Jefferson, where they would remain until our house was finished. There were also to be four other houses, two of which were to be two stories high, in a direct line with the big house, and one which I used as a magazine, and the other as my office; the remaining two houses were to be one story high, behind the other two, in order to form a quadrangle, and to be used as a meat house and a kitchen.

On going with Mr. Adams to attend to my business affairs, I was taken with the house of the widow he intended to marry as soon as his house in Augusta was finished. He was my age, and she was much younger—charming, of good breeding, and well-educated.

The next day when we were travelling, I talked with him of his future marriage, and I complimented him for his choice. He advised me to take the same step with Madame Martin.

At first, I thought he was joking; but seeing that he spoke serious, I said that I had had a great affection for her husband, who was a gentleman and a good man. For love of him, only, I had taken myself the burden of taking care of his wife and his daughter. I told Mr. Adams I had helped them and that I would continue to help them in the future, but that I did not believe myself obliged to sacrifice my wife.

He said I needed a woman in my house who would have an attachment for my person and my interests; that, having visited at my house for a few months in London, he realized that I could not wish for a better woman; that separating myself from those two persons would be the most cruel thing, and that the daughter of Jefferson's, whose marriage at this time, could not marry in this country, where the slightest suspicion of living together without being married was an abominable thing, dis-
honoring the man more than the woman, since he was supposed to be the seducer.

I made objections, among which I said that in certain circumstances I had noted her to be vain and haughty. I was afraid of the development and consequences of this, for, passing from the state of dependent to that of owner, I was sure that she would lose all reserve and moderation. He contended that I deceived myself, and he spoke so convincingly that I was persuaded. Hardly had we arrived at the house of Mr. Eppes before we all went to Mr. Richard Randolph, Justice of the Peace, who married us and gave us a magnificent banquet.

We remained here the next day, and then we went to Williamsburg, where I gave my letters and those of my countrymen to Captain Woodford, who sailed immediately for Leghorn. Afterwards, I went to see Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, to be naturalized, as I had already visited him when I was formerly in Williamsburg, and he had extended me an invitation to dinner, which was unable to accept. That day, I accepted and promised to return for a visit to the beautiful lady of the Governor. From that day, I became the more intimate acquaintance of the Governor and his family, and was the more inclined to accept his invitation to dinner. The lady of the Governor was the Countess of Dunmore.

At first sight, it seemed to me that she deserved a better husband, and I soon learned that I was not mistaken. There were two daughters—one seventeen and the other fifteen and a half years old—as charming as their mother, both in personality and in appearance; and one son, who seemed disposed to imitate his father.

The unnatural policy pursued by the Cabinet of the Colonies in subjugating the Colonies, was that of "divide et impera," and to attack them separately. But the scheme was discovered, and the Assembly of Virginia, shortly before my arrival, had elected a committee of seven persons to correspond with the other Colonies (all of which adopted the same method), so that if anything happened in one, it would immediately be known to all the others.

The institution of that plan which saved the Colonies, was due to Mr. Dalhyn Carr, cousin of Thomas Jefferson, of whom I have hitherto spoken, and who died at the age of thirty, a little before my arrival. Jefferson, who often lamented that he had not known his illustrious cousin, preserved the memory of that plan by an inscription on his tomb. The Governor had regarded the plan with indifference, but he was sharply reprimanded by the government for not dissolving the Assembly as soon as heard the proposal; and if he was not recalled, it was because he was a Scotchman, a friend of Lord Bute.

The friction between the Cabinet of St. James and the Colonies increased, and the Governor followed the advice of the Cabinet only in order to retain his own position.

Believing that he could make a convert of me, he became so intimate that I easily saw the weakness of his mind and the meanness of his heart. I returned with my wife and my stepdaughter to Monticello, and I told Jefferson what I had heard from the Governor, and that I had my own opinion regarding the future course of events. We agreed to publish a periodic treatise attempting to show people the true state of affairs and the necessity of preparing ourselves to ward off being taken by surprise, if attacked; for I knew the capacity of the Governor of St. James, particularly, the actors. I wrote in my own language, and he translated it into English.

This was the cause of the formation of a company of volunteers in every county, called "The Independent Companies"; and the cause, later, of an election of representatives to compose a Convention instead of the Assembly; for we did not wish to separate from Great Britain, and the right of convening the Assembly rested with the Governor, who called the Assembly in order to break up the Convention. But the people elected the same men. The Governor did not recognize them as representatives, so they remained in the Convention. They elected a committee of nine to watch over the good order of the Colony in the absence of the Convention, and to correspond with the twelve other Colonies, which work until then had been carried out by a Committee of Correspondence of seven created by the Assembly. They also agreed that each Colony elect a committee of twelve to care for that county and to correspond with the committee of the Colony.

In my county there were about twelve hundred voters, and everyone who so wished could run for office.

The election was held about eight months after my arrival in Virginia. More than half the time I was not in the county. Nevertheless, I was elected one of the twelve, only five of whom received more votes than I. Since Jefferson was a member of the Convention, he could not be elected.

Later, I was elected one of the twelve members of the vestry to care for the peace of my parish, and among my colleagues I was elected one of the two administrators. The Deputies of the Colony, who lived in the Capitol during the session of the Assembly, received an emolument from the public treasury, which just about paid their expenses; but my work, which did not oblige me to leave the County, was gratuitous. I was very happy in the result of both elections, because of the joy shown by the poor people I had brought with me.

Captain Woodford arrived from Leghorn with his brigantine and brought me many things which I had ordered, among which was a great quantity of cloaks and silk goods from Florence. I had hardly received Captain Woodford's letter when I went to visit Signor Stefano Bettola, to whom I had shipped the brigantine, sent me two teams of horses and several things from his relatives. Six young men from Luca, persuaded by what Antonio di Filibbola had written to his country, came to enter my service. Carlo Bellini and his wife also arrived, hoping that I might be able to obtain for Carlo more advantageous employment than that which he had under the Tuscan administration, and also because of our friendship which was charged to my expenses to arrive at the ship as soon as possible. But, when I arrived I found only the captain and his crew: a landlord who lived nearby, knowing the captain and me had taken care of both man and beast; and he treated the Bellini couple as if he had known them as if they were the babia.

The good Geppa Bellini, widow of Mr. Boncioni and one of the industrious watchmaker Simone Paroli, being seriously ill some ten years later, as a result of an apoplectic stroke which caused her to lose the use of her limbs, said, as she looked at her husband, that he was both younger than he. "My sons, I am very sorry to die, for I have known them that I have not been long enough among these good people.

She did not die then. She lived for three years more; always con...
all of my time; but I had the satisfaction of being understood and of being noticed by my great hero.

It was clearly seen from the policy of the Cabinet of St. James that if we did not wish to be the victims, we should have to arm ourselves; and, necessarily, the result would be either liberty or the cruelest slavery. If we obtained freedom, we must establish a good government; but to do so, it was necessary to overcome the prejudices of those people who were accustomed to regard the English government as a model of perfection.

When I showed these defects to Jefferson, he was greatly surprised, and he said that he had never noticed them. "This is the true and noble country," said he, "which has preserved you from recognising it; since boyhood you have always believed that that government was the best possible, and you certainly have read the English writers who prove it. It is much preferable to the Roman republic. You believe that it is not so."

I had brought several kinds of seed with me, for I knew they would be well received in Virginia, particularly the cinquefoil corn and the piévole wheat which is grown much beyond the opinion of any other. I remembered that this grain was extensively cultivated in the mountainous districts of Casentino and Valdarco in Tuscany.

The men appreciated the wheat and the corn. In Virginia—and I believe it is the same in the other Colonies—the wife directs everything in the house, and the husband looks after the outside affairs, except as to the purchase of certain provisions, of which the wife advises him of the need. This is observed with great exactness. When the woman needs a person employed in work outside the house, she asks the husband; and vice versa. Women are very ambitious and try to place themselves better in the house and the translation which are not in season. Among nine or ten kinds of corn preferable to ears of wheat in the quantity, and others for different purposes. The Colonies, and who was also afterwards confirmed in that office by the new government (very deservedly, because of his honesty and his exactness there was no one who could be more fitted for it), looking grateful to me, said, "Mr. Madison, I am afraid of it to lose the constitution." And I replied, "Mr. Treasurer, if I had every constitution, I should think myself a consummate fool. Everybody was pleased with the answer, and laughed; especially Mr. Jefferson, who was near me, looked at me with great satisfaction. He appeared to be about seventy years of age. I did not know him, as I afterwards learned, that some years earlier he had written and published the very same piece that he was wearing on the right of the Colony I read it with much pleasure, and I cited it in my Historique et Politique Recherches des Etats-Unis (Amérique Septentrionale).

Among the gests was George Mason, a comoade and an intimate friend of George Washington, later a general, and who contributed so much of the constitution to the establishment of liberty in America. The second day after my arrival in Virginia, Mr. Adams introduced me to several cultured men, among whom was Mr. Mason. After we left his house, I told Mr. Adams that a man such as he ought without doubt to be esteemed highly; "but in my opinion," I added, "he is not well known." He is one of those brave, rare-talented men who cause Nature a great effort to produce—a Dana, a Macchiaveli, a Galvani, a Newton, a Franklin, a Torgot, an Elzevir, and so on." Mr. Mason made several profound, opportune and very useful re
marks which, by means of the guests—of whom only two were from the same County—were quickly spread throughout the country, as was everything else which was said on that subject so interesting to everyone.

The same day that Mr. Adams introduced me to Mr. Mason, he took me to Mr. Peyton Randolph, for a long time Speaker of the Assembly, and later of the Convention, and finally President of the first Congress of the United Colonies in Philadelphia, where he died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His death was universally lamented, and the ladies of Philadelphia were mourning for him an entire year.

He wanted me to dine with him, but I could not do so then. I promised him, however, that I would on the first occasion possible.

The next day, after dining at the Tavern, I recounted the brief dialogue I had had with the Treasurer. All the guests greatly enjoyed it, especially the landlord, who said in a compassionate air, "He is a good man." Everyone applauded my attempt to enliven it.

"That it could not be done at a more favorable time, and telling me not to put more efforts on my efforts," Mr. Randolph said to me. "Of this, I have no fear."

I knew it before he came among us, for Thomas Adams had pictured him to me.

From time to time, I went home to see how my orders were being carried out, and to issue new ones; also, to talk with Mr. Jefferson about affairs of my own and of the public.

I learned from my men, who had explored the woods, that they had observed two hundred varieties of wild grapes. I myself had observed thirty-six on my own property—good, fair, and bad. I chose six of the best to make two barrels of wine, one of which I saved for myself, and the other I gave to my men. They did not drink the wine, but sold it for a shilling a bottle. In my opinion, when the country is populated in proportion to its extent, the best wine in the world may be made here. It must be remembered that the wild grapes from which I made the two barrels of wine were picked from the top of a tree in a very dense woods, and the wine had a tremendous number of branches. When I pulled the corks three months later, it was like the sparkling wine of Champagne. I do not believe that nature is so favorable to growing wines in any country as in this. I measured two which were more than a foot and a half in circumference. The shoots of the big grape produced wines of such size that my men wanted me to make wine. The first year they produced branches of such length that my good Vincenzo Rossi told me, "Master don't write of this to our village, because they won't believe it, and you'll pass for a liar."

The second year after my arrival, an event occurred which had never happened before in the memory of man. During the night of the fourth or fifth of May, 1774, the north-west wind caused a frost which killed the grain and froze all the young trees and caused them to remain frozen until the next year. It was very distressing to see the woods as bare of leaves in June as in Winter. The grapes were rather small and frost-bitten, and the joints of the new branches suffered; but the vine grew out again and produced about half the quantity of grapes of the preceding year, and ripened about the same time.

Speaking of this with Doctor Bland, a nephew of Richard, who had been in Europe to study medicine at Edinburgh, he said to me, "In this country, I assure you, it is possible to kill the vine only by fire."
vention returned prudently to Richmond, because the circumstances required that the public documents and representatives in charge of affairs be removed from the coast.

Then came the news from Boston that the port had been blockaded by the British, and that a skirmish had followed. Settlers from the neighboring colonies had gone to help their countrymen, and messengers had been sent to all the more distant colonies telling them that not men, but food, was needed, for all the men had been forced to leave their work. In a short while, a superabundance of food was sent.

When news of the landing of the British at Hampton was received in Albemarle, "the Independent Company" was quickly called to arms. The Captain of the Company was Charles Lewis, who was skillful enough to command a regiment. His two brothers, Jefferson and I, were privates. Mr. Jefferson's assistant manager was our sergeant.

The soldiers wanted Jefferson to be an officer, but he, as a member of the Convention, was engaged in a matter of greater importance. They wanted to make me a lieutenant, but I insisted that I was not able to be made so. They remarked that an officer ought not only to command, but also to advise, and I replied that if the officer were willing, I could give advice, though a private.

At the beginning of hostilities, we had no rifles. We had to use hunting pieces, and we had to carry with us a form to make our own bullets. But we verified the old saying that "necessity is the mother of invention," for in less than a year all the military arms were being made in every colony as well as in the Tower of London; and it was a rare thing to find a farmer who could not make gunpowder.

I had left some pieces for myself, one I gave to Bellini, and the third I gave to the tailor, to whom I recommended the care of my house, as I had written to Antonio what he should do in my absence. But Vicenzo came to me and said very firmly, "Master, you have another hunting rifle. If you give it to me, all right; if you don't, I will take with me the goods, because I want to go to war." I wanted to please him, so I granted his request. Later, I found that I had done well, for he was very useful to Bellini and to me. I took three horses to ride from time to time, because the landing-place of the English was two hundred miles distant, besides other reasons. It was only one who thought to bring horses, although all owned horses, and some owned many more than I did. I do not know whether it was pure chance, or steps were taken to have believed to be wise to take horses; but I know that they were useful, for whenever anyone was tired, to rest on them for a few minutes was a great help.

