CONTENTS

THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF WASHINGTON.
   J. V. Nash................................. 73

WASHINGTON AND STEUBEN. Carl Wittke.............. 93

REASON IN SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY. Victor S. Yarros...107

LIARS AND LYING PSYCHOLOGICALLY CONSIDERED.
   Fred Smith .................................. 118

ODE TO LIBERTY. (POEM). Robert Burns..................123

BALLAD ON THE AMERICAN WAR. (POEM)
   Robert Burns..................................126

ROBERT BURNS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
   Gustave Carus................................129
PORTAIT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, BY GILBERT STUART

Frontispiece to The Open Court
THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF WASHINGTON

BY J. V. NASH

No other character in American history ranks with Washington in the reverence accorded by generation after generation of his fellow citizens. The title "Father of His Country," spontaneously accorded him, has been accepted universally without question. Hardly had he been laid in his grave before the myth-makers began weaving legends about him; some of which, such as the cherry-tree story, though scrupulous historians have repeatedly exposed them as fictions, continue to flourish as luxuriantly as before.

Had such a character as Washington enacted a somewhat similar rôle in the history of a nation of antiquity, he would have attained, even before his death, to apotheosis as a god. Had he lived during the Middle Ages he probably would have been canonized after death. Certainly, so far as exalted personal virtue and devotion to the public weal are concerned, Washington was in no wise inferior to Louis IX of France, otherwise known as St. Louis; or to Joan of Arc, burned to death as a heretic but now a full-fledged saint of the Catholic Church.

That this supposition is not far-fetched is proved by the fact that only a few years ago a movement was reported as initiated among certain patriotic Episcopalians to have Washington duly canonized as the first official saint of their Church. The movement came to nothing, though the editor of an Episcopal weekly in editorial comment gravely remarked that the proposal was not so absurd as it might appear.

There is no doubt that Washington was a member, in good standing, of the Episcopal Church. But a great deal of mystery and speculation has surrounded the question of his private religious views. For Washington was baptized into the Episcopal Church when he was an infant of two months, at a time when that Com-
munion was the Established Church of Virginia, supported by public taxation, and in effect a department of the Government. His position, therefore, was quite different from that of an adult who joins a church as a result of a sincere conviction that he shares the creed of that church. Clearly, Washington's church membership helps us little in ascertaining his religious opinions; especially since, as we shall see later, he refused pointedly, as a grown man, to partake of the sacrament or even to kneel in prayer at church.

We are, consequently, thrown back upon his own statements and the testimony of others concerning his beliefs. Obviously, the testimony of others in a case like this must be approached cautiously. Unfortunately, statements by Washington himself which throw light upon his religious beliefs are painfully scarce. But as actions proverbially speak louder than words, we can perhaps with their help arrive at a fairly accurate understanding of Washington's attitude toward the Unseen.

The trouble is not that Washington wrote little. No other man of his day in American public life has left such voluminous records. In early life he began keeping a diary, which he conscientiously continued to the end, and which is now available in published form. Even greater in bulk is his correspondence; for Washington was a most industrious letter writer. "To correspond with those I love," he once remarked, "is one of my highest gratifications." His published correspondence and miscellaneous writings fill fourteen volumes; while a great store of unpublished letters and other papers is in the custody of the Library of Congress.

This vast accumulation of material from Washington's pen has been searched with the most painstaking care; yet in it all the name Jesus Christ, or even Christ, has not been found. The nearest approach to it is a single allusion, in 1783, to "the Divine author of our blessed religion"—a stereotyped phrase of little real significance. Nor is there the slightest reference to any personal religious experience. To be sure, God is sometimes mentioned, but usually as a vague "Providence" or as an even vaguer "Heaven."

In approaching our inquiry into Washington's spiritual development, it will be well to examine the religious environment into which he was born. As we have already noticed, the Episcopal Church was established by law in Virginia and all taxpayers were required to contribute to the support of its clergy; they were paid
largely in tobacco, which to a great extent took the place of currency in the economic system of that day in Virginia.

As is normally the case with established churches, the Episcopal Church in Virginia, at the time of Washington's birth, had fallen into sloth and corruption. The clergy led lives little different from those of the landed gentry; many of them even engaged in fox-hunting, gambling, and drinking. At best, the church was formal and official. Religious fervor—enthusiasm, as it was called—constituted there as in England a social error. It was relegated to illiterate tub-thumping fanatics of the dissenting sects. The gentry of Virginia belonged to the Established Church, which was a branch of the powerful, state-supported Church of England.

