CORRESPONDENCE OF ABIGAIL ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON, 20 MAY–25 OCTOBER 1804

Document Discussion Questions

- 1. What do these letters reveal about Abigail Adams's various roles?
- 2. How would you characterize Jefferson's responses to Abigail Adams?
- 3. What other noticeable features do you see throughout these letters

Abigail Adams to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, 20 May 1804 Sir

Had you been no other than the private inhabitant of Montecello, I should e'er this time have addrest you, with that sympathy, which a recent event has awakend in my Bosom. but reasons of various kinds withheld my pen, untill the powerfull feelings of my heart, have burst through the restraint, and called upon me to shed the tear of sorrow over the departed remains, of your beloved and deserving Daughter, an event which I most sincerely mourn.

The attachment which I formed for her, when you committed her to my care; upon her arrival in a foreign Land: has remained with me to this hour, and the recent account of her Death, which I read in a late paper, brought fresh to my remembrance the strong sensibility she discovered, tho but a child of nine years of age at having been seperated from her Friends, and country, and brought, as she expressed it, "to a strange land amongst strangers." the tender scene of her seperation from me, rose to my recollection, when she clung arround my neck and wet my Bosom with her tears—saying, "o! now I have learnt to Love you, why will they tear me from you"

It has been some time since that I conceived of any event in this Life, which could call forth, feelings of Mutual sympathy. but I know how closely entwined arround a parents heart, are those Chords which bind the filial to the parental Bosom, and when snaped assunder, how agonizing the pangs of seperation

I have tasted the bitter cup, and bow with reverence, and humility before the great Dispenser of it, without whose permission, and over ruling providence; not a sparrow falls to the ground. That you may derive comfort and consolation in this Day of your sorrow and affliction, from that only source calculated to heal the wounded heart—a firm belief in the Being, perfections and attributes of God, is the sincere and ardent wish of her, who once took pleasure in

Subscribing Herself your Friend

ABIGAIL ADAMS

Thomas Jefferson to Abigail Adams, Washington, 13 June 1804 Dear Madam

The affectionate sentiments which you have had the goodness to express in your letter of May 20. towards my dear departed daughter, have awakened in me sensibilities natural to the occasion, & recalled your kindnesses to her which I shall ever remember with gratitude & friendship. I can assure you with truth they had made an indelible impression on her mind, and that, to the last, on our meetings after long separations, whether I had heard lately of you, and how you did, were among the earliest of her enquiries. in giving you this

assurance I perform a sacred duty for her, & at the same time am thankful for the occasion furnished me of expressing my regret that circumstances should have arisen which have seemed to draw a line of separation between us. the friendship with which you honoured me has ever been valued, and fully reciprocated; & altho' events have been passing which might be trying to some minds, I never believed yours to be of that kind, nor felt that my own was. neither my estimate of your character, nor the esteem founded in that, have ever been lessened for a single moment, although doubts whether it would be acceptable may have forbidden manifestations of it. Mr. Adams's friendship & mine began at an earlier date. it accompanied us thro' long & important scenes. the different conclusions we had drawn from our political reading & reflections were not permitted to lessen mutual esteem, each party being conscious they were the result of an honest conviction in the other. like differences of opinion existing among our fellow citizens attached them to the one or the other of us, and produced a rivalship in their minds which did not exist in ours. we never stood in one another's way: for if either had been withdrawn at any time, his favorers would not have gone over to the other, but would have sought for some one of homogeneous opinions, this consideration was sufficient to keep down all jealousy between us, & to guard our friendship from any disturbance by sentiments of rivalship: and I can say with truth that one act of mr Adams's life, and one only, ever gave me a moment's personal displeasure. I did consider his last appointments to office as personally unkind, they were from among my most ardent political enemies, from whom no faithful cooperation could ever be expected, and laid me under the embarrasment of acting thro' men whose views were to defeat mine; or to encounter the odium of putting others in their places, it seemed but common justice to leave a successor free to act by instruments of his own choice. if my respect for him did not permit me to ascribe the whole blame to the influence of others, it left something for friendship to forgive, and after brooding over it for some little time, and not always resisting the expression of it, I forgave it cordially, and returned to the same state of esteem & respect for him which had so long subsisted. having come into life a little later than mr Adams, his career has preceded mine, as mine is followed by some other, and it will probably be closed at the same distance after him which time originally placed between us. I maintain for him, & shall carry into private life an uniform & high measure of respect and good will, and for yourself a sincere attachment. I have thus, my dear Madam, opened myself to you without reserve, which I have long wished an opportunity of doing; and, without knowing how it will be recieved, I feel relief from being unbosomed and I have now only to entreat your forgiveness for this transition from a subject of domestic affliction to one which seems of a different aspect. but tho connected with political events, it has been viewed by me most strongly in it's unfortunate bearings on my private friendships, the injury these have sustained has been a heavy price for what has never given me equal pleasure, that you may both be favored with health, tranquility and long life, is the prayer of one who tenders you the assurances of his highest consideration and esteem.