A company should be composed of eighty persons, including the officers. When we left, ours had about a hundred, because of the supernumeraries; two of whom were Vicenzo and Bellini. When we stopped in the woods to spend the night, our company was doubled by the arrival of other men. We had only three woolen blankets that night, but we did not take cold, or on any other of the four nights we slept in the open. I then discovered that it was impossible to sleep out of doors, but Bellini, Vicenzo, and I had never done so before. I believed the contrary, but Jefferson confirmed what I had discovered.

About ten o'clock the next morning as we were crossing the boundary into Orange County, we met two young men sent from that
Colonies, with full power to do what he judged best for their defense. But in Virginia, reflecting on the incompatibility of restoring unity between those who waged war, the Convention, with the universal consent of its constituents, declared its total independence from Great Britain, establishing a new government on the solid basis of equality. About three weeks later, Congress did the same, changing the name of the Colonies to that of the "United States."

The preambles of both Declarations contended that we were forced to separate from Great Britain; and the diction of the two was almost the same, Jefferson being charged to write both.

I, after remaining in Richmond several days to talk with Jefferson of various things—above all, of the object of co-operating to form a good government—returned to Albemarle with Bellini; and although I did not venture far from home, I was more occupied with national affairs than with my own.

[To be Continued]
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MEMOIRS OF PHILIP MAZZEI
Translated by Dr. E. C. Bianchi
Second Installment

I never knew anyone in Virginia who could not read or write. Even in the houses of those who work the land with their own hands, or who engage in any of the mechanical arts, there are books, an inkstand and writing-paper; and it is rare that they do not know arithmetic.

Their education causes them to respect those who are better educated, and they think it their right to consult them when in doubt, particularly in matters of public welfare.

The absence of Mr. Jefferson and of a certain Mr. Harvey, who lived about six miles from my house, made most of them come to me.

Another fact which contributed to give them a highly favorable opinion of me was this: about three months after my arrival, some men went to Jefferson to ask for information about me. He told them, "As to his character, I can vouch for him; and as to the rest, I can say that his presence is most useful to me." If he referred to the useful knowledge of England that I had, he did not miss the truth; but the manner in which he expressed himself was such that it produced an opinion of me that surpassed my expectations and often embarrassed me, for people used to come to consult me from every part of the County, which was about one hundred and fifty miles in circumference.

One morning as I stood outside the door of my house, about a dozen persons rode up and dismounted before arriving at the gate of my meadow. They attached their bridles to the gate-post, and then came toward me. After bidding me good morning, one of them said, "You do not know us, but we know you." Then he asked for a half-hour or an hour of my time, if my business permitted. I invited them to come indoors. After they had sat down, they signified to me that they had come to learn the true state of our affairs; and since I had an education which they could not have, it was only just that I instruct

In this second installment of Memoirs of Philip Mazzei, the translator has omitted that part of the text which has no connection with Mazzei's life in Virginia.
them, as it was their duty to communicate to their neighbors what they learned. They were all Presbyterians.

When they were satisfied of what I had told them, they asked me if I had intended to present myself for the office of Representative from the County. "No, certainly," I answered; "for I am not lacking in the County more able persons than I." But they would not hear me, saying that John Hegderson and another (whose name I do not remember) were persons of good judgment, and that after Mr. Jefferson I was the best man in the County.

They insisted that I announce myself as disposed to serve the County, adding, "It is possible that you will not be elected the first time, for everyone doesn't know you as you ought. Some have said, 'He has been in England for a long time, and it may be that if he is in league with the English ministry, since he is more talked of he may do us more harm.' Others believe that you have the intention of introducing Catholicism among us, and that for this reason you have spoken and written so well that all sects are equal. These doubts might be the reason why you could not be elected the first time; but you must present yourself a second time in order to have the support of the English.

The Assembly of Virginia had elected from among its members five lawyers, some of whom were philosophers, to examine all the existing codes, and to adopt the best wherever found, in order to form the most perfect government possible; and the plan formulated was to be given to the Assembly for consideration and approval.

Because I had made some reflections on that subject from my youth, and had discussed it in England with first-class lawyers such as Dr. Sharp, Jefferson sent me anything about which he wanted my opinion. Of all that he sent me, I had nothing to remark on, excepting one matter pertaining to religion; but he passed over that he had set it out in a harmless manner, and that he was afraid of playing with lightning.

Four of the members were always in agreement; but Mr. Edmund Pendleton, a greater lover of general matters than of philosophy, was often a disagreeable, especially on matters of religion and about inheritance. In regard to the latter, after deploiring his failure to succeed, he expressed the right of the firstborn, and he was then speaking of the great injustice of that law, equal to twice that of any of the others, at least, saying that Nature had already established the same. "If Nature had established it," answered Jefferson, "I do not oppose it. If the first-born eats double, drinks double, works double, and in all the functions of the body does double, it is right that he should have double..."

The wag put his thumb to his nose; but the proposed code was approved in toto by the Representative.

The one article about religion gave much trouble because the followers of the Anglican sect were much more numerous than those of all the other sects in the State. Their mind revolted at terms of equality with the others, and to be reduced to live on the voluntary contributions of their followers after being maintained by the State.

This was foreseen; and several persons who were not prejudiced by a religious heritage inherited from their parents attempted to enlighten the people on such a matter of importance, each in his own County. For my part, not falling into opposition to them, I acted as did the others; but, looking toward the future, I predicted that he would make the voyage in vain. He went away confused, without opening his mouth; but we remained awhile to talk with the people on that subject. When I arrived at home, I made a

WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY

attempting to show the justice of equality and the advantages which resulted from its destruction of jealousy.

Although I had not intended to visit the Anglican churches, friends in my vicinity begged me to do so. I went, and I was received with more cordially than I had anticipated.

Then I learned that the inventors of the rumors that I wished to introduce Catholicism, and that I was probably in correspondence with the Ministers of England, were that protector of the legal rights of the eldest son and that advocate of the supremacy of the Anglican Church, and the rector of my parish.

Each of them had his motive. Equality in religious matters reduced the rector to living on the voluntary contributions of those of his sect. As for the lawyer, I described him so clearly in one of my papers that nobody could mistake him. When Jefferson heard my description, he said, "Pendleton will recognize his cap." And I added, "If he sees him, let him let him see me..."

Besides enlightening the people on the advantages of the good laws that we possessed, it was necessary to deal with another subject. I was told that a Methodist minister, recently arrived from England, preached on Sunday afternoons in the County, and that he attracted many people. The Methodist ministers in England were then called, and probably are yet, the "Jesuits of the Protestants." I already knew that many of them had come to the other American colonies. I knew that Lord Dartmouth was well informed of the sect and that he had been made Secretary of State. This made me suspect that I talked with a minister of mine, Bennett Henderson, whose wife was the sister of Jefferson, and who was the younger brother of that John Henderson I have mentioned before.

We agreed to go with two other friends to hear the new preacher. When we arrived, he had already talked of the danger of losing one's soul. He reproached the first with the belief of the young people in the English; and he was speaking of the great danger in time of war, reminding mothers and fathers of their obligations toward their sons to remove that peril...

We saw clearly the purpose of his argument. Hardly had he left his post when I went to him and told him that I had listened to his evangelical doctrine, and that I hoped he would deign to hear mine.

He showed without answering that he wished to leave; but my friend told him in an emphatic manner to remain.

I began to place before the congregation the intentions of the English Government, made evident and unequivocal by the blockade of America, which could not succeed in arms in the vicinity of that city, the отзыв [retreat] of our Governor, the landing of the English troops at Hampton, and so on.

I told of Lord Dartmouth, made Secretary of State because of his close friendship with the head of the Methodists, in order to send his preachers to the Colonies to enlighten the people on the national doctrine that we had just heard from that minister, and that soon they would place the yoke on our necks without our consent; but, looking toward the future, I predicted that he would make the voyage in vain. He went away confused, without opening his mouth; but we remained awhile to talk with the people on that subject. When I arrived at home, I made a
report and gave it to Bennett that he might send it to the printer at Williamsburg to be printed.

I then sent the copy to Philadelphia, because, since Congress met there, The Philadelphia Gazette was known all over the Colonies. I thought I sent it to Dr. Franklin, who had just returned from England after the famous examination given him by Parliament, for I had occasion to write him; but as his answer, which I found accidentally, says nothing about the copy, I probably sent it to Jefferson, who was in Congress at the same time. Undoubtedly he had answered, since he often wrote me from Philadelphia; so it must have been burned with many other papers of mine when Arnold made a raid with some English cavalry as far as Monticello, while I was in Europe. 1

I never wanted to offer myself as a candidate to represent the County, for two reasons: I knew English only well enough to write it passably, and in writing there is time to think; but in order to speak at a popular assembly it is necessary to strike the proper note, and for this I had no advantage, as well as a selection of choice phrases, which are often more effective than sound reasoning. Besides, I saw that the time was not propitious for this. But I do know this, that the number of newspapers in this country increased daily.

At that time, General Washington was obliged to withdraw his troops from Long Island, for we hadn't even a handful of men or of the English were masters of the sea; and on the following day, and crossing the State of New Jersey and the Delaware River, he retired into Pennsylvania.

The English had the good fortune of having a gazette printed in New York. By means of their sympathizers, they distributed it over all the colonies, boasting about the number of their forces, and minimizing ours, in order to spread fear. However, the effect was that the number of negroes freed by their masters increased daily.

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Mr. George Mason said much more; and he showed the necessity of educating them before taking such a step, teaching them to make good use of their freedom. "Each one of us knows," he said, "that the negroes consider the work as punishment." He also convinced us that if they were not educated before being freed, the first use they would make of their liberty would be loafing, and hence they would become thieves out of necessity.

All were persuaded—Jefferson from the first—of the soundness of the reasons advanced by Mr. Mason and by me. We decided to postpone action on the two laws mentioned above, and to talk around that another would be drawn up, obliging masters to send their negro boys to the public schools of each County, in order to teach them reading, writing, arithmetic, and how to make good use of the freedom which the masters would give to all those who behaved in a manner meriting it.

These two laws were approved as soon as they were proposed. When the other assembly was necessary to strike the proper note, they were adopted by all the other States.

As for the other laws which were to be considered, circumstances kept me from knowing what occurred. But I do know this, that the number of negroes freed by their masters increased daily.

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I again had occasion to write to the other. I told him that his assembly was the most wise and judicious of any in the United States, and that I expected much from it.

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I was not informed of these events, but I had the good fortune of sending a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, which I found a means to have delivered.

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I had the good fortune of hearing that a letter printed in New York. By means of their sympathizers, they distributed it over all the colonies, boasting about the number of their forces, and minimizing ours, in order to spread fear. However, the effect was that the number of negroes freed by their masters increased daily.

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When I returned to Williamsburg, everything was fixed and in readiness—the commission and the instructions to which I had added the obligation of talking matters over with Dr. Franklin, in order to use his information and advice, since Congress had previously determined to send him to France. The Assembly had adjourned its session, and Jefferson had gone to visit one of his properties about three miles off the main highway. For this reason, I did not find him. Then I went to the Governor, as I had already prepared everything. I dined with him, and after dinner he called a meeting of the eight counselors, the last and the youngest of whom was James Madison whom I have already said is now the President of the United States. The Governor gave them to me to read to us, afterwards taking them back and giving them to me, asking if I believed that one thousand pounds sterling would be enough for my expenses. I answered that I thought that much would be quite enough, and Jefferson, who played the violoncello passably, found him an interesting person to have near.

I had just arrived at Celle when General Riedel came to see me about renting my house during my absence, for he had heard that my wife was going to Europe to remain for some time. He wanted to send someone to Europe, especially me, and I told him it was already engaged. He then asked me to break the contract, saying that the young officers could very well arrange themselves elsewhere, while he, in addition to the services he was already engaged in, was to go as an agent of advanced age and to be obliged to remain near his troops which were quartered in the neighborhood, waited that very night for the arrival of his wife and two young girls, and he did not have a home in which to place them. "Such being the case," I said, "Mr. Riedel may have another room also for the time that I remain here, but after my departure, I am no more the owner." He was very appreciative, and I saw his gratitude engraved on his face as he repeated what he had said to an officer with us, as I divined, for I did not understand the German language. The General spoke French very well, although his wife spoke it only fairly so.

I decided to sell at auction everything except my real estate. It required three days to make an inventory, and even then they would not be able to be estimated by a third party, the vegetables in my garden, the chickens in the coops, and such other things as he had to buy, together with some trifles that his wife desired. There were six coops, besides having chickens and geese, I also had two kinds of ducks and two kinds of turkeys. There were three vegetable gardens, in each of which there was a spring giving a superabundance of fresh water. In the large variety of articles I offered for sale brought out a great number of persons, some of them coming a distance of forty miles. We began the auction early in the morning, and we continued without interruption until night, excepting during meal hours. The sale lasted for four days. Some things were sold for more than they cost me. I was charged during that time by the General and his family boarded at my house; afterwards, I was his guest. His wife confided to me that the General had to pay a sum of money to one of the three English officers who was in charge of the party, in order to obtain from him the lease of the house, in which he was billeted by the Government. This information was confirmed when I passed the two days before I left to embark on my journey.

