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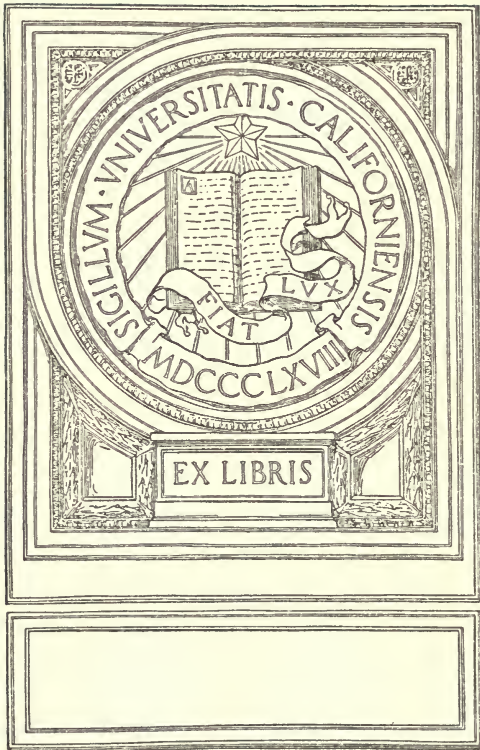

THE BEACON BIOGRAPHIES

EDITED BY

M. A. DeWOLFE HOWE

THOMAS JEFFERSON

BY

THOMAS E. WATSON

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THE

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CALIFORNIA

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PREFACE.

Mr. Jefferson's name is one which causes men to differ, and to fall into heated debate. There are those who say that modern America is Jefferson, and those who declare that his political principles have long since been cast into the trash-pile. Some of the wise men say that, of all the fathers, he was the most far-sighted, understood the people the best, and had the correctest idea of the democratic-republican theory of government. Other men, equally wise so far as I know, affirm in the strongest terms that Jefferson did not possess enough constructive ability to manufacture a political chicken-coop. Between sages so far apart, seekers after the truth will probably find it.

In the narrow limits allowed me it has been impossible to paint a life-size picture of Mr. Jefferson. He was a many-sided man, complex in character, full of contradictions, and yet in his devotion to what he conceived to be the best interests of humanity

grandly consistent. Farmer, scientist, architect, inventor, scholar, lawyer, statesman, and philosopher, he is interesting from every point of view,—one of the few men whom the greed for gold never soiled; one of the few who, from first to last, worked for country and for fellow-man. I have had no space for his speculative opinions, for his political theories, for his daring suggestions in science, mechanical arts, education, and state socialism. It has been my purpose to steer clear of the controversial, and to follow the plain road of fact. Just as the truth seems to be, so I have tried to write.

T. E. W.

THOMSON, GA., June, 1900.

CHRONOLOGY.

1743

April 2. Thomas Jefferson was born in Albemarle County, Virginia.

1762

Graduated from the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg.

1763–66

Continued his studies at home. Read law under George Wythe, of Williamsburg.

1767

Admitted to the bar, and began the practice of law.

1769

Elected to represent Albemarle County in the House of Burgesses.

1770–71

Practised law. Conducted his farming operations. Read and studied.

1772

January 1. Married Martha Skelton, widow.

1773

Elected again a member of House of Burgesses. Wrote the "Summary View" of the causes of the troubles between Great Britain and the American colonies.

1774

Elected to Congress, and made chairman of Committee of Congress to draft the Declaration of Independence.

1776

Elected to lower house, Virginia General Assembly. Assisted in revision of laws. Secured abolition of entails and primogeniture, also separation of Church and State. Was defeated in effort for religious liberty.

1779

Elected Governor of Virginia.

1780

Re-elected.

1781

Narrowly escaped capture by British. Prepared *Notes on Virginia.*

1782

September 6. His wife died.

1783–84

Elected to Congress by state legislature of Virginia. On his report the dollar made the unit of value of United States coinage.

1784–85

Appointed by Congress minister to Europe to negotiate treaties of commerce.

1785–89

Appointed minister to France, to succeed Dr. Franklin, and held the position through 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789.

1790–94

Secretary of State in cabinet of President Washington. Resigned at end of 1793.

1796

Chosen Vice-President. Published *Manual of Parliamentary Practice.*

1798

Drafted "Kentucky Resolutions."

1800–1801

Candidate for President. Tie between him and the Vice-Presidential candidate. Threw election into House of Representatives, where he was elected February, 1801.

1803

Louisiana purchased.

1804

Re-elected President.

1807

Embargo laid.

1809–15

Second Presidential term expired. Retired to Monticello. Lived in retirement. Farmed and conducted extensive correspondence.

1816

Founded University of Virginia.

1816–26

Continued in retirement at Monticello. Greatly distressed by debt.

1826

July 4. Thomas Jefferson died at his home, Monticello.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

I.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, April 2, 1743, old style.

The Jeffersons, a middle-class family, claimed Welsh descent, and had been among the first settlers in Virginia. One of the name had represented Flower de Hundred in the colonial Assembly of 1619.

Peter Jefferson, the father of the statesman, was born in 1708, was the son of a farmer who lived at Osborne's on the James, and made his way in the world by sheer force of character. Like Washington, he became a land surveyor. Like Washington, he married well. Jane Randolph, whom he wedded in 1738, was a daughter of the proudest and wealthiest of the old Virginia houses, her father being Isham Randolph, adjutant-general of the colony.

Patenting a thousand acres of land on the Rivanna, almost in the wilderness, Peter Jefferson cleared off the forest, built a comfortable dwelling, and called the place Shadwell, in honour of his wife's London birthplace.

When the county of Albemarle was created, 1744, Peter Jefferson was made one of its original justices; and he continued to hold, one after another, the most important county offices.

A member of the Church of England, he acted as vestryman for many years; and his children were baptized in the faith of that church. Ambitious and progressive, he valued learning, and took a keen interest in giving to his children the early advantages he had not himself enjoyed. On his death-bed he directed that his eldest son, Thomas Jefferson, should receive a thorough classical education. He died in 1757, leaving a comfortable estate, eight children, and a widow who survived until 1776.

Few Americans, a hundred years ago, had better training than that which guided Thomas Jefferson. At the age of five he was sent to school; but parental duties were not shirked, nor home lessons neglected. The father aided the son at every early step, helped him on with his studies, directing him with wise counsel. The boy was encouraged to take physical exercise — to swim, row, ride horseback, hunt — so that mind and body developed together; and both were healthy and strong.

After his father's death, Thomas Jefferson was sent to the boarding-school of the Rev. James Maury, and remained there two years. Ready then for college, he was sent to William and Mary, the only university in Virginia at that time.

"Old William and Mary" was not a college to boast of very loudly, the management being feeble, the discipline lax, and the moral tone disquieting to

the righteous. Still, a student who was determined to learn could do so even at William and Mary. Happily, young Jefferson was a scholar of this class. He entered half advanced, studied hard, and made rapid headway.

Related, through his mother, to the best people in the colony, Jefferson was warmly welcomed at Williamsburg, and during his first year at college went much into society.

In those days the old colonial capital considered itself a very fashionable and aristocratic centre, being particularly magnificent in the winter months, when the General Court and the burgesses were in session. The great "Tobacco Lords," coming up to court pompously and somewhat heavily in their six-horse coaches, filled the principal houses with the gay and the proud of the tide-water region — stately dame, lovely damsel, gallant cavalier. There was the royal governor, a mimic king; there was the

governor's mansion, a backwoods palace; there were the governor's favourites, a rustic court. Blinded slightly by such a glare, Williamsburg revelled in her splendour. The homes of the rich were thrown open to entertainment, and many a night saw the ball-room blazing with light and the "dancers dancing in tune." It is no wonder that Thomas Jefferson, a warm-blooded boy from the country, should feel the charm of music, youth, loveliness, and mirth, should find his lessons grow dull as the fiddles grew loud, should drop his books, join the merry-makers, and walk down the minuet with fair ladies, whose beauty has been dust these hundred years and more.

If ever in his youth he sowed any wild oats, it was at this period; but even his guardian did not consider the crop large. Jefferson, however, thought he had been too gay, and turned a new leaf. Horses and social enjoyments were dis-

carded, fifteen hours of study were crowded into each day; and for exercise there was at dusk, every evening, a brisk run of a mile out of town and back.

Among the teachers at William and Mary was Dr. Small, of Edinburgh, Scotland, who took such a liking to Jefferson as to choose him for a companion. Dr. Small, a bold, profound thinker, gave to Jefferson new ideas and larger conceptions, quickening his love of learning and broadening his mental view.

The governor of Virginia at this time was Fauquier, a scholar, patron of learning, free thinker, courtier, man of the world, gentleman gambler, "the ablest man who had ever filled that office." Dr. Small introduced Jefferson to the governor, with whom the student became a favourite. Not only was he invited to the private dinner parties at the palace, but was taken into the band of musical amateurs of which Fauquier

was a member, and which practised concerts once a week, Jefferson being an excellent performer on the violin.

Frequenting a palace as favoured guest, dining there constantly in the "private parties of four," as Jefferson says he did, and tweedle-deeing with the governor regularly once a week, are facts which hardly seem consistent with the fifteen hours of daily study. Were it not that Mr. Jefferson himself states that Dr. Small made one of the party of four, we should incline to the opinion that these doings at the palace occurred while Jefferson was studying law. Dr. Small, however, returned to England in 1762, the year of Jefferson's graduation. Therefore we must conclude that Mr. Jefferson often suspended the fifteen-hour rule and omitted the twilight trot.

It was at this colonial court that Mr. Jefferson formed those polished manners which distinguished him through life. It was here also, perhaps, that he ac-

quired a taste for independent thought, and became the gently inflexible Deist whom no pulpit thunder could ever shake.

Completing the college course in two years, Mr. Jefferson was, for one so young, an accomplished scholar. He had mastered Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Of French as a written language he had a thorough knowledge. In the best literature of ancient and modern times he was well read. For works of fiction he had no taste; but he was fond of poetry, and raved about Ossian, ranking him above all the moderns. For Plato and his abstractions he expressed unmitigated scorn; for metaphysics he had no use; and he derided the study of ethics, saying that morality was not a matter of science. He argued that a ploughman would decide a moral question as well as a professor, because the ploughman "has not been led astray by artificial rules."

College days over, Mr. Jefferson took up the study of law under George Wythe, one of the purest and ablest of Virginians. For five years these studies went on, sometimes at Williamsburg, sometimes at Shadwell. Coke was hard and knotty, but he was sound in the doctrine; and Jefferson, an hereditary Whig, came to love him as much as he came to detest Blackstone, whose honeyed Toryism had led so many lawyers over to the wrong side. When an ambitious young man gives five years to the reading of law before seeking admission to the bar, he proves very conclusively that he means to be thorough. By nature Mr. Jefferson was a real student, one who loved to probe to the bottom. For half-way knowledge he had a contempt,—in fact, too much contempt. Whether half-way knowledge of a subject be valuable must always depend upon which half one knows,—the half which one happens to

need or the other. The scholar in the Republic rarely makes sufficient allowance for that natural ability which seizes, here and there, catch as catch can, upon such bits of practical knowledge as it must have, and which builds up a towering success while the scholar gapes in amazement, and vainly tries to understand how it is done. Thus Patrick Henry studied law a month, and perplexed our five-year student by his phenomenal triumphs. Henry "knew no law," said Jefferson; and what Jefferson said most lawyers endorsed. Yet Patrick went sturdily forward, winning more big cases, pocketing more big fees, and saving more of what he made than any of the wise men who laughed at his ignorance.

Preparing himself in so leisurely a manner for the practice of law, Mr. Jefferson had time and inclination for social delights again; and we find him among the revellers at Williamsburg

during the winter sessions. The lights in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern flashed upon one fair lady whose beauty fascinated the gangling, raw-boned, sandy-haired law-student; and he began to sigh, and to make vows, and to write nonsense, in the good old way. Her name was Rebecca Burwell. Jefferson's poetic fancy being stirred, he evolved a new name for this loveliest of girls; and he called her Belinda. He raved about her, but there was much prudence mingled with his passion. He wished to wed Belinda; and he also wished to go abroad,—to Europe and to the East. Apparently, he coupled a proposition to marry with a three-year license to travel. Belinda yearned for something more tangible than this, turned a willing ear to another suitor who united to his claim of right a desire for immediate possession, and married him, thus leaving the prudent Thomas to nurse a mild case of disappointed love.

