

How Tilden Resuscitated Dying Democratic Party

Soft Money Was Killing It in '76; He Fought It as He Fought Prohibition in '53--A Resume of Tilden's Career and His Tutelage by Van Buren

In this the second installment of former Governor Glynn's political reminiscences Samuel J. Tilden appears as the hero of a story who was disappointed of the Presidency as a political pupil of Martin Van Buren--including his "wet" stay in the prohibition campaign of 1853 and his remarkable successes as Governor of the Empire State

By MARTIN H. GLYNN

MARTIN TWAIN once said of a prominent statesman: "Such a man in politics is like a bottle of perfume in a gin shop--it may moderate the stench, but doesn't destroy it." These words fit the subject of this sketch; these words describe the career of Samuel J. Tilden, the reformer, the politician and the man.

For sixteen years after Buchanan left the White House the Democratic party in the nation went down to defeat after defeat. Never was there a thrill of success, never a hope of victory. Constantly the clouds grew darker and heavier until it began to look as if the old party of Jefferson and Jackson would, like the Arabs of old, have to fold its tent and quietly sneak away to the land of dreams and shadows. But in 1876 the spell was smashed, the murky charm was broken. A new star arose and filled the heavens with its light, and ever since the Democratic party has held its place in the firmament. And the man who wrought this political miracle was Samuel J. Tilden. Up to this time he had simply been a spoke in the Democratic wheel; henceforth until his death he was the hub from which radiated the spokes to Democracy's rim.

Tilden the Thinking Machine.

And the man who wrought this miracle--"What manner of man was he?"--that is a natural question. Well, absolutely he was the last man in the world one would risk to do it--emotionally next to last, but mentally nature had carved him out for the job. His mind was always alert, never quiet. His mind was always active, never passive. He was searching as an X-ray and as merciless as a scalpel. He was the greatest thinking machine of his time. He put everything under the microscope of his brain, found nothing to the swell of his heart. In the domain of reason he was invincible. In the realm of emotion powerless and mute. He never enjoyed personal popularity--he had too much independent substance for that. Of intellect he was over 98 per cent of impulse less than 1 per cent.

Fifty-fifty between impulse and reason is the composition of the average person--and the man who swings far away from this standard is not fit to warm the affection of his fellows though he may command their admiration. Samuel J. Tilden was the original leader in American politics with a "single track mind." He did one thing at a time, the most important thing first, and until he had finished that all the world could wait and cool his heels. In conversation he was a fox in a track a lion. He was a mixture of Jefferson and Van Buren--statesman and a politician--almost as good an assassin as Jefferson and nearly as bad an orator as Van Buren.

As an expositor and expositor, though he has not been surpassed since the days of Benjamin Franklin and John Marshall. He could make law as interesting as Blackstone and figures as eloquent as Gladstone. He was as plain as a mackerel--as plain as a housewife's apron. James G. Blaine once said Conkling would have died for a wife were it not for his feet--and Samuel J. Tilden would have died from spite if it had not been for his physical "weakness." He was as sure of himself as Diogenes always was, but never as offensive in his assurance. When his friends made mistakes he had a very bad habit of saying "I told you so." And the trait of a minute often cost him friends that he took years to win. Politics interested him more than anything else in the world, except his health. Like Thomas H. Benton he would talk about his health by the hour; but unlike Benton, he did not have his servant rub him down every morning with a horse brush. He did, however, take every patent medicine he ever heard about or read about. In fact he was like the hypochondriac in Jerome K. Jerome's "Three Men in a Boat." He thought he had every ill in ophthalmology, every disease in nosology. He suffered from every complaint except rheumatoid knee.

Everybody admired Samuel J. Tilden, everybody respected him, but nobody loved him; and he said the world in kind, for I doubt if he ever deeply loved any one except his mother, whom he seemed to adore. And yet despite these non-magnetic qualities, no political leader in the history of the country, with the sole exception of Andrew Jackson, ever had a stronger hold upon the members of his party. The way this "human iceberg" freed the Democratic heart of the nation is one of the wonders of American politics.