When we left home, my step-daughter cried; but she cried more when we left Jefferson. The girl had acquired the characteristics of her father. I noticed that Mrs. Jefferson was fond of her. When I
arrived in Williamsburg, I spoke about it with Mrs. Bellini, and she told me that she was liked by all the ladies, but that her mother, my wife, was not so popular, as she was sorry not to have her here, because my behavior would have been different, and I should have suffered less.

When we arrived in Williamsburg, I heard that an English squadron had put in at Norfolk, and had burned the merchant ships there. Some of the ships in which I was to have gone to Europe, and that General Mathews, commander of the land troops, had landed about four thousand men. This occasion was different from the first time the enemy had landed, for then we had only muskets to use against them; now, I had my own gun, and I went to register, in order to be notified, if it should be my turn to report for service. The Governor objected to my doing so, saying that I could serve the country in much more important ways than by being a private soldier. I did not want to follow his advice, and ISHOWED another by which he was forbidden to permit me to go away.

I went to compose to the Governor, but he calmed me, assuring me that the Englishmen would reform just as they had done when laded some years ago at Hampton; and he told me that on the Rappahannock River I would find the Brigantine Johnston, whose skipper, Andrew Paton, would take me to Nantes with one hundred barrels of tobacco, placed at my disposal by the Government to defray my expenses.

Two days afterwards, about forty wounded English soldiers were brought to Williamsburg. I went to see them, and on questioning them, they told me that they belonged to a detachment which their General had sent forward to forage and to reconnoiter. They had met a body of the Colonial militia, they had a skirmish, in which many of their companions were killed; they that survived had fled and were found in a swamp, while they were being pursued. I had a box full of papers which I was to bring for the treatment received, for the Americans put down their arms, took off their shoes and socks, and put their shoulders to a dry place, and then the American commander sent his carriages to bring the hospital in Williamsburg those who were unable to walk.

Afterwards, we received news that all the English had re-embarked and that the fleet had sailed. So, having eaten, I went to my wife, my step-daughter, and my daughter. I went aboard my vessel with my child, my letters, and Francesco del Maglio (the man whom Botta had sent me to take care of M. Francesco of the voyage, and whom I had kept in my service as a stable-man). I left the other Italians well-occupied. Those who know how to write gave me letters for their parents and friends, inviting them to come to Virginia.

I had a diary in which I wrote all the things I had to attend to in various parts of Europe. The words were abbreviated in such a manner that it was not possible for another person to understand their meaning. I used the same scheme for my credentials and instructions, and I put everything in a small sack. I went to sea, and I did not think about being in the open sea, but I did not know that I would not fall into the hands of the enemy.

We left in the afternoon, and on the following morning, at a distance of about thirty miles from land, we saw an English privateer coming towards us, and which seemed to have been lying in wait there for us. I descended to my cabin, and as soon as the privateer came alongside, I threw overboard, without being observed by anyone, the little sack with all my papers.

Our captain was a Scotchman, and in Virginia everybody was convinced that he was a follower of the American patriots. His features displeased me as soon as I saw him, however, and he proved to me clearly that I was right in my aversion to him. He obliged me to put aboard so many provisions that they would have been sufficient for making a voyage to the East Indies, and he also required me to give him thirty guineas and three hundred paper pounds sterling for two small cabins in the stern of the ship.

He was evidently in league with the privaterie, because I heard one of them say to him: "I expected you yesterday morning." But I did not hear the traitor's answer. The behavior of this scoundrel was such that it also disgusted the officer of the vessel whom the Scotch skipper put on our ship to accompany us to New York. I am persuaded that the contempt of which our officer bore the Scotch skipper, knowing how I followed his advice, was what was helpful to me in my predicament.

Since I was a martime prisoner, the officer was obliged, as soon as the port of New York was made, to present me to Sir George Coller, Commodore of the fleet, a man who was arrogant and haughty, according to what the officer told me.

So, when we reached New York, I presented myself before him with a serious demeanor, and with no signs of worry, looking at him without attempting to say a word. He asked me where I was going, and the nature of my mission.

I inferred that he knew something about my errand, but I feigned not to understand him. I answered that I was bound for Tuscany, being called there by my interests, and that I was obliged to go back as quickly as possible. I told him that I could not find another ship making for a port nearer to Leghorn. He was convinced that I had papers concerning me, with a smiling face, naively answered that I would be well treated, and asked me to send him some money, which I would be willing to send, and, looking at the officer from the platform, I told my story to him, while our conversation continued. He thought I could send for, as well as for my trunk, to satisfy the Commodore, who, without replying, despatched the officer to bring both of them.

I opened the trunk myself, and after examining it, I locked it. I did not do the same with the box, from which I noticed some days later that the last five votes cast by the Assembly of Virginia and a letter given to me by Mr. George Mason for his son who was then in Europe, were missing. For my own safety, I did not care about them. I knew only the substance of the laws, but, too, I could repeat by heart the letter to young Mason. The letter finished, I gave it out in my native country as a freeman; otherwise, we may never see each other again, or rather, the prayer of your affectionate father, Geo. Mason.

However, when I was in Paris in the Spring of 1783, after the peace, the King of England recognized the independence of the United States, which had been concluded, I learned from the Englishman, Mr. Edward Bridgenc (an estimable and very learned young man), that the Commodore was in London, where he did not enjoy any more esteem than I had in Tuscany; and having found the sketch of my letter and his reply, I reproduce both:
William and Mary Quarterly

Paris, May 9th 1783
Hotel des Colonies
Rue de Prouvaires.

Sirs,—

According to the 7th article in the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and the United States of America, I request you to return the papers which you got possession of while I was your prisoner at New York in the summer of 1779, viz. : (a) a bill on the liberty of religion; (b) a bill on the qualifications requisite to become a citizen; (c) a bill on crimes and punishment; (d) two bills on public establishment of education; (e) a letter from Colonel George Mason to his sons in Europe.

In regard to your behavior to me on that occasion, I shall only mention that the behavior of General Patterson was diametrically opposite to yours, and such as a gentleman and a man of honor must approve. If you should not agree to it, I shall meet you at any time and discuss that point with you.

In the meantime, I have the honor to be, Sir, your humblest and most obedient servant.

PHILIP MAZZEI.

P. S. The papers in question will be received if sent to Edward Bridgen, Esq., Lord Chief Justice, Pater Noster Court, London.

Here is his answer:

West Hill, June 1st, 1783.

Sirs,—

I received your letter desiring to have certain papers returned to you, which were taken away, when I commanded the King's Fleet in America in 1779.

The papers you mention I never recollect to have seen; search shall however be made, and the Agent of prizes applied to, about them; and if they are recovered, they shall be sent, as you desire, to Mr. Bridgen.

I am, Sirs, your most obedient and humble servant.

GEORGE COLLIER.
While we crossed the bay, our guide told us that in the part of the Island where we were going, the inhabitants were all patriots, but in the other half of the Island, they were all loyal to the English.

I cordially thanked the Commissary for his friendly attention to me, but I could not show him my gratitude, afterwards because three months later, when they permitted me without any previous notice to go to Ireland gratuitously with the supply fleet, I had not time to go and salute him.

The boats of the house where he brought us to take up our lodging were such good people that I should have wanted to remain even if I had not been so comfortably fixed as I might have been in some ship, something while moving northwards on the sea. They had observed it through a telescope, and they knew it was an iceberg. When he heard the Commissary of the supply convoy, who believed it to be a French vessel, ordering his crew to fire at it in order to make it lay to, although the fever rooked me, I could not help laughing.

Nothing remarkable happened after this incident until we arrived in Cork, Ireland, forty days out of New York.

As soon as we entered the harbor, a partner of the firm of Pedder, Hamilton & Company, owners of one of the ships and rated one of the convoy, came aboard. His name was Cotter, and he appeared to be about thirty years old. The Irish, as a rule, were in sympathy with the American colonists, and Mr. Cotter was exceedingly in favor of them. He at once found good board and lodging for us in a private house, and he gave us every comfort and advantage possible.

In Virginia, I had bought a draft of one hundred pounds sterling on Liverpool, and one of three hundred dollars on a commercial house in Lisbon payable to the Rieci Bank of Lighthorn by a Hollinder, Dohrmann, who had property in America and who had business dealings with the Government of Virginia; besides which the Government of Virginia had given him a bill of three hundred pounds on Penet, d'Acosta & Cie, of Nantes.

Since I had only those four dopples when I landed, I gave Mr. Cotter the Liverpool draft to cash. The reply from Liverpool was that the draft had died on an island of the Antilles, and that nothing could be done in winding up his estate for a year and three days.

Before leaving England, I had given a gold watch to my wife, another one to my step-daughter in Paris; and I had two for myself. I gave one of them to my landlord, asking him to sell it and not to tell anybody who had given it. But Cotter found out it—(I do not know how)—and he came to remonstrate with me because I had told him of my circumstances, thereby strongly my purpose of selling my watches at that critical time, since I could get only a little more than the value of the gold.

I was touched by his generosity, and I observed to him that I could not take advantage of him, especially because of the predicament in which I was, not only as to my finances, but also as to my health. I answered to his step-daughter as follows: "Listen, I am not a wealthy man. He answered me, speaking in his language: "I was a young clerk in this firm, without any capital of my own. Mr. Pedder and Mr. Hamilton—who are very well known—and who, desiring to pass three-fourths of the year in the country—thrust upon
me the entire management of their business, shufing a part of the profits with me. I repeat, I am not rich, but a sum of eighty or a hundred pounds, enabling you to go to Nantes, will not ruin me, and you will cause me deep sorrow if you do not accept what you need."

He forced me to take eight guineas that he had in his pocket; but when he wanted to give me the balance making up the hundred pounds, I showed him that fifty were sufficient to bring me to Nantes, especially since he had already arranged for my accommodations on a Portuguese ship that was sailing in a few days.

When he gave me the fifty pounds, I put in his hands a sight draft for the same amount against me, payable at Nantes. However, I forgot about the eight guineas he had given me before the fifty pounds.

We went aboard during the night, in order to avoid the risk of being discovered, because any suspicion that I was performing a public mission would cause me to be arrested and to be put in the Tower of London until peace had been declared, as had happened to Mr. Lawrence [Laurance], of South Carolina, who was President of Congress.¹

[The Portuguese ship made a very perilous voyage, and it was nearly wrecked on account of the incompetence of the skipper. As the leader of the passengers, Mazzei obliged the captain and the crew to put them ashore at La Rochelle, instead of at Nantes, where it was not possible to arrive on account of contrary winds. Finally, he landed at La Rochelle, with his wife, his step-daughter, and Ferdinand del Maglio. There he presented the draft of three hundred pounds given him by the Government of Virginia drawn against the firm of Penet, d'Acosta & Cie, but that concern no longer existed, and its successors, d'Acosta, Frey & Cie, told him they would not pay without receiving funds from America. After waiting for some weeks without receiving orders from Virginia to pay, he left, taking two hundred pounds on credit from Mr. Mark Lynch, an Irish banker, who very generously lent them to him.]

Before leaving Nantes, I wrote to the Governor of Virginia, telling him about everything that had happened to me up to that time, and of the critical situation in which I found myself, especially since I did not find in Nantes any copies of my appointment with instructions; and I reminded them on their promise to send several copies, for the sake of prudence.

The letter of June 4, 1783, that was addressed to Nantes, reached me only a few days before my return trip to America; and that of August 3, 1784, reached me in Virginia.

Before visiting some persons that it was necessary for me to become acquainted with, I was obliged to translate into several languages some of my writings, in which I wanted to give a clear idea of the situation in the United States; and to translate some others referring to my mission, making several copies; and I tried to spend the least possible because I was still waiting to receive money from Virginia. At that time, I wrote the pamphlet entitled Some Reasons Why the American States Cannot Be Called Rebels.

[In Paris, he began to frequent the company of the aristocracy, among whom he counted as good friends such persons as the Due de la Rochefoucauld; the Count of Vergennes, Minis- ter of Foreign Affairs; the Duchesse d'Enville; and others. From his connection with Benjamin Franklin, he was able to make himself known in this manner.]

Dr. Franklin had arrived long before I had, and he had not found any obstacles at Court. I went to visit him at Autun, where he lived, and I was received as an old friend. At the same time that I arrived, Dr. Ingenhaussen came to dine with Franklin, and Franklin asked me to join them.

When Dr. Ingenhaussen left, I told Franklin about the mission entrusted to me by the Government of Virginia, about the content of my instructions, and about the events that had delayed my voyage.

He disapproved the action of the State of Virginia, saying that foreign affairs must be solely the care of Congress, and he gave me a copy of one of his writings which the famous Abbe Morellet had translated into French. In this pamphlet, he showed that in the matter of credit the Republic of the United States deserved much more trust than England; but among the reasons that he assigned—after speaking about the squandering of public moneys in England—he said that in America all the public offices or positions were gratuitous. But this condition no longer existed in America, and if it had continued in time it would produce evil consequences, the worst of which was that it would take away from public offices those able persons whose scant resources would not permit them to live on their savings, so that they would be obliged to give up their office. As the greater number of married men in the civilized nations is not rich, that method would open the paths to the government to a few very powerful and ambitious men, and consequently it would become the worst of governments. But Franklin did not want to submit the logic of my argument, or to correct his error.

In regard to what he said about the State of Virginia concerning my mission, I remember his saying that the power given by the States to the general government was only to make war and to conclude peace with other nations; to levy taxes upon the States; and to decide questions arising between the States under treaties of peace—in this he included the representatives of such States not having the power of voting; and it was my opinion that if anything could hurt the Union, it would be the mistake of a State putting its particular affairs under the guardian-ship of the central government. But he would not agree with me, so we passed on to another subject.