During the Christmas holidays of 1759–60, while at Colonel Nathan Dandridge's, Mr. Jefferson had met Patrick Henry. The two became friends. Henry had recently made a failure as merchant, and, leaving others to bear the grief, was enjoying himself with the young people. He was full of life, danced well, told a good joke, played the fiddle, was ready for romps and games, and was as unconscious of the greatness that slept within him as were his gay companions. Jefferson, while at Williamsburg, saw Patrick often; and, when Henry made his famous speech on the Stamp Act Resolutions, Jefferson was standing at the lobby door, a rapt listener. "Torrents of sublime eloquence" prevailed; and Henry, wresting leadership from older, wealthier, more scholarly men, swung the colony into a declaration of defiance to Great Britain. The struggle was "most bloody," the last resolution going

through on a majority of one. "By God, I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote!" cried the king's attorney-general, Peyton Randolph, as he brushed by Jefferson, and entered the lobby. One vote would have made a tie; and the speaker of the house was a Royalist, who would have voted against the resolution.

In 1767 Mr. Jefferson was admitted to the bar, and at once entered upon a good practice. Until the Revolution closed the court, his legal business paid him from fifteen hundred to three thousand dollars a year. Mr. Jefferson lacked qualities necessary to success as a court-house lawyer. He was learned in the law, laborious in the preparation of cases, and easily master of all the issues involved; but he was no wrangler, had none of the gifts of oratory, and no talent for impromptu debate. If he spoke much above a conversational tone, his throat failed him and his voice be-

came husky. In a smooth, easy-going case, where the law controlled or a few great facts dictated the result, Jefferson must have been superb; but in a hot fight all along the line, the law in a fog, the facts in a mist of lies, and the issues hanging on the verdict of an excited jury, he must have been at sad disadvantage. Before the Virginia courts of those days, profundity of learning was not strictly necessary. Knowledge of human nature, the art to play upon local prejudices, the gift of passionate pleading, agility to light on one's feet in rough-and-tumble court-room battles, outweighed whole libraries of legal lore.

II.

Mr. Jefferson had a rare talent for pleasing, and he was popular with the young and the old. His habits were studious, and continued so all his life; but he was companionable, sympathetic, and loved a friend even better than a book. He did not use tobacco, get drunk, swear, or play cards; but he loved music, the dance, the horse-race, the fox-hunt, and the healthy sport of the young. He had been a good son, a good brother, a good boy at school, making no enemies, and winning favour even among those who had not loved his father. His manners were quiet and agreeable, his conversation tactful, intelligent, suited to the company and the occasion. He did not pose as a censor, did not go around setting everybody to rights on everything. Pet prejudices he left undisturbed; hobby-riders he made no effort to unhorse. When private, so-

cial talk could no longer be made a source of pleasure, he withdrew into silence. A scholar, he was neither prig nor pedant, bookworm nor visionary; and he charmed men because he could listen as well as talk, learn as well as teach, help as well as give advice, was easy of approach and put on no airs of superiority.

In person he was six feet two and a half inches tall, spare-made, active, strong, and of robust health. He had big feet, hands, and wrists; a long neck, a small pointed nose, perfect teeth, and hair which was light auburn or sandy. His hazel-grey eyes were neither large nor brilliant, but were clear and expressive. His complexion was reddish, the skin of the face quick to peel under exposure to sun or wind. His face was angular, rather ugly in youth; but it became fuller with advancing years, and his looks improved as he grew older.

On coming of age, Mr. Jefferson was made vestryman in the church and jus-

tice of the peace. He put on foot a subscription to clear obstructions from the Rivanna, raised the money, got legislative sanction, and opened the little stream to local navigation. He continued to live quietly at Shadwell, pursuing his studies, busy with his farms and law cases, until 1769, when a new election of burgesses was ordered. Becoming a candidate for Albemarle County, he complied with the custom, canvassed the voters in person, attended at the polls, dealt out lunch and punch to hungry and thirsty electors, made his bow as often as his name was voted for, and was elected

So it was that Thomas Jefferson was one of the burgesses who listened to the address with which Lord Botetourt, newly appointed Governor of Virginia, opened the House in May, 1769.

The Stamp Act against which Patrick Henry had thundered had been repealed, but the repeal had been coupled with

the declaration of Great Britain's right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Changing her tactics without swerving from her purpose, England in 1767 adopted the stealthier and deadlier policy of indirect taxation,—duties on imported goods, such as glass, tea, and paper. The machinery of coercion was put in motion, troops were landed in Boston, colonial governors instructed to dismiss rebellious assemblies, and agitators were to be sent to England for trial.

The temper with which these measures were met can readily be imagined. The colonies had long enjoyed practical home rule. Their situation had made self-reliance, self-defence, and self-government absolutely necessary to their existence. Not a colony had been planted at the expense of the English crown. Not a colony would have outlived the storm and stress of early struggles, had they waited Great Brit-

ain's help. The French wars, which were the excuse for England's attempt to tax the colonies, were England's own wars, a part of her world-wide contest with her national enemy. France had no quarrel with the colonies, the colonies none with France. Great Britain and her chartered company, the Ohio Land Company, brought on the war, of which England reaped the benefits, while the colonies bore the brunt.

Without any new taxes the colonies were already making immense contributions to the wealth of England. American manufactures were suppressed by law, in order that English wares should enjoy a monopoly. The navigation acts forced American trade into English markets. Of the profits of all this commerce, Great Britain reaped the lion's share. For example, when a shipload of tobacco left Virginia for London, a greedy swarm of duties, charges, commercial stealages, followed it from the

planter's wharf to the factor's warehouse, and literally devoured it. Sometimes the cargo was not enough to feed the vultures which lit upon it, and the planter had to pay a bill after losing his tobacco. Smarting under such treatment, Virginians were in no frame of mind to listen with patience while England proposed new taxes.

To have their nominal rulers appointed and their foreign commerce controlled by the crown was one thing: to submit to the principle that they could be arbitrarily taxed by a Parliament in which they had neither voice nor vote was another. The first legislative body of white men ever assembled on this continent, the Virginia Assembly of 1619, had asserted the right of local self-government. The colonies, grown strong and self-confident, were determined to keep what their ancestors had claimed.

As a courtesy to so distinguished a

young member, the burgesses requested Mr. Jefferson to draft the resolutions which were to be the basis of their formal reply to the governor's address. He did so, and his work was approved. He was then named on the committee which was appointed to draw up the formal reply, and the committee naturally asked him to write it out. He did so, and his work was promptly rejected. It was too brief. It stuck too closely to the bare outline of the resolutions. Mr. Jefferson, young and sensitive, was deeply mortified; and, brevity being the disease, the cure was complete and permanent. So far as I can discover, none of his subsequent writings suffer from being too short.

The burgesses passed resolutions declaring that taxation without representation was illegal, and that the sending of accused persons out of the country for trial was "inexpressible complexity of wrong."

Governor Botetourt dissolved the House; and the members, holding a meeting in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern, resolved to buy no more English goods which it was possible to dispense with, and to recommend this policy to their constituents. Eighty-eight members — including George Washington, Patrick Henry, George Mason, R. H. Lee, and Thomas Jefferson — signed the compact. Virginia ratified the agreement, and those members who had refused to sign were not re-elected to the House.

The British government enforced the tax laws, collected some eighty thousand dollars, spent as large a sum in doing it, and once more decided to retrace their steps. Lord Botetourt joyfully reconvened the legislature of Virginia to announce the good news. Tea was not mentioned in the list of the articles from which the duties were to be removed, and neither the governor nor the House seemed to note the omission.

In March, 1770, Parliament repealed the tax act of 1767, except as to tea. Total repeal was not to be thought of "till America is prostrate at our feet."

In the second session of the Assembly, Mr. Jefferson attempted the work of a reformer, and met with a decided repulse. The eloquent talk about liberty, natural rights, and so forth, had led the young statesman to think that the opportunity was favourable for a plea in behalf of the negro. Under the Virginia law, no slave-owner could free his negroes without sending them out of the state. Mr. Jefferson wished to repeal this law. Following the habit which had marked him at school, and which he never discarded, he put forward another man to test the ice. The victim chosen for this particular sacrifice was Colonel Richard Bland, and he readily agreed to offer the bill which Jefferson had drawn. The colonel was a guileless philosopher, "one of the

oldest, ablest, and most respected members of the House" ; but his grey hairs did not shield him from the storm. The slave-owners fell upon him in bitter wrath, rived him with oratorical bolts, riddled him with abuse, treated him with the greatest personal indignity, and damned his bill with virtuous unanimity. Jefferson, as seconder of the resolution, caught just enough of the punishment to reconcile him thoroughly to his position in the rear.

The right for which Mr. Jefferson here contended was given to slave-owners in Virginia in 1782.

III.

Revolution was slowly collecting its forces, and no man watched its movement with keener interest than Thomas Jefferson; yet the years which preceded it were the happiest of his life. In all the vigour of early, robust manhood; popular, well connected and accomplished; sanguine, sunny-tempered, and fond of congenial work; harassed by no disadvantages of fortune or of environment, he must have regarded the future as radiant with promise. The even current of his days ran smoothly on. With his fees he bought books and bought land. He pursued his studies and pushed his business. He kept up his walks and rides, and he gave part of every day to his fiddle. He dearly loved his sister Jane, he dearly loved young Dabney Carr, and these were his chosen companions. Never idle, he was never hurried. Each day found him at

work, each day he took recreation. A favourite stroll was to the hill he called Monticello, a part of the Shadwell tract.

On one of the slopes of this hill he had made a rustic seat, under a majestic oak; and to this spot came the friends Jefferson and Carr, bringing their books to read, to study, to dream dreams. One of these visions was of an ideal home which should crown the hill, an ideal cemetery laid out on the slope, and of two friends sleeping side by side under the wide-spreading branches of their favourite oak. And the dream came true. The ideal home did crown the hill. The cemetery, too, came soon enough; and under their favourite oak the two friends did at length sleep side by side.

Shadwell was accidentally burned in 1770, while Jefferson and his mother were away. The house and nearly all it contained were destroyed. "Did you save none of my books?" asked Jeffer-

son of the negro who brought the news. "No, boss; but we saved the fiddle." Removing his mother and the rest of the family to another house on the place, Mr. Jefferson went to live at Monticello, where he already had one room fit for use.

On January 1, 1772, he was married to Martha Skelton, a childless young widow, daughter of John Wayles, who was a wealthy lawyer of the Williamsburg bar. It is said that the lady had two other suitors besides Mr. Jefferson; and that these two did not quit the field until, on coming to make her a visit one day, they found the young widow and the young lawyer together, she playing the spinet and he the fiddle, and both mingling their voices in melodious measure, pouring out their souls in song, oblivious to all surroundings. Even to the eyes of rivalry, this looked like a plain case; and the two belated suitors were so overcome that they silently stole

away without having had the heart to mar so sweet a scene.

The young couple at once went to live at Monticello, where only one of the brick "pavilions" was complete. Faster than ever now sped the work of making the ideal home. Jefferson was landscape gardener, architect, and master-builder. Every plan, every detail, was his. Most of the materials — brick, nails, timbers, etc. — were made on the place. The workmen were his slaves, trained by him to their task. Passionately fond of such work as this, he was almost equally in love with his grounds, gardens, orchards, and farms. He experimented with all sorts of seeds, testing numberless varieties of nuts, roots, melons, vines, grains, and trees. In all directions he went in quest of useful knowledge; and, when found, he made a note of it in a book. Fondness for details became a passion with him, and his records included the smallest as well as the greatest.

In his own right, Mr. Jefferson owned, at the time of his marriage, five thousand acres of land and fifty-two slaves. His farms yielded him a yearly income of about two thousand dollars. By the death of his wife's father, the year after the marriage, he acquired forty thousand acres of land and one hundred and thirty-five slaves, encumbered by a British debt of about nineteen thousand dollars. On a portion of this land was situated the Natural Bridge; and it became one of Mr. Jefferson's fancies to build him a hut there, and to live that life of contented obscurity which is the favourite illusion of the man who loves books, quiet, and solitude.

Considering himself a rich man, Mr. Jefferson adopted a style of living which none but the rich could afford. He kept open house. He sported the finest horses. Many servants ministered to the wants of himself, his family, or his guests. Busy hands reared the mansion,

levelled the lawn, laid out terrace and garden, planted shrubbery and orchard. Monticello grew in beauty year by year. Visitors came, visitors went, and the young couple were happy; for, to crown it all, children came. Thus a part of Mr. Jefferson's dream had come true; and he had, upon his mountain top, as perfect a home as life ever filled or death emptied.

IV.

In 1770 the Boston massacre occurred; in 1772 the *Gaspee* affair. The burning of the *Gaspee* inflamed Great Britain as much as the Boston massacre had maddened the Americans. Royal proclamations were issued, rewards were offered, a commission was sent to investigate, and General Gage ordered to enforce the findings. Owing to circumstances, the commission could reach no findings for Gage to enforce. Providence knew nothing. No witness would testify. Royal wrath found itself baffled by the impenetrable mystery which had settled upon the whole transaction.

