

William Livingston, Philosopher of American Democracy

The Life and Social Philosophy of One of the Founding Fathers

Harold W. Thatcher

"About the Author" and "About This Book" © 2021 Sanford G. Thatcher

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"[D]oubtless Posterity has lost the Sentiments of many eminent Men, which might have been equally useful and important, with the Writings of those, who make the brightest Appearance in the Annals of Fame."

William Livingston, *Independent Reflector*, No. 40

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Preface

Ideas have played a more important part in history than we sometimes realize. The late Charles A. Beard, in his address as retiring president of the American Historical Association in 1933, said of the inquiry into the forms and development of ideas as conditioning and determining influences: "not enough emphasis has been laid on this phase of history by American scholars." Since that time the history of ideas has assumed a new and greater significance. A new and fearful threat to democracy has appeared. Totalitarianism with its radically different set of values has arisen to challenge the democratic way of life, not only by force and threats of force, but in a much more dangerous way—by seeking to invalidate in the realm of ideas the basic tenets of the democratic faith. In such a conflict it will not suffice merely to repel force with force. Ideas frequently penetrate where arms fail. A hostile ideology cannot be vanquished on the field of battle; it must be routed in the realm of reason. We who still believe in the democratic way of life have therefore been compelled to re-examine the basic tenets of our faith in order that we may be better prepared to defend them against the impact of a hostile ideology. In the United States the starting point for such a re-examination

must be the ideas of the founding fathers, for it is on those ideas as a foundation that we have constructed our present democratic philosophy.

Best known among the founding fathers to the public of today are Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and a few other outstanding leaders in the formative days of the republic. It is the opinions and ideas of these few illustrious leaders that we see most frequently quoted. It is often, however, not the outstanding leaders in each generation who best represent the thinking of that generation but rather those leaders who, less well-known to posterity and not perhaps as original in their thinking, yet managed to voice more faithfully the ideas of the inarticulate masses of their own time. Such a leader was William Livingston. I. Woodbridge Riley, discussing in his *American Philosophy, the Early Schools* (p.24) the development of the spirit of nationality in America during the Revolutionary period, after citing the sources commonly used in tracing this development, states: "Yet herein one should pay less attention to these publicists than to obscurer speculators such as John Wise, Jonathan Mayhew and William Livingston, who . . . constituted a genuine background to the whole picture." A true understanding of the philosophy upon which our government is founded must be sought, therefore, in the writings not only of those of the founding fathers best known through the pages of history to posterity but also in the writings of those whose names and

fame the passage of time has blurred. Though the lives and thoughts of these men have become shrouded in the dim mists of the past, it is their lives and thoughts, nevertheless, which constitute "a genuine background to the whole picture."

It is in an effort to rescue one of these forgotten leaders from the oblivion to which fate and chance have consigned him and to aid in more clearly delineating the "genuine background" of our American democratic philosophy that the following biography is offered. Because of the importance at the present time of understanding the basic ideas which constitute the foundation of our modern American democracy and also because as a prolific essayist and pamphleteer William Livingston's contributions in the realm of thought were even more important than his very substantial contributions in the field of action, especial emphasis has been placed in this biography upon his writings and ideas, and in chapters XII and XIII an attempt has been made to reconstruct his social philosophy in a somewhat systematic form. It is the author's hope that this analysis of the ideas of one of the founding fathers will contribute in some measure at least to a better understanding of the foundations of our American democratic way of life.

About the Author

Harold Wesley Thatcher was born in Brooklyn, New York, on July 10, 1897, the son of George Washington Thatcher, Jr. (1858–1906), and Dorothy Gray Thatcher (1857–1951). His sister Grace (1882–1945) was much older. He also had two other siblings, Mabel and George, who died at ages 8 and 2, respectively. Harold died, ironically, on February 22, 1978, George Washington's birthday. And his wife of nearly fifty years, Genevieve, died in 1999 on what would have been his 104th birthday after hallucinating that she was joining him for a dance to celebrate that occasion.