Among my writings that I gave to M. Huay to translate and to make copies, there was one on the same subject as Franklin's; but besides showing the confidence that a creditor could have in the United States, I demonstrated the same in regard to the State of Virginia, [Acts of this sort furnished cause for Mr. Edmund Burke, the greatest orator of the House of Commons (in fact of the world) to speak; and superior to him, according to others) to inveigh against the Ministry for the breach and petty variances shown in so maltreating him, because he had the honor of being President of the first republic in the world. (State of the author.)]
declaring that I spoke only for one of the thirteen States, because I was not authorized to do so by the other twelve.

One day I spoke with Marquis Caracciolo—Ambassador for the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily—of the commercial advantages that France and Italy could obtain with the American States. He reported my conversation to the Count of Vergennes, who desired to know my opinions in reference to France, asking me to summarize my ideas and to submit them to him. When I went to take leave of the Count of Vergennes and to ask him if he wanted anything from Italy, he thanked me for my report, which he had on his table.

I spent more time in Paris than I had intended because a several times from America I had written from Nantes to the Government of Virginia, I waited for the duplicates of my mission and of my instructions. However, every day I heard very helpful news, and I met important persons in many spheres. For this, I was indebted to the good offices of Marquis Carac- ciolo, who was universally esteemed and loved and who later became Viceroy of Sicily. I visited in the homes of the Duchess d'Enville, mother of the Due de la Rochefoucauld; of the famous historian, Marmontel; and of the Count of Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador, who called upon me to explain the situation in America.

Among other well-known persons, at the dinner of the Count of Aranda I met Mr. Walpole, whom Franklin mentioned to me in his letter written from Philadelphia. I avoided him as much as possible before the dinner, but I could not do so when we sat down at table, because he took a place near me. At last he told me that he was very sorry not to have made my acquaintance when I resided in London. He said this, referring to my character, rather than to my person; but I understood the person, and I answered that I was not sorry for this, because his preference would make those who did not know me suppose that I was a flatterer, as happened to me at that time. He expressed his favor at that time.

He agreed, and he told me enough to make me understand that the letter which arrived at Naples, and the other from Leopold of Tuscany, referring to the plan of sending the designs to China, were written at the instance of Martinelli, the Prime Minister, as was guessed by Franklin in the letter he wrote me from Philadelphia.

The life that I lived in Paris was very agreeable, but since I did not receive the letter and duplicates from the Government of Virginia, without which I could not explain my mission, I did not enjoy it so much as I had hoped. I decided to live in such a way that I could lay the foundations for making progress more rapidly when I received the letter, and I wrote to have all my correspondence with him, and when it was necessary to have an interview I used to go there on the day of the general audience, as a subject, informing him of the state of my business and the news of the day preceding, because he had commanded that I should be admitted at once, not waiting my turn with the other persons.

I was speaking about my handwriting, I told him that I wrote very illegibly and that it was not at all easy to understand my characters; but he answered that he had made a special study of manuscripts and could understand it all right.
I wrote many letters to the Grand Duke, and I remember them all. I kept the letters of that period. The first was written in May, 1781. With it I sent three pamphlets of mine, whose titles were: The Importance of Procuring Commerce with Virginia; The Reason Why the Title of "Rebels" Cannot Be Given the American States; and The History of the Issuance of Paper Currency in the United States. In the letter, I demonstrated the justice of the American cause, and I foretold the probability of England granting independence to the American Colonies.

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The second letter was written in August, 1781, with a translation of a letter from Franklin, a copy of which I have lost.

In the third, written in the same month, I showed the wisdom of European states helping America, in order to have the gratitude of the latter, and so obtain help from them later.

In the fourth, written in April, 1782, I sent along a short entitled Reflections Tending to Foretell the Events of the Present War. I reminded him that what I had predicted in 1773 was afterwards proved.
MEMOIRS OF PHILIP MAZZEI
Translated by Dr. E. C. Branchi
Third and Final Installment

In the fifth of April 1782, I showed him that I was kept informed of what was being done in England, both in the Cabinet and in Parliament, so that he could use such information to his advantage.

In the sixth and in the seventh, I emphasized what I had said in the first. In speaking about the condition of beggars in Florence, I, being a member of the official board in Albemarle County, pointed out how we used to treat them there; and, also, I suggested that he get the English, Dutch, and Hanseatic City regulations regarding the problem.

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The people in Florence believed that my sojourn there was for the purpose of establishing my right of inheritance, since my brother had died; and when I informed the Grand-duke about this, he was pleased because this supposition dissipated any suspicion that I called on him about American affairs.

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Summarizing, then: I suggested in my letters to the Grand-duke Leopold the conduct that he ought to follow in regard to his American policy. I continued thus for another year, pointing out that he ought not to believe what Minister Mann told him, not because Mann was untruthful personally, but that he had to believe what the Cabinet of St. James wanted him to believe. Despite this and despite what he said to me when he first saw me—"You were right in what you predicted about the Colonies and England. But what persuaded them that England would finally consent to their independence? I think she was compelled to do so in order not to lose the great advantage of commerce with them"—he believed everything that the English wrote to Mr. Mann, and he would not listen to me. I am of the

1The sections of the memoirs which do not relate to Virginia are omitted in this translation.
opinion that his stupidity and credulity came from his weakness of mind and lack of feeling—in which qualities he was very different from his eldest brother.

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In the eighth letter, I stated that I knew what was going on in the Cabinet of St. James, and hence I could foretell the probability much more certainly than could Mr. Mann, because he received from London only the GAZETTE of the Ministry, but I received also the GAZETTE which related the former.

Two newspapers were printed in Florence at that time,—the one entitled LA GAZZETTA UNIVERSALE, and the other/notizie del mondo. The editor of the first got his news of England through Mr. Mann. I answered this in the other paper. It happened that I made a traverse in such a way that I was obliged to expose completely the views which were intended to deceive the other European governments. Foreknowing what the LA GAZZETTA UNIVERSALE would publish, I wrote a rebuttal for the other paper, using as a trick the translation of a letter from an English gentleman in London, resigning from the position he held because I had reminded him that Holland, also, had recognized it, he replied, "The Netherlands exists only by a hair, and soon its name will cease to be." I discovered, then, the existence of a league to submit Holland to the Stadtholder, in order to divide it. Feeling it my duty to report at once to the Count of Vergennes what I had learned, I went to M. Billerey, chargé d'affaires of France, and after dictating what he should write, I added that "if the Count of Vergennes thought necessary to mention who had given the news, he might say that it was written in a letter of mine addressed to the Government of Virginia," because the person who gave me the information was not ignorant of the fact that it was my strict duty to tell my Government of such an important thing relating to an ally of ours.

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I went to Holland through Tyrol. I arrived at Trento one Saturday day evening, and hearing that on the following morning there might be some good music at the church, I went. It was the first and the only time that I ever saw women in the choir of a church. They sang soprano and contralto. At the end of the music, I left. Continuing my journey, I stopped for only two days in Frankfort; and then I reached Amsterdam.

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I had been in Amsterdam for more than a month before I wrote to the Grand Duke, letter No. 11 to September. It was very long, and it contained much of importance. But this letter, also, brought no results.

In the first two days after my arrival in Amsterdam, there came to call on me at my hotel, three of the most important bankers in the country. From their statements, I understood that Mr. John Adams (who at that time was at The Hague) had spoken of me favorably, although he did not know me personally. All of them made me general and special offers. I do not remember the names of two of them, but I do remember the brothers Nicholas and Jacob Vanvliet, because I had business and a very long correspondence with them. I accepted three hundred louis from them on my private account, because they did not want the credit of the State for such a small sum.
In regard to the offer of five million florins, which the other bankers made to me, I said to them (and to the Vansthaporst, who were willing to lend ten million more) that I was not well-enough acquainted with the condition of the State of Virginia at that time, and therefore could not determine if it better myself first, I determined to suspend negotiations because it was possible that so much money was needed just then; furthermore, the amount authorized in my instructions was double that offered.

The brothers Vansthaporst only wanted to make themselves known to me, and to have some gentlemen correspondents in my adopted country. The two brothers enjoyed great credit on account of the immense capital they possessed, and also because of their ability. They were esteemed for their prudence, and were loved for their goodness and human-kindness. Jacob had a personality that unlocked one's heart.

In April, 1722, Marissena Adriana Jacob had sent me her regards for Mr. Rendhorst, a very erudite and very pleasing man who traveled throughout Europe, who had been greatly honored in his country. The stadtholder wanted him to be greatly esteemed a guest in Amsterdam, and on 12 July, he lived at The Hague, but he went there rarely, and then only on a brief visit. Mr. Rendhorst introduced me to Madame, whose salon was the most frequented in the city. There I made so many acquaintances in the two months I stayed in Amsterdam that I could not, from the first day of my arrival, dine once at my lodgings.

When I was leaving, Jacob Vansthaporst, who became one of the truest friends that I ever had, gave me a letter for a Mr. Bost, a Dutch banker living in Paris, and who was a representative of his house, in which letter he ordered him to give me whatever money I needed.

After Amsterdam, I visited The Hague, Leiden, and Rotterdam.

In Rotterdam, I stayed only one day; and at The Hague, ten days, in order to please the Duc de la Vauguion, Ambassador of France, who, having spoken very much about American affairs with Mr. Vansthaporst, was the only one in Paris who knew about the American Colonies, to sign the preliminaries of peace with England, wished to speak with me of those matters. He showed me such courtesy that I had to accept.

I wanted to remain longer at Leiden, where I saw my friend, M. J. Lucas, editor and printer of THE GAZETTE, and professor of Greek and of History at that University.

Leaving my friend Lucas, I crossed the two Flanders. I stopped for a day in Brussels, a day in Lille, and I arrived in Paris in two or three days after the signing of the preliminaries of the peace between the United States and England.

After I had talked with each of the Ministers and learned the status of the situation in Europe in America, I wrote the Grand-duke the eleventh and last letter, on March 16, 1783. I did not write in the expectation of producing any effect, but rather to give vent to my feelings toward him for the childish treatment he had shown me; for his ability (very much flattered in Paris, but not so perfectly and universally known in Germany as soon as he took possession of the treasury of the House of Austria.)
to come to my room to make up my bed and to do whatever else was necessary.

One evening, I remained up for a longer time than usual, writing a letter to send to the Government of Virginia; and so I went to bed very late. The following morning, I woke up late. I saw that the door was open. I turned to look at my watch, but it was not hanging on the wall. Thinking I might have left it in my pants' pocket, I got up to look at it; but I did not find my pants there. I went downstairs in order to find the servant, but I discovered that the door of his room was closed and that the entrance to the hotel was open. I called the hotel-keeper, who, after assuring me that the servant was not in the hotel, went to inform the chief of police. They made every possible search, but the servant was not found.

In my pants, there were the sum of twenty-five louis, some silver coins, and the keys of my trunk and of my chiffonier. I was obliged to send for a locksmith to take out all the locks and to put on new ones. This incident was irritating because it delayed my departure, especially since I had difficulty in finding another watch as good as mine, which was one of the best made in London.

I had been obliged to go to the Banker Bost to borrow one hundred louis to the order of the Brothers Vanstilrapor, Jacob and Nicholas, from whom I had letters of credit; but he personally offered it to me, saying that he wanted to give me this on his own account. He had showed me so many courtesies that I could not refuse the offer, as I wrote to my friends in Amsterdam.

When I was ready, I went to Lyon. From there to Montpellier, whose location I enjoyed so very much. The following morning, I went out on the square, where one can see from the same place the Pyrenees and the Alps. From there I went to embark on the canal, which I observed with much satisfaction, admiring its beauty and its usefulness until I arrived at Toulouse.

As the time approached for the sailing of the ship on which I had secured a place to return to my native land, I went to Nantes, where I passed some days with my dear friend Lynch. Later, I went down the Loire, boarded my ship, and arrived in Virginia in November, 1763.

As soon as I landed at Hampton, I found out that Jefferson had gone to Boston, whence he was to sail for France as Minister Plenipotentiary instead of Franklin, who, desiring to end his days in his country, had resigned his place. I found out that Jefferson could receive my letters before he left, so I wrote immediately to the Duke of de la Rochefoucauld, to Condorcet, to the Duc de Vauguyon, and to other persons, telling them that although they had lost in Franklin one of the best minds in the world, they would soon be compensated in his successor. Jefferson got my letters in time, and in his answer he informed me that he would find in his house everything I might need, and he was happy to render an account of my work to the Government, and to receive the honorarium due me; but neither the Governor nor anyone of his Councilors knew about my mission, for the public papers of this time had been burned. I reported everything that had happened to me, and what I had done from the moment of my leaving Virginia up to my return. I made a copy and gave it to the Governor, who called a meeting of the Council. The result was what I had expected; namely, that I was obliged to secure certificates, etc., from those who had composed the Government when I was commissioned. In Mr. Jefferson's
distance, discussing that subject. He approved my plan, which I explained to him, of changing the opinions of our great orator.

On the 6th day, I arrived at Patrick Henry's place at duck. But although he was not at home then, I was received by a lady whom I did not know, and who told me that he would return shortly. Seeing him coming, I went to meet him, and having embraced him, I asked him who was the lady I had seen. "The mistress of the house," he said. Then he told me of the loss of his first wife,—that he was obliged to give up everything that recalled her memory, and that two years afterwards he remarried. That evening, we spoke only about my mission and about what happened to me after our separation. The following morning, at dawn, I took a walk about the place. I found the overview not already, and as I knew that in that part of the country there had been no devastation caused by the war, I spoke of the good fortune I had made some observations on the wants of the English in other parts. "They will regret it," he said, "for not only will their merchants be prohibited from entering the United States, but also their debts will not be paid, and the money owed will be distributed to those who have suffered.