Great Britain enacted a drastic law to protect her ships, and declared the intention of sending to England for trial persons suspected of the crime which had been committed. Therefore, when the Virginia burgesses met early in 1773, feeling against the mother country had not softened.

Some of the younger members — the Lees, Henry, Jefferson, and Dabney Carr — became restless under the timid leadership of the older men, and began to meet in private for consultation. At one of these meetings, Richard Henry Lee proposed the creation of a Committee of Correspondence, which organised the Revolution. Jefferson put the plan into writing. Dabney Car offered it to the House (March 12, 1773). The resolution was adopted, and the committee appointed. Governor Dunmore dissolved the burgesses, but the committee at once entered upon its work. Of this committee Mr. Jefferson was a member.

In December, 1773, came the Boston "Tea party." In retaliation, Parliament closed the port of Boston, in part annulled the charter of Massachusetts, provided that British troops should be quartered on the people, appointed General Gage military governor of the colony, and declared that the entire region between

the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes belonged to Canada.

While the Virginia House of Burgesses was still in session, May, 1774, messengers sent by the Committee of Correspondence of Massachusetts came riding into Williamsburg, bearing the doleful tidings from the north. The younger members who had led the House in 1773 were leading it again in 1774, save Dabney Carr, who was dead. They met in the council chamber for private conference, and decided that Virginia must stand by Massachusetts, the cause of one being the cause of all. But, first, Virginia must be roused.

There were no telegraphs, no daily newspapers, no railroads to reach the people. To get them in motion was difficult. These young leaders decided that the best they could do would be to have a day of fasting, prayer, and preaching. Jefferson, who had no faith in such things himself, knew the value of them

as political agencies. He says that he and his friends "cooked up" a resolution which met the requirements, and that they prevailed upon a good, pious old gentleman, Nicholas, to offer it in the House. It was adopted, June 1 being fixed for the day on which the people should fast, humiliate themselves, and pray! Patriots were "to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of the king and Parliament to moderation and justice."

Governor Dunmore appears to have had grave doubts as to the genuineness of the religious spirit which moved the members who had "cooked up" these resolutions. To have his royal master publicly prayed for as a tyrant whose heart needed to be turned to moderation and justice was a proceeding which smelt violently of treason. In the depths of his soul the governor may have felt that

all this fasting and praying was being done for political effect, and to spread the very danger which the prayers were imploring Heaven to avert. Anyhow, he dissolved the House. The members went as usual to the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern, where they decided to use no more tea, and to instruct the Committee of Correspondence to propose an annual congress of deputies from all the colonies (May, 1774).

June 1 came, and it was a great day in Virginia. The preachers and the politicians had so bestirred themselves that the people were aroused as by an electric shock. So rigidly did patriots fast, so deeply were they humiliated, so violently were preached at and prayed for, that by the time the ceremonies were ended everybody was ready to fight.

In August, 1774, Virginia held her convention to elect delegates to the Continental Congress. Mr. Jefferson, being

chosen a member of the convention, prepared an elaborate statement of the colonial cause against Great Britain, and proposed that this paper should be used as a basis of instructions to be given to Virginia delegates in Congress. Falling sick on the way, Mr. Jefferson did not attend the convention, but forwarded his paper. It was not adopted by the convention; but it attracted notice, was published here and in England, and added greatly to the author's fame.

The extreme views of Mr. Jefferson, as set forth in the document mentioned, led to his name being inserted in a list of rebels whom the British ministry proposed to attaint for treason.

The convention of August, 1774, renewed their pledges to cut off trade with England. The tobacco crop of 1774 might be sold; but, unless the heart of King George turned to moderation and justice by August 10, 1775, not a

pound of Virginia tobacco should Great Britain ever have again. As to tea, it was not to be tolerated a moment: "We view it with horror." General Gage, who had been made to get out of Boston, was denounced as "a despotic viceroy." They declared that their own intentions were pacific, that they had not the most remote idea of disturbing the peace, but that, if General Gage should presume to obey the orders sent him from England, such conduct on his part would "justify resistance and reprisal."

Taken altogether, these measures bore a decided resemblance to a declaration of war. The leaders must have so understood it, whether the people did or not. George Washington had already declared in his county meeting that he was ready to raise and equip at his own expense a thousand men to march to the relief of Boston.

Virginia named her delegates to the

Congress — Washington, Henry, Harrison, Bland, Lee, Peyton Randolph, and Pendleton. Randolph being the speaker of the burgesses, it was decided that, if he should have to return to preside over that body, Mr. Jefferson should take his place in Congress. The convention adjourned over to March 20, 1775, to meet at Richmond.

Committees of Safety were elected by the counties of the state to further the work of revolution, and Mr. Jefferson was elected on the committee for Albemarle. When the convention reassembled in March, 1775, Patrick Henry made his famous speech, of which the passionate burden was, "We must fight!" A committee of thirteen, which included George Washington, Patrick Henry, R. H. Lee, and Thomas Jefferson, was appointed to prepare Virginia for war.

Governor Dunmore thought that it was now high time for him to be up and

doing. There was a powder magazine in the public square at Williamsburg — a very tempting amount of powder at a very tempting place; and Dunmore probably dreaded the influence of such a temptation upon the heated colonial mind. At any rate, he sent a midnight party of marines to the magazine, and had the powder carted off to a British man-of-war which lay in James River. This act of Dunmore's came near causing a riot, the utmost influence of Peyton Randolph and others being necessary to keep the people quiet. One man, however, could not be pacified. Patrick Henry called out the militia of Hanover, harangued them in his hottest style, and marched them upon Williamsburg. On the way other troops joined them, until Patrick's force was numbered by thousands, all armed, all angry, and all deeply imbued with the gospel of "We must fight!" Dunmore, unprepared for such an emergency,

made terms. He agreed to pay for the powder, did pay at once; and the rebels dispersed, leaving Patrick Henry the hero of Virginia.

At this stage came Lord North's conciliatory proposition to the colonies, and Dunmore called the burgesses together to consider it. Peyton Randolph returned from the Congress at Philadelphia, and asked Jefferson to remain in the House of Burgesses to draft the reply of Virginia to the mother country. The conciliatory proposition was this: the British ministry was to name the amount of the taxes the colonies should pay, and then the colonies were to raise the money by any method they chose. Jefferson's reply took the ground that North's plan only changed the form of the burden, and that it left the colonial grievances unredressed.

The first Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia September 5, 1774, moved slowly and cautiously. It issued

declarations of rights and grievances, renewed the boycott on English goods, denied Great Britain's right to tax the colonists or to quarter troops upon them without their consent; but all this was done by men professing themselves to be loyal and loving subjects of the king. No hint of independence was heard.

At the January session, 1775, the British Parliament declared Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion. The disobedient colonies were forbidden to fish in Newfoundland waters or to trade with England, Ireland, or the West Indies.

In April, 1775, came the tragedy at Lexington, and the running fight which the infuriated militia made upon the British as they retreated to Boston, after the destruction of the rebel stores. The militia, after driving the English back to the city, besieged them there; and thus the king's loyal and loving Congress came face to face with a crisis for

which they were, perhaps, quite prepared.

Lord North's conciliatory proposition rejected, Massachusetts officially advised to govern herself, another day of fasting and prayer was observed; and then, June 14, Congress resolved that an army should be raised. Next day, on motion of John Adams, George Washington was made commander-in-chief. Two days later came the battle of Bunker Hill. "Did the militia fight?" asked Washington on his way to the army. Told that it did, he exclaimed, "Then the liberties of the country are safe"; and the great man rode on to shoulder his heavy task.

Jefferson took his seat in Congress June 21, 1775, bringing with him "a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent for composition." Though a silent member of Congress, he was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive upon committees and in conversation

that he soon won the heart of John Adams, and made a most favourable impression upon the whole assemblage. Congress had appointed a committee to draw up a statement of the causes which had led America to arms, and Mr. Jefferson was added to the committee. He was asked to prepare the paper, and did so; but Mr. Dickinson, of the committee, objected that Jefferson's draft was too strong. Dickinson wrote a substitute, which was adopted. In his memoir Mr. Jefferson states that the last four paragraphs of Dickinson's paper (and half of another paragraph) were copied from that drawn by himself. A few weeks later he was chosen by ballot a member of the committee to answer Lord North's conciliatory proposition. The committee assigned the task to Mr. Jefferson, and his draft was adopted.

Congress adjourned August 1. Mr. Jefferson returned to the Virginia convention, and was elected by that body to

the next Congress. After a few days he secured leave of absence, and returned to Monticello. Mr. Jefferson did not resume his work in Congress until September 25. He was back in Virginia in December. The Americans had learned that Great Britain meant to coerce them, that their petition had been rejected, and that preparations were making to put down the rebellion. The colonies had grown too strong to take orders from abroad, and the whole country now was seething with excitement. "We must fight," became the creed, arming and drilling the practice. For several months Mr. Jefferson was busy in Virginia raising supplies for Boston, collecting money to buy powder, and paving the way for the Declaration of Independence.

Dunmore's flight having left the colony without an executive, the convention of July, 1775, had named a "Committee of Safety" to rule Virginia

with almost dictatorial powers. Patrick Henry was made commander-in-chief of the state forces. Dunmore, from his headquarters at Norfolk, proclaimed martial law, offered freedom to the negroes who would enlist with him, and ravaged the shores of the Chesapeake. In December, 1775, the Committee of Safety sent Colonel William Woodford and a small force toward Norfolk ; and there was a fight at Great Bridge. Captain Fordyce, at the head of about sixty British grenadiers, attacked the Virginians. He was defeated, and killed. Dunmore, in his rage, burnt Norfolk. In May the Virginia convention met, and it soon appeared that Jefferson's visit had borne fruit. A resolution, written by Edmund Pendleton and presented by Thomas Nelson, was unanimously adopted, instructing the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose to that body to "declare the United Colonies free and independent States." The

convention then adopted a Declaration of Rights and a Constitution, both written by George Mason. Thus on June 29, 1776, Virginia declared herself an independent State. Patrick Henry was elected governor by this same convention, and the new government went into effect at once.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee made in Congress the motion that the colonies declare themselves "free and independent States." John Adams seconded the motion, and was "the colossus of that debate." The committee to draw up the declaration was chosen by ballot. Jefferson stood at the head, John Adams being second; and, after some courteous sparring as to which should do the work, Mr. Jefferson took the burden and the honour.

For this great state paper, the Declaration of Independence, it is easy to claim too much and too little. Detractors can say that it contains nothing new,

that its principles had become familiar in the heroic struggles of the Dutch against Spain, that its leading features had been topics of discussion in the colonies for years, and that much of its language bears close resemblance to the Virginia Bill of Rights. As truly can eulogists say that Mr. Jefferson did not pose as an inventor of political principles, that he claimed no monopoly of knowledge on the subjects involved, that he was selected for the purpose of putting into permanent, intelligible form the grievances and the rights claimed by the colonists, so that the world, then and afterward, might have the best possible statement of the colonial cause. This, and this only, was the duty assigned him; and he performed it so well that his work, approved by his compatriots, has become one of the charters of human freedom which posterity reveres.

The Declaration, as written by Mr. Jefferson, was pruned by Congress, and

very much improved by the process. Debate dragged on till July 4, when the members, greatly pestered by the flies which swarmed in from a livery stable near by, hurried up the final vote, and adopted the amended Declaration late in the afternoon.

Many years after, Mr. Jefferson was confronted with the charge that he had borrowed freely from an alleged "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" in drafting his own. He vehemently protested that he had never heard of the Mecklenburg Declaration, and denounced it as spurious. The truth seems to be that on May 31, 1775, the citizens of the county of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, met at Charlotte, declared themselves independent of Great Britain, repudiated the authority of the royal officials, and organised a local government. The resolutions adopted by this meeting bear no resemblance in form or language to the Jefferson Declaration.

It is singular, however, that Mr. Jefferson should have forgotten so completely the Mecklenburg meeting; for the resolutions there adopted were sent to Congress, and were published in New York and Massachusetts. They likewise attracted the wrathful notice of the royal governors of North Carolina and Georgia, and were officially reported to the British government, being held to "surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications which the inflammatory spirits of this Continent have yet produced."

V.

RE-ELECTED to Congress, but declining to serve, Mr. Jefferson was chosen a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, where he took his seat October 7, 1776. Virginia laws were to be remodelled, and he had set his heart upon the work. Aided by George Wythe, James Madison, and George Mason, he accomplished those reforms which humbled the aristocracy, divorced Church from State, paved the way for popular education, and modernised the code.