In his case the boy was father of the man. While Tilden was a youngster, a mere stripling in his teens, United States Senator Talmadge, who had left the Democratic party to support Seward for Governor against Marcy, went down to Chatham to make a speech. He dived Marcy within an inch of his life and named Van Buren's hide on a barn door. When Talmadge had finished to the amazement of the crowd, young Tilden climbed upon the platform and wiped the floor with the United States Senator. When he finished Tilden was cheered and Talmadge was hooted. On that day began his political career, on that day Martin Van Buren be-

gan to hand down to Tilden political power. Just as Andrew Jackson had formerly handed it down to Martin Van Buren.

As a man he was nearly as good a model as he was when a boy. He did not have strange gods, he did not fall to keep holy the Sabbath day, he did not kill, he did not steal, he did not bear false witness against his neighbor, he did not covet his neighbor's house, nor his neighbor's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass. In short "Sam" Tilden was too darn good to be popular--but none too good to become the Democratic Moses of his day. He was called a "compromiser," and "compromiser" he was when compromising could be honest and honorable--and he never mistook self-conceit and obstinacy for conscience and wisdom.

As a boy he was a political pupil of Martin Van Buren. He used to walk from New Lebanon to Kinderhook, a distance of twenty-five miles, to get his early political lessons. He absorbed some of his traits and characteristics from Van Buren, just as Hill absorbed some of his methods, and Cleveland some of his policies from Tilden.

He always had a penchant for printers' ink. He bought a half interest in a New York newspaper to have something to say in the Polk campaign, but when the campaign was over he gave his interest in the paper to John L. O'Sullivan. Some people say Tilden was stony, but I can't find any evidence of it. I agree with Judge Martin Gray, who said that "Tilden gave away more money and made less fuss about it than any other man in the State." When only a young man, in case his mother's mind he assumed family obligations which amounted to more than he could earn in twenty years.

He was a great lawyer. He ought to have been. He studied under Van Buren, Edwards and Kent.

Two Famous Law Cases.

Two law cases helped make him. In 1852 he saved Mr. Elmer from being robbed of his election as Comptroller of New York city--himself, though he could not save from being robbed of the Presidency in 1876. It seems odder that his career started with a contested election case for another man than that he won and ended with an election case for himself which he lost.

Place was called "Old Stinking" because he would not pay fraudulent bills to politicians and contractors.

This law case was a lucky thing for Tilden. It gave him the "scout" that afterwards enabled him to overthrow the Tweed ring. In the Tweed disclosure it will be remembered he exposed the corrupt Tweed held election officers. When Tilden started his fight on Tweed some one asked the boss what Tilden wanted and Tweed replied "Tilden wants to drive me out of office. He wants to stop the pickings, scrape out the boys and run the government of the city as if it was a blanketed little country store up in New Lebanon. He wants to bring the bastards and scoundrels down to the city and crush out the machine. He wants to get a crowd of poster reformers in the Legislature who will talk about the constitutional force of the government and cut down the tax levy below a living rate and then when he has got everything fixed to sell him, Sam Tilden wants to go to the State Senate."

Tweed's fight in all these things but one. Tilden did not want to go to the Senate. Tilden showed that Tweed held eight different offices and that directly or indirectly Tweed and his cronies had milked the City of New York out of nearly \$1,000,000. One plasterer received \$1,000,000 for a month's work, another \$134 for two for four weeks work, and two others received \$50,000 for a carriage to attend a funeral. Tilden made that funeral turn out to be the funeral of Boss Tweed and his ring.

Another lucky law case for Tilden was the Burdell will case. It reads like one of Balzac's novels. Burdell was a wealthy dentist. He had been on friendly terms with Mrs. Cunningham, a dashing, luxurious widow of good social position but uncertain income. At Burdell's funeral Mrs. Cunningham announced she was his widow. His relatives denied this. These accused her of Burdell's murder. For this she was tried and acquitted. Then she claimed Burdell's property. Tilden opposed her claims.

The trial was the sensation of the hour. It rivaled the Chadbourne case of England. The eyes of the country were upon it. A minister whose he performed the marriage service, witnesses testified they saw him do it. Tilden proved Mrs. Cunningham a perjurer, the witnesses conspirators and the minister a dupe. He proved that Mrs. Cunningham had substituted in the marriage ceremony a dummy dressed and bewigged like Burdell. Mrs. Cunningham lost the property; Tilden gained a national reputation. This case helped him as much as the White murder case helped Webster. It is astonishing how many notable political careers have been helped along by sensational murder cases.