To which I replied, "My good man, you must not mix the innocent with the guilty. The creditors of merchants and manufacturers who not only did not damage you, but who by their petition to the King and to Parliament, have continually defended your cause and have tried to stop the war." From his aspect and his silence, I saw that he pondered what I said. I shook hands with him, and went away. While Patrick Henry and I were taking our meal, I spoke about my walk, of what I had seen, of my conversation with the overseer; and I made some remarks hinting that good morals are one of the most solid bases of liberty. Then I thought it was not opportune to press this topic further, so I spoke only of the remuneration due me by the Government.

Madison had made another copy of my Report. I gave it to Patrick Henry to read. In exchange, he gave me a letter for then Governor. In this letter, he said that he could not form any judgment of my conduct or of my correspondence, because his term as Governor had expired immediately after my leaving in June, 1779; but he had kept what Mr. Adams wrote about me from Paris (June 23, 1785), in a letter that he gave me when I left for America. In one paragraph, he said, "Mr. Madison has uniformly discovered in Europe an attachment and zeal for the American honor and interest which would have become any native of our country. I wish upon his return he may find an audience." In Virginia, differences of opinion did not lessen friendships. I well knew the character, talent and patriotism of Mr. John Adams, and he, in turn, had conceived a favorable opinion of me, as I heard from Congress from the Virginia delegation there.

In Paris, he was told that in Europe the Constitution of the United States was bitterly criticized. In order to defend it, he wrote three thick volumes that became APOLOGY, etc, but instead of an apology, he wrote, in a doleful, almost despondent style, of course, a treatise.

During the last three months of my stay in Paris, I often visited Mr. Adams. We took long walks in the Champ Elysees, and we were always disputation on questions about which I thought he had erroneous ideas. When I was ready to leave, I said to him, "I hope we shall see each other in America, perhaps in Boston; and wherever
it may be, it will always be my duty to come to see you in order to combat your principles, which would produce as bad an effect on the country in proportion to the greatness of your merit. You have the advantage over me of being eloquent in a language that you know better than I; but I have the advantage of reason."

You have seen in what manner he spoke about me in his letter to Patrick Henry, after I had made this statement; and he wrote much more in my favor in other letters that he wanted to give to his friends in Boston, saying that when one travels on the sea, one does not know where one will arrive, and it was possible that I might land in that region; hence, he wanted his friends to know me.

In the letter from Patrick Henry to the then Governor, he named the Virginians who had composed the Council in his day; but he went on to deny what they had decided on at that time, as he suggested that I see Messers. Page, Digges, Madison, Jameson; and he was in doubt whether there was also a Mr. Pretie in the Council.

I returned to Madison, who heard with great pleasure the copy of the resolution of Patrick Henry in the matter of the payment of debt. I went afterwards to Page, Digges, and Jameson, but not to Pretie, because I was assured that he had not been a member of the Council. I found out from the testimony of the others that Jameson was a member of that Council, but that he was not present at the meeting on account of an unfortunate event.

I took to the Governor the letter of Patrick Henry; the certificates of Madison, Page, and Digges; and the declaration of Jameson. The Governor called a meeting of the Council on June 10, 1784, and they decided to give me six hundred pounds. On April 9, 1784, with one copy of the following resolution signed by Secretary Blair, "That in all that time Mr. Massez had demonstrated activity, assiduity, and zeal; and that the bad outcome of that affair was not imputable to him, but to certain special circumstances; and that his behavior deserved the applause of the Council."

On the following day, the Governor informed me of the result in a note in which he said he had ordered Mr. Wood, Solicitor, to meet me in order to pay me.

For five years and three months, they gave me three thousand one hundred and fifty louis. Of them, I invested fifteen hundred in bonds of the State, in which I had put a sum before my leaving, and in which Mr. Jefferson already had put small amounts received from my debtors—selling twelve hundred and eighty shillings, six pence. The rest of the amount I kept in cash to pay the three hundred louis to the brothers Vanthofapot, the one hundred to Bost, and to pay for my own expenses.

I could not live in my house at Colle because it was unfurnished. I wanted to furnish it with articles imported from Europe. If I stayed in Jefferson's house, it would have displeased several good friends, who might feel that I preferred solitude and did not appreciate the company. So I decided to call now on one, now on another, thinking that everyone desired to know about European affairs and about my adventures.
While I was preparing for my journey to Europe, a shipmaster came to my joyous heart news that he had landed my wife at Hampton; and he asked me to pay her fare because he had to continue his trip to Baltimore. My friends did not want me to pay, but the captain, who knew me by reputation, had believed that he was doing me a great favor by bringing my wife, who had invented many falsehoods about our relationship. I asked him how much I owed him, and he told me to pay what I thought just. I insisted that he specify the amount, and he was very modest in his request.

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His wife gave him some trouble, but at last she went to live with her daughter, Mrs. Pethick, Two years later, she died, as the Marquis beared in Paris in a letter from Mr. John Blair Jr.—Note of the translator.

Our Government, although organized in haste and in troublesome times, was better than any other, old or new; but we knew better than that it could be made better. During my first stay in Virginia, we agreed to wait until someone of us could conveniently devote his time to improving it.

After my arrival from Europe, while Jefferson was in Boston getting ready to leave as successor to Doctor Franklin at Paris, some representatives made a motion to amend the law, while others believed that the change would be for the worse. I proposed the foundation of a private society with the name of SOCIETY OF THE CONSTITUTION, to discuss before-hand privately everything that would probably be discussed and decided in the Assembly.

They wanted to elect me President, but I refused because of my intention to return to Europe after my settlement with the Government; and I nominated Mr. John Blair. He was elected unanimously.

We spent several times in Williamsburg, and when he had made the preparations to return to France, he invited me to Roma, and that afterwards he was also given a coadjutorship.

I passed the day in the Brent home, and the following day I reached Paris. I remained there for two days, speaking with two business men about commercial matters, and we undertook for them in France, Holland, and Italy. Then I crossed the State of Maryland, the small State of Delaware; and on the third day I arrived at Philadelphia, where I stopped for three days without bothering about business.

I did not know anybody there, and I had no letters of introduction. Franklin had not yet arrived. I went around to visit the city and its environs. I visited a little house, which I liked better, than the others. The houses were all made of brick, none of them superior to others. I liked the regularity of the streets, and I liked the market. I saw only the Catholic church, in which a German priest preached on one Sunday, and an English priest on the following Sunday. While I was there, the German preached, so I did not understand the sermon. The church was almost half full, and I imagine there were five hundred persons present; but there was room for as many as.

On the fourth day, having secured my place in the diligence with six or eight persons, I left Philadelphia, early in the morning. On the following day, before we had made three or four miles, we saw before us a man, a woman, and a cow with a red cloth covering it from its shoulders to half-way down its hind legs.
On the following morning, Jefferson and I went to Marmomont’s house. We found him indoors. He wanted us to go inside with him, and though Jefferson had to pay several calls that same morning, nevertheless our conversation lasted for two hours. They had much did not understand why the diplomat of the European powers made did not understand why the diplomat of the European powers made, a mystery of things entirely unimportant. Marmomont answered him, a mystery of things entirely unimportant. Marmomont answered him, “It is true, they have always a lock on their mouths; but if you take off the lock, you will see that the hand-bag is empty.”

When we were ready to leave, there arrived the Abbé Morelet, maternal uncle of Marmomont, and the greatest French logician, who lived the same day for another half hour. From there, we went to Lavosière’s, to Condorcet’s, to the Duc de la Fosse’s, and finally home, where, having only Mr. Short at dinner, we spoke about the affairs of our country.

Jefferson was greatly pleased when I told him of our conversation with Patrick Henry and of my own about the same age as one another. One of them was the brother of the banker, and the other was a certain Arnauld. Both were very ignorant. They praised Malby as if he were a Solaon or a Lyceurgus, and he was greatly flattered. One of them having mentioned the Abbé of Condillac, already famous for his writing, Malby added, “He is a young man who promises something. He will be successful!” I discovered afterwards that Condillac was his younger brother, and that his stupid vanity, well-known in Paris, induced him to speak in that manner, to show that he had been his teacher.

Although I scorned his book criticizing our Constitution, I bought a copy to please Mr. Short, who wanted me to answer it. But after I read it, I did not think it deserved a reply. So I determined to write my opinions in a humorous style, for the amusement of my friends. I wrote him a letter from Berlin a few days after my return to America. He asked me about the same thing that I had read to Marmomont; and he inquired whether I was lodged, because he desired to know my views on the book of Abbé Malby, of which he had heard from Berlin. It was a beautiful day, and the house of Marmomont was only a short distance from the Tuileries. We went there and sat down on a bench, where I read my opinion to him. He laughed, also, but he was of the same opinion as Marmomont. I felt that I could not then make the desired speech; but I promised to do it on my return from Holland, because I wished to go there immediately. I wanted to see my friend, Lusar, whose friendship was very dear to me; and the Brothers Vansevioraz, to inform them about trade with my country.
men in America. I went directly to Amsterdam, and I visited them with great pleasure. It was my intention to return to Paris in two weeks, but I spent a month at The Hague, Leyden, and Amsterdam.

When I came back to Paris, I undertook seriously to demonstrate the falsity of the observations of Mably; and in order to render my writing less dry, I added some notes for the purpose of informing European about that side of the United States which they could not otherwise know.

The Abbot Morelet approved my work, but he said that it was not a simple refutation, because I added things which had no relation to it. For myself, I thought it was not a bad thing to offer the reader more than he expected; but Morelet was of the contrary opinion.

When I was in Virginia, I heard of a book by the Abbé Royall. It made a great noise, especially because it involved the memory of the first edition that was printed in Georgia, and was seeking subscribers for one and one-half louis I subscribed, and on my return I found the work in the hands of one of my friends, who had not time to read all the seven volumes, so I restricted myself to reading only what he said about North America, and I observed that not only was it misleading from beginning to end, but I marked also that in speaking of the differences between the colonies and England, and of the war between them, he did not err solely from ignorance. I wanted to strip off his mask, and I proposed to myself to write a book refuting the two Abbés, and giving the truth about the Revolution. I consulted about this work with Jefferson, and he approved it.

When I finished my writing, Jefferson, Short, and the others went to Rochefoucauld, a beautiful villa belonging to the Duchesse d'Enghien on the border of Normandy, where I found many gentlemen whom we used to meet in Paris at the Hôtel de la Rochefoucauld. After my description of the organization of the American Republic, many of them desired me to write a complete and impartial history. Great day, I left a part of my manuscript in an interesting country, because none of those who had previously written had told the truth. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld and his friends, among the most intimate of whom was the Marquis de Condorcet, desired this work to be undertaken, more than any others. The Duc had spoken to Jefferson several times about having this done, and Jefferson said that he was able to answer all of his questions, provided they were restricted to the State of Virginia only.

This was the truth, and it was the only reason why Jefferson wrote those NOTES ON VIRGINIA that afterwards were translated into French and published by the Abbé Morelet. Jefferson printed one hundred and fifty copies in England to present them to his friends.

I received and kept a copy.

The Abbé Morelet wanted a map of Virginia to add to his translation. Jefferson had never made one, but when he was young he had seen his father make one. As he had great manual skill and a thorough knowledge of the State, he tried, and he succeeded marvellously well. He was successful, in fact, in everything he tried to do. For something, he took to Paris a phaeton made by negro slaves under his direction, and it was considered by French experts to be superior to any they had seen, so far as beauty, lightness and strength were concerned. Again, when, in order to save himself from a fall while walking in the Champ de Mars in Paris, he broke the wrist of his right arm, and was never able afterwards to use it, in three months he was writing with his left hand, and his characters were not noticeably different from those written with his right hand.

Condorcet was of the opinion that my answer should be published, and he advised me to write another work to give a clear idea of Virginia and its historical development, as well as of the Revolution, with a direct reply to the two Abbés. In this case, the work would show their error without attacking their characters.

I agreed, and I began my writing among the small woods. In the chateau, I found a large library and every comfort. My book, in three volumes, was entitled, RECHERCHES HISTORIQUES ET POLITIQUES SUR LES ÉTATS UNIS DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTE-TRIONAL.

In the two weeks, I had finished the first part of it, for as soon as I arrived in Virginia, in 1773, I began to inform myself about its history, from the time of the first settlement; it was then very fresh. When I was in doubt about the dates, I wrote to my old friends in England, and they had the patience to make researches in the archives and to send me the information desired.

In my hotel, there lived a certain Mr. Faure, a young Norman deputé to the Parliament, who spoke Italian very well, besides English, Spanish, German, and French. Knowing that I was publishing my book in French, he asked my permission to translate it, giving the reason that it was a good opportunity for him to improve his Italian.

He began the translation with great ease, and when I was not satisfied, he would revise it. Despite this work, I did not abandon my old friends, Ferri, Gallois, Condorcet, Dupont, and the Abbot Morelet.

The Marquis de Condorcet was not satisfied with the translation of M. Faure, and she wanted her husband to help her to revise it. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld, in regard to the above mentioned society, which her husband translated in the first, you will discern the style of a sensitive soul, and in the other, that of the irascible.

One evening, speaking about my book, of which the last sheet had been published, I proposed that, when it was finished, we should all dine together and drink a toast to the success of the work.

On the eve preceding its completion, a courier brought me a note to my house, addressed "From the Other World, January 24, 1788," and signed "The Abbé De Mably," (who had died some time before), expressing regret in an unrecognized handwriting, but I could detect the style of Gallois. I answered, addressing it to "The Ir-reverend Abbe Mably, in the Other World."