In Virginia landed estates had been held together by the English law of entails and primogeniture. The eldest son took the inheritance, and debts could not reach it. Thus monopoly and privilege joined hands with the usual results. Mr. Jefferson attacked and overthrew this undemocratic system. The English Church had been "established" by law, supported by taxes, and thus furnished

with ample revenues from the public treasury. Mr. Jefferson combated the establishment, separated the Church from the State, and left the Episcopalians to live as other denominations lived, on the voluntary offerings of the believers. A thorough-going democrat as ever lived, Mr. Jefferson feared ignorance and superstition, realising that the masses must be educated if republican government was to succeed. He proposed an elaborate system of state education,—the common school, the high school, the university, and the state library. His plan aroused enthusiasm, and was voted through; but the counties refused to tax themselves to support the system, and Mr. Jefferson did not live to see his pet scheme at work.

The Judiciary Act was drawn by Mr. Jefferson, creating the various courts, defining their jurisdiction, and prescribing their procedure. Some of the bar-

barities of the old code were abolished, obsolete statutes dropped, and the entire mass simplified. The laws on the subject of slavery were merely codified into a new bill; but Mr. Jefferson prepared an amendment which was to have been offered at the proper time. This amendment provided for the gradual emancipation of the negroes, their removal from this country, and the supplying of their place by the importation of white immigrants from Europe. The proper time for this amendment did not arrive. All of Jefferson's friends — Colonel Bland's fate being fresh in the memory — shirked the glories of martyrdom. And so Virginia drifted blindly, blindly toward the breakers, refusing to heed the pilot who would have saved her.

Mr. Jefferson had not found his labour as reformer light or pleasant. He aroused fierce opposition and rancorous resentment. The church people never forgave him for making the priest take

his hands out of the public treasury. The landed gentry hated him as long as he lived because he had cut the ground from under the feet of aristocracy.

The church establishment died hard. As a last resort, the Anglicans made common cause with the dissenters, and endeavoured to have a "general assessment" levied upon the people for the support of ministers of the gospel. This fund was to be divided among the various denominations. Hence it secured support among all, the Baptists excepted. George Washington favoured it. So did Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry; but George Mason and James Madison fought it down.

Mr. Jefferson was most earnest in his effort to establish complete religious freedom. He drafted a bill for that purpose, but it could not then be passed. In 1786 it became a law, and Mr. Jefferson in his old age included it among those achievements of which he was especially proud.

Another measure proposed by Mr. Jefferson, and defeated at this time, but adopted later, was the removal of the capital from Williamsburg to Richmond. Many of those who owned property at Williamsburg, or who from sentiment opposed the change, never forgave him.

VI.

During the first three years of the war Mr. Jefferson, busy with the revision of the laws, was much with his growing family at Monticello. His brother-in-law, Dabney Carr, who had married Martha Jefferson in 1765, had died at the very dawning of greatness; and Jefferson had taken the widow and the orphans to his home. Henceforth the Carr children were treated as his own.

In 1779 Mr. Jefferson was elected governor of Virginia by a small majority over his old friend, John Page. For his own fame and peace of mind it would have been better not to have accepted this office. It was the dark period of the Revolutionary War. The people were despondent; and the state was well nigh exhausted, not of men, but of munitions of war.

In April, 1780, came a letter from

James Madison, who was in Congress, stating that Washington's army was short of bread, nearly out of meat, and was on the point of dissolution. He said that the treasury was empty, the public credit gone, the currency nearly worthless, the states pulling one way and Congress another, and everything in extremity. He might have added that there were feuds in each state, in Congress, and in the army, that there was a party in Congress and in the army bitterly hostile to Washington. He might have completed the picture by saying that on the track of the ragged, hungry, barefooted army hung the vultures,—the speculators, the forestallers, the embezzlers, who were robbing in every possible way the Congress, the people, and the soldier.

It was dreary work which fell on Jefferson. Already Virginia had sent 4,500 troops to the army; but the cry was still for more,—more men, provisions, arms,

wagons, horses, tents, money, anything and everything an army needs. Jefferson was busy; and he was earnest, and he was effective, there can be no doubt about that. Virginia was raked fore and aft for supplies; and, where voluntary contributions stopped, impressments began. He did not spare his own farms. To Gates, in North Carolina, he forwarded troops and supplies, much to the dismay of the Virginians, who dreaded invasion themselves. At Camden General Gates lost all that Jefferson had sent, and much more besides.

With the new year 1781 began Virginia's worst troubles. British vessels came up the James, bringing troops commanded by Arnold. He landed at Westover, and marched upon Richmond. There were no forces to oppose him. Too much time had been lost in guessing whose fleet it was and where bound. The legislature of Virginia in session at Richmond scattered. Gover-

nor Jefferson got into a state of great activity, superintended the removal of public stores and papers, and did all that could be done without troops. Arnold took possession of Richmond, rioted, looted, and destroyed at his pleasure, and carried away as much plunder as he could move. Jefferson galloped from place to place in the vicinity, doing his utmost to keep pace with events, rode his horse to death, carried saddle and bridle to a farm-house, mounted an unbroken colt, continued to ride, and thus kept in view of an outrage which he could neither prevent nor punish. The Virginia militia came pouring in just as Arnold went pouring out, and Jefferson was left to bear the unjust censure of critics who claimed that the affair could have been managed better.

The month of May, 1781, came. Cornwallis had at last marched up from the south, and was making for the heart

of Virginia. By May 20 he was at Petersburg.

The Virginia legislature, after having dodged about from place to place, was in session at Charlotteville. The governor was at Monticello with his family. Jefferson's term had expired with June 1, but no successor had been elected. On June 4, before sun-up, came a messenger, who had ridden fast and far, to tell the governor that the British were coming. Tarleton and his band hoped to be able to capture the state government, and but for a slight delay would have done so. Legislators broke for the woods once more; and Mr. Jefferson, after having first sent his family to a place of refuge, went off on foot, just as the British began mounting the hill. A servant held a saddle-horse ready near by, and the governor rode away to rejoin his family. He acted as governor no more.

Tarleton's men did no damage at Mon-

ticello, but Lord Cornwallis wreaked vengeance on Jefferson's farm at Elk Hill. Grain, provisions, cattle, were seized, fences and growing crops were destroyed, the throats of colts were cut, and the fine horses taken. Thirty negroes were carried off, to die of fever and small-pox in British camps.

So wide-spread was the feeling of dissatisfaction with Mr. Jefferson that there was some talk of an impeachment. A young member named Nicholas — member from Albemarle, at that — moved resolutions of inquiry. To meet his accusers, Mr. Jefferson offered himself for re-election to the legislature for his county of Albermarle, and was unanimously elected. He challenged the investigation in the legislature, but no accusers appeared. He was furnished, however, with a list of the objections which had been urged against his administration ; and he replied to them. There the matter dropped. His friends fol-

lowed up the advantage by securing the adoption of a resolution in which the legislature thanked him for his "impartial, upright, and attentive administration." But the incident wounded Mr. Jefferson deeply; and he retired to private life, vowing that he would serve the people no more.

VII.

After having been hunted out of Charlottesville by Tarleton, the legislature found it difficult to assemble a quorum; but on June 12 William Nelson was elected governor to succeed Mr. Jefferson.

Weary of the years of toil he had undergone, cut to the heart by the censures which had been heaped upon his administration, and anxious about his beloved wife whose health had given way under so many shocks, Mr. Jefferson remained in retirement at a distant farm all the summer of 1781.

M. de Marbois, secretary of the French legation at Philadelphia, had asked Mr. Jefferson for certain information concerning Virginia, expecting, no doubt, a brief reply in the usual style of statistical reports. There were twenty-three questions to be answered, and a page to each would probably have been as much as

the Frenchman cared to read. Mr. Jefferson relished the task so keenly that his report (*Notes on Virginia*) makes a printed book of three hundred and thirty-six pages,— a remarkable and valuable work. It is a wilderness of dry facts and figures, but the genius of the author makes it blossom as the rose. Writing at leisure during his summer vacation, far from noise and interruption, Mr. Jefferson poured forth the fulness of a rich mind, supplied a complete handbook of Virginia, and sowed it with profound reflections, which even now the student of human affairs may read with profit.

In May, 1782, Mrs. Jefferson gave birth to their sixth child, and was never able to be up again. She lingered on until September, tenderly nursed by her husband, who rarely left her bedside day or night. When she died, he was led from the room, staggering from the blow; and, on reaching the library, he

fainted. For many weeks he suffered all the tortures of the greatest of griefs; and to this succeeded a stupor from which nothing seemed able to arouse him.

Friends in Congress, in deep sympathy with him, thought he might now be drawn back into public life. He was elected to the Peace Commission which was negotiating with Great Britain, and accepted; but, before he could sail for Europe, news came that the preliminaries had already been signed.

On June 6, 1783, the Virginia legislature elected him to Congress. By that body he was given a flattering reception, was appointed to the most important committees, and he was soon steeped in congenial work. He acted as chairman of the committee which arranged the ceremonial of Washington's resignation as commander-in-chief. The speech of General Mifflin, president of Congress, on that occasion is credited

to Mr. Jefferson, and is, perhaps, the most beautiful of his compositions.

During this session, Gouverneur Morris's plan for a national currency was acted upon by Congress, its leading feature being the decimal notation, and its unit being one-fourteen hundredths of a dollar. Mr. Jefferson heartily approved the decimal principle, but contended that the unit was too cumbersome. In lieu thereof, he proposed the dollar as the unit of value. His reasoning was conclusive, and his plan was adopted. In this way he earned the right to be called the father of the American dollar.

At this session, Mr. Jefferson tendered to Congress the deed of cession by which Virginia made over the North-west Territory to the federal government; and he drew up the plan for its temporary administration. His proposition to abolish slavery in the new territories after the year 1800 was rejected by one vote. A New Jersey member who fa-

voured the measure was absent, and thus the course of history was probably changed by the negligence of a single Congressman. In Jefferson's report on this territorial question occurs for the first time the suggestion of the plan by which future states could be admitted into the Union. He proposed a bill for the location and sale of the public lands, but it failed to pass. He likewise made the attempt to breathe some life into the central government by creating committees which should wield executive powers during adjournments of Congress. The plan was tried, and would not work. As chairman of committee, it was his pleasure to sign the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, which established the independence of the United States.

VIII.

In May, 1784, Congress appointed Mr. Jefferson minister plenipotentiary to act with Dr. Franklin and John Adams in negotiating treaties of commerce with European nations. Mr. Jefferson set out for France in July, 1784, taking with him his eldest daughter Martha. His two other daughters (sole survivors of all his children) he left in Virginia with their aunt, Mrs. Eppes.

Dr. Franklin was already in France, and Mr. Adams in Holland. Mr. Jefferson reached Paris August 6, 1784; and the three ministers were soon in consultation. They drew up such a treaty as they wished to get signed — a highly moral, humane, and progressive document — but Europe declined to sign. The new-born republic did not inspire confidence, and its commerce was underrated. "Old Frederick of Prussia" met the American overtures cordially, but other monarchs held aloof.

In 1785 Mr. Adams was appointed minister to England, Dr. Franklin obtained leave to return home, and Mr. Jefferson remained in Paris as sole minister of the United States to France. One was enough. The duties of the office consisted mainly in keeping up a respectable appearance, urging commercial concessions, entertaining all Americans who happened to pass that way, executing commissions for friends at home, and meeting with dignified refusal the various hungry creditors who demanded that he should pay the debts of the United States. Mr. Jefferson measured up to the requirements of the position as well as any man who could have been selected.

He rented and sumptuously furnished a palace, entertained much elegant company, and royally spent his nine-thousand-dollar salary, and more besides, in keeping up a creditable appearance. He urged commercial questions upon

the French government with tireless persistence. In speech and in writing, month in and month out, he discussed tobacco, rice, salted meat, salted fish, and whale oil, until there was nothing more to be said with effect or heard with patience upon the dreaded subjects.

He executed all sorts of commissions for societies, colleges, friends individual and friends collective — philosophical apparatus, recent agricultural inventions, improved implements and seeds, a watch for Madison, a lamp for R. H. Lee, books for Wythe and Edmund Randolph — with all the zeal of a young Congressman serving an old constituency. Hungry creditors were fed on great expectations; and, when such creditors had the bad taste to complain of the diet, Mr. Jefferson firmly shut off communications. It is probable that Mr. Jefferson never enjoyed five years of public service so much as he did those spent

in Europe. He placed his daughter at the best convent school in Paris, and was free to travel about and see everything. He studied the people, the laws, the government, the architecture, the canals, the commerce, the agriculture, and manufactures with never-failing interest.

Early in 1786 he went to London to assist Mr. Adams in negotiating a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and to effect some arrangement with the Barbary powers. Neither with Christians nor Mohammedans could the Americans prevail. England was already enjoying, unconditionally, the American trade; and she preferred to let well enough alone. The Barbary States, exercising the right to capture and hold to ransom such Christian vessels as sailed Mohammedan waters without license, would not surrender such a principle unless paid a tribute. Europe had recognised this right, and had established the precedent

of paying the tribute. The American ministers were not prepared to pay, and therefore the negotiations fell through.