Growing up in Brooklyn, he attended Erasmus Hall High School from 1909 to 1913. At age 13 he contracted polio for which there was no vaccine at the time, but managed to survive with only some lasting but not debilitating damage to one of his legs, which nevertheless did not prevent him from playing sports like baseball in his youth and golf and tennis later in life. His mother was a Christian Scientist who did not believe in the efficacy of medicine anyway. In another ironic twist, her great grandson, Peter Cubberley, valedictorian of his senior class at Allegheny College in 1949, went on to get his M.D. from Case Western Reserve University in 1961 and eventually became the medical director of the Free Clinic of Greater Cleveland and a pioneer in the treatment of HIV/AIDS.

Harold, known to his friends as "Hal," starting as a freshman at Columbia University in September 1914 and graduated with a B.A. in Economics in June 1919. During those years he played on the college's baseball team and served for three months at the end of 1918 as a private in the Student Army Training Corps of the U.S. Army. He also played piano professionally in the New York City area at such venues as the Plaza Hotel where his "stride" style of jazz made famous by James P. Johnson and Fats Waller drew an appreciative audience for what were then called "tea dances."

His first jobs for several years after graduation were positions as a clerk in banks and other businesses in the city, but in June 1923 he managed to fill in one month as a teacher of English and history at a private boys' school and then in October started a full-time job as an English teacher at The Hill School in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, where he stayed until June 1925. In October he decided to return to Columbia and earned his M.A. in History in June 1926. His next teaching position, in history as well as English, came at The Asheville School for Boys in Asheville, North Carolina, from September 1926 to June 1927.

For the next three years, from November 1927 through June 1930, he worked as a college traveler for Henry Holt & Company visiting colleges to persuade professors to adopt the company's textbooks. He gave up this job after marrying Genevieve Harnett in her hometown, St. Louis, on June 24, 1929, having met her in Rome during a trip to Europe in the summer of 1927.



Genevieve, seven years younger, was a 1923 graduate of Mary Institute, a private feeder school for Washington University from which she graduated in 1927. A member of the women's soccer team, she served in a number of positions in various clubs and was secretary of the Chapel Choir whose president was Clark Clifford, later to become a major power broker in national politics and eventually Secretary of Defense under President Lyndon Johnson. Many years later, after her son visited Mr. Clifford's law office on a trip for Princeton undergraduates organized by Professor Fred Greenstein, he wrote a letter dated July 23, 1983, in which he said: "Please give my affectionate regards to your mother Genevieve Harnett Thatcher. I remember her well and I always thought that she was a very attractive younger woman. I am glad to hear that she is still hale and hearty."

Genevieve's mother, also named Genevieve, was for many years the personal secretary to Bishop Ivan Lee Holt of the United Methodist Church in St. Louis. The bishop was a leader in world religious affairs serving for a time as the president of the World Methodist Council. Her father was James Dudley Harnett (1875-1951). His life revolved around the sport of golf. He is widely credited by historians of the game with being instrumental in the launching of The Ryder Cup, with some claiming his role to be so significant that it might well have been called The Harnett Cup. He also played a major role in the growth of the Professional Golf Association of America and the spread of the sport through the country. The PGA is in the process of moving its headquarters from Florida to Frisco, Texas, where the younger son of Harold and Genevieve now resides.

Harold returned to teaching in private secondary school at Rutgers University Preparatory School in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in September 1930. He taught history there until June 1933. He then decided to pursue a Ph.D. in history and attended the University of Chicago where he was awarded the prestigious Henry Hilton Wolf Fellowship for the 1934-1935 academic year. Working under the direction of Professor Marcus Wilson Jernegan, he studied from September 1933 until he earned his doctorate in June 1935 with a 317-page dissertation titled "The Social Philosophy of William Livingston" of which the present biography is an expanded and revised version. Harold learned much about Constitutional history during his time in the Ph.D. program, influenced greatly by the scholarship of one of the department's most famous teachers, Andrew McLaughlin, whose magnum opus, *A Constitutional History of the United States* (1935), won the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1936. Harold taught Constitutional history throughout his subsequent career.