While we dined, I observed that the guests watched me closely, and that they strove hard to keep from laughing. I pretended not to notice it. When we finished the dinner, I got up and teased to have forgot something. I said, "By the way, can you possibly imagine..."
that the Abbe Mably would have the hardihood to write me a letter
of reproof from the Other World? Yet, I answered him, as he de-
served. Galois, if you will please read the letter of Abbot de Mably,
I will read later my answer. While Galois read the letter, everyone, including myself, laughed.
In turn, Galois laughed when I read my answer; but not when I
criticized his work, at which he seemed to me to be chagrinned, with-
out good reason.
Those two letters amused all my friends, and Marmontel and Con-
dorcet more than the others; but the wife of the latter believed that
the expressions of Galois were too strong, so that she could not
persuade herself that he was a true friend.

Not long after the publication of my book, there came from
Lausanne a Swiss named Blaire who had been for twenty-two years
the private secretary of the King of Poland. He was very friendly
with Piattoli. When he heard that the Princess Lubomirska, cousin
of the King of Poland, who was called the Marshal, was in Paris, he
went to call on her.
The King had written to him that he was not satisfied with his
agent in Paris; that conditions demanded an intelligent, attentive, active,
gentleman in that city; and Blaire promised him that he would go at
once to Paris in order to secure a suitable person. Two gentlemen
were recommended to him, but he did not like either of them; and
having made my acquaintance through the Abbe Piattoli, he asked me
if I would accept that place.
The Abbe Piattoli assured me that it was all right. So I asked
him to come with me to Jefferson, feeling that to serve a king would
prejudice me in the opinion of my countrymen. But Jefferson assured
me of the contrary, saying that the King of Poland was better known
in America than in Europe, because he was at the head of a Republic,
and was not a despot; and that he was considered the best citizen of
his country.
When, in November 1783, Philip Mazzei returned to Virginia from his European mission on behalf of his adopted country, he found that Thomas Jefferson, his most intimate friend, had already left to assume the post of minister to Paris. Jefferson's absence and the desire to get far away from his detestable wife, 1 who constantly harassed him, were responsible for Mazzei's determination to return to Europe. However, before his final departure from Virginia, Mazzei prepared a memorandum, hitherto unpublished, dated September 29, 1784, 2 in which he left Edmund Randolph in charge of the administration of his property during his absence.

According to this memorandum, Mazzei left his estate, "Colle," in Albemarle County, Virginia, in the care of Bennett Henderson, 3 (by word of mouth, not in writing), with instructions to rent it for twenty guineas, or to sell it for five hundred guineas. 4 In addition, Mazzei left several Virginia state bonds, having a total value of £513:9, to Colonel George Nicholas with instructions to remit the money from their sale to Randolph. The memorandum also revealed that Mazzei's claim to 1,100 acres of land for having brought over twenty-two persons, was registered in Albemarle County, and that information concerning another 5,000-acre lot could be obtained from his friend, Thomas Adams, 5 who secured it for him from the Governor and Council of Virginia. Finally, the memorandum also stated that Mazzei was leaving with Randolph all documents concerning the 457 acres of land which he gave as dowry to Mme. de Rieux, as well as the papers concerning two lots he had recently purchased. In the memorandum Mazzei promised to pay his wife £600 annually, on condition that she would renounce her claims to the money allowed her by the arbiters. But on account of her persistence in her obstinate and indecent behaviour, Mazzei asked, in the memorandum, once more that he be released entirely from the bond of matrimony, that she be forced to subscribe to a divorce decree, and that she take the steps necessary for such action as soon as the United States had "wise and sacred laws authorizing the dissolution of the matrimonial ties."

On October 2, 1784, Mazzei, by power of attorney recorded in the General Court of Virginia, constituted and appointed Edmund Randolph and John Blair "of Williamsburg," his attorneys-in-fact, with power to both or either to dispose of all his estate within the Commonwealth of Virginia. 6

After thus settling his personal and financial affairs, Mazzei sailed from New York on a French vessel on June 17, 1785, arriving in Paris on July 22, 1785. Almost immediately after his arrival in the French capital, Mazzei found himself in financial difficulties. On September 20, 1785, Jefferson wrote to Edmund Randolph: "Mazzei is here and in pressing distress for money. I have helped him as far as I have been able, but particular circumstances put it out of my power to do more. He is looking with anxiety to the arrival of every vessel in hopes of relief through your means. If he does not receive it soon, it is difficult to foresee his fate." 7

It was partially to relieve his financial difficulties that Mazzei undertook to write the Recherches Historiques 8 by which he hoped also to defend the

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1Dr. Marraro, Professor of Italian at Columbia University, is translator of Memoirs of the Life and Travels of the Florentine, Philip Mazzei, 1730-1816 (New York, 1942). He is the author of Philip Mazzei, Virginian in Europe (New York, 1979).
2Maria Hauteville, known by the name Petronilla or Potronelle, the widow of Joseph Martin or Morini, and her daughter, Maria Margherita, had come to Virginia with Mazzei in 1773. The following year, acting on the advice of his friends, Mazzei married the widow. Mazzei Archives, Pisa, Italy. The Mazzei, descendants of Mazzei, had both the batte of the family and documents which the author was able to examine and copy during a visit to Italy before World War II. In 1953, upon inquiry he was informed that all these documents were lost or destroyed during the battle for the occupation of the city.
3On February 11, 1777, Mazzei had bought 457 acres of land from a Mr. Henderson and on August 3, 1778, he had bought 282 acres from a Mr. Carter. (Richard C. Garlick, Philip Mazzei, Friend of Jefferson, Baltimore, 1953, p. 41.)
4As a matter of fact Mazzei gave "Colle" to Maria Margherita Martin, his stepdaughter, who married Justin Pierre Pluonard, Comte de Rieux, in Paris in October 1780. The de Rieux had settled in Virginia in 1783. Being very poor and with a large family, Mazzei also lent de Rieux 300 pounds, but three years later, hearing that de Rieux was in straitened financial difficulties, Mazzei burnt the note. (Garlick, Mazzei, p. 88.) Eventually de Rieux moved from "Colle" to "Ash Lawn" and in the fall of 1796 "Colle" was sold. (Garlick, Mazzei, p. 133.) The land brought only two dollars an acre. Mrs. de Rieux died on December 13, 1856. (Garlick, Mazzei, p. 23.)
5Thomas Adams had arranged a grant of 5,000 acres of land from the Legislature of Virginia on which Mazzei was to conduct his agricultural experiment. But Mazzei refused to accept it, because of the fact that it was divided up into many small tracts remote from one another. (Garlick, Mazzei, pp. 40-41.)
6See Records of the Henrico County Court, Richmond, Va., Deed Book, XIII, p. 315. (Garlick, Mazzei, p. 99.)
United States against the attacks of certain French writers. However, he was able to obtain more direct financial relief through his appointment later as agent of the King of Poland in Paris during the French Revolution. Finally, in 1792, Mazzei settled in Pisa, Italy, where, except for brief periods of absence, he continued to live to his death. Toward the end of 1796, he married Tonina Tonini, and on July 23, 1798, his only child, Elisabetta, was born.

Though Jefferson and Mazzei continued to correspond with each other regularly, no definite information is available as to when or how Jefferson took over the administration of Mazzei's property in Virginia. The fact that on December 29, 1813, Jefferson informed his friend that he had sold his [Mazzei's] house and lot in Richmond for $6,342.21, clear of expenses of sale, bearing an interest of six percent from the 14th of July last, since the war with England made it impracticable for Jefferson to forward the money to Mazzei, Jefferson decided to invest the money in Virginia. In a letter to Jefferson, dated Pisa, September 18, 1814, Mazzei expressed his gratitude to the friend of the sale of his house and lot in Richmond, the income from which "surpassed" his expectations. Mazzei went on to explain that "the insatiable tyranny of the iniquitous Napoleon" had ruined all the countries he had succeeded in invading, and that the individuals that had been most ill-treated and oppressed were the known, or suspected enemies of arbitrary government. Therefore, Mazzei was among those who were most persecuted. As a result his finances had suffered a great deal. Mazzei wrote to Jefferson that it would have been a source of great relief to him were he in a position to collect at once the money from the sale of his property in Richmond. "The great dearth of money," he continued, "which has been brought about by the tyrant, makes it possible at present to invest money with security at the monthly rate of one per cent." Rather than wait a year or two to collect the capital, Mazzei urged Jefferson to offer the buyer a moderate bonus, leaving it entirely to Jefferson's discretion as to the exact amount to offer.

In another letter, dated Pisa, October 5, 1815, hitherto unpublished, and which was probably the last one Mazzei wrote to Jefferson, the writer urgently requested his friend to do all in his power to obtain an immediate payment in full from the purchaser of the property, offering him some small bonus to this end. Mazzei reiterated the ease with which profitable transactions in real estate could be carried out in Pisa, Italy, on account of the great dearth of money "caused by the behaviour of that extravagant, wicked, treacherous, and at last annihilated traitor — Napoleon."

Meanwhile, Mazzei's physical and mental health had broken so completely that Thomas Appleton, American Consul in Leghorn, advised Jefferson not to forward the money to Mazzei, because of the latter's inability to administer his funds soundly. The following letter by Appleton, hitherto unpublished, shows the anxiety felt over Mazzei's health.

Leighorn, October 25, 1815

Thomas Jefferson, Esq.
Virginia.

Sir:

You will receive, Sir, by this conveyance, a letter from Mr. Mazzei, relating to the money which arose from the sale of his house in Richmond. It seems, he is still very desirous, to have in his possession this amount, alluding the advantageous purchases which might be made in Tuscany, or the still more lucrative mode of lending it at a great interest. It is from such erroneous ideas, that he has already diminished his estate, more than one-third in the short space of a few years; and as the faculties of his mind seem rapidly retreating, he would certainly add this sum, to the number of his losses, were it to fall into his hands. The real truth is, that there is not a spot of ground in all Tuscany which produces 4 per cent and it is with great difficulty that money can be securely placed at six. In the letter which I had the honor of addressing you, Sir, in the date of 28th of August, I have very carefully related to you, how totally incapable is Mr. Mazzei of administering his pecuniary concerns, and the very earnest request of his

9The Abbé Gabriel Bonnet de Mably had just written his Observations sur le Gouvernement et les lois des Etats-Unis d'Amérique (Amsterdam, 1784) containing some critical observations on the American Constitution, and Raynal had written Révolution de l'Amérique (London, 1793) Tablau et Révolution des Colonies angloises de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 2 volumes (Amsterdam, 1793).

10Garlick, Mazzei, pp. 159-161.

11Garlick, Mazzei, pp. 157-158.

12MS in National Archives, Washington. Photostatic copy in possession of author. Published in Italian in Garlick, Mazzei, pp. 159-161. MS in Manuscript Archives, Pisa.
wite and daughter, that the capital should remain for the present, in the secure situation in which it now is, and that only the interest which arises thereon, shall be forwarded to them as it becomes due.

THOMAS APPLETON

Appleton's fears were substantiated by Mazzei's daughter who, in a letter to Jefferson, dated January 3, 1816, explained that the "complicated and painful ailments" of her father, at the advanced age of 85, did not permit him to write personally. She was, therefore, writing at his request and under his dictation. Three copies of the letter were sent to Appleton with instructions to forward them on three different ships.

Mazzei died on March 20, 1816. The trouble over the settlement of his Virginia estate began soon after the testator's death and was protracted for many years. Mazzei's wife and daughter in Pisa attempted to recover the money from Jefferson. Meanwhile, the De Rieux in Virginia, for whom Mazzei had not provided in his will, claimed the estate also. Jefferson died before he was able to pay his debt to the lawful heirs. Finally, in July 1836, William De Rieux instituted a suit against Thomas Jefferson's estate. In his study of Mazzei, Dr. Richard Cecil Garlick lists several letters in the Department of State, Washington, dealing with the transfer of part of the money to Mazzei's heirs in Italy. The author of this article found other hitherto unpublished letters and documents bearing on the same subject in the Maruzzi Archives in Pisa, Italy. The more important of these documents are published here for the first time, not only to present a clearer picture of

1MS in National Archives, Washington, D.C.
2MS in Maruzzi Archives, Pisa.
3Mazzei's first wife, Petronella, died on January 10, 1788, and was buried in Jefferson's graveyard.
4In his last letter to Jefferson, dated Pisa, October 5, 1815, Mazzei wrote as follows regrading De Rieux: "As for De Rieux who has asked you to recommend him to me, and to tell me the 'any curse from my property would help him to subsist,' and that he has ten or twelve children please give him eighteen or twenty dollars for me, and remind him that I never wished to give him consent to his marriage with my step-daughter, which was brought about by the two thoroughly infamous mothers. Tell him further that when he came unexpectedly from France to Charleston with his wife, who had a miscarriage at sea, I sent him the money to pay the captain and to come to Virginia by land. I also gave him another large sum of money when I left for Europe besides the liberty of living in my house and of making use of the products of the land. Tell him moreover, that I have banned the two notes which he gave me for the two aforementioned sums of money I gave him." MS in Maruzzi Archives, Pisa.
5Replying to an inquiry, Jefferson, in a letter dated Monticello, January 26, 1817, communicated to Bache the main provisions of the will. MS National Archives, Garlick, Mazzei, p. 161.
6The following documents bearing on Mazzei's property in Virginia and the court litigation for the settlement of the estate were also in the Maruzzi Archives, Pisa.
the subject than has been available up to the present, but also because they add important information to our knowledge on the financial difficulties Jefferson encountered toward the end of his life.