Adams favoured tribute, Jefferson war. When the corsairs seized an American vessel, and held the crew in captivity, Mr. Jefferson at once drew up an elaborate paper on the subject. He proposed that a European alliance should be formed, each of the contracting nations to furnish a frigate, and that war should be made on Morocco, Tripoli, Algiers, and Tunis — the offending infidel States. The plan was really fine, needing only the frigates. Europe naturally waited for Mr. Jefferson to produce his frigate. He could not do so, and his well-laid scheme went to nothing.

Mr. Jefferson was presented at the English court, was duly stared at, superciliously passed over, and treated to a proper turn of the royal back. He was so outraged by the contemptuous insolence shown him that he could never afterwards think of it with comfort.

Returning to France, Mr. Jefferson resumed his labours in behalf of American commerce. In September, 1786, while out for a walk, he fell and fractured his wrist. Bad surgery caused the injury to become permanent, one consequence of which was that the beloved violin had to be laid aside. Advised to try the waters at Aix, he set out upon a tour which extended through southern France and northern Italy. Travelling by easy stages in his own carriage, with post horses, he took time to study the soil, the products, and the people, making notes of things which interested him. Excepting the journal of Arthur Young, we know of no description of the French people which more satisfactorily pictures the situation prior to the Revolution than the journal of Mr. Jefferson. Wherever he went, his genuine sympathy for the common people found expression. He noted their dress, food, work, wages, farm tools, huts, general

condition. Even to this day there is a glow of colour upon his picture of the life of the wretched peasantry of France, ground down by the lords of the Church and the State. In his letters home his indignation breaks out: "It is a government of wolves over sheep," "a true picture of the country to which they say we shall pass hereafter, and where we are to see God and his angels in splendour, and crowds of the damned trampled under their feet."

In 1787 Mr. Jefferson's daughter Maria joined him in Paris, where she, too, was placed in a convent school. His youngest child had died at the home of Mrs. Eppes in 1785.

In March, 1787, he went to Holland to aid Mr. Adams in making satisfactory arrangements with the Dutch bankers who had loaned the colonies money when no others would do it. The United States was not ready to pay; and the old loan was adjusted by making a new one,

subject to the approval of Congress. Before returning to France, Mr. Jefferson made a tour through Germany.

With the Revolutionary movement in France it was natural that he should sympathise. So long as he remained in the country, he was as actively its friend and counsellor as a minister could possibly be. Lafayette and other liberal nobles sought his advice. Montmorin, the king's minister, encouraged him to give it; and the bishop of Bordeaux, chairman of the committee whose duty it was to draft the Constitution, invited Jefferson to attend the sittings. This high compliment he could not accept, but he did prepare a programme for both king and people. He proposed that Louis should come forward and put himself at the head of the Revolution, and grant a charter of liberties such as would change France into a constitutional monarchy. Louis had no policy, the nobles who then controlled him would

make no such concessions; and, when a more liberal, better frightened crowd got hold of him, the reformers wanted concessions more sweeping, and thus each party went its own way — Louis to the scaffold, and the Revolutionists to the Terror.

In 1789 Mr. Jefferson applied for leave of absence, intending to return to France after a five months' vacation at home. He obtained leave, reached Monticello by Christmas, 1789, was given a touching welcome by neighbours, friends, relatives, and slaves, and never left native land again.

IX.

During a part of the time spent by Mr. Jefferson in southern France and Italy,—gazing with rapture at choice bits of ancient architecture, peering into the pots of the peasants to find what the rustics fed on, exploring the mysteries of cheese-making, vine-dressing, and rice-hulling,—a select body of American statesmen, sitting with closed doors in Philadelphia, were busily at work framing an entirely new government for the United States.

Mr. Jefferson had not been satisfied with the old Confederation, mainly because the central government was vested with no power over the citizen. It could only act upon the states; and, when the states chose not to be acted on, there was inglorious paralysis. Mr. Jefferson had spoken clearly of the necessity of laying the rod on some of the states, holding that where two parties

enter into a compact, there resulted a power in either to compel the other to carry it out. Hence he was in sympathy with the movement to have necessary changes made in the Articles of Confederation. The central government must have exclusive control of national affairs and foreign relations, with power to act upon the citizens of the states directly: while the states must be left in possession of what concerned their own home affairs.

When Mr. Madison forwarded to his friend Jefferson a copy of the completed Constitution, his friend Jefferson was startled and dissatisfied. The liberties of the citizen were not sufficiently guarded, there was no bill of rights, no precaution against monopolies and standing armies. Freedom of conscience and of speech was not guaranteed, and the right of *habeas corpus* was not made secure. Presidents might succeed themselves indefinitely, and thus become

kings. Nevertheless, he reluctantly gave his support to the Constitution, trusting to amendments to cure its defects. Therefore, when the state's-rights men had their one chance to enforce their views by holding off Virginia's ratification, Patrick Henry and George Mason got no help from Jefferson. On the contrary, Mr. Madison used with effect a letter from Jefferson, in which he advised that the Constitution be ratified, subject to amendment.

Mr. Jefferson was still abroad when the new government went into operation. About the time when he sat himself down at Nancy to write out the mathematical formula for the mould-board of a turn-plough, President Washington, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay were tugging with might and main, in New York, to make the new machinery of constitutional government work.

So it was that when Mr. Jefferson

reached home from Europe, and accepted Washington's repeated invitation to enter the cabinet as Secretary of State, he was very decidedly in the position of the sleeper who wakes too late. Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, had already gathered into his strong hands the reins of power, formulated the plans which were to dwarf the states, drawn to his support the capitalists and the speculators, laid hold of the principle that the government was greater than the Constitution, and was steering boldly, steering with dauntless resolution, toward nationality and imperialism.

A heated debate was in progress on the question of the assumption of state debts when Mr. Jefferson arrived in New York. Madison led the opposition ; and Hamilton stood repulsed, not defeated. To whom should he turn for aid but to Jefferson? He met that unsuspecting philosopher in the street,

walked him up and down before the president's door for half an hour, told him the Union was in danger, New England about to secede, a general smash-up impending, and appealed to Jefferson to save the young republic.

Jefferson fell into the snare. A dinner at Jefferson's was agreed on — one of those nice, quiet, harmless little dinners at which so many Samsons lose hair. Several friends were to meet Jefferson and Hamilton, to talk matters over. The day came, the guests came, the dinner came and was eaten. Then the political trader cast his net. The East wants assumption of state debts? Yes. The South wants the federal city located on the Potomac? Yes. Both measures at present stand at bay for the lack of a few votes? Yes. It so happens that those who want assumption oppose the Potomac, and that those who want the Potomac oppose assumption? Yes. Then why not do a little bargain-

ing? No sooner said than done; and Hamilton carried assumption, while the South got Washington City.

This bargain soon became a thorn in the side of Mr. Jefferson, and its wound long rankled. He claimed that Hamilton had duped him.

Mr. Hamilton, born in the British West Indies, remained more or less alien in feeling to the country of his adoption, and made no secret of his preference for English institutions. With an adventurer's natural sense of his own weakness, he clung to the rich and the great, becoming their advocate and leader in the United States, much as two other upstarts, Canning and Disraeli, did in Great Britain. William Pitt himself did not despise "the mob" with more heartiness than Alexander Hamilton. According to his view, it had pleased the Almighty to create just a very few men who deserved to enjoy a monopoly of the good things of government. For these

select worthies the banquet of national favours was to be spread, and they were welcome to eat, drink, and be merry; for on the morrow they would not die, but would feast again — they or their offspring. "The mob," "the unwashed multitude," the unfavoured mass of the people, were to be content with such crumbs, scraps, and bones as might be flung to them after the banquet was over; and the resignation with which they devoured these leavings was to be sweetened by the remembrance that their labour had furnished the feast.

In Great Britain these happy results had been brought about by certain class regulations which courts had consented to call laws. God pity the man who can read some of the things they call laws, and not have eyes that are dimmed with tears!

In England they had a funding system, by means of which a perpetual debt, an everlasting burden, was fixed

to the backs of "the mob," who were thus held in bondage from age to age, labouring patiently for those who owned the debt. In England they had a banking system, wherein the sovereign power to create money was handed over to a private corporation, the public credit farmed out to speculators, and commerce of all kinds held in subjection to the banks. In England they had a protective system, whereby the government favoured certain industries at the expense of others. The many who were robbed by this system were asked to submit cheerfully on the plea that the nation, as a whole, would be benefited by the spoliation. If the class which was robbed saw in this plea a principle which would excuse any other robber whatever, it was because of the perversity of their hearts, — a perversity incident to neglect of education in the mysteries of legislation.

Hamilton looked upon these English

institutions, saw that they were good, and straightway imported them. In England they had established a partnership between the government and the privileged. Hamilton hoped and believed they would, in the course of time, bear the same fruits here. For that purpose he introduced them. For that reason Jefferson opposed them. The citizen of the United States who can at this day look abroad on the Republic, and be certain that Jefferson's fears and Hamilton's hopes have not been realised, belongs to the type of man we call optimistic.

President Washington believed himself to be non-partisan. In fact, he was a Federalist. No matter how earnestly he might seek advice, no matter how long he might hesitate, he never failed to go with Hamilton on the vital questions necessary to Hamilton's system.

The tremendous centralising tendencies which were coiled within the meas-

ures already alluded to were strengthened by another. Implied powers in the federal government were boldly asserted, and thus a doctrine was established which, when wedded to the general welfare clause, swept states'-rights out of the way, and founded imperialism.

Mr. Jefferson's work as Secretary of State, while plentiful, was not very heavy, save as it brought him into conflict with Hamilton. There it was decidedly heavy. The two were "pitted against each other constantly, like fighting cocks"; and for this kind of thing Jefferson had the least possible taste. He dearly loved to draw up a plan of battle, and he dearly loved to see some one else do the fighting. Gentle, prudent, politic, he shrank instinctively from quarrels, angry debates, and personal collisions. The clash of ideas was music to his ears; and, in marshalling the cohorts of one principle against

another on paper, he was Napoleonic. When, however, it came to a clash of men, or when the discussion of ideas degenerated into personalities, Mr. Jefferson preferred to soar above the storm, and let it rage beneath him.

Fighting the battles of Hamilton, during these days came *Fenno's Gazette*, a paper in which the financial secretary was glorified in a manner highly exasperating to Jefferson, Madison, and friends. Such a devil must be fought with fire, and the Virginians brought Freneau to town. Freneau had some literary reputation, had written much rhyme which passed for poetry with the credulous, and was, in fact, as ready a man with pen, partisanship, and political gall as one would care to meet. Upon Madison's recommendation, Jefferson found a soft place for Freneau in the government service,—a place in which abundant leisure and a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars

invited the poet to abide. In a short while Freneau's *National Gazette* was launched. *Fenno's Gazette* had vented much contempt upon the Constitution. "The shilly-shally thing" had offended Republicans by publishing a "court circular" of the doings of society in the presidential circle, and had opened its columns to John Adams's "Discourses on Davila," in which discourses there were sentiments no good Republican could endure. Freneau understood that he was set up to counteract all this, that he was brought on the arena to fight; and at it he went. He slashed away at Hamilton — Hamilton's pet measures, Hamilton's pet doctrines, and Hamilton's corrupt squadron of henchmen — with growing gusto and unquenchable zeal. Presently the missiles flew higher than Hamilton, and Washington himself was irreverently handled. Not wishing the President to remain in ignorance of what one of his clerks thought of him,

Freneau had the impudence to send three copies of his paper regularly to the Presidential mansion.

"That damned rascal, Freneau," caused the Father of his Country to become "warm and sore"; and Jefferson was spoken to on the subject. Nevertheless, the clerk held his position.

The Federalists, of course, loudly berated Jefferson, accusing him of inspiring Freneau's attacks. This was denied at the time, both by Jefferson and his clerk. Much later in his life Freneau changed his mind about it, and admitted that Jefferson had taken an active part in the crusade.

Hamilton grew restive under the assaults, took up the controversy himself, passed Freneau over, struck full at Jefferson, hoping to draw that sedate philosopher into the fray. The effort failed. Jefferson's friends swarmed about Hamilton, jabbing at him wher-

ever they could. Jefferson himself held prudently aloof. Not until Washington, in his grandly pacific way, intervened, trying to allay the strife between his two secretaries, did Mr. Jefferson speak out. Then, indeed, he expressed himself elaborately in a letter which was, in effect, a complete vindication of himself and a sweeping arraignment of his opponent.