Now Dr. Thatcher, he began his career as a college professor in September 1935 as an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Maryland in College Park. He taught both American history and historical methods to undergraduates and graduate students. His rise to the rank of full professor took only two years. Among fellow junior professor just getting their own careers started were Richard Hofstadter, who joined the department in 1942 after getting his Ph.D. from Columbia and later became one of our country's leading intellectual historians, and Gordon Prange, whose career in the department spanned the years from 1937 to his death in 1980. Prange, who served as General Douglas MacArthur's chief historian

during the occupation of Japan following World War II, acquired a rich trove of Japanese documents that later were donated to the university's library where they remain as a special collection under his name today. From these documents Prange was able to write outstanding books about the war in the Pacific including *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor*, which was published posthumously in 1981 after two of his former students were commissioned by his widow Anne to reduce a manuscript of some 3,500 pages to the nearly 900 printed pages of the book, which became a best seller for its publisher, McGraw-Hill. Earlier, in 1963, Prange had written two articles for *The Reader's Digest* titled "Tora! Tora! Tora!" that became the basis for the screenplay of the popular movie of that name in 1970. The Prange and Thatcher families became close friends, and after their husbands died, the two widows traveled to many parts of the world together no doubt aided by the profits from the book and movie.

The following photo shows Harold Thatcher circa 1940.



From August 1942 until June 1945, Harold served in the Office of the Quartermaster Corps, GAS Division, in the War (now Defense) Department, as a historian assigned "to prepare (including all research and writing) monographs on various phases of QMC activities during World War II." From June 1945 to August 1947 he served as Chief of the Historical Section, in charge of directing the work of five historians and two clerks, "to plan and supervise the preparation of [the] history of Quartermaster activities in World War II in the continental United States and overseas; to coordinate all historical work within the Quartermaster Corps; to maintain liaison with the Historical Division, WDSS; to act as general editor of all historical work prepared in the Q.M.C. under the War Department Historical Program." To this multivolume series he contributed three monographs he researched and wrote himself: *Planning for Industrial Mobilization, 1920-1940* (x + 304 pp., No. 4, August 1943), *The Development of Special Rations for the Army* (viii + 132 pp., No. 6, September 1944), and *The Packaging and Packing of Subsistence for the Army* (xii + 142 pp., No. 10, April 1945). Upon the conclusion of his service, Harold received a letter dated August 21, 1947, from the Quartermaster General, Major General T. B. Larkin, which reads in part: "During your employment in the Administrative Division, you displayed skill and judgment in preparing a history of the activities of the Quartermaster Corps during World War II. Your direction of the Historical Section made it possible to prepare a history, the value of which will be inestimable to future officers of the Quartermaster Corps who may be confronted with problems and situations similar to those encountered in World War II."

The last and longest part of his career Harold spent as Chair of The History Department at Wilkes College (now University) in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. He started that job in September 1947 and remained until his retirement in June 1965, the month that his youngest son Sanford graduated from Princeton. An older brother George graduated from Yale in 1962. Their mother taught geography and history to fifth and sixth grade students at Wyoming Seminary Day School in the family's hometown of Forty Fort, Pennsylvania, from 1956 to 1966 during the years her sons were in college. Both sons were graduates of that school as well as the high school, Wyoming Seminary, located in Kingston, Pennsylvania, across the Susquehanna River from Wilkes-Barre.

During his time at Wilkes College, Harold taught American history with a special interest in colonial and Constitutional history and also foreign affairs. An early critic of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, he wrote articles for such popular publications as *Worldview* and *The Nation*, penned many letters to *The New York Times*, and was active in groups like the World Federalists, Fellowship of Reconciliation, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), and the Wyoming Valley United Nations Association, which he co-founded. In frequent demand as a speaker, he was a respected proponent for liberal causes in a generally conservative part of the country. He and Genevieve were very active members of the United Methodist Church, and Harold also attended annual meetings of the American Historical Association. He wrote a book about the origins of the Cold War, reflecting what later would become known as the New Left point

of view, but his efforts to get it published during the McCarthy era proved to be unsuccessful, as he had expected they would. Genevieve was active in some of these groups also as well as the Association of American University Women.