The dispute to recover Mazzei's estate was based on the last will which he executed in Pisa on December 3, 1814. It is a nuncupative will, four pages long, which after some charitable legacies to the poor, the servants, and the bequest to his widow of one half of his house, gardens, and other property in Italy, contained the following residuary clause:

In all his other property, personal, real estate, animals, rights, shares, and generally in all that the said testator shall have and hold at the time of his decease, he declared and declares and by word of mouth named and names Signora Elisabetta Mazzei, his most beloved daughter, and in the event that the daughter will not or cannot receive her residuary estate, he substituted and substitutes the aforementioned Antonia Mazzei, his wife, and the heir's legal guardian, to inherit by vulgar and papillary substitution, and in the event that she too will not or cannot receive the inheritance, he named and names the poor of the city of Pisa as heirs by vulgar and papillary substitution, directing the hereinafter named executors, to secure, in the latter contingency, the authorization, if necessary, of the royal government.

Thomas Jefferson to Giovanni Carmignani:

Monticello in Virginia July 18, 1817.

Sir,

Within these few days I have received your favor of April 7 with certificates of the death of my estimable friend Philip Mazzei, and a copy of his Will. I learn this event with great affliction, altho' his advanced age had given reason to apprehend it. an intimacy of 40 years had proved to me his great worth; and a friendship, which had begun in personal acquaintance, was maintained after separation, without abatement, by a constant interchange of letters. his esteem too in this country was very general, his early & zealous cooperation in the establishment of our independence having acquired for him here a great degree of favor.

Having left under my care the property which he had not been able to dispose of and to carry with him to Europe, it is some years since I had been able to settle all his affairs here, and to have the whole proceeds remitted to him, except for his house and lot in Richmond. this being in the possession of another, a course of law became necessary to recover it: and after the recovery, it was sometime before it could be disposed of at a reasonable price. very favorable circumstances however occurring at length, I was enabled to get for it a sum very far beyond what had ever been expected or asked. this was in the time of our late war with England, while a close blockade of our harbors cut off all commercial intercourse with Europe, and rendered a remittance of the price impossible. the question then arose what could be done with the money? our banks, which had been heretofore considered as safe depositories of money, had excited alarm as to their solvability, by the profuse emission of their notes; and in fact they declared, soon after, their inability to pay their notes, in which condition they still continue; and could they have been trusted with the money, no interest would have been allowed by them. it might have been lent to the government, who would have paid an interest; but then the principal could not have been demanded under 15 or 20 years, the terms of their loans. I concluded therefore to retain it myself, at our legal interest of 6 per cent per annum, as the only means of avoiding the risk of the banks, of yielding the profit which the treasury offered, with the command of the principal at a shorter period. but to indemnify myself for the interest I should have to pay it was necessary I should invest it in some profitable course: and to restore it again to the form of money, would require some time after the close of the war. I explained this in a letter to Mr. Mazzei, and then supposed it might be done at two or three annual instalments, counting from the close of the war. altho' the cessation of hostilities took place in the spring of the last year, yet the war contributions continued thru the year, aggravated by the most calamitous season for agriculture almost ever known. our term of peace then really began with the present year. I was about informing Mr. Mazzei that, counting from that period, the principal and interest should be remitted him in three annual instalments, when I received the information of his death. I had been led to propose to him this delay the less unwillingly, as I had received from his family, thro' Mr. Appleton, a request not to remit the principal, which they feared he would dispose of to loss.
The Virginia Magazine

I have thought this much necessary, Sir, to explain to you the present state of this fund, and the reasons why it cannot be remitted but by successive instalments. A third with its interest shall be paid the ensuing spring, and the remainder in equal portions the two springs following that the channel of remittance must depend on the circumstances of the times, the exchange with London at present is much against us. But the calls of the banks on their debtors, now rapidly going on, by reducing the redundance of our medium, and the produce of agriculture this year, which, as an article of remittance, will lessen the demand, & consequently the price of bills of exchange, will probably produce, by the next spring, a more favorable state of exchange for the first remittance. In the meantime I shall receive & execute with pleasure & punctuality any instructions you may think proper to give me as to the channel and mode of remittance: and, receiving none, I will certainly do the best I can for the benefit of Mr. Mazzei's family, to whom I will render every service in my power with the same zeal I would have done for my deceased friend, of which I pray you to give them assurance with the homage of my great respect, and to accept yourself the tender of my high consideration.

Th: Jefferson

A. Pini to Thomas Jefferson

[Illegible]

Sir:

Mr. Appleton, the Consul, has communicated to us the contents of your letter, informing us of your kindness in remitting to us, as soon as possible the interest of a year's investment of the capital which is now in your possession. From the same Consul, we learn also that you would like to keep the capital for some time. Since we are unable to invest it to better advantage than you, please use it for whatever length of time you may deem it desirable. We beg only that you have the kindness to forward to us the annual interest on the capital and, should it not be inconvenient to you, to send also whatever else you can.

Proffering you a thousand thanks for the infinite kindness you have shown us, we repeat our expressions of gratitude and, Sir, we have the honor to remain,

Yours very sincerely,

A. Pini

Thomas Appleton to Thomas Jefferson

Lehmborn, January 15, 1820.

Tho: Jefferson, Esq.
Monticello.

Dear Sir,

Mad. Mazzei & Mad. Pini are again somewhat importuning! for their patrimony is so precisely on a level with necessity, that the least delay deranges their plans of economy; besides, their expenses have of late increased, owing to the mother living separate from the daughter, arising, I am told, from want of education on one side, and of filial affection on the other. . . .

Thomas Appleton
Thomas Appleton to Thomas Jefferson

Leighorn, January 21, 1820

Th. Jefferson,
Monticello

Sir,

... I yesterday spoke with Mr. & Mad. Pini, when they repeated to me what I believe they wrote you on a former occasion, that they are desirous of about 2000 dollars of the capital, whenever it suits your convenience, as it seems, there is a mortgage on a certain tenement they hold in Pisa, & from which they are desirous to be liberated. ...

THOMAS APPLINGTON

Thomas Appleton to Thomas Jefferson

Leighorn, 18 March 1820

Th. Jefferson,
Monticello.

... Mad.mn Mazzei, is likewise frequently calling, to inquire for her mother of the interest, as also, if a portion of the capital may be shortly expected for having separated from her daughter, who I am sorry to find, impetuously supports the untutored mind of her mother, and often reproaches the memory of her father, for having equally divided between them, the little patrimony. I am thus in some measure, the confidant of both; but I never fail whenever your remittances arrive, to explain to the mother, & viva voce, the amount which falls to her share, for she relies more on my equity, than on the fidelity of her daughter. If you should not view it as indecorous in me, to give advice, I should recommend to discharge as soon as it shall suit your convenience, both principal and interest of the concern of Mazzei; as a portion of the former, they inform me, is requisite to discharge a mortgage, which oppresses them & the latter is necessary for their support. ...

THOMAS APPLINGTON

The Settlement of Philip Mazzei's Virginia Estate

Thomas Appleton to Thomas Jefferson

Leighorn, May 8, 1825

Th. Jefferson,
Monticello.

Dear Sir:

... I called a few days ago on Mad. Pini at Pisa, when I found her confined to her bed, & rapidly approaching dissolution. Her disorder is on the lungs, & her physicians have pronounced her malady, past all remedy. She will leave three children and a husband, who is devotedly attached to her. I have long observed a tendency to this fatal disorder, for she was produced by the expiring effort of an ill-timed marriage, as her father had passed three score and ten, before he took his wife, & which injudicious connection, evidently hastened the period of his life. She was a comely woman, and there was, precisely, half a century difference in their ages. Mr. Pini is earnestly pressing the arrival of his funds, for the reasons I have mentioned in my preceding letter; to wit, that he has bought a small farm, contiguous to lands he owns, in the environs of Pisa. ...

THOMAS APPLINGTON

Giov. Cristo. Ulrich to Mrs. E. Pini Mazzei

Leighorn, October 4, 1826

Sig.mn Elisabetta Pini, née Mazzei
Pisa —

Dear Madam,

We were delighted to receive only this morning your welcome letter of the 2nd of the current month, containing the four documents in duplicate referring to your claim against the heirs of the late Thomas Jefferson of Philadelphia. We notify you herewith that we did not find enclosed in the said letter the originals of the copies of the correspondence in English, which we think you may have forgotten.

You have instructed us to have these papers legalized by the Government of Tuscany, and then by the American consul which, of course, we shall

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25MS in National Archives.
26MS in National Archives.
27MS in National Archives.
28MS in Manzini Archives, Pisa. Christopher Ulrich was the Danish Consul at Leghorn. No reason can be found to explain why the Pini engaged the services of Mr. Ulrich instead of those of Mr. Appleton who remained as consul in Leghorn to his death in 1840.
do, but first, you must have the letters, the financial statement, and Jefferson’s obligations all translated into Italian. This translation must be done by someone who has a good command of both languages. When the translation is completed, the English version must be attached to the Italian translation, and the translator must write the following statement beneath the translation:

I hereby certify that I know both the English and Italian languages thoroughly and that I have made a faithful translation of the above.

This must then be sworn to before a notary public whose signature must be authenticated by the Governor of your State. We are, therefore, enclosing the aforementioned English copies, so that you may return them together with the originals for us to compare and have legalized.

The brig Pedler, bound for New York, will leave at the end of this month. We are taking this opportunity to forward all the previously mentioned correspondence to Mr. Henry Pratt of Philadelphia, and we are taking advantage of the departure of a ship for Havre to forward the duplicates by this route, so that should one be too greatly delayed, the material will still reach them by courier.

We beg you, madam, to accept our sincere regards,
Your most humble and obedient servants,


Henry Pratt to Thomas Jefferson Randolph
[copy]

Philadelphia, January 12, 1827.


Sit

By a late arrival from Leghorn, I have received thru the hands of my correspondents, Messrs. Ulrich & Sons, of that place, a letter of Attorney from Andrew Tozzi Pini and his wife Elizabeth Mazzei Pini, authorizing me to represent, in her behalf, a claim which she has against the estate of his Excellency Thomas Jefferson (as the sole heiress of her father, Philip Mazzei deceased, formerly of Virginia) for the sum of $7400, with interest. From 14th July 1825. From the papers, in my possession, I am led to con-

udge, that the particular nature of this claim was communicated to you, by Mr. Jefferson, during his life time, with an anxious expression of his desire, that it should be effectually secured to the daughter of Mr. Mazzei, and that the principal sent should be remitted to her, as the pecuniary circumstances of Mr. Jefferson will permit. It appears that on the 29th December 1813, he announced to Mr. Mazzei by a letter of that date, that he had made a sale of a House & lot in Richmond, the property of the latter for $6342 21/100 clear of expenses, which he could not then conveniently remit, owing to the above blockade of our ports, by the very recent embargo by ourselves, and the consequent suspension of our common intercourse, with all nations.

I conclude with an assurance that it should be placed in landed security, so as to be entirely safe & that the interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, should be regularly and annually remitted to him. On the 5th of April 1818, Mr. Jefferson signed a written obligation under seal, which he transmitted to Mrs. Pini, of the following tenor:

"I Thomas Jefferson of Monticello in Virginia acknowledge myself indebted to the representatives of Philip Mazzei, of Tuscany, after the remittance of $445 66/100, now making the principal sum of seven thousand, four hundred dollars, which principal sum of $7400 dollars is to be bear from the 14th day of July, in the present year 1818, an interest of 6 per cent per annum, that is to say, of $440 and forty dollars to be paid annually until reimbursement of the principal, to be paid in what interest, and principal I bind myself my heirs, executors, and administrators. Witness my hand and seal, this 5th day of April 1818.

Th. Jefferson."

On the 11th August 1825, Mr. Jefferson addressed a letter to Mr. Andrea Pini, excusing himself for not having remitted, part of the principal, according to his former expectation and agreement, and says I have particular consultation with Thomas Jefferson Randolph, on the subject of my debt to you in a . . . "I have expressed, to him, my peculiar anxieties, for its discharge, in preference to any other. He authorizes me to say without fear of disappointment, that in the Month of January ensuing, he will put into my hands, the means of making you a remittance of $2000, on account of the principal.

This shall be followed up by equal remittances annually afterwards, until finally discharged & moreover informs Mr. Pini, that the interest of the
last year, was remitted to London for his account. Since that, according to Mr. Pini, he has received no other information concerning the debt due him, or else remittances on account of it. In pursuance therefore of the commission, intrusted to me, I take the liberty of presenting this claim to you. Permit me to ask the executrix of Mr. Jefferson, respectfully soliciting, the favor of your early attention to it. Mrs. Pini in her letter to me, seems to think the debt due her is secured, in landed estate. This according to the engagement, contained in Mr. Jefferson’s letter to her father of 29th December 1813. Will you be good enough to inform me how this is & to communicate other particulars, or the nature of the claim may require, & your means of information will allow. I remain with...

HENRY PRATT

Addressed:
Thomas Jefferson Randolph
Executor of Thomas Jefferson Dec’d.