TH: JEFFERSON

Abigail Adams to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, 1 July 1804

your Letter of June 13th came duly to hand; if it had contained no other Sentiments and opinions than those which my Letter of condolence could have excited, and which are expressed in the first page of your reply, our correspondence would have terminated here: but you have been pleased to enter upon some Subjects which call for a reply: and as you

observe that you have wished for an opportunity to express your Sentiments, I have given to them every weight they claim.

"one act of Mr Adams Life, and one only, you repeat, ever gave me a moments personal displeasure. I did think his last appointments to office personally unkind. they were from among my most ardent political Enemies"

As this act I am certain was not intended to give any personal pain or offence I think it a duty to explain it so far as I then knew his views and designs. The constitution empowers the president to fill up offices as they become vacant. it was in the exercise of this power that appointments were made, and Characters selected whom Mr Adams considerd, as Men faithfull to the constitution and where he personally knew them, such as were capable of fullfilling their duty to their country. This was done by president Washington equally, in the last days of his administration so that not an office remained vacant for his Successor to fill upon his comeing into the office. no offence was given by it, and no personal unkindness thought of, but the different political opinions which have so unhappily divided our Country, must have given rise to the Idea, that personal unkindness was intened you will please to recollect Sir, that at the time these appointments were made, there was not any certainty that the presidency would devolve upon you, which is an other circumstance to prove that personal unkindness was not meant. no person was ever selected by him from such a motive—and so far was mr. Adams from indulging such a sentiment, that he had no Idea of the intollerence of party spirit at that time. and I know it was his opinion that if the presidency devolved upon you, except in the appointment of Secretaries; no material changes would be made. I perfectly agre with you in opinion that those should be gentlemen in whom the President can repose confidence, possessing opinions and Sentiments corresponding with his own, or if differing from him, that they ought rather to resign their office, than cabal against measures which he may think essential to the honour Safety and peace of the country. much less should they unite, with any bold, and dareingly ambitious Character to over rule the Cabinet, or betray the Secrets of it to Friends or foes. the two gentlemen who held the offices of Secretaries when you became president were not of this Character. they were appointed by your predecessor nearly two years previous to his retirement, they were gentlemen who had cordially co-opperated with him, and enjoyed the public confidence. possessing however different political sentiments from those which you were known to have embraced, it was expected that they would, as they did, resign.

I have never felt any enmity towards you Sir for being elected president of the United States, but the instruments made use of, and the means which were practised to effect a change, have my utter abhorrence and detestation, for they were the blackest calumny and foulest falshoods. I had witnessed enough of the anxiety and solicitude, the envy jealousy and reproach attendant upon the office, as well as the high responsibility of the Station to be perfectly willing to see a transfer of it, and I can truly say, that at the time of Election, I considerd your pretentions much superior to his, to whom an equal vote was given.

your experience I venture to affirm has convinced you that it is not a station to be envy'd. If you feel yourself a free man, and can act in all cases according to your own sentiments, opinions and judgment, you can do more than either of your predecessors could, and are awfully responsible to God and your Country for the measures of your Administration.