One longtime friend, Jule Ayers, writing shortly after Harold's death in 1978, paid this tribute to him: "Wilkes College and our community have been blessed by the life and service of the late Dr. Harold Thatcher. He was a historical scholar and a symbol of how the Wyoming Valley has benefited by some of its distinguished college professors. Not only was he head of the history department at Wilkes during his career. He was also a man of liberal and independent outlook. He was as enthusiastic for disarmament, peace, the United Nations and a sane nuclear policy. He made his mark, and left his mark, for good! He was quoted often in the *New York Times*, and his readers knew that he had facts to substantiate his positions. There was a dignity and sweetness about his spirit too. He kept active long after retirement. . . . He was a citizen of the world, and liberated from parochial vision. Above all, he was a fine father and husband. He has endowed the college, and many of us, in some enduring ways."

During the summers Harold and Genevieve served on the staff of Camp Susquehannock for Boys near Brackney, Pennsylvania, which had been founded in 1905 by a graduate of Princeton University, Carleton Shafer, whose sons Edwin and George, also Princeton graduates, took over running the camp after their father died in 1959. First joining the staff as a counselor in 1924, Harold became a tutor for the campers who needed academic improvement and

also was the leader of the camp orchestra. The only song he ever wrote was titled the "Camp Susquehannock March," which later was adapted and orchestrated by the head of the Music Department at Wilkes College with new lyrics to become a standard part of the college band's repertoire often played at football games. Genevieve, known to her friends as "Gingie," helped out the counseling staff for the youngest campers and performed a variety of other duties as well.

In 1976 Harold was awarded the status of Professor Emeritus by Wilkes College. The program for the ceremony reads in part: "A frequent contributor to the professional journals and an active participant in public causes, he soon came to be affectionately regarded as an institution within an institution. A meticulous scholar known for his incisive and pungent judgments, he won the respect of colleagues and students for his devotion to standards of excellence, humane idealism, and earnest concern to make use of his talents for the improvement of his school, community, and country."

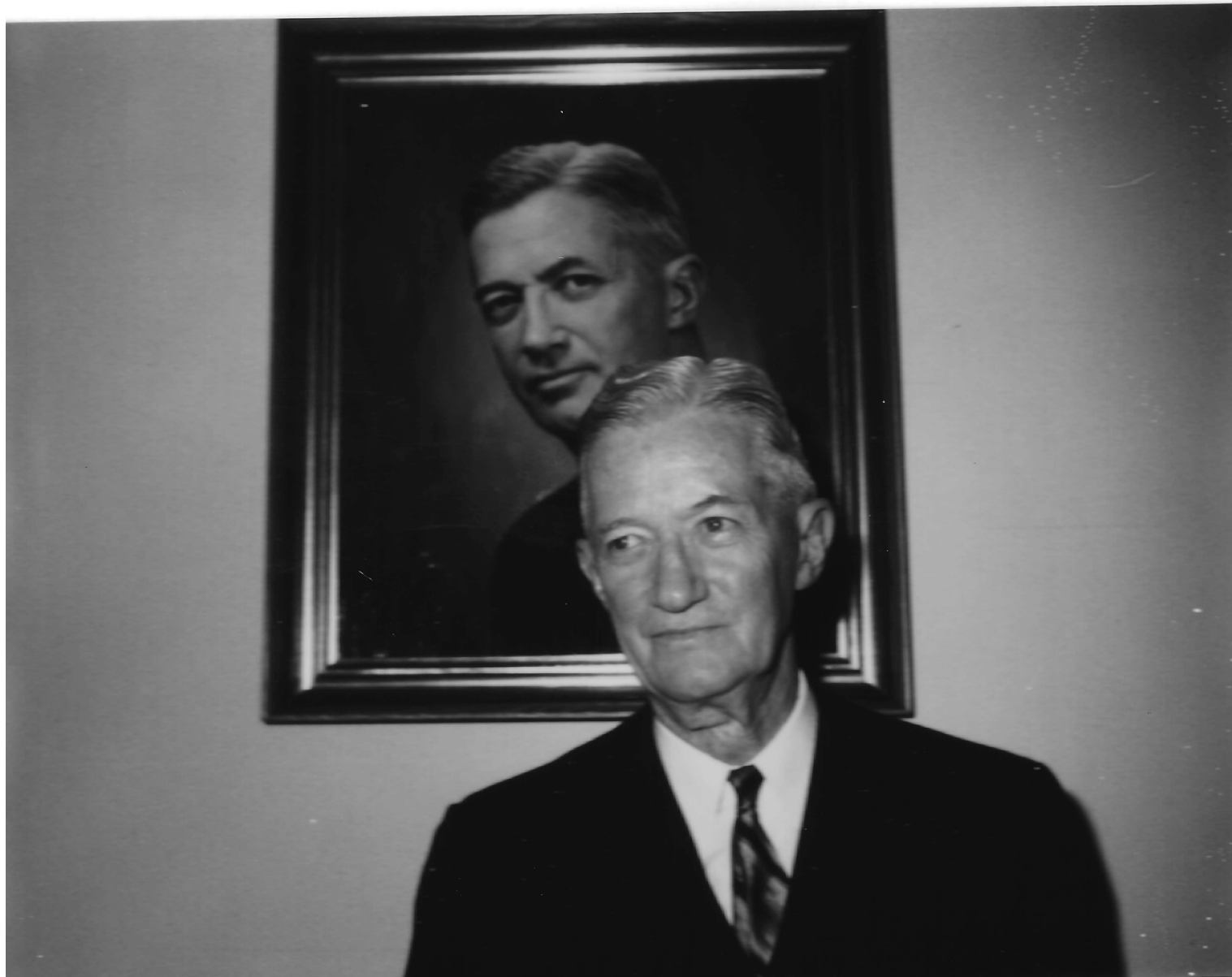
Among Harold's legacies to his children and grandchildren was a baseball board game, which he tried unsuccessfully to get published by Parker Brothers, the company that made the Monopoly game famous. A lifelong Brooklyn Dodgers fan, he had a passion for teaching others about the intricacies of the game. Genevieve also was inventive, coming up with the idea for the small cereal boxes that were convenient for traveling. She wrote to the Kellogg Company about this idea and received a response thanking her for the suggestion. Later this company pioneered the introduction of this innovation in packaging without ever giving credit to her. She did not, alas, consider patenting the idea before offering it to the company.