Thomas Jefferson Randolph to Henry Pratt
[coppy]

Boston, January 22, 1826

Sir,

Yours, of the 12th was received, during the sale of the effects of my late grandfather Th. Jefferson at Monticello. I was aware of Mon. Pini’s debt and its amount. My grandfather on his deathbed had particularly called my attention to it, and I had intended, as soon as the sale were over, to have addressed a letter to Pini, upon the subject. You will save me that trouble, as I can communicate through you. This debt was bonded, and a sealed instrument, is placed by our laws among the first class; of these, there are but three others, amounting in all to less than $30,000. The sales so far have removed doubts, of the solvency of the estate, if however there should be loss, from intimate connections with it, it must fall exclusively upon myself. Under this conviction, the creditors are all quietly waiting the result, without pressuring their demands. No [illegible] has been brought, and I believe none will be. This debt is not secured upon landed property, but the

The Settlement of Philip Mazzei’s Virginia Estate

Landed property for the most part, and the entire personal, which is one half in value of the whole, is unencumbered, such is the depression of every description of property in Va. that sales could not be effected for cash without minuscule sacrifices, the sales were necessarily made, on a credit of 12 months, bonds with approved security were taken, bearing interest from the date the interest to be remitted upon personal payment of the principal. This sale will enable me to pay one third to forty per cent of Pini’s debts; it can be paid in bonds now, or in money Jan. 1828. I can then pay the residue in Nov. 1828. 29 and 30. This I believe to be the worst aspect; favorable circumstances, may enable me to discharge it at an earlier day, which I sincerely believe will be the result, but in holding out expectations I do not desire to hold out such, as will not be certainly fulfilled. I must refer you to Mr. Short Esquire Philadelphia, for information, as to myself, which may justify your confidence in any statement which I might make.

Respectfully

THOS. J. RANDOLPH
Exec. of Th. Jefferson

Philadelphia.

Giov. Cristo Ulrich to Elisabetta Pini Mazzei

Leghorn, March 21, 1827.

Mrs. Elisabetta Pini Mazzei
Pisa.

Dear Madam,

We take pleasure in notifying you of the receipt of a letter from my friend in Philadelphia, dated February 3, concerning the instructions we gave him about recovering your credit rights from the estate of the late President, Thomas Jefferson.

My friend has sent me both a copy of the letter which he forwarded Mr. Randolph, the executor of the late Thomas Jefferson’s estate, and a copy of the reply thereto. We enclose herewith these copies for your information.

Finally, as a result of the efforts of my friend from Philadelphia, the executor of the late Mr. Jefferson has offered to pay the amount due you in the following manner:

30Ms in Maruzzi Archives, Pisa. Jefferson’s eldest daughter had married the eldest son of Thomas Mason Randolph. Henry Pratt, a merchant of Philadelphia, received power of attorney to represent Mrs. Pini in the collection of the money of Mazzei’s estate.

31The date is obviously wrong since Jefferson’s death did not occur until the following July 4.
In January, 1828, from 33 1/3 to 40%, and in November of 1828, 29, and '30, the remainder, always with the hope of being able to pay this debt even sooner.

After you have thought the matter over please let us know your decision so that we may reply to our friend.

We are listing below the mailing expenses incurred by my friends at Havre on receipt of your package of letters, and also mine, incurred on receipt of the answer (in all, £26 4s). Awaiting your reply, we have the honor to remain, honored lady,

Your most devoted and obedient servants,

GIOV. CRISTO. ULRICH.

John A. Lancaster vs. Mazzei's Heirs

To the Honorable Creed Taylor, Judge of the Superior Court of Chancery for the Richmond District.

Humbly complaining sheweth unto your Honor your orator John A. Lancaster, Administrator of Maria Margaret Derieux deceased, late widow of Justin Plunard Derieux; that sometime in the year 17...
intestate survived her husband several years and died in the year 1827, without having made any will or having in any way disposed of the claim she might have on the said Mazzei’s estate by virtue of the said marriage contract, and leaving several children; that the said Marie Petronille Mazzei, the mother of your Orator’s intestate, died in the year [blank], and that sometime after her decease, the Philip Mazzei, having inherited a large estate in Italy, left the United States, and took up his abode in the City of Pisa, in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, where he died, about the year 1816, without having made any lawful disposition of his estate. Your Orator further shews and charges, that at the time the said Mazzei left the United States for Italy, he was possessed of considerable property both real and personal situated in the State of Virginia and elsewhere, which said property was left under the control and management of Thomas Jefferson of Monticello in the County of Albemarle, who disposed of the whole, or a part of the same; but who has never, as your Orator has been informed and verily believes, accounted for the proceeds of the property sold by him as aforesaid, or for the rents and profits of such as remained unsold, although so requested to do, in the life time of your Orator’s intestate. Your Orator further shews that the said Thomas Jefferson died on the 4th of July 1826, and that Thomas Jefferson Randolph is his Executor, and that your Orator has been informed, that certain persons to wit: Giovanni Battista Ruschi, Count Francesco Del Testa Del Tignoso, and Giovanni Carmignani, all residing in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in Italy set up some claim to the property, which the said Mazzei possessed in the State of Virginia at the time of his death, and to which your Orator in his character of Administrator of the said Mrs. Derieux thinks himself Justly entitled. In tender consideration whereof, and for as much as your Orator is remediless in the premises, except in a Court of Equity where matters of this kind are properly Cognizable and relievable; to the end therefore; that the said Thomas Jefferson Randolph Executor of Thomas Jefferson, the said Giovanni Battista Ruschi, Count Francesco Del Testa Del Tignoso, and Giovanni Carmignani may be made parties defendants to this bill of complaint, and full answers made to all the matters herein set forth, as fully as if they were thereto distinctly interrogated, and more especially, That the said Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Exr.: as aforesaid, may distinctly and particularly set forth, what was the nature of the property, belonging to the said Mazzei, left under the control and in the care of his testator, of what it consisted and where situated; what has been done with the same; what powers his testator possessed in relation to the disposition of said property; the manner in which his testator acted in the execution of such powers; if any of the said property has been sold, to whom sold; on what terms; and what has been done with the monies arising from such sale or sales; to whom paid; and what portion of such monies remains still due from his testator; and in general to give a full, true, and circumstantial account of all the transactions of his testator in relation to said property. And that the said Ruschi, Del Testa, and Carmignani may be required to answer the premises and disclose under what pretense of title, they claim the property of the said Mazzei. And your Orator prays that in the mean time the said Randolph, Exr.: as aforesaid may be inhibited from paying over any monies, due from his testator unto the estate of the said Mazzei, to any person whatever until it shall have been decided by your Honor unto whom said monies so due ought to be paid; and that your Honor will decree, that all the property and effects of the said Mazzei, in the hands of the Exr.: of the said Jefferson, or which he is accountable for, be paid over unto your Orator, and that your Honor will grant such further and other relief in and about the premises, as Justice and Equity may require, and that your Honor will grant &c.

A Copy

Testo

WM. G. PENDLETON C.C.

[On last page]

Dereieux’s adm’t.

v Co. Bill

Jefferson

For 1st Pet. Com’t

To whom shall this be ch’d?

Giov. Cristo. Ulrich to Elisabetta Pini Mazzei

Leighorn, September 22, 1828.

Dear Madam:

We have the pleasure of informing you that we are finally in receipt of letters from my friend in Philadelphia with a statement that he has received

34MS in Carmignani Archives, Pisa. On May 30, 1827, Ulrich had written Mz. Pini a letter acknowledging receipt of one from her wherein she had informed him that she accepted the terms of Thomas Jefferson Randolph as to the method of making the payments. The method was one third to be paid on January 1828; the balance to be paid in three equal installments on Nov. 1828, 1829, 1830. The original of this document was in Mazzei Archives.
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in the bill itself, they believe the pretensions of right now asserted, is one of the most unjust and unconscionable ever presented to a Court of Equity. Even if the narration of the history of the transaction as stated in the bill were true, which these respondents do not admit, the substance of the prayer of the bill, is that the property of F. Mazzei, shall be taken from his child, and given to his first wife’s daughter, under a marriage contract, which the mother as attorney in fact for her husband, made in favor of her own child by a former marriage and when on the face of the contract a reservation appears in favor of the alleged grantor (without consideration either valuable or good in law) that he shall have the right to dispose of his property by Will to whomsoever he pleased, and when in fact he had made such a disposition of it, to his own child, which was known, these respondents are informed and believe, by the complainant at the time of filling his bill. Viewing this as an effort on the part of the complainant, either to force these respondents into a compromise, or to take advantage of what is supposed by him to be some informalities in the Will of F. Mazzei, these respondents require strict proof by the complainant, of every material allegation by him not hereinafter admit as true.

The clausus against the estate of P. Mazzei now asserted by the complainant in behalf of his intestate his mother-in-law are two-fold – First, that P. Mazzei, some time about the middle of the last century, received money which belonged to Maria Margareta Martini for which he never accounted – and secondly – that in the year 1783, had agreed to make her his universal heirress, unless he should dispose of his property otherwise by his Will – which the complainant alleges he had now lawfully done – Against the first pretension the respondents pray to be allowed the benefit of the statute of limitations as fully and amply as if the same were here formally pleaded in Bar. But if it should not afford a sufficient protection against this state demand for money alleged to have been received about seventy years ago, they say they do not know, and therefore cannot admit, but on the contrary call for proof that Joseph Martini ever did marry Marie Petronille Hentzelville or that he died in London, or that the complainants intestate was the only offspring, or indeed, any child of said marriage, or that said Joseph Martini died intestate or that Marie Margareta Martini was legal representative or entitled in any manner to his estate or any part of it. These respondents do not admit, but require proof that P. Mazzei ever received any property or effects, belonging to Marie Margareta Martini — and if it shall appear by proper evidence that he the said P. Mazzei ever
These respondents aver that after the death of Mrs. Mazzei, as stated in the bill, Philip Mazzei intermarried with Antonia and had issue by her, a daughter Elizabeth and that he afterwards, about the time stated in the bill departed this life, having first made and duly executed and published according to the forms of the laws of the Granduchy of Tuscany his last will and testament which was proved according to said Laws a duly authenticated copy of which, these respondents are getting ready to have it recorded in the proper office in the state of Virginia and so soon as it shall be so admitted to record a copy thereof will be filed herewith, and prayed to be taken as a part of this bill — that being the regular mode these respondents are advised of making an exhibit of a copy of a Foreign Will.

By his said will, P. Mazzei made various bequests to different persons, and gave the residue of his whole estate to his beloved daughter Elizabeth whom he made his universal heiress. By a subsequent clause, he provided that in case his said daughter should be unwilling or unable to accept the devise and bequest, then in that case he gave his property intended for her to his beloved wife, in trust for his daughter — and in case she should be unwilling or unable to accept the same, he gave it to the Poor of the City of Pisa.

These respondents aver this (P. Mazzei) said daughter Elizabeth (now Mrs. Elisabeth Pini) is willing to accept the said devise and bequest — and if unable from any cause not known to these respondents, and the same cause should prevent the gift to her mother — that in those events — the gifts do pass (these respondents are advised) to the Poor of the City of Pisa, who are capable and willing to accept the same — so that in no event can the estate be claimed by the complainant. These respondents further submit it to the court to decide whether the making of a Will and devising of his estate by P. Mazzei (whether the devisee chooses to accept or not) does not defeat the contingent interest under the marriage contract, even if there were any, as alleged by the complainant — These respondents claimed the funds due P. Mazzei, as exors. of his will and as friends of his daughter Elizabeth and of his other legatees.

And these respondents pray that Thomas Green of the City of Richmond, whom they hereby appoint their attorney at law may appear in court as their counsel in this behalf. And having answered they pray to be hence dismissed with their costs.

This day appeared before me
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The results of the litigation. I rely on the justice of the United States courts to save me from the illegal claims of one who is neither Filippo Mazzei’s daughter nor his heir. He was the author of historical and political researches on the United States. Since I do not yet know the result of that judgment, I appeal to you, Mr. President, and ask you to interest yourself on my behalf. I beg you to do everything in your power to hasten an impartial decision of your courts. I dare hope, Mr. President, that you will design to protect the daughter of one of your former citizens. I hope also that speedy justice may be secured, for procrastination in its administration would be of the gravest harm to the parties involved.

Accept, I beg you, the sincere sentiments and esteem of the daughter of a citizen of Virginia, and allow me to remain,

Your most humble servant,

ELISABETTA PINI-MAZZEI

Mr. President,

I have the honor to inform you that my father, the late Filippo Mazzei, a citizen of Virginia, left certain possessions in that State, the administration of which he entrusted to Mr. Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States of America.

Mr. Jefferson converted the estate into cash and, as a result, owed my father $7,400. As heir of my late father, on April 5, 1818, the President drew up a note in my favor, which he sent me by sea-route to Leghorn.

The debtor having since died, Mr. Henry Pratt, a merchant living in Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, United States of America, was instructed to take charge of the collection of this sum, and my power of attorney was sent to Mr. Pratt through Mr. Christopher Ulrich, the Danish Consul at Leghorn.

Mr. Pratt made arrangements with Mr. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the executor of the estate of the late debtor, Thomas Jefferson, to receive payment of the balance of the sum in four instalments, to be paid in full by the month of November, 1830.

On May 9, 1828, after the payment of one instalment, a certain Margherite De Rieux legally attached my credit, claiming to have an heir’s rights to the estate of my late father as she is the daughter of a widow my father married. She admits, however, that she is the widow’s child by the previous marriage.

Under the present circumstances, I sent to Philadelphia my father’s will and many documents proving me his only heir. Though the will was accepted in the courts of Virginia, I have had no further news concerning

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37MS in Manzuoli Archives. The Manzuoli Archives have two versions of this letter, one in Italian and the other in French. The translation here given is from the Italian original. It is not known whether President Andrew Jackson ever received this letter, and if so what action he took in the matter, if any. The fact is that litigation continued several years longer before the claim finally recovered the estate.

38Thomas Green on Wednesday, November 18, 1829, wrote in his diary: “I got Mazzei’s [sic] will admitted to record notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Michie for J. A. Lancaster.”

intestate. The question of these being a will is conclusively settled, the effect of it is another thing.” On Monday, October 25, 1830, Green wrote in the same diary: “I called at Payzoy’s after tea & found Jed. Randolph there, he said he required the Bond given Mazzei [sic] before he could pay any thing more.” Thomas Green Diary, 1829-1830, Virginia Historical Society.