I rely upon the Friendship you still profess for me, and (I am conscious I have done nothing to forfeit it), to excuse the freedom of this discussion to which you have led with an unreserve, which has taken off the shackles I should otherways have found myself

embarrassed with—and now Sir I will freely disclose to you what has severed the bonds of former Friendship, and placed you in a light very different from what I once view'd you in—

one of the first acts of your administration was to liberate a wretch who was suffering the just punishment of the Law due to his crimes for writing and publishing the basest libel, the lowest and vilest Slander, which malice could invent, or calumny exhibit against the Character and reputation of your predecessor, of him for whom you profest the highest esteem and Friendship, and whom you certainly knew incapable of such complicated baseness. the remission of Callenders fine was a public approbation of his conduct. is not the last restraint of vice, a sense of shame, renderd abortive, if abandoned Characters do not excite abhorrence? If the Chief Majestrate of a Nation, whose elevated Station places him in a conspicuous light, and renders his every action a concern of general importance, permits his public conduct to be influenced by private resentment, and so far forgets what is due to his Character as to give countanance to a base calumniater. is he not answerable for the influence which his example has upon the manners and morals of the community?

Untill I read Callenders 7th Letter containing your compliment to him as a writer and your reward of 50 dollars, I could not be made to believe, that such measures could have been resorted to; to stab the fair fame, and upright intentions of one, who to use your own language, "was acting from an honest conviction in his own mind that he was right." this Sir I considerd as a personal injury. this was the Sword that cut assunder the Gordian knot, which could not be untied by all the efforts of party Spirit, by Rivalship by Jealousy or any other Malignant fiend.

The Serpent you cherished and warmed, bit the hand that nourished him, and gave you Sufficient Specimins of his talents, his gratitude, his justice and his truth. When such vipers are let lose upon Society all distinction between virtue and vice are levelld all respect for character is lost in the overwhelming deluge of calumny, that respect which is a necessary bond in the Social union, which gives efficacy to laws, and teaches the subject to obey the Majestrate, and the child to submit to the parent.

There is one other act of your administration which I considerd as personally unkind, and which your own mind will readily suggest to you, but as it neither affected Character, or Reputation I forbear to State it—

This Letter is written in confidence—No Eye but my own has seen what has passed. Faithfull are the wounds of a Friend—often have I wished to have seen a different course pursued by you. I bear no malice I cherish no enmity. I would not retaliate if I could—nay more in the true Spirit of christian Charity, I would forgive, as I hope to be forgiven. and with that disposition of mind & heart— / I Subscribe the Name of

Abigail Adams

Thomas Jefferson to Abigail Adams, Washington, 22 July 1804 DEAR MADAM

Your favor of the 1st. inst. was duly recieved, and I would not again have intruded on you but to rectify certain facts which seem not to have been presented to you under their true aspect. my charities to Callender are considered as rewards for his calumnies. as early, I think, as 1796. I was told in Philadelphia that Callender, the author of the Political progress of Britain, was in that city, a fugitive from prosecution for having written that book, and in distress. I had read and approved the book: I considered him as a man of genius, unjustly persecuted. I knew nothing of his private character, and immediately expressed my readiness to contribute to his relief, & to serve him. it was a considerable time after, that, on application from a person who thought of him as I did, I contributed to his relief, and

afterwards repeated the contribution. himself I did not see till long after, nor ever more than two or three times, when he first began to write he told some useful truths in his coarse way; but no body sooner disapproved of his writings than I did, or wished more that he would be silent. my charities to him were no more meant as encouragements to his scurrilities than those I give to the beggar at my door are meant as rewards for the vices of his life, & to make them chargeable to myself. in truth they would have been greater to him had he never written a word after the work for which he fled from Britain. with respect to the calumnies and falsehoods which writers and printers at large published against mr Adams, I was as far from stooping to any concern or approbation of them as mr Adams was respecting those of Porcupine, Fenno, or Russell, who published volumes against me for every sentence vended by their opponents against mr Adams. but I never supposed mr Adams had any participation in the atrocities of these editors or their writers. I knew myself incapable of that base warfare, & believed him to be so. on the contrary, whatever I may have thought of the acts of the administration of that day, I have ever borne testimony to mr Adams's personal worth, nor was it ever impeached in my presence without a just vindication of it on my part. I never supposed that any person who knew either of us could believe that either meddled in but another fact is that I 'liberated a wretch who was suffering for a that dirty work. libel against mr Adams.' I do not know who was the particular wretch alluded to: but I discharged every person under punishment or prosecution under the Sedition law, because I considered & now consider that law to be a nullity as absolute and as palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship a golden image; and that it was as much my duty to arrest it's execution in every stage, as it would have been to have rescued from the fiery furnace those who should have been cast into it for refusing to worship their image. it was accordingly done in every instance, without asking what the offenders had done, or against whom they had offended, but whether the pains they were suffering were inflicted under the pretended Sedition law. it was certainly possible that my motives for contributing to the relief of Callender and liberating sufferers under the Sedition law, might have been to protect, encourage and reward slander: but they may also have been those which inspire ordinary charities to objects of distress, meritorious or not, or the obligations of an oath to protect the constitution, violated by an unauthorised act of Congress. which of these were my motives must be decided by a regard to the general tenor of my life. on this I am not afraid to appeal to the nation at large; to posterity, and still less to that being who sees himself our motives, who will judge us from his own knolege of them, and not on the testimony of a Porcupine or Fenno.