Of all his writings, it would appear that this biography of William Livingston meant the most to its author. The rest of this book is reproduced from the original manuscript complete with page numbering changes he made in his own hand.

Following is a brief account of its publishing history, preceded by a photo of Harold taken in 1970 when a painting of him was dedicated at Wilkes College.

Sanford G. Thatcher

February 8, 2021



About This Book

The first question that any scholar of the American Revolution will want to ask about this book is how it is different from the biography that the University of Pennsylvania Press published in 2018 titled *William Livingston's American Revolution* (viii + 270 pp.) written by James J. Gigantino II, Associate Professor of History at the University of Arkansas.

This author describes in footnote 3 on page 207 what he believes to be the other existing biographical works: "The last biography published was Theodore Sedgwick, *A Memoir of the Life of William Livingston* . . . (New York: J & J Harper, 1833). Sedgwick was married to Susan Anne Ridley Sedgwick, Livingston's granddaughter who lived with Livingston briefly after her mother, Catherine, moved home after her husband died. Livingston has also been the subject of two other works. In 1993, Garland published a largely unrevised 1954 dissertation by Milton Klein, *The American Whig*, which focuses almost exclusively on Livingston before 1773. I rely heavily on Klein's work in my first chapter. In addition, Cynthia Kerner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), surveys multiple generations of Livingstons. In addition, several unpublished dissertations and theses also examine Livingston and his family, which I utilize throughout as well."

In footnote 5 on page 10, Professor Gigantino cites "The Social Philosophy of William Livingston" by Harold Thatcher as a Ph.D. dissertation completed in 1938. This is a clue that he never saw the entire dissertation,

which is 316 pages long and was submitted in June 1935, but rather just pages 240–304, which were issued as a “private edition” distributed in 1938 by the University of Chicago Libraries to a handful of other libraries at major universities around the country. This excerpt is clearly marked on the cover as being “part of a dissertation” submitted to the Department of History in 1935. How Professor Gigantino could mistake this for an entire dissertation is a mystery given the page numbering and this notification on the cover.

At any rate, before the professor’s book came out in 2018, this current book by Harold Thatcher, based on the 1935 dissertation but revised and expanded to 456 pages, was the only full-scale scholarly biography in existence. Professor Gigantino was, not surprisingly, totally unaware that this complete biography existed, although there is some possibility that his copyeditor, Gretchen Oberfranc, might have been aware of it since she is a friend of Sanford Thatcher, is married to his Princeton classmate Charles Creesy, and was for several years managing editor at Princeton University Press reporting to Sanford Thatcher, who was editor-in-chief there.