The Revolution in France having guillotined the king, Washington's cabinet was agitated by several problems growing out of that event. France and England were about to go to war: was the United States to be neutral? The French Republic had commissioned a minister to the United States: was he to be received?

To each of these questions the cabinet answered, Yes.

Genet, the French minister, came, and with him came a very lively series of complications. He was quite a

young man, ardent and excitable by nature; was imbued with the spirit of the great Revolution; and, when he landed at Charleston, he was bubbling over with enthusiasm for liberty, equality, and fraternity. He had heard of our young and rising Republic, had been told that French armies, French fleets, French supplies, and French money had borne a somewhat conspicuous share in wresting the colonies from the grip of Great Britain; and he did not doubt for a moment that he would be welcomed in America with open arms. France was now battling against England for her own freedom. What more natural than that the French minister should expect sympathy and encouragement in the United States? That was all Genet expected: "We want no help from you. We only want the sympathy and kindness which a friend shows when one is in distress."

Genet asked little, and got less. The first official with whom he came in con-

tact was old General Moultrie, then governor of South Carolina. Genet asked Moultrie for leave to commission privateers. The old soldier, unacquainted with international law, and not familiar with any other sort, told Genet that "he knew of no law against it." The Frenchman straightway began to issue the commissions he had brought over, and privateers began to make search on the high seas for English vessels weaker than themselves. Leaving these fires burning brightly in his rear, Genet set out for Philadelphia, received rousing ovations on the way, was feasted, toasted, cheered, and harangued, until he was thoroughly assured that the American heart was as warm as his own. When the ovations were all over, when banquets, addresses, toasts, balls, street parades, and miscellaneous raptures were ended, Genet came in contact with Washington's government; and he must have felt as the swimmer might, who finishes a bath in

the Gulf Stream by taking a seat on an iceberg.

George Washington's own personal brand of austere dignity is conceded to have been the most overpowering thing of the kind ever seen on this continent. The story goes that Gouverneur Morris, upon a wager with Hamilton, once dared to lay his hand familiarly upon Washington's shoulder,—once and only once. Morris shivered and shook as he fell back in disorder before the cold, surprised stare of the Washington eye. Genet,—one instinctively pities Genet. He came hot, panting, and enthusiastic into the presidential presence; and a frost smote him and withered him. The sudden pain was more than the young Frenchman could bear, and his cries scandalised the presidential court. Once upon a time another young man from France, bubbling over with republican enthusiasm, had come to visit the great Washington; and the great Washington

had not been quite so cold as this. Now it was all different, and Genet could not be made to understand the change at all. He lost temper, used language diplomacy condemned, did things neutrality could not permit, and behaved so naturally (and therefore so imprudently) that even Jefferson had to use the rod on his indignant back. France agreed to recall him; and Genet, perhaps afraid to go, married Governor Clinton's daughter, and settled in New York.

In spite of Washington's earnest request that he would remain in the cabinet, Mr. Jefferson resigned at the end of 1794. Back to his mountain home he hurried, declaring that he was done with public life forever. Henceforth he would find happiness in his books, his farms, his family.

The British debt had swept away huge slices of his land, but he still owned ten thousand acres. In his absence the property had suffered, and was now in a

general state of dilapidation. Shunning politics and reading but one newspaper, he plunged into the luxuries of farming, gardening, and house-building. His travels in Europe had given him many new ideas, and he was eager to indulge his taste for experiment. Some portions of his mansion were torn down to make way for more artistic and more expensive designs. The gardens and parks of the Old World had excited his admiration, hence other touches had to be given to gardens and grounds at Monticello. European agriculture had appealed to his love of orderly progress: hence his farms had to be divided anew, fruit-tree hedges run along the dividing lines, the crops and the method of planting changed. Thus, in the midst of his debts, Mr. Jefferson mapped out pleasant occupations, which added greatly to the beauty of his estate and to the ugliness of his financial situation.

On the Rivanna he had built a flour-

mill, which cost him thirty thousand dollars; and here his wheat, and that of his neighbours, was ground. He had set up a small factory, in which the wool crop was made into cloth. Blacksmith shops on the place produced nails as well as other farm supplies, the surplus being sold at a fair profit.

There was live stock of the usual sort in plenty; the farms were provisioned on home-raised meat; there were fruits, melons, vegetables, milk, butter, mutton, beef, and pork in abundance,—plenty to eat and plenty to wear, good houses to live in, fuel to burn, wine to drink, tobacco to chew or smoke. But cash was scarce at Monticello, as it seems to have been at most of the proud, feudal homes of the Old South. Virginia farmers, as a rule, did not keep books very carefully. Allowance was not made for the wear and tear of land, nor for slave labour. Hence capital might be farmed away, while the figures proved a profit.

Book-keeping might say success, while facts proclaimed bankruptcy.

Mr. Jefferson was an example of the rule. He meandered along composedly with his expensive mansion, his unlimited hospitality, his experimental planting, his extravagant household establishment, believing in his heart of hearts that he was teaching an object-lesson hugely beneficial to agriculture; yet nothing is more obvious than that he was laying up wrath against the day of wrath, consuming his capital as well as his revenue, and allowing the thunder-cloud of his debts to darken and grow, with never a fear of the storm to come. Like his great rival, Hamilton, he could enrich a nation and stay poor. Having made it a rule, that while serving his country, he would engage in no efforts to better his fortune, his country gained and his fortune lost the undivided energies of the best years of his life.

While Mr. Jefferson's fondness for ex-

periment and his faith in novelties caused him to be ridiculed as visionary and impracticable, his passion for progress conferred lasting benefit on mankind, even in the domain of the severely practical. He introduced the heavy upland rice into Georgia and South Carolina, the olive into Georgia and Florida. He imported the merino sheep to improve the native breed. He invented a folding and a revolving chair, and an extension top for the carriage. He introduced improved machinery and progressive methods. European melons, nuts, vines, he imported and scattered broadcast among his friends. When in France, he had taken a medal awarded by the Royal Agricultural Society of the Seine for an improved plough: the model was to be seen in Paris so late as 1853.

Mr. Jefferson did not long remain wholly indifferent to public affairs. His letters began to flow after a while,

and faithful followers were not denied a word of guidance from the chief. On every important issue, as it arose, Mr. Jefferson found time to express written opinion, despite his keen interest in his "pease, lucerne, and potatoes." The excise law which had roused rebellion in Pennsylvania was an "infernal one." The Jay Treaty was a pusillanimous surrender of American rights to English greed and arrogance. The "monocrats," who had kindled his ire when he first entered Washington's cabinet, were still actively at work, Hamilton at their head, striving to put the United States under the heels of Great Britain. These wicked men had taken possession of President Washington, and were using him for unholy purposes. Such plots, such "monocrats," deserved unmeasured denunciation; and Jefferson denounced them accordingly.

Thus opposition to Federalism took

political shape under the hands of the serene gardener who bent affectionately over asparagus beds, and who noted three times a day how the wind was blowing.

Not a man who craved active leadership, not sufficiently consumed by "divine indignation" to become a zealot capable of consecrating life, peace, and fortune to a mission, Mr. Jefferson was one of the most earnest, sincere, unselfish of statesmen. With infinite scorn he scouted the idea that God had given to any class of human beings a monopoly of worth. Class legislation, whether in Europe or America, he abhorred. He believed in the people, loved them, trusted them, and relied upon the masses as the safest repositories of power. The governing few were the same everywhere — greedy, corrupt, tyrannical. Let government rest upon the masses, educate the masses, throw open the doors of opportunity to the masses, grant no

special privileges, legislate for no class, mete out equal and exact justice to all, steer clear of Old World abuses, guard well the reserved rights of the people, watch jealously the encroachments of power. He believed in "free trade with all the nations of the world"; in a national currency created and controlled by the nation, and not by the banks; in economy of administration, so that there should be no public debt. He was in principle opposed to militarism and to imperialism. He believed that a nation's true prosperity could best be reached by the steady development incident to peace and to friendly relations with all the nations of the earth. So democratic that he disliked all titles, even those of Mister and Esquire, his cardinal doctrine was "equal and exact justice to all men"; and he favoured a progressive tax on property in order that excessive accumulations might be discouraged.

Writing from France to Mr. Madison, he said that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living," and that "the dead have no dominion over it." He added that the debts of one generation should not bind another.

Technically, this is known as "dangerous ground," ours being a system which is overshadowed and benumbed by the Past.

So jealously did he watch the encroachment of government that he rather sympathised with popular insurrections, holding that they were necessary to the health of society, as the occasional storm was to the purity of the atmosphere. At what point a rebellion might cease to be healthy, he failed to state. As with his storm, the classification could only be made after the disturbance was over.

With these intense radical opinions it is not surprising that so able a man as Mr. Jefferson should see a party rally-

ing around him. Profoundly attached to the cause of the common people, his own spirit moved over the great deep of American politics, inspiring the masses with his own faith and aspirations.

When the presidential election of 1796 came on, Jefferson, who had been put in nomination by the Republican caucus at Philadelphia, who had not stirred from Monticello nor taken part in the campaign, missed the election by a scratch. Under the old system of presidential elections the candidate who received the highest number of electoral votes became president, and he who received the next highest became vice-president. Thus Adams and Jefferson were each candidate for the highest office; and Jefferson, though beaten for the first place, secured the second. A change of two votes from Adams to himself would have made him the successor of Washington. This brilliant

result of the campaign was largely due to the masterly management by which New York had been wrested from Hamilton and Schuyler by Aaron Burr.

X.

One of the things which reconciled Mr. Jefferson to a return to office was the salary. His affairs had become so embarrassed that ready money was in great demand with him. Besides, the duties of the vice-presidency were not exacting. They would claim but a small part of each year, and the remainder he could spend at Monticello.

In the course of his studies, which ranged far and wide, he had given much attention to parliamentary law and had made copious notes, according to his usual rule. Now that he was presiding officer of the Senate, this knowledge became specially useful to him. To give others the benefit of his studies of the subject, he published his *Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, which became a guide-book in the dark and dismal swamp called Parliamentary Law.

The quarrels with France were the

source of tribulation under the administration of Mr. Adams. Our sister Republic had been treated so much like an hereditary enemy, had been made so angry by the conduct of Gouverneur Morris, by the Jay Treaty, and by the Neutrality Proclamation, that it became belligerent, began to seize our merchant vessels, and practically drove our minister, Pinckney, out of the country. Hamilton and most of the Federalists clamoured for war. Adams did not love Hamilton, and persisted in the policy of peace. A grand embassy, composed of Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, was sent to negotiate. When these special envoys arrived in Paris, they found a corrupt Directory in possession of the government, and the corrupt Talleyrand in possession of the Directory. Did the Americans want something? Then they must pay for it. By this simple rule Talleyrand was doing business, and to make an exception here would breed

trouble yonder. The Americans must make the government a loan and Talleyrand a gift. How much for the loan? Apparently, five million dollars. How much for Talleyrand? Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in gold. "Not a sixpence!" replied the dumbfounded American envoys. "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute!"

In spite of this noble sentiment the indignant ministers found themselves completely balked,— standing on the wrong side of inexorable conditions. They remonstrated, protested, spun out lengthy discourse, all to no purpose. Talleyrand wined and dined Gerry informally: Gerry wined and dined Talleyrand informally. No farther could the business travel. Thus it was for six months, when Pinckney and Marshall sailed homeward, leaving Gerry in Paris. Disclosures following the return of the envoys, indignation flamed out all over the Union. Pinckney and Mar-

shall were toasted as heroes, Gerry universally damned. The "X. Y. Z." correspondence, as it was called, drove the country into a martial fever. Before long Talleyrand let it be known that peace could be made without gold. Gerry came to America, sought out the president at Quincy, had a private interview, convinced him that France wanted peace, and the attempt was made. It succeeded, and the war-cloud passed away.

It was while the country was wrought up over these questions that the Federalists enacted the Alien and Sedition laws, which caused Virginia to prepare herself to resist the encroachments of the central government, and which called forth the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, drafted by Madison and Jefferson. In these celebrated Resolutions, around which raged such hot political battles afterward, extreme state-rights were proclaimed, and the doctrine of nullification set forth.

While Mr. Jefferson gave freest expression to such opinions as these, he was equally forcible in condemning secession. When John Taylor suggested that the time had come for North Carolina and Virginia to walk out of the Union, he was met by Mr. Jefferson's firm protest that such a policy would lead to the breaking up of the Confederacy "into their simple units."

For the presidential campaign of 1800 the Federalists renominated Mr. Adams, and the Republicans Mr. Jefferson. The Federalists were beaten by eight electoral votes.