You observe there has been one other act of my administration personally unkind, and suppose it will readily suggest itself to me. I declare on my honor, Madam, I have not the least conception what act is alluded to. I never did a single one with an unkind intention. My sole object in this letter being to place before your attention that the acts imputed to me are either such as are falsely imputed, or as might flow from good as well as bad motives, I shall make no other addition than the assurances of my continued wishes for the health & happiness of yourself & mr Adams.

TH: JEFFERSON

Abigail Adams to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, 18 August 1804

Your Letter of July 22d was by some mistake in the post office at Boston sent back as far as New York, so that it did not reach me untill the Eleventh of this Month. Candour requires of me a reply. Your statement suspecting Callender (who was the wretch referd to)

and your motives for liberating him, wear a different aspect as explained by you, from the impression which they had made, not only upon my mind, but upon the minds of all those whom I ever heard speak upon the subject, with regard to the act under which he was punished, different persons entertain different opinions respecting it. it lies not with me to decide upon its validity. that I presume devolved upon the Suprem Judges of the Nation, but I have understood that the power which makes a Law, is alone competent to the repeal. if a Chief Majestrate can by his will annul a Law where is the difference between a Republican, and a Despotic government? That some restraint should be laid upon the asassin, who stabs reputation, all civilized Nations have assented to. in no Country has calumny falshood, and revileing stalked abroad more licentiously, than in this—no political Character has been secure from its attacks. no reputation so fair, as not to be wounded by it, untill truth and falshood lie in one undistinguished heap. if there are no checks to be resorted to in the Laws of the Land, and no reperation to be made to the injured, will not man become the judge and avenger of his own wrongs, and as in a late instance, the sword and pistol decide the contest? all the Christian and Social virtues will be banished the Land, all that makes Life desireable, and softens the ferocious passions of Man will assume a savage deportment, and like Cain of old, every Mans hand will be against his neighbour. party spirit is blind malevolent uncandid, ungenerous, unjust and unforgiving. it is equally so under federal as under democratic Banners, yet upon both sides are characters, who possess honest views, and act from honorable motives, who disdain to be led blindfold, and who tho entertaining different opinions, have for their object the public welfare and happiness. these are the Characters, who altho' calumny and evil speaking, and who will never descend to News paper revileing, and you have done mr Adams justice in believing him, incapable of such conduct. he has never written a line in any News paper to which his Name has not been affixed. Since he was elected president of the United States. the writers in the public papers, and their employers are alltogether unknown to him

I have seen and known that much of the conduct of a public ruler, is liable to be misunderstood, and misrepresented. party hatred by its deadly poison blinds the Eyes and envenoms the heart, it is fatal to the integrity of the moral Character, it sees not that wisdom dwells with moderation, and that firmness of conduct is seldom united with outrageous violence of sentiment, thus blame is too often liberally bestowed, upon actions, which if fully understood and candidly judged would merit praise instead of censure, it is only by the general issue of measures producing banefull or beneficial effects that they ought to be tested.

you exculpate yourself from any intentional act of unkindness, towards any one. I will freely state that which I referd to in my former Letter, and which I could not avoid considering as personal resentment. Soon after my Eldest Son's return from Europe, he was appointed by the District Judge to an office into which no political concerns enterd, personally known to you, and possessing all the qualifications, you yourself being Judge, which you had designated for office—as soon as congress gave the appointments to the president you removed him. this looked so particularly pointed, that some of your best Friends in Boston, at that time exprest their regret that you had done so. I must do him the justice to say, that I never heard an expression from him of censure or disrespect towards you in concequence of it—with pleasure I say that he is not a blind follower of any party.