In order to avoid any appearance of prejudice, let us call as a witness to the state of religion in Virginia during the eighteenth century a prominent prelate of the Episcopal Church. Bishop Meade, whose father was Washington's military aide, published some astounding revelations on this subject. He wrote:

There was at this time not only defective preaching but most evil living among the clergy...many of them had been addicted to the race-field, the card table, the ballroom, the theatre—nay more, to the drunken revel. One of them had been for years the president of a jockey club. Another preached against the four sins of atheism, gambling, horse-racing, and swearing, while he practiced all of the vices himself. When he died, in the midst of his ravings he was heard hallooing the hounds to the chase... Infidelity became rife in Virginia, perhaps beyond any other portion of the land. The clergy, for the most part, were a laughing-stock or objects of disgust... in order to conceal the shame of the clergy from the younger ones and to prevent their loss of attachment to religion and the Church, the elder ones sometimes had to hurry them away to bed or take them away from the presence of these ministers when indulging too freely in the intoxicating cup.

Even Parson Weems, the myth-spinning early biographer of Washington, was a fiddler much in demand at dances.

It is only fair to add that, according to some contemporary accounts, the established Puritan Church of Massachusetts also had fallen into evil ways. A clergyman at Andover speaks of an ordination service at which he "was pained to see two aged ministers literally drunk and a third indecently excited by strong drink."
It is perhaps one of the most striking evidences of Washington's innate strength of character that he should have emerged unscathed from a religious environment of this type. At any rate, the lives led by the professional clergy in his day may have been a factor in instilling in his mind a personal distrust of orthodox religion. On the other hand, his temperament prevented any development of a mystical, subjective religiosity. For Washington was an almost perfect type of the extravert personality. In his open features we see nothing of the haunting melancholy that looks out from the unfathomable depths of Lincoln's eyes. He was one of those "once born" men described by William James, who feel no sense of spiritual maladjustment, who suffer no emotional Sturm und Drang, and who consequently never pass through the experience of rebirth or "conversion."

In terms of Hindu philosophy, Washington was a great Karma Yogi—one of those souls who attain to Mastership through the path of work and deeds nobly performed, rather than through intellectual or emotional realization.

Washington's education began under auspices even more dubious than his religious environment. For his first schoolmaster was a convicted felon, a man of some education who was among a shipload of convicts sent out from England to Virginia and sold to the colonists. The authority for this almost incredible statement is the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, an English clergyman engaged by Washington in later years as a tutor for his stepson. According to Dr. Boucher, "George, like most people thereabouts at that time, had no other education than reading, writing and accounts, which he was taught by a convict servant whom his father bought for a schoolmaster." Schools were few and far between, and probably this tutor was the best that the elder Washington could afford, for he had a large family by two successive marriages—or "ventures," as he whimsically termed them. From his mother, George could have acquired very little educationally. Paul Leicester Ford, in The True George Washington, declares that she was "illiterate and untidy, and, moreover, if tradition is to be believed, smoked a pipe."

Washington's formal education ended by the time he was sixteen. Yet he was destined to be numbered among the alumni of Harvard, which conferred an honorary degree upon him during the
Revolution. He also became Chancellor of William and Mary College, and in his will provided for the establishment of the George Washington University.

But the young Washington was not of a scholarly turn of mind. He mastered arithmetic, because he considered it of practical use, and his proficiency with figures served him well in after life. He was careless of grammar and spelling, though he took pains to develop his penmanship. In that respect his manuscripts are a delight to the eye. His achievement of beautiful handwriting must have been a severe task. For Washington was a big, hulking, awkward youth. Like Lincoln, he possessed immense muscular strength. His hands and feet were excessively large; he had to have gloves made to order, and he could bend an iron horseshoe. His height was about six feet, two inches, and in his prime he weighed 200 pounds. It is reminiscent of Lincoln, too, to note that as a youth he achieved fame as a wrestler and in the lifting of heavy weights. At an early age he became an expert horseman.