Still, it is clear that Gigantino’s and Thatcher’s biographies are completely different in orientation and complementary rather than competitive or duplicative. As the foregoing Preface emphasizes, this is primarily an intellectual biography, a study in the history of ideas, not so much focused on Livingston’s practical political activities, which are what Gigantino’s book wants to illuminate and interpret. Indeed, on page 9 of his Introduction, Gigantino goes so far as to admit that “this study is not a traditional

biography of a political leader" because he is using Livingston's life and experiences primarily to shed light on four main themes that he wants to explore in his book: "the choice to go to war" (p. 4); "governmental operations and relationships with soldiers and civilians in the midst of significant armed conflict" (p. 5); "historical understanding of who, exactly, was a loyalist and what effect loyalists had on revolutionary government" (p. 6); and "the limits of state government in revolutionary America" (p. 7). In a word, his biography is interested in Livingston as political leader whereas this biography is interested in Livingston as thinker. There is clearly room in this world for two such differently oriented biographies. Indeed, a full appreciation of Livingston's rich life should require reading both.

Why, then, did this biography never find a publisher while its author was still alive? The simple answer is bad timing. When the young professor was starting out his career in the late 1930s, the country was still engulfed in the Great Depression and the market for books was, like practically all markets at the time, severely impacted. Not surprisingly, then, commercial publishers shied away, citing concerns about potential sales. An editor at the Macmillan Company writing on December 16, 1936, said that "even though we realize it is an unusual piece of work . . . in these difficult times we are obliged to decline many interesting manuscripts which might otherwise have appealed to us greatly." Similarly, an editor at the Bobbs-Merrill Company wrote on April 16, 1938, to say: "In spite of the careful research you have done and the timeliness of the subject, we feel that in view of the present business conditions, it would be impossible to

secure a profitable distribution." Harvard University Press simply pointed to already having too many manuscripts of this kind to consider. The most obvious university press to publish a biography of Livingston, Rutgers, also cited financial difficulties. In a letter dated January 18, 1939, the editor explained that the consensus of "those who read the manuscript was that while it was in need of some slight editorial revision, your work is excellent and certainly merits publication. However, as you yourself will no doubt agree, there would be very little sale for this book and the publication would have to be underwritten from one source or another." Subsequent efforts to obtain a subsidy, for example, from the American Council of Learned Societies, did not bear fruit. Efforts to find an appropriate series also failed. For instance, Professor Thomas Wertenbaker of Princeton University sent a letter dated July 1, 1939, saying that while he read the manuscript "with interest and profit," he could not consider it for inclusion in the series he edited, "Princeton History of New Jersey," because its first five chapters focus on Livingston's time in New York.

Frustrated at every turn in these initial attempts to find a publisher, Harold continued to do some work on the manuscript, with the present version representing its state circa 1940, but he made efforts to get it published less frequently. One such effort involved the publishing program at the Institute of Early American History and Culture at the College of William and Mary. Its director, Lester J. Cappon, wrote on May 31, 1950, that "large-scale revision of your study would be necessary to meet the requirements of our publications program." (Cappon later was the chief editor for *The Atlas of Early American History* published for the Institute

by Princeton University Press in 1976, "a magnificently designed and produced volume" that the *New York Times* called "in every way extraordinary.")

Although this letter conveyed a number of valuable suggestions, it would appear that no further work was done on the manuscript before it was submitted late in 1961 to the University of Oklahoma Press whose director, Savoie Lottinville, presented virtually the same message early in 1961 based on an expert's review that press had commissioned, though it was much more perfunctory than the comments provided by Lester Cappon. Harold responded by saying that while he was open to doing more work on the manuscript, he would need the assurance of a contract or else a subvention from another source to be able to devote more time to working on it until his planned retirement in 1965

Timing thus became a problem again, but in a different way, because now the impediment was the age of the manuscript, making the need for revision more evident with each passing year.