Tilden was a partisan and a rank partisan. He did not believe in Mugwumps. He did not like people who would not join any party because they found something to find fault with in all parties. He thought such men were like the lord in Shakespeare's play who went into battle with a bottle of smelling salts at his nose and who would have been a soldier if it were not for the gun. He could be as silent as an owl or as talkative as a parrot. But there were two things he never talked about. He never talked about his love affairs and he never talked about religion. He never had any love affairs to talk about and none too much religion to mention. Such is a "pastel" as the French would say, of the man who gave the Democratic party a second birth.

The dramatic differences between President Polk on one side, and Tilden and Van Buren, on the other, illustrate Tilden's independence. Van Buren was a candidate for President in the convention of 1844. The champions of Polk were against him. They jockeyed Van Buren out of the nomination and named Polk. To prove their loyalty to the party Tilden and Van Buren induced Silas Wright

to resign from the United States Senate and run for Governor of New York. They elected Wright and saved Polk's neck, for without New York Polk would have been defeated. Polk rewarded Van Buren by trying to ruin him politically. He attempted to swan Tilden away from Van Buren by offering Tilden the position of naval officer of New York. Tilden had spent nearly all the money he had to help elect Polk. Poor though he was he refused the job. Neither \$20,000 nor \$300,000 would have induced Tilden to desert his old friend and precursor, Martin Van Buren. And then, in rage and disgust, Tilden got out of politics and never got in there again for over ten years.

And now we take up a phase of Mr. Tilden's career which sounds somewhat like the news of the day "Prohibition" was an issue away back in 1853, and New York was a dry State for a while, even before the great Sahara spell. In 1853 the Legislature passed a prohibition law. Gov. Seymour vetoed it and the welfin rang with indignation and imprecations. On 1855 Tilden ran for Attorney-General of the State. The "Know-Nothing" asked Tilden how he felt on their propaganda. By accepting, by equivocating, by double meaning words he could have won their support, but this he refused to do. He denounced the "Know-Nothing" and all their works in many and resounding terms.

When Tilden had thus lambasted the "Know-Nothing" the "Prohibitionists" took him on. They demanded to know whether he was a "dry" or a "wet." He told them he was a "wet" and he told them so in no uncertain terms. Needless to say he lost the election. He could have won it by "quiescenting."

Tilden's defence of his stand on prohibition was based on constitutional grounds. His law I confess does not sound much like the law laid down by the United States Supreme Court the other day; but its language is such I suspect, as might make William H. Anderson rich and William Jennings Bryan poor. The next gubernatorial election was fought in the prohibition issue. Seymour was beaten and Alron Clark won as a "Prohibition" Governor. The Legislature passed a dry law. It was enforced just about the way the present national prohibition law is enforced. And then the Court of Appeals upheld Tilden's constitution and pronounced the law unconstitutional.

Tilden as Governor.

In 74 Tilden became Governor. His administration was not successful after another. It was then that he made his famous fight against the "Canal Ring" and in this fight served him well in an incident of his career many years before. Twenty years before he was elected a member of the Legislature. He wanted to go on the Judiciary Committee. Gov. Wright asked that Tilden go on the Committee of Finance and Credit, and on this committee he first commenced to do his work. He was the one with which, as Governor, he begged the members of the canal ring. How well he cleaned up the canal ring is shown by a quotation from the Rochester Chronicle, a Republican newspaper: "Gov. Tilden weighs about 120 pounds; but the canal ring entertains the view of him that he weighs the weight of the world. How much does he weigh?" replied the boy, "Well, I only weighed one of his legs, and I calculated that it weighed about 7,000 pounds!"

This fight waxed hot and furious. Tilden threw himself into it heart and soul. From his strain and excitement there is no doubt, I think, that he suffered some sort of a slight apoplectic seizure which annoyed him for a while but did not incapacitate him. Thence his enemies spread the story that he had a clot on the brain, that he was going crazy, that he had a stroke of paralysis, that he had softening of the cerebral tissue, that he had lost his power of decision and that he went to bed drunk every night. Tilden took these lies and misrepresentations with surprising good nature, and in a long quiet spirit, John Kelly said "under such a surmounting of lies there usually is a grain of truth."