His father's death, when George was only eleven, left the widow almost penniless, with five children, the others younger than George. Most of the property went to two older half-brothers by a former marriage. There is a story that George was on the point of entering the British navy as a midshipman, at fifteen, but in response to his mother's entreaties abandoned this ambition. Shortly afterwards he went to Mount Vernon to live with his half-brother, Lawrence. The latter had had the benefit of an English education and had married into the wealthy Fairfax family, who now gave George his first employment as a surveyor.

At Mount Vernon, which he was destined to immortalize, George was taken into Virginia society life. He became familiar with fine dress, fox-hunting, dancing, gambling, drinking, and flirtation. Yet here again his character successfully withstood damage, though he had developed into a youth of strong physical passions.

Woodrow Wilson, in his biography of Washington, says that he "had the blood of a lover beyond his fellows." He ardently wooed several of the high-born Virginia belles, but with discouraging lack of success. After all, who was he? A "poor relation" of his half-brother, with no property of his own, and small prospects; moreover, because of his sketchy education he probably was lacking in social graces.
The prize that Washington finally drew from the marriage lottery was a widow of about his own age—Mrs. Martha Custis, the mother of four children, two of whom had died in infancy. Her first husband had left her wealthy; she brought to Washington 15,000 acres of land, $100,000 in cash and bonds, and about 150 slaves. The widow needed an able manager for her estate, and Washington filled the bill; then, too, he was by now rising in the world, a man over whom Destiny was beginning to hover. They were married on January 6, 1759, when Washington was almost twenty-seven. The marriage brought quiet but real happiness to both.

Washington dearly loved children; unfortunately he was never to have any of his own, but on the two stepchildren he lavished a loving care. The girl, Martha, to whom he was tenderly devoted, had epileptic fits and died young. The only time that Washington appears to have knelt was when he fell sobbing to his knees over the cold body of his little "Patsy." To the boy, John Parke Custis, Washington gave every advantage; but the youth accomplished little and died in early manhood, leaving children. Two of these, a boy and a girl, the Washingtons adopted and brought up. The boy, George Washington Parke Custis, became the father-in-law of Robert E. Lee. The girl, Eleanor P. (Nellie) Custis, grew into a famous beauty, was for many years a member of Washington's household, and, only a few months before his death, Washington had the happiness of seeing her married to his own nephew, Lawrence Lewis. Both George and Nellie have left valuable memoirs of Washington.

Washington's marriage placed him in a position of affluence and helped pave the way for the career that was to make him the Father of his Country. And he was now the Master of Mount Vernon, following the early death of his half-brother, Lawrence, whom he had accompanied to the West Indies in the latter's vain search for health. After Washington acquired Mount Vernon, he became rooted to the lovely spot. It was with regret that he left it to assume command of the army. The Revolution kept him away for seven years, and the Presidency for another eight years; and when he retired from public life less than three years remained to him.

But this is not a biography of Washington. We cannot linger over the crowded events of his life. There was one other incident
of his youth, however, that is of significance in a study of Washington's philosophy and religion. It is well known that he was a member of the Masonic fraternity. In later life he became the Master of an important lodge, often officiated at Masonic ceremonies, wearing the mystic regalia of the order, and at the end he was buried with Masonic as well as Christian rites.

Washington was accepted in the lodge at Fredericksburg, Virginia, November 4, 1752, when he was still some months short of twenty-one. His career as a Mason thus covered a period of more than forty-seven years. No doubt the ritual and principles of that great society appealed strongly to him.

Only two days after his reception into the Masonic order, Washington was commissioned one of the four adjutants-general of the Virginia Militia, with the rank of major. His receiving this commission while still under twenty-one caused some adverse criticism. But his relative, George Fairfax, remarked that "all Washingtons are born old."

For no other man, perhaps, did Opportunity knock so often at the door. But only a man of unusual ability and character could have been ready, as Washington always was, to accept the great responsibilities that Destiny began to offer him. As he advanced in years, his moral stature steadily grew. Character radiated from his personality and was the secret of his influence. Only Washington could have held the army together in the dark days of the Revolution; only Washington could have secured the adoption of the Constitution when the Confederation was lapsing into anarchy; only Washington could have guided the young nation successfully through the first two administrations of the presidency. He prob-
ably will always stand unique in his election as President of the United States by unanimous vote.

As Washington advanced into the years of maturity, the orthodox creed of his childhood no doubt faded imperceptibly into the background. There was no violent loss of faith, just as there had been no dramatic "conversion" in early life. His temperament was essentially optimistic; he felt no inclination to introspective brooding; and perhaps as he grew older he adopted, consciously or not, the Confucian attitude that it is well to respect supernatural beings but to have as little to do with them as possible.

