

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

chief end of the Virginia gentleman. Loyal to king and church, these fox-hunting, deep-drinking and gallant Virginians were ready to risk life and limb against any odds, in defence of the divine right of kings, and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Church of England.

From his four years' study of the law, and after mastering completely Coke on Lyttleton, which he had read and re-read and carefully annotated, Jefferson stepped into a world of crystallized wrong and robbery, made up from ages of legal precedent, and sanctified by so-called religion; but not in vain had he studied the black letter pages of that sterling old Whig text book, of which Jefferson afterwards wrote:

"Coke Lyttleton was the universal law book of students, and a sounder Whig never wrote, nor of profounder learning in the orthodox doctrines of the British Constitution, or in what was called British liberties.

"Our lawyers were then all Whigs. But when this black letter text and uncouth but cunning learning got out of fashion, and the honeyed Mansfieldism of Blackstone became the student's horn book, from that moment that profession (the nursery of our Congress) began to slide into Toryism, and nearly all the young brood of lawyers are now of that line. They suppose themselves, indeed, to be Whigs, because they no longer know what Whigism or Republicanism means."

SLAVERY.

In 1769, Jefferson entered public life as a member of the House of Burgesses from his native county of Albemarle. His first measure was to provide for the gradual emancipation of slaves, but it resulted in utter failure, and is now only valuable as indicating the settled opinions of Jefferson upon the subject of slavery, and his fearlessness in grappling with the overwhelming public sentiment of his State in its favor.

Whilst a slave owner all of his life, Mr. Jefferson was opposed to the institution and desired its gradual extinction. Like many intelligent men in the slave-holding States, he deprecated the existence of slavery, but resented the statement that the people of these States were alone responsible for the evil, or that those who had originally introduced slaves through their own avarice had the right to interfere afterwards with the property of the citizens to whom the slaves had been sold.

With prophetic vision, Jefferson saw the dreadful panorama of war and desolation which must accompany the end of slavery, unless peaceful means were adopted for that purpose. Speaking of gradual emancipation, he says in his autobiography, written when he was seventy-seven years old:

"It was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free, nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government."

One portion of this prediction has been verified, and African slavery has been drowned in the tears and blood of both North and South.

At the same time it is not difficult to realize how utterly beyond the imagination of any mortal man fifty years ago, must have been the idea, not of emancipation, but that the emancipated slave would grasp the ballot and participate in the government of the country.

We know now that the Negro race, with its parasitic tendencies and strong local attachments, will never submit to colonization, and that this philanthropic dream has vanished before the logic of events. The Negro is a component part of our civilization, and must so remain.

It is the very irony of history that of all the slave-holding States, Virginia should have suffered most in defending an institution forced upon her people by the greed of Old and New England, in opposition to the judgment and wishes of her most distinguished men.

As far back as 1770, Virginia had protested against the introduction of African slaves, but the protest was silenced by the royal edict, and the traffic went on.

In 1776, Jefferson framed with his own hand an indictment of the King of Great Britain, in the following words:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.

"This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce.

"And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

These burning sentences were a part of the Declaration of Independence as originally written by Jefferson and reported to Congress, but so strong was the influence of South Carolina, Georgia and New England, in favor of the slave trade, that the words were stricken out, and the Declaration was adopted as we now see it.

In 1778, two years later, Virginia made it a felony to import slaves into her limits, and in 1787, when she gave to the Union the Northwest Territory, the most princely gift in all "the annals of recorded time," Jefferson prepared the ordinance, and incorporated in its provisions, the condition "that after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, otherwise than the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

Again, in the Convention which fram-

ed the Federal Constitution of 1789, when the question of permitting further importation of slaves was under discussion, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said: "This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempt of Virginia to put a stop to it. Maryland and Virginia had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly, and North Carolina had done the same in substance."

Declaring then in the strongest terms his opposition to slavery, he concluded by stating that "he lamented that some of our Eastern brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic."

Luther Martin, of