I have written to you with the freedom and unreserve of former Friendship to which I would gladly return could all causes but mere difference of opinion be removed—I wish to lead a tranquil and retired Life under the administration of the Government, disposed to heal the wounds of contention, to cool the rageing fury of party animosity: to soften the rugged

Spirit of resentment, and desirous of seeing my Children and Grand Children, Heirs to that freedom and independence which you and your predecessor, united your efforts to obtain. with these sentiments I reciprocate my sincere wishes for your Health and happiness

ABIGAIL ADAMS

Thomas Jefferson to Abigail Adams, Monticello, 11 September 1804

Your letter, Madam, of the 18th. of Aug. has been some days recieve'd, but a press of business has prevented the acknolegement of it. perhaps indeed I may have already trespassed too far on your attention. with those who wish to think amiss of me, I have learnt to be perfectly indifferent: but where I know a mind to be ingenuous, & to need only truth to set it to rights, I cannot be as passive. the act of personal unkindness alluded to in your former letter is said in your last to have been the removal of your eldest son from some office to which the judges had appointed him. I conclude then he must have been a Commissioner of bankruptcy. but I declare to you on my honor that this is the first knolege I have ever had that he was so. it may be thought perhaps that I ought to have enquired who were such, before I appointed others. but it is to be observed that the former law permitted the judges to name Commissioners occasionally only for every case as it arose, & not to make them permanent officers. nobody therefore being in office there could be no removal. the judges you well know have been considered as highly federal; and it was noted that they confined their nominations exclusively to federalists, the legislature, dissatisfied with this, transferred the nomination to the President, and made the offices permanent. the very object in passing the law was that he should correct, not confirm, what was deemed the partiality of the judges. I thought it therefore proper to enquire, not whom they had employed, but whom I ought to appoint to fulfil the intentions of the law. in making these appointments I put in a proportion of federalists equal I believe to the proportion they bear in numbers through the union generally, had I known that your son had acted, it would have been a real pleasure to me to have preferred him to some who were named in Boston in what were deemed the same line of politics. to this I should have been led by my knolege of his integrity as well as my sincere dispositions towards yourself & mr Adams.

You seem to think it devolved on the judges to decide on the validity of the sedition law. but nothing in the constitution has given them a right to decide for the executive, more than to the Executive to decide for them. both magistracies are equally independent in the sphere of action assigned to them. the judges, believing the law constitutional, had a right to pass a sentence of fine and imprisonment; because that power was placed in their hands by the constitution. but the Executive, believing the law to be unconstitutional, was bound to remit the execution of it; because that power has been confided to him by the constitution. that instrument meant that it's co-ordinate branches should be checks on each other. but the opinion which gives to the judges the right to decide what laws are constitutional, and what not, not only for themselves in their own sphere of action, but for the legislature & executive also in their spheres, would make the judiciary a despotic branch. Nor does the opinion of the unconstitutionality & consequent nullity of that law remove all restraint from the overwhelming torrent of slander which is confounding all vice and virtue, all truth & falsehood in the US. The power to do that is fully possessed by the several state–legislatures. it was reserved to them, & was denied to the general government, by the constitution according to our construction of it. while we deny that Congress have a right to controul the freedom of the press, we have ever asserted the right of the states, and their exclusive right, to do so, they have accordingly, all of them, made provisions for punishing slander, which

those who have time and inclination resort to for the vindication of their characters. in general the state laws appear to have made the presses responsible for slander as far as is consistent with their usual freedom. in those states where they do not admit even the truth of allegations to protect the printer, they have gone too far.