According to Jefferson, Washington was a Deist, as was Jefferson himself. Jefferson added that Gouverneur Morris, who was an avowed unbeliever and professed to know Washington's secrets, declared that Washington "believed no more of that system [Christianity] than he himself did."

It is true that Washington continued to attend the services of the Episcopal Church, of which Mrs. Washington was a devout communicant. He even was elected a vestryman, but such an office in the State Church was largely secular in character.

When Washington was President, he attended Christ Church in Philadelphia. Nellie Custis records that "on communion Sundays he left the church with me, after the blessing, and returned home, and we sent the carriage back for my grandmother [Mrs. Washington]."

The spectacle of the President of the United States turning his back on the sacrament outraged the minister, Rev. Dr. James Abercrombie, to such an extent that he rebuked Washington (anonymously) from the pulpit for the bad example he was setting. Washington replied by absenting himself altogether from the services on Sundays when the Holy Communion was added to the usual program. Fortunately, we have Dr. Abercrombie's own account of the affair:

Observing that on Sacrament Sundays, Gen'l Washington, immediately after the Desk and Pulpit services, went out with the greater part of the congregation, always leaving Mrs. Washington with the communicants, she invariably being one, I considered it my duty, in a sermon on Public Worship, to state the unhappy tendency of example, particularly those in elevated stations, who invariably turned their backs upon the celebration of the Lord's Supper. I acknowledge
CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

A Southeast view of Christ Church as it looked in 1787. This is the church where Washington attended services when he was President and where he was rebuked by the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie for setting a bad example by leaving before the Sacrament.
the remark was intended for the President, as such, he received it. A few days later, in conversation with, I believe, a Senator of the U.S. he told me he had dined the day before with the President, who in the course of the conversation at the table, said that on the preceding Sunday, he had received a very just reproof from the pulpit, for always leaving the church before the administration of the Sacrament; that he honored the preacher for his integrity and candour; that he had never considered the influence of his example; that he would never again give cause for the repetition of the reproof; and that, as he had never been a communicant, were he to become one then, it would be imputed to an ostentatious display of religious zeal arising altogether from his elevated station. Accordingly he afterwards never came on the morning of Sacrament Sunday, tho’ at other times, a constant attendant in the morning.

The testimony of Nellie Custis and of Dr. Abercrombie, with reference to Washington’s not caring to receive the communion, is confirmed by the Rev. Dr. William White, another of Washington’s pastors, who in 1787 became a Bishop. In reply to a letter of inquiry, some years after Washington’s death, Bishop White wrote:

Truth requires me to say that General Washington never received the communion in the churches of which I am parochial minister. Mrs. Washington was an habitual communicant...I have been written to by several on the point of your inquiry; and I have been obliged to answer them as I now do you.

Nellie Custis also is on record as saying that when in church Washington always “stood during the devotional part of the service.” This statement likewise is confirmed by Bishop White, who wrote in answer to another inquiry, “As your letter seems to intend an inquiry on the point of kneeling during the service, I owe it to truth to declare that I never saw him in the said attitude.” He observed, however, that Washington’s behavior was always “serious and attentive.” Obviously, it would not have been in keeping with Washington’s character if his conduct in church had been frivolous or inattentive.

The famous story about Washington’s kneeling in the snow during the bitter winter at Valley Forge, imploring Divine aid, seems to be quite without historical foundation. It was first told nearly half a century after the supposed event, by an old man named Isaac
THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF WASHINGTON 83

Courtesy of United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission

CHRIST CHURCH, ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA
Potts, who was believed to have been Washington's landlord that winter. But investigation has shown that during the winter in question Washington lived at the house of Mrs. Deborah Hewes, and his account-book shows that he paid his rent to her. It was not until several years later that Potts acquired the house, and there is no evidence that he was at Valley Forge at all when Washington was there. The facts concerning this Valley Forge story will be found clearly set forth in Appendix II of Rupert Hughes' *George Washington, The Human Being and the Hero*. "No conscientious historian of to-day," according to Hughes, gives credence to the tale. The author of this entertaining volume points out, incidentally, that, unlike Washington, Benedict Arnold was an ardent church member. He "filled his proclamations with piety, and joined the church anew shortly before he betrayed the United States."