Among other things he did what some other Governor of New York will have to do in the near future. He cut down the expenses of the State about 50 per cent. and that is what should be done now. And that is what I say, by the secret of Tilden's wonderful career--the saving the people's money--and before long that will be the secret of the sacred age of some future Tilden who will scotch "circus stunts" in the political arena and get the Commonwealth down to an equitable basis of public economy.

Then, as now, public expenditures had leaped beyond all bounds of reason. From 1850 to 1874 State expenditures had increased sevenfold, national expenditures tenfold--while the population had not even doubled. On top of this the scandals, robberies and jobberies of the Grant Administration had made the nation sick for a "reform" such as Tilden had proved himself in New York. Such a reformer was needed to clean out the Augean stables at Washington. Then, too, the country was staggering from the effects of the panic of 1873. The panic of 1857 defeated Van Buren and buried the Democratic party; the panic of 1873 helped elect Tilden and resurrect the Democratic party. It is believed that the panic of '73--with the failure of Jay Cooke, so closely identified with various Government transactions--had a lot to do in changing more than a million votes which transformed the Republican majority of 708,000 in 1872 to a Democratic majority of 250,000 in 1876.

It was in the Republican Convention of 1876 that Ingersoll made his "Plumed Knight Speech." The echoes of his chivalrous sentences, its sculptured phrases, its alliterations, and its assurance mingled with the news that Blaine had been stricken seriously ill. He walked to church on Sunday morning under a sweltering sun and suffered a sunstroke. If Blaine had ridden to church that Sunday morning instead of walking in all probability he would have been President. His enemies whispered that he had suffered a stroke and won delegates away from him. Had he been nominated the



chances are that he would have been elected, as he was hundreds of thousands of votes stronger than Hayes.

The Democratic convention met at St. Louis. Tilden walked away with the nomination. As usual he had taken care of the smallest details. There was even a man from New York City, afterward a prominent official and personal friend of mine, now dead only a few years, who was the official brewer of Tilden's enthusiasm. When he wanted rye, rum and whisky for Tilden he pulled out of his pocket a big red bandanna handkerchief, when he wanted silence he pulled out a white silk one. The white handkerchief stayed in his pocket most of the time. A few months before in the New York State Convention Tilden had forced a declaration in favor of "hard money." He compelled the National Convention to declare for "hard money" despite the fact that Thomas Dwing of Ohio put on a rousing fight for "soft money." This was a nerve thing for Tilden to do especially when he was going to be the candidate. "Soft money" was mighty popular in some parts of the country; more popular in 1874 than "free silver" was in 1896. No man in the country did as much as Tilden to kill forever the "soft money" delusion.

The Republicans tried to confound his campaign on civil war issues. They traced the "Bloody Shirt." But it had lost its charm. Tilden made the campaign of '76, the first Presidential election since the firing on Fort Sumter that was conducted on non-war issues. The Republicans demanded largely iron money. Hayes went Blaine to save the "Bloody Shirt." Kilpatrick said that money was needed to do the trick in Indiana. And Lowell, who favored Hayes, said, "The worst element in the Republican party has got hold of the canvass and everything possible is done to stir up the old passions of the war." But it couldn't be done.

Tilden's great public record created new issues and helped him all over the country. So did the "Tweed Ring" and the "Canal Ring." "Hard Money" helped him in the West. His secret letter while Governor against "Wasteful Federal Expenditures" helped him in the West; his attack on Gen. Phil Sheridan for his high handed tactics in Louisiana helped him in the South; and his stand on the civil war aided him below Mason and Dixon's line, while it did not seem to injure him in the North. It was a campaign of songs and torchlight parades.

His War Record and His Money.

During the campaign Mr. Tilden was viciously attacked by the Republicans on two points--his war record and how he made his money. It is true that before Fort Sumter was fired upon Tilden was not in favor of the civil war. His stand was somewhat similar to that of Daniel Webster. He objected to the sword. He thought the problem could be better solved by the forces of nature, the natural evolution of economic pressure and the certainty that no moral wrong could long survive. The issue of events has proved that Tilden was wrong; but he was no more wrong than Stanton, who said the war would be over in thirty days; no more wrong than Greeley, who proclaimed, "Let the wayward sisters depart in peace." No matter what he may have thought before the war, Tilden supported President Lincoln as soon as the war started and he declared, "I will go as far to sustain Abraham Lincoln as I would to sustain Andrew Jackson in his efforts to preserve the Union."