The candour manifested in your letter, & which I ever believed you to possess, has alone inspired the desire of calling your attention once more to those circumstances of fact and motive by which I claim to be judged. I hope you will see these intrusions on your time to be, what they really are, proofs of my great respect for you. I tolerate with the utmost latitude the right of others to differ from me in opinion without imputing to them criminality. I know too well the weakness & uncertainty of human reason to wonder at it's different results. both of our political parties, at least the honest portion of them, agree conscientiously in the same object, the public good: but they differ essentially in what they deem the means of promoting that good. one side believes it best done by one composition of the governing powers. the other by a different one. one fears most the ignorance of the people: the other the selfishness of rulers independant of them. which is right, time & experience will prove, we think that one side of this experiment has been long enough tried, and proved not to promote the good of the many: & that the other has not been fairly and sufficiently tried. our opponents think the reverse. with whichever opinion the body of the nation concurs, that must prevail my anxieties on the subject will never carry me beyond the use of fair & honorable means, of truth and reason: nor have they ever lessened my esteem for moral worth, nor alienated my affections from a single friend, who did not first withdraw himself. wherever this has happened I confess I have not been insensible to it: yet have ever kept myself open to a return of their justice. I conclude with sincere prayers for your health & happiness that yourself & mr Adams may long enjoy the tranquility you desire and merit, and see, in the prosperity of your family, what is the consummation of the last and warmest of human wishes.

TH: JEFFERSON

Abigail Adams to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, 25 October 1804

Sickness for three weeks past, has prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your Letter of Septr. 11th. when I first addrest you, I little thought of entering into a correspondence with you upon Subjects of a political nature. I will not regret it, as it has led to some elucidations and brought on some explanations, which place in a more favorable light, occurrences which had wounded me.

Having once entertained for you a Respect and esteem, founded upon the Character of an affectionate parent, a kind Master, a candid and benevolent Friend, I could not suffer different political opinions to obliterate them from my mind, and I felt the truth of the observation, that the heart is long, very long in receiving the conviction that is forced upon it by reason. it was not untill circumstances concured to place you in the light of a rewarder, and encourager of a Libeler whom you could not but detest and despise, that I withdrew the esteem I had long entertaind for you. Nor can you wonder Sir, that I should consider as a personal unkindness, the Instances I have mentiond. I am pleased to find that which respected my Son altogether unfounded. he was, as you conjecture, appointed a commissoner of Bankruptcy together with judge Daws, and continued to serve in it, with perfect satisfaction to all parties, at least I never heard the contrary, untill superseded by the appointment of others, the Idea sugested that no one was in office, and concequently no

removal could take place, I cannot consider in any other light than what the Gentlemen of the Law would term a quible. as such I pass it. Judge Daws was continued, or reappointed, which placed mr Adams in a more conspicuous light as the object of personal resentment. nor could I upon this occasion refrain calling to mind, the last visit you made me at Washington when in the course of conversation, you assured me, that if it should lay in your power at any time, to serve me or my family, nothing would give you more pleasure. With respect to the office, it was a small object, but the disposition of the remover was considerd by me as the barbed arrow, this however by your declaration is withdrawn from my mind. With the public it will remain. and here Sir, may I be allowed to pause, and ask whether in your ardent desire to rectify the mistakes, and abuses as you may term them, of the former administrations, you may not be led into measures still more fatal to the constitution, and more derogatory to your honor and independence of Character? I know from the observations which I have made, that there is not a more difficult part devolves upon a chief Majestrate, nor one which Subjects him to more reproach, and censure, than the appointment to office. and all the patronage which this enviable power gives him, is but a poor compensation for the responsibility to which it Subjects him. It would be well however to weigh and consider Characters as it respects their Moral worth and integrity; he who is not true to himself, nor just to others Seeks an office for the benifit of himself, unmindfull of that of his country.

I cannot accord with you in opinion, that the constitution, ever meant to withhold from the National Government; the power of self defence, or that it could be considerd an infringement of the Liberty of the press, to punish the Licentiousness of it.

Time must determine, and posterity will judge with more candour and impartiality I hope, than the conflicing parties of our day, what measures have best promoted the happiness of the people, what raised them from a state of depression and degradation to wealth honour and reputation, what has made them affluent at home, and respected abroad, and to whom ever the tribute is due, to them may it be given.

I will not any further intrude upon your time, but close this correspondence by my wishes that you may be directed to that path which may terminate in the prosperity and happiness of the people over whom you are placed, by administring the Government with justice, and impartiality. and be assured Sir no one will more rejoice in your Success than Abigail Adams

Quincy Nov. 19. 1804

The whole of this Correspondence was begun and conducted without my Knowledge or Suspicion. Last Evening and this Morning at the desire of Mrs Adams I read the whole. I have no remarks to make upon it at this time and in this place.

J. Adams