The late Dr. Moncure D. Conway, in his *Washington and Mount Vernon*, remarks, "In his many letters to his adopted nephew and young relatives, he [Washington] admonishes them about their morals, but in no case have I been able to discover any suggestion that they should read the Bible, keep the Sabbath, go to church, or any warning against Infidelity." He observes also that "Washington had in his library the writings of Paine, Priestley, Voltaire, Frederick the Great, and other heretical works," and that although in his voluminous diaries Washington regularly mentions his attendance at Church, there is "never any remark on the sermons."

In fact, Washington's diaries show us, over a period of many years, just how often he went to church. In the year 1760, it appears that he attended exactly sixteen times; and in 1768, fourteen. Paul Leicester Ford says that these figures are "fairly typical of the period 1760-1773." His average attendance is thus seen to be a little better than once a month.

While he was President, living in New York and Philadelphia, with his every act carefully watched, he was more constant in his attendance at church. But after his retirement to Mount Vernon for good, it seems that he gave up going to church at all. "Six days do I labor," he wrote during the last year of his life, "or, in other words, take exercise and devote my time to various occupations in husbandry, and about my mansion. On the seventh, now called the first day, for want of a place of Worship (within less than nine miles) such letters as do not require immediate acknowl-
edgment I give answers to.” He goes on to say that on the last two Sundays this program has been interfered with by the duty of hospitality to visitors.

Presumably the church nine miles away was at Alexandria, where Washington owned a pew in Christ Church. He had a whole stable full of fine horses at Mount Vernon, and a nine-mile ride or drive on a beautiful Sunday morning should not have been a serious barrier to his attending church if he felt the inclination.

Paul Leicester Ford explains that Sunday was Washington’s favorite day for transacting business at home; besides writing letters and even preparing invoices, “he entertained company, closed land purchases, sold wheat, and while a Virginia planter, went fox-hunting, on Sunday.” When he traveled, he made it a point to observe the scruples of the public regarding the Sabbath; but there is a story that he was once arrested in Connecticut for violating the Blue Laws against traveling on Sunday.

Jefferson relates an amusing but significant story, which was told him by Benjamin Rush. It appears that when Washington was leaving the presidency, the clergy were annoyed because “he had never, on any occasion, said a word to the public which showed a belief in the Christian religion.” In an address that they were sending him on this occasion they decided to smoke him out on the subject of his religion, “so as to force him at length to declare publicly whether he was a Christian or not. But, he observed, the old fox was too cunning for them. He answered every article of their address particularly except that, which he passed over without notice.”

And yet, in his speech before Congress, when resigning his commission at the close of the war, Washington took the opportunity of “commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to His holy keeping.” Again, in the Farewell Address he said, “Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports.... And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion.”

But even Paine, an earnest Deist, could have said as much as that with perfect sincerity. On immortality and the special Christian dogmas in general, Washington seems to have maintained a studied silence.
In spite of Washington’s personal coolness toward church-going, he approved of the Church as an institution, useful for the general run of people. He provided religious services for the soldiers in the army, and desired that his employés should go to church. W. E. Woodward, in his George Washington, The Image and the Man, thinks that Washington’s position in this matter was like that of “the modern captain of industry.”

According to Rupert Hughes, Mrs. Washington “furnished the religion for the family, said the prayers, and read the Scriptures. His own great Bible looked as if it had never been opened.”

Washington’s tolerance, in an age of intolerance, must not be passed unnoticed. Early in the Revolution, when the New England troops were preparing to celebrate Guy Fawkes Day in the usual manner by burning an effigy of the Pope, Washington in his General Orders strongly condemned this “ridiculous and childish custom”: as Commander-in-Chief, he said that he could not help “expressing his surprise, that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense, as not to see the impropriety of such a step.” There was good policy here, no doubt, as such a gesture by the army would have been deeply offensive to the Catholic French, from whom the Americans would soon be expecting help. But Washington’s protest was no less sincere for that.

An even more striking avowal of his tolerance is found in the instructions he gave to his agent abroad whom he had commissioned to procure some servants to enter his employ: “If they are good workmen, they may be from Asia, Africa, or Europe: they may be Mohometans, Jews, or Christians of any sect, or they may be Atheists.”

It would be rare even to-day to find a man of prominence in the United States thus announcing his willingness to give a job to an atheist.