During the campaign, Jefferson was assailed with unsparing and unscrupulous violence. He was an atheist; he poisoned the minds of the young with heresy; he was the father of mulatto children; he had robbed the widow and orphans of a dead friend of fifty thousand dollars; he despised mechanics; was an enemy to the Constitution,

and meant to subvert it. "Mr. Jefferson's Congo Harem" was a party cry, and "Dusky Sally" Henning's brats were reported to have angular faces and sandy hair. But Jefferson's popularity kept marching on, and the campaign liar was swept far out to oblivion.

XI.

EACH of the Republican nominees, Jefferson and Burr, had received the same number of votes. Under the old rule there was no election, and the choice of president fell to the House of Representatives. So intense was Federalist hatred of Jefferson that they schemed to set aside the will of the people, and to make Burr the president. Burr himself remained at Albany, wrote a brief, positive note, denouncing the intrigue; and his friends in Congress refused to make the pledges which Bayard, in behalf of the Federalists, demanded.

In a letter to his daughter Martha, bearing date January 4, 1801, Mr. Jefferson writes: "The Federalists were confident at first they could debauch Col. B. from his good faith, by offering him their vote to be president, and have seriously proposed it to him. His con-

duct has been honourable and decisive, and greatly embarrasses them."

This favourable opinion Mr. Jefferson soon dropped, but just why and when cannot be shown.

If Burr cherished any secret hopes that the presidency might be thrust upon him, they were soon dashed to the ground. Hamilton could not bear the idea that his rival should win the prize, made desperate efforts to pull away from Burr the Federalist support, wrote violently abusive letters against him, and thus, perhaps, took the first long step toward the duelling ground of Weehawken. Gouverneur Morris went with Hamilton, throwing his influence to Jefferson; and, when Jefferson's friends (without his knowledge) made the pledges Bayard demanded, Jefferson received the necessary votes in the House.

Mr. Adams took his defeat so much to heart that he left Washington before the inauguration. On foot and attended

informally by a few friends, Mr. Jefferson went to the Capitol, and read his noble first Inaugural Address.

Under Washington's administration, where all was new and experimental, many royal forms and ceremonies had been followed. Washington was something of a "My Lord" himself; and the rich city people of New York and Philadelphia were painfully committed to the effort to be aristocratic. The presidential inauguration was patterned after a royal coronation. Congress was opened as an English king would open Parliament, court levees were held on stated days, and society adopted formidable rules of precedence.

With good-humoured contempt, Mr. Jefferson brushed all this rubbish aside. No six-horse coach, with blare of trumpet, boom of cannon, and crash of military bands, escorted him back and forth. Congress was opened by a written message handed in by a secretary, and

levees were abolished. During Washington's administration our aristocratic minister at Paris, Gouverneur Morris, had startled the French republicans by reference to what he called *ma cour.* There was no "my court" nonsense about Jefferson,—no undemocratic rules of precedence, no barriers over which one class of men and women said to another, "We are better than you." All came as equals, or not at all. The British minister was shocked at being received just as Jefferson would have received a Virginia farmer, and wrote indignant stuff to London about it. Apparently, the miserably vain minister, Mr. Merry, would have been glad to see the two nations go to war because Jefferson wore slippers about the house, and because he took Mrs. Madison in to dinner instead of Mrs. Merry. Jefferson only laughed, remembering, maybe, how he had been insulted in London.

Washington City consisted at this

time chiefly of a large diagram on paper. There was a long streak of mud called Pennsylvania Avenue, with the unfinished mansion at one end and the incomplete Capitol at the other, and a few shackly houses strewed along on each side. Living was expensive, and the expense brought no comfort. The executive mansion, as kept by Mr. Jefferson, became a free hotel of the first class, the only first-class hotel in the town; and its run of custom was the despair of inferior places. He kept a dozen servants, including French cooks, often spent fifty dollars a day at the Georgetown market, kept a wagon busy hauling the more substantial supplies from Monticello, and refreshed his guests with the best French wine they had ever tippled. His wine bill alone was twenty-seven hundred dollars a year. He kept the finest horses, his carriage team costing sixteen hundred dollars. The stable expenses of this simple

democrat were eight hundred dollars a year. Free and easy, generous and frank, liberal and genial, presidential hospitality as shown by Jefferson was such as had not been practised before, and was never seen in its full blossom afterwards.

No respectable, decently clad American citizen needed to doubt that he could dine with his chief magistrate. The only danger was that a late arrival might find no vacant chair. Merry, the English minister, made it a matter of formal complaint to his government that in the scramble for seats at Jefferson's table a mere Congressman had rushed in where angels fear to tread, and had seized the chair which Merry had mentally appropriated to himself.

On Mr. Jefferson's return from France he had created a ripple of excitement in New York society circles by his French dress, his red breeches particularly causing pain and consternation.

By the time he became president, he had grown so indifferent to clothes that a sight of him would have been refreshing to such a man as "old Frederick of Prussia."

Senator William Maclay, a Jeffersonian senator from Pennsylvania, thus describes his chief: —

"Jefferson is a slender man, has rather the air of stiffness in his manner. His clothes seem too small for him. He sits in a lounging manner, on one hip commonly, and with one of his shoulders elevated much above the other. His face has a sunny aspect. His whole figure has a loose, shackling air. He had a rambling, vacant look, and nothing of that firm, collected deportment which I expected. . . . He spoke almost without ceasing, . . . his discourse . . . was loose and rambling; and yet he scattered information wherever he went."

Augustus Foster, secretary of the British legation, wrote: —

"He was a tall man, with a very red, freckled face and grey, neglected hair. . . . He wore a blue coat, a thick, grey-coloured, hairy waistcoat, with a red under-waistcoat lapped over it, green velveteen breeches with pearl buttons, and slippers down at the heels, his appearance being very much like that of a tall, large-boned farmer."

Senator Plumer wrote: —

"He was dressed in an old brown coat, red waistcoat, old corduroy small-clothes, much-soiled woollen hose, and slippers without heels."

A hostile newspaper of the time, the *Evening Post*, testifies that he made a habit of appearing in public "dressed in long boots with tops turned down about the ankles, like a Virginia buck; overalls of corduroy, faded, by frequent immersions in soap-suds, from yellow to a dull white; a red, single-breasted waist-coat, a light brown coat with brass buttons, both coat and waistcoat quite

threadbare; linen very considerably soiled; hair uncombed and beard unshaven."

The *Evening Post* also complained that "he makes it a point, when he has occasion to visit the Capitol to meet the representatives of the nation on public business, to go on a single horse, which he leads into the shed and hitches to a peg."

Negligent in dress, easy of access, indifferent to forms and ceremonies, loose and rambling in casual conversation, lolling on one hip with one shoulder higher than the other, this freckled-faced philosopher was a rare manager of men, and one of the astutest politicians this country has ever known. He chose a cabinet of the strongest men — men of education and experience, men who were personally and politically his friends; and during his presidency there were no cabinet feuds. Madison, Gallatin, Lincoln, Dearborn, Smith, were

all kept working harmoniously together; and Congress he manipulated to perfection.

Justly offended with Mr. Adams for having crowded life appointments into the last hours of his term, Mr. Jefferson treated these "midnight appointments" as nullities; and the Judiciary Act, by which new federal courts, judges, marshals, etc., were created, was repealed. A story told by partisans of Jefferson and denied by partisans of Marshall represents the great chief justice, then acting Secretary of State, as labouring away far into the night of March 3, 1800, signing commissions for Federalists, and only stopping his work when Levi Lincoln, with Jefferson's watch in hand, walked into the office at midnight, and called a halt.

"Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" was the test which Mr. Jefferson declared he would use on applicants for office.

Yet, as the Federalists had totally excluded Jefferson's friends from the administration, it was only fair that Republicans should now get a share.

In his own quiet, leisurely way, Mr. Jefferson was a good deal of a partisan. Republicans got all the new appointments, and Federalists lost many of the old. "Few die, and none resign," is a briefer version of one of Jefferson's complaints against the office-holding Federalists; but in the end he managed to make a pretty general change in the politics of the administration. Many Federalists who were reluctant to get out by death, resignation, or removal, stayed in by professing a change of heart; for it began to be plain enough that the Federalist party was doomed. Federalism was at war with itself, Washington was dead, Hamilton was at feud with Adams, Jefferson was conciliating everybody, the country was prospering, and Republicanism had evidently come to stay.

Hamilton could rail at Jefferson from afar off. His shafts did not reach the mark.

The repeal of the Judiciary Act had excited so much antagonism that Mr. Jefferson, intensely as he disliked the federal judiciary, did not venture to proceed farther on that line, but adopted another. Impeachments might answer the purpose. Therefore Pickering, a district court judge, was arraigned, found guilty, and removed from office. He was probably insane, and his official conduct could not be defended; but when John Randolph of Roanoke, at Jefferson's instigation, brought in articles of impeachment against Chase of Maryland, a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Federalists felt that Marshall himself might come next, and they rallied to his support with the strongest array of counsel the bar could furnish. In a legal contest and pitted against the best lawyers in the

land, Randolph of Roanoke was out of his element, especially when the presiding officer of the court was Aaron Burr. The prosecution failed miserably. Chase came forth in triumph, the Federalists duly jubilating. Henceforth John Marshall was safe. Jefferson could do no more than wring his hands and tear his robe as centralism marched steadily on behind the federal judges. Previous to the adoption of the Constitution he had admitted the necessity of a Supreme Court vested with the power to set aside unconstitutional laws; but, when Washington and Adams had filled the bench with Federalists, and the decisions had proved to be as partisan as the judges, he awoke, with something akin to terror, to the power of such a tribunal. In office for life, placed beyond the reach of the people, tempted by human love of supremacy to enlarge the limits of their empire, where would the federal judiciary stop?

With the vision of a prophet, he saw this body of sappers and miners advancing with resistless steps, sapping the foundations of republican institutions. So vividly did he describe the perils of the future that we can believe he almost realised the day when federal judges would operate railways by a decree, street-cars by injunction, and use a mail-bag and the United States army to quell a local strike.

During this first term of Mr. Jefferson the internal taxes were abolished, the military and naval establishment reduced, and the expenses of administration economised. Gallatin began to pay off the public debt, and reduced it from eighty-three to forty-five millions of dollars. The repeal of the direct and excise taxes cut off a million and a half from the national revenue, but the income from customs duties increased so rapidly that in 1808 they stood at sixteen million dollars.

True to the idea he had advanced when foreign minister, Mr. Jefferson made war upon the Barbary States in the interest of free commerce. Partly by gallant fighting, partly by negotiation, the corsairs were brought to terms.

Mr. Jefferson's Indian policy was humane and statesmanlike. His kindness of feeling for the red man dated far back to the time when he had listened to the friendly chiefs who gathered at his father's house in the old home of Shadwell. Holding that the Indian title to the lands they occupied must be respected, he insisted that the red men be bought out and not shot out. To the chiefs who came to Washington to consult the Great Father he made paternal speeches, containing sage counsel. The essence of the doctrine was that the Indian should settle down, go to work, rely on industry rather than sport, renounce mean whiskey, and fall into the ways of the laborious whites.

An original expansionist, Mr. Jefferson had encouraged Western pioneers, such as the heroic George Rogers Clarke, and had long coveted the Spanish possessions in America. Therefore, he was profoundly disturbed when in 1800 Napoleon Bonaparte won back to France the empire the Bourbon had lost, and planned to colonise Louisiana. In a letter to Mr. Livingston, our minister in France, Mr. Jefferson declared that the colonising of Louisiana by France would lead to war, that the United States would make alliance with England, and that French power would sink to low-water mark. Napoleon, used to talk of this kind, paid no attention to it. Then Mr. Jefferson changed his tone. He would buy New Orleans and West Florida. Napoleon would not sell. Livingston could not even get Talleyrand to talk about it. Napoleon's plans of colonisation were complete, his ships ready to sail, when, all at once, a

cloud swept over his dazzling sky. The Peace of Amiens broken, war was about to convulse Europe. Again England held the seas, and Louisiana would be her first prize. To escape so great a shame, Napoleon had but one resource — to throw Louisiana to the United States. Quick as lightning, French policy was reversed ; and Livingston was stunned by the statement that Napoleon would sell all Louisiana. Jefferson and Livingston had been hoping against hope that New Orleans and a strip of Florida could be bought. In his eagerness and his distress, Mr. Jefferson had stooped to conciliate Talleyrand. This utterly rotten minister was assured that the American people had vindicated him from the X. Y. Z. scandal by retiring from office the bad men who had accused him! Furthermore, Mr. Jefferson had asked Congress for a special fund of two million dollars, to be used at the Presidential discretion. English newspapers

had chronicled this significant fact. It had thus come to Napoleon's knowledge, and Napoleon knew what it meant. It meant that Talleyrand's ruffled plumage was to be smoothed down with gold. Napoleon, therefore, employed Barbé-Marbois.