Those who attack Tilden's war record forget that when in his campaign against Cass Van Buren declared for "free soil, free speech, free labor and free men." Tilden supported him; that when in that same campaign Van Buren said "Congress has no more right to make a king than to make a slave" Tilden supported him. When McClellan ran against Lincoln for President Tilden urged McClellan to repudiate the "non-prosecution war plank" of the Democratic platform. During the war he was often called into consultation by Lincoln's advisers. When Tilden ran for President three members of Lincoln's Cabinet were alive, and two of them supported Tilden. That shows how Lincoln's close friends felt about Tilden's stand during the war.

No one need ever doubt Tilden's love of country or his loyalty to the flag. He came of a stock who had proclaimed their patriotism before the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Weeks before that historic document was proclaimed Tilden's forebears, their relatives and their neighbors, in the little town of New Lebanon, had adopted a

set of resolutions which declared "the American Colonies should be independent of Great Britain." Where his ancestors stood in 1776, Tilden stood in 1876, for his country, first, last and all the time.

The attack on "how he made his money" was unfair. Tilden made big money as a lawyer and he saved it. And, furthermore, he knew how to invest it. He knew "when" and "what" to buy and "when" and "how" to sell. After the Government adopted its irredeemable currency Tilden sold a James C. Carter. "Buy all you can now. Invest all the money you have and all the money you can borrow." That's what Tilden did and that's how he made a lot of money. When the war was over he said "Sell." He sold and made more money. Tilden never liked the word "speculation." I suppose he would like to have had such dealings called "investments." He never forgave Lieut. Gov. Dorchester because he said "Tilden made his money in speculation." But no matter what he called it, Tilden did go in the market in his early days, but he never went in in a dishonorable way.

The campaign of 1876 was a hard one on Tilden, but one incident afforded him no end of amusement. Some joker sent a story headline that "Tilden had a barrel of money and was looking for a wife." And then from the North and South, the East and West, from city, farm and mart came sweet scented bullet deus to this crusty old bachelor.

When the returns for the campaign of 1876 were in Tilden had won the popular vote and electoral vote, but he did not get the Presidency. It was robbery, barefaced robbery, and one of the murkiest blotches on American history. Desperadoes conceived the plot, brigands executed it, but Tilden himself was not altogether blameless. He hesitated when he should have struck with a hand of iron. He kept silent when he should have spoken out fearlessly as Henry V. afterwards did. He furnished with legal technicalities while his enemies built for him a runpowder plot.

If he had struck at the election ring at Washington with the same force that he had smashed the Tweed ring, and killed the canal ring, Tilden would have been President. Years after James G. Blaine himself admitted this and Blaine could have known. A feat killed Alexander, a silly bay defeated Napoleon, a rainstorm thwarted Burgoyne and a foolish telegram kept Tilden out of the Presidential chair.

Or the morning after election nearly every big newspaper in the country proclaimed Tilden's victory. One of the New York city papers stated, however, the election was in doubt. Hardly was its issue on the streets than into its office came a telegram from United States Senator Barsum, financial head of the Democratic National Committee, asking this unfriendly question: "What information it had about Oregon, Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina. Why Barsum ever should have sent this kind of a telegram to an editor of an unfriendly newspaper surpasses understanding. The editor of the paper argued it Barsum, a leading member of Tilden's campaign committee, was in doubt the Republicans, a thousand times more reason to be in doubt, and forthwith he published an extra in which he claimed the election of Hayes. Thus started a wild fire that burned up Tilden's chances.

Then, Chamber sent his famous telegram "Claim everything," and the Republicans never stopped claiming everything until they put Hayes in the White House. While Tilden faltered the Democratic members of Congress seemed to become panic stricken. The Democratic members of the House were afraid the presiding officer of the Senate would block the declaration of Tilden's election. The Democratic Senators seemed to think that President Grant would use the army and navy to put Hayes in, but I can't find any justification for such a fear.