We are told that Washington was extremely generous to those in need. His account-books are filled with entries of sums of money disbursed for charitable purposes. His charity was “large, regular, and habitual.” He served through the Revolution without pay, though he asked to be reimbursed for his expenses, of which he kept an exact account.

Washington was not a plaster paragon of virtue, as Parson Weems tried to make him, nor was he cold and unemotional at heart,
though his shyness and diffidence in public often gave that impression. Few great men have been so intensely human. There was indeed something Homeric about the man. It would be interesting to know Washington's opinion of the Eighteenth Amendment. David Ackerman, a Revolutionary officer, is quoted even by the hero-worshipping Henry Cabot Lodge, in his biography of Washington, as follows:

He was an enormous eater, but was content with bread and meat, if he had plenty of it. But hunger seemed to put him in a rage. It was his custom to take a drink of rum or whiskey on awakening in the morning.

The use of liquor, of course, was practically universal in Washington's day; but he never carried it to excess.

"In 1779," writes Senator Lodge, "it is recorded that at a party he danced for three hours with Mrs. Greene without sitting down or resting, which speaks well for the health and spirits both of the lady and the gentleman." At that time Washington was forty-seven years old. His love of fast horses was life-long. When President of the United States he once acted as judge of a horse-race in which one of his own animals was entered but failed to win the prize. All the evidence indicates that, as Woodward puts it, Washington was "without a trace of Puritanism."

He had a terrific temper; usually he held it under stern control, but there are records of furious outbursts on exceptional occasions. "He was anything but a profane man," observes Lodge, "but the evidence is beyond question that if deeply angered he would use a hearty English oath." Yet even in his anger he was never unfair. "Anyone who knows the long resentments of human nature," says Woodward, "cannot help being impressed by his generosity toward his personal enemies."

We have already noticed Washington's display of grief over the death of little Martha Custis, whom he playfully called "Patsy." He gave a still more remarkable proof of his inherently emotional nature on another occasion. It was the historic parting with his officers at the close of the Revolution. The famous scene has often been portrayed; usually the Commander-in-Chief is represented as shaking hands, in a dignified fashion, with his tried and true lieutenants. But according to the account written by his adopted son, George Washington Parke Custis, besides shaking hands he also
kissed on the cheek each of his brothers-in-arms, who wept as they took leave of their chief. The story of this touching incident, in the words of Custis, will be found in The Story Life of Washington, by Wayne Whipple, pp. 162-63. Washington's friendship with the young Alexander Hamilton is one of the most beautiful in history.

It has sometimes been held against Washington that he was a slave-owner. But it must be remembered that slavery was part of the established economic system during his lifetime. We know, too, that Washington personally was opposed to slavery, not so much on humanitarian grounds—for the slaves generally were treated well—as because he regarded it as economically wasteful and inefficient. He looked forward to its abolition, and in his will he arranged for the emancipation of all his own slaves—an act in which he stood alone among the great Virginians of his generation.

When on his death-bed, Washington's attitude toward religion did not change. No clergyman was present, although one might easily have been summoned from Alexandria, had he so desired. Toward the end, Washington remarked to his faithful secretary, Tobias Lear, "I find I am going, my breath cannot continue long; I believed from the first attack it would be fatal." He directed Lear to see to it that his correspondence was cared for and his accounts settled. "He then asked," says Lear, "if I recollected anything which it was essential for him to do, as he had but a very short time to continue with us." Lear had no suggestions to offer. Mrs. Washington was in the room; she, too, apparently remained silent. Washington then remarked of his death that "as it was the debt which we all must pay, he looked to the event with perfect resignation." According to another account, Washington whispered to his physician, Dr. Craik, "I die hard, but I am not afraid to die." Later, with great difficulty, he managed to give Lear a few words of instruction regarding his burial, asked whether Lear understood him, and, on receiving an affirmative reply, murmured, "'Tis well"—his last words.