Monroe had been sent to aid Livingston; but, before he reached Paris, Napoleon had already instructed Marbois to sell. Livingston had not closed the trade, however; and the two American ministers, acting together and without definite instructions, assumed the responsibility of paying fifteen million dollars for all Louisiana, thus doubling the Union by a stroke of the pen. Mr. Jefferson held that his purchase of Louisiana was an act outside the Constitution, and wished to have it ratified by constitutional amendment; but his friends listened coldly, and nothing was done.

It was during the prolonged corre-

spondence on the Louisiana question that Mr. Jefferson foreshadowed the principle known as the Monroe Doctrine.

XII.

UNANIMOUSLY renominated by the Republicans in 1804, Mr. Jefferson was almost unanimously re-elected. In theory, he had been opposed to more than one term, and feared that the office might degenerate into a life tenure, and afterward become hereditary. When he himself became president, the danger did not seem so great; and a second term, he thought, would be harmless, particularly as his enemies had abused him vilely and he craved a vindication. Had he let this second term alone, his enemies would have had far less strength in their case, and he a great deal more in his. The second term came near devouring all the glory of the first; and there was some of the sting of disagreeable truth in John Randolph's comparison of Jefferson's first and second four years to Pharaoh's fat and lean kine.

The Louisiana purchase included a large portion of the present State of Texas; but, as the United States did not know of this fact and Napoleon refused to reveal it, we put forward no claim. Livingston, however, convinced himself that West Florida was included; and seems to have brought Jefferson over to that opinion. Florida had not been sold, bought, or paid for; and Spain, as well as France, denied our title. Jefferson in his message to Congress intimated that we would fight, other matters besides the land question having caused trouble between us and Spain. In diplomatic negotiations the president offered to buy Florida, and Congress was asked to furnish two millions for the President's use. These two policies, urged by Jefferson at the same time — the one public and the other secret — drove John Randolph of Roanoke into opposition; and he afterward alluded to his former chief as "St. Thomas of Cantingbury."

With his habitual diplomacy, Mr. Jefferson had continued to treat Aaron Burr with courteous distinction; but, when Burr applied to him for a foreign appointment, he refused it. Then Burr turned to New York, made the race for governor as independent candidate against the Republican nominee, and was defeated. Hamilton had again waged bitter war upon him; and Burr decided that the Empire State was not large enough for both. The duel followed; and, when Hamilton fell, he dragged Burr down with him. A few months of his vice-presidency remained. Burr continued to preside over the Senate with matchless grace and dignity, addressed it finally in the farewell speech which moved his enemies to tears, and wandered off into the tortious windings of political intrigue.

He "sounded" various public men; spread treasonable wares before the ministers of foreign governments; formed

some sort of alliance with General Wilkinson; enlisted numerous adventurers; made some preparations of boats, munitions of war, and volunteers; bought up an old Spanish land grant to four hundred thousand acres of land; talked about separating the Western States from the Union and of wresting Mexico from Spain. Whatever the design, it was nipped in the bud. Burr had talked too much: Jefferson was warned; the authorities became suspicious; Wilkinson and others rushed to cover; the conspiracy fell to pieces; and Burr was captured in Alabama, as he was trying to escape to the coast.

By the time Burr was brought to Richmond for trial, Jefferson had become imbittered against him. Therefore, the manner in which the president's political enemies received the prisoner, the social attentions they showered upon him, the banquet they spread for him, and at which the prisoner,

Burr, sat down to meat with his judge, John Marshall, aroused in the pacific soul of Jefferson the hottest indignation. The result was that a partisan president pushed the prosecution, and a partisan federal judge defended the accused. As the judge had the conclusion on the president, the result was pleasant for the prisoner. Jefferson had furnished the prosecution with encouragement, advice, legal opinion, and urgent exhortation. Unfortunately, he could not furnish evidence; and evidence was what the district attorney most needed. The case against Burr broke down, and the Federalists again celebrated a triumph.

Other humiliations crowded upon Mr. Jefferson during his second term. Spain, upheld by France, routed him in the Florida negotiations; but the English troubles were much the worst. For alleged violations of neutrality laws, our vessels were seized, and made lawful

prize, first by Great Britain and then by France. The Jay Treaty having expired in 1800, Mr. Monroe negotiated another with Great Britain, in which there was nothing said against England's practice of searching American ships for alleged deserters. On account of this and other objections, Mr. Jefferson rejected the treaty, without having taken the advice of the Senate. Great Britain continued to capture American merchantmen by the score, and to carry off American seamen by the thousand. British Orders and French Decrees dealt crushing blows to our maritime prosperity; for between these furiously struggling combatants, with their clashing Orders and Decrees, neutrals were caught as between hammer and anvil.

The contemptuous insolence with which Great Britain treated us during a part of Jefferson's administration is something to make the cheek hot to this day. It was so studied, so evidently

meant to insult, so brutally disdainful of American courage and American right, that we find ourselves asking, "How could our people have borne it?" After all, nations, like individuals, know whom to kick; and the nation which lets all the world believe that it will not fight is in big luck if only one other nation of all the world kicks it.

Just outside Hampton Roads a British warship fired upon an American frigate, killing and wounding, brought her to a stop, boarded her, searched her, carried off four of her crew.

Mr. Jefferson had neglected the navy, and the British outrage was redressed by a presidential proclamation.

"Peace is our passion," said Mr. Jefferson; and this particular passion was certainly torn to a tatter in our dealings with England. Finally, something had to be done; and the Embargo was laid, December, 1807. American ships were

kept at home, American commerce suspended, American products cut off from the markets of the world. The Embargo may have injured France, it certainly cut off much revenue from England; but it seemed to hurt us a great deal more than it hurt our enemies. England took the carrying trade away from us, and George Canning jeered at America's distress.

The Embargo fell most heavily on the Southern States, perhaps; but the fiercest opposition came from New England. Jefferson was denounced as a tool of Bonaparte, slavishly obeying orders, and seeking to cripple England in her war with France.

To his Federalist enemies, Jefferson was a transparent fraud, a corrupt, dangerous man, a blind zealot who was leading his country to ruin. Massachusetts and Connecticut passed resolutions which were in spirit similar to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of

1798–99. Disunion sentiment spread, took definite form, and threatened civil war. Back of New England, egging on her conspirators, stood Great Britain. The Republican leaders became alarmed, and Jefferson signed an act repealing the Embargo March 1, 1809.

Long prior to the Louisiana purchase, Mr. Jefferson had looked forward to the day when the Pacific Ocean would be our Western boundary. Under Lewis and Clarke, he carried into effect an early plan of his, which circumstances had delayed. The West was explored, even to the Columbia River; and thus Jefferson's foresight helped the nation later to win Oregon.

XIII.

Freed from the "splendid misery" of the presidency, Mr. Jefferson was glad to be at home again. A model ruler in peaceful times, he was not fitted by nature or training to cope with turbulent, warlike conditions; and during the last months of his term he had seemingly abandoned all efforts to guide Congress. The entire situation was carefully preserved and handed over to Mr. Madison, and a very complicated situation it proved to be.

But Jefferson was out, was glad to be out, and in his delight at being out a very large percentage of his fellow-citizens heartily partook. So much shaken was his authority that the Senate unanimously rejected the last appointment he submitted,— that of Mr. Short to be our representative at St. Petersburg.

Heavily in debt, needing to borrow ten thousand dollars to ease off the most

pressing demands, worn out with labour and cut to the quick by his loss of popularity, Mr. Jefferson sought Monticello as a storm-beaten pilgrim seeks cosy fireside and well-earned rest.

From that long ago night when he and his bride had ridden horseback through the snow up the winding road to the one finished pavilion at Monticello, and had found it dark and deserted (servants asleep in distant quarters), and had lit up the house with their happy voices, what a far cry was this! The bride — ashes many a year ago; the children — most of them dead in childhood: only the favourite daughter, Martha, now lived; and along the corridors of the mansion pattered the feet of grandchildren.

His daughter Martha had married Thomas Mann Randolph in 1790; and they, with their children, made their home at Monticello. Maria Jefferson had married John W. Eppes in 1797, and had died in 1804, leaving one child.

With public life Mr. Jefferson was now done. Out of the hurly-burly, he could view the world with all the composure of the philosopher. As the years passed on, the troubles of his second term were swallowed up in the glory of his earlier achievments; and his popularity returned.

His was the tranquil eminence of the soldier who had fought a good fight, and whose name was honoured throughout the world. Liberty, Progress, and Philanthropy were words which could not be uttered anywhere without reminding men of Jefferson. He had done for humanity, for country, for universal improvement, some work which was supremely good,—work which envy could not deny nor time deface. That he was proud of it, as every conscientious workman is proud of his work, is true.

Yet he was melancholy rather than elated. He had failed in that which he had had most at heart, and he knew it.

He had founded a party to overthrow Federalism; and, while the Federalist party had fallen, the spirit of the dying party had entered his own. The measures he most abhorred were waxing stronger every day, supported and fed by those who in lip service were his devoted followers. The consequences he had dreaded were becoming visible all about him; and, as he looked to the future, he was saddened by what he saw.

But for his debts, Mr. Jefferson's afternoon of life would have been almost cloudless. Few men had so many sources of pleasure as he, and few took so much pains to cultivate them. Kind-hearted, sociable, loving men and loving nature, he was never without occupation, and therefore never wrapped in gloom. He loved children and flowers; loved to plant and to watch the growth of seeds, vines, trees; loved books, his correspondence, and his scientific studies.

He loved to have his friends around him, and the crowds which collected around him were marvellous to behold. Such hospitality as was seen at Monticello made even Virginia stare. The relative, friend, acquaintance, stranger, native, foreigner, tourist, curiosity-seeker, all came, and all made themselves at home. They filled the house, and ate out the larder. Husbands, wives, children, nurses, servants, horses, dogs, crowded up the hill, and took possession of the premises. Some remained by the day, others by the week, a few by the month. The entire produce of the farm was not sufficient to feed the visitors, their servants and their horses. Frequently the nuisance became unbearable; and Mr. Jefferson would order the carriage, catch up the family, and flee to Poplar Forest in Bedford County, eighty odd miles away.

At the time he left the presidency Mr. Jefferson owned property worth some

two hundred thousand dollars. His debts amounted to twenty thousand dollars. On his return to Monticello the same lavish style of living which he had long indulged was adopted, and therefore the debts rapidly grew until they reached one hundred thousand dollars. A security debt (twenty thousand dollars) which he paid for his old friend, Wilson Cary Nicholas, added very heavily to his burden; and bankruptcy stared him in the face. His library was sold to Congress for twenty-three thousand dollars, and he applied to the Virginia legislature for leave to sell some of his land by lottery. The request was granted, but the lottery failed. His distress becoming generally known, subscriptions were taken up for him in several large cities, and seventeen thousand dollars realised. Mr. Jefferson, deeply touched, believed that his many troubles were past and that Monticello was safe. When he died, the debts swept all away.

In 1824 La Fayette came to Jefferson's door, and the two old men fell into each other's arms, friends standing a little apart, and looking on with moistened eyes. Jefferson suggested that Congress do something to prove national gratitude to the illustrious Frenchman, and two hundred thousand dollars, besides land, was voted.

The last great public work of Mr. Jefferson was the founding of the University of Virginia. In larger books than this should be read the story of the tact, patience, wise foresight, and tireless persistence with which the veteran of human progress managed a sluggish state government, and secured for Virginia the first of modern colleges this country had known. A pioneer in education as in everything else, Mr. Jefferson imported from abroad the system which allows the student to specialise his studies; and between all religious and political creeds he established perfect equality in the school.

Mr. Jefferson did not become physically helpless or mentally weak, as he had dreaded. To the last he was genial, kind, benevolent; to the last patient, self-reliant, clear-headed. He loved to ride his fine old horse, walk in his grounds, chat with friends, read his few remaining books. His grandchildren trooped about him fondly, went with him in his strolls, gathered fruits and flowers for him, ran races on the lawn at his signal and for his rewards. In the evenings they studied their lessons at his knee, his daughter Martha and himself overlooking the little brood, and thinking the thoughts which parents think as they look upon the young.

His end came on very gently. The last sickness was not painful, the approach to the valley was gradual and easy. He looked upon death as release from infirmity, escape from weariness and care. The final sleep passed over him like a benediction. It was noon,

July 4, 1826 ; and his thoughts had been upon the day. He had wished to live to see it, had asked during the night of the third if it were yet the Fourth.

And so, with his latest thought on the birthday of the Republic, the great, warm heart grew cold, and the tired hands found rest.

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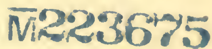
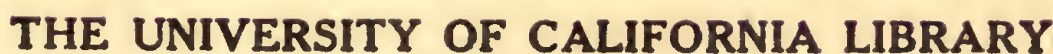
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