Then the electoral commission was created. Tilden opposed it and never quits for Hayes. Adams had been elected. But the Democrats had been determined to create the commission, nothing could sway him. Thurman and Hewitt supported him and created the commission was. Tilden wanted the House to count the vote on constitutional grounds or to elect him as John Quincy Adams had been elected. But the Democrats followed Bayard and voted for the electoral commission--the majority of the Republicans in both houses cleverly voted against it, and so the Democrats were bound to accept its decision no matter what it might be. Then came the bolt that shattered Democracy's hope. Judge Davis was elected United States Senator and resigned from the commission. And calamity upon misfortune. Roscoe Conkling commenced to wobble and finally deserted. At the outset Conkling was in favor of Tilden. But when needed he was absent from his post. All sorts of stories, all sorts of explanations

had been given for Conkling's mysterious conduct--but none of them explain.

The sessions of the commission form one of the most romantic incidents in American history and when the vote was taken Tilden lost by one vote. Fourteen was the fatal number for Blaine; thirteen was the lucky number for Woodrow Wilson and the number one was the bone of Samuel J. Tilden's life. He lacked one disputed electoral vote to make him President. The electoral commission by a majority of one vote decided every disputed question against him. He was defeated for the Presidency by one electoral vote. The Supreme Court by a majority of one vote declared invalid the provisions of his will providing for the distribution of some six millions of his estate and that decision was affirmed by the Court of Appeals by one majority. That court subsequently refused to open the question by one vote.

One man, Gov. Wells of Louisiana, finally turned the scales against Tilden and if you would know what kind of a creature this man Wells was listen to the words of that reliable historian, James Ford Rhodes. Rhodes says: "As a matter of fact Wells and his associates in secret connivance, determined the Presidency of the United States, but before returning the vote of Louisiana for Hayes there is little doubt that Wells offered to give it to Tilden for two hundred thousand dollars."

And Sheridan wrote to President Grant charging Wells "with subterfuge and political chicanery," and asserted "He has not a friend who is an honest man."

Tilden's popularity was never greater than on the day when the Electoral Commission voted him out of the Presidency. The lower his enemies pushed him down, the higher he arose in public estimation. Had he died when the Electoral Commission declared against him the hate of a political martyr would now surround his brow. Truth compels the admission that the "cancer" telegrams injured his fame, but justice demands the statement that for these he was not to blame.

Col. Pellon, a nephew of Tilden's, with more zeal than discretion and half crazed with the excitement of the contest, was guilty of the cipher telegrams. Tilden knew nothing about them until they were published. Pellon thought to prove himself a Warlock and showed himself a Machete. To judge Tilden by his showing on the witness stand would be unfair. He was old, tired, feeble, half paralyzed, deaf and weak of voice that he hardly could be heard, and Tom Reed was decidedly unfair in his cross examination of the "Old Roman."

If Tilden wanted to buy the Presidency there was nothing to stop him. He needed only one State. He had the money and would never have missed it. He did not get that one State, because he would not buy Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. He needed all for sale. Hayes got the three States, and every one who helped him get them received honors or preferment--and a few of them lived in luxury. These are the facts. Draw your own inferences! And so the tale is told.

Tilden was elected President, but political marplots snatched the crown out of the hand of justice just as she was about to place it on his brow. Tilden was robbed of the Presidency in 1876, and yet in 1880 the Democrats offered to nominate him a second time. And while the Democrats begged him by letter and telegram to accept that nomination, the Republicans did not dare whisper the name ofutherford B. Hayes as a possible candidate. The strength of the steal of '76 was too strong for that. And again in 1884, while the Republicans denied Grant a third nomination, the Democrats for a third time offered to nominate Samuel J. Tilden. And when Tilden died in 1886 John G. Whittier wrote:

Once more, O all-adjusting death,
The nation's judgment record shall
Once more a common record shall
A wrong which man had done
Amidst the nations, be righted
To settle down fraud with resolute hand;
A nation's name shall
Be saved its native land.
Tilden is dead, but thanks to him the Democratic party came out of the grave and walks among men. He sleeps among the hills of Lebanon, where he was born, about thirty miles away from the grave of Martin Van Buren. They were together in life; they are not far apart in death. These two are the fathers of the Democracy of today--Jefferson and Jackson the fathers of the Democracy of the olden days. And some day the citizens of this country who believe in the perpetuation of all that is best in American history will make political shrines out of the homes and the graves of Tilden and Van Buren in New York, just as they have made political shrines out of the home and grave of Jefferson in Virginia and of Jackson in Tennessee.