Washington never worked out any systematic philosophy or theory of government, to which his name can be given. His mind was essentially of the executive type. In the administration of the Government he believed strongly in the value of conference: he solicited freely the views of men like Madison, Hamilton, Edmund Randolph, and even Jefferson. Though personally he leaned to the
Federalist thought of Hamilton, which was anathema to Jefferson, the Sage of Monticello told Lafayette that when he and Hamilton were members of the President's cabinet and disagreed with each other, "General Washington would sometimes favor the opinion of one and sometimes the other, with an apparent strict impartiality. And Mr. Jefferson added," said Lafayette, "that, so sound was Washington's judgment, that he [Jefferson] was commonly convinced afterwards of the accuracy of his decision, whether it
accorded with the opinion he had himself first advanced or not." Owing to an increasing divergence of policy, it probably was a relief to Washington when Jefferson resigned from the cabinet: on the other hand, Hamilton's genius was often erratic and needed to be guided—as it constantly was—by Washington's caution.

The remarkable Farewell Address, greatest of Washington's state papers, is said to have been first drafted by Madison and later revised by Hamilton; Timothy Pickering tells us that it was then "put into the hands of Wolcott, McHenry, and myself....with a request that we would examine it, and note any alterations and corrections which we should think best." They offered a few minor suggestions, chiefly on "the grammar and composition." Washington then gave the paper its final editing, and the document is justly credited to him. It bears his unmistakable stamp.

Though he was himself an agriculturalist, Washington had an extraordinary appreciation of the importance of commerce and industry as factors in national prosperity. It was the Mount Vernon conference on interstate commerce, held in his own home, that led to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Professor A. B. Hart considers him "the ablest man of business of his time."

It is true that Washington did not share Jefferson's democratic faith; he preferred to see the Government in the hands of men of substance. For he believed that thus stability would be attained and the welfare of rich and poor alike promoted. He seems to have accepted without question the economic doctrine of laissez faire.

Philosophically Washington was, in the language of to-day, a pragmatist. His intellectual habits have been likened to those of Bacon. His mind was essentially a practical one. In the words of Lodge, "He saw facts, knew them, mastered and used them, and never gave much play to fancy." He was content to leave to minds of another type the realm of philosophical speculation, political theory, and dialectic exercise. He would examine the results of their cogitation, and such as appealed to his good sense he would use. He was not a genius, either as a general or as a statesman, nor did he profess to be one. Jefferson, who could look at Washington with complete detachment, said of him that "his mind was great and powerful, without being of the very first order....It was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion."
For example, as late as the autumn of 1775, long after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Washington had not yet declared himself in favor of actual independence from Great Britain. His conversion to the idea of political separation seems to have been due partly to the wanton burning of Falmouth and Norfolk by the British, and partly to the convincing arguments in Paine's *Common Sense*. But as soon as his mind was made up, there was for him no turning back, though his decision meant the parting of the ways with those dear friends of his youth, the Fairfax family, who chose to be Loyalists. It is pleasant to note that during the Revolution Washington repaid their kindness in years gone by; he used his powerful influence to protect them from persecution and the confiscation of their property. But in the fury of the war the beautiful Fairfax mansion, Belvoir, near Mount Vernon, was destroyed, and Washington never had the family as neighbors again.

The late Professor W. R. Thayer, of Harvard, another biographer of our subject, thinks that Washington's chief source of greatness was his character. "If you analyze most closely," he declares, "you will never get deeper than that." But W. E. Woodward writes, "Courage was, I think, his most significant trait, and courage is a most ordinary phenomenon." Both may be right, since high character goes hand in hand with unwavering courage—and with transparent honesty, another of Washington's outstanding virtues.

Jefferson says, continuing his analysis of Washington's character:

He was incapable of fear, meeting personal dangers with the calmest unconcern. Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence; never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining if he saw a doubt, but, when once decided, going through with his purpose, whatever obstacles opposed. His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motives of interest or consanguinity, or friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision.... On the whole, his character was, in its mass, perfect—in nothing bad, in few points indifferent: and it may be truly said that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance.

Washington has left no school of political thought, comparable with Hamiltonianism or Jeffersonianism. But in the Farewell Ad-
dress there are two clearly-stated principles that have become associated with the name of Washington. These are, first, that the nation should strive for closer internal union; and second, that it should avoid political entanglement with Europe. The first was no doubt a factor in enabling the republic to weather the test of civil war; the second certainly was powerfully influential in defeating President Wilson's foreign commitments of the United States at the close of the World War. This latter principle was one of the few in reference to which Jefferson stood on the same ground with Washington; but it had its source in the writings of Paine. Washington is likely to remain the supreme symbol of American nationalism, so long as the republic of which he was the father shall endure.