Harold decided to give it one last try in the early 1970s leading up to the country's Bicentennial, figuring that there would be renewed interest in publishing a biography about an important and often overlooked founding father. He was dismayed to learn, however, that the New Jersey Historical Commission seemed to have been completely unaware of the existence of his biography despite the circulation that the University of Chicago Libraries had done with the excerpt from his dissertation, which made its existence known to patrons of major academic libraries around the country (as its later discovery and use by Professor Gigantoni proved). Instead,

Harold was told that the Commission had made an arrangement to publicize a new biography being prepared by Milton Klein under contract with the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company. That news greatly upset Harold because he then became aware that Columbia had granted a doctorate degree to Klein for his 1954 dissertation on Livingston's career in New York State. This discovery led to a flurry of correspondence between Harold and the dean of graduate studies at Columbia about protocols for the acceptance of topics for doctoral research. Remembering rules from the era when he got his Ph.D., Harold was under the impression that students were not to be allowed to do research on subjects already covered in existing dissertations, at least for a certain period of time thereafter, so as to ensure that the research and writing would be truly "original" in the requisite sense. It was his understanding that graduate departments in the major research universities shared information about proposed dissertation topics so that the problem of duplication would be avoided. Harold was not claiming that any graduate student should be somehow considered to have a monopoly on any topic such that no one else could write about it, only that dissertations should not be duplicative in this manner. Rebuffed in this argument by the dean of his own alma mater, Harold then wrote to the dean at the University of Chicago, Karl Morrison at the time, who confirmed that the standards and rules had changed since the 1930s as the Columbia dean had stated in a more curtly manner.

A last-ditch effort to try getting Rutgers University Press interested again went nowhere as its then director, soon to be retiring, William Sloane,

oddly predicted that the Bicentennial would not increase interest in and sales of books on such topics as Livingston's life but actually decrease it. He wrote: "There is almost no reason to believe that the up-coming bicentennial celebration will have anything but an adverse effect on the market for books about the Revolutionary figures and events."

As if that assessment were not discouraging enough, the news about the vast quantity of new papers by or relating to Livingston being unearthed in the project headed by Professor Carl Prince of New York University that were to be published in a five-volume collection of the *Papers of William Livingston* forthcoming from Rutgers University Press (which appeared over the period 1978-1988) must have come as a final blow to Harold's ambition to see this book finally make its way into print. Professor Prince responded to Harold's letter to him in a reply dated November 11, 1975, as follows: ". . . I have used to great advantage your long essays on Livingston's political theory in the NJHS proceedings. I have had no success in acquiring a copy of your dissertation, and would appreciate any help you could give me in locating a copy. We would gladly reimburse you for photocopying any copy in your possession. If you plan to make any revisions or additions to your work, I am afraid you will have to take into account the relatively large number of newly unearthed Livingston Papers we have acquired. Many of these have come to us in groups of ten or Less [sic] from remote archives or private sources here and abroad and almost certainly would have been unavailable to anyone working on Livingston at the time you did. We have some 4500 Livingston Papers in our collection with as many as 500 more yet to be accessioned. For anyone working on

Livingston this information must be unnerving. I know that we were not expected to find that many extant Livingston items. On the other hand, it will considerably alter what we know about Livingston's role in the Revolutionary era." As a partial rejoinder, it might be argued that an intellectual biography of the sort that Harold had written, based primarily on publicly available writings by Livingston in magazines, newspapers, and other publications would likely be less affected by discovery of new papers relating to political activities and private family matters. At any rate, a final effort to interest The Shoe String Press at the end of 1975 went nowhere, and Harold made no further effort to seek publication before his death in February 1978. If there were any consolation prize for him, it lay in his finding out that the biography under contract with McGraw-Hill was never submitted by Professor Klein and the contract was cancelled.

Modern technology now makes possible publication of still worthy contributions to the historical literature like this at minimal cost, and it would seem a fitting end to this story that this book finally becomes available not just in a few academic libraries where musty volumes published long ago in print gather dust but to all people everywhere in the world who have an Internet connection and can now learn at their leisure and at no cost except their time about this fascinating figure who contributed so much to the development of early America and to the political theory of democracy that still energizes and guides the country today.

Sanford G. Thatcher

February 8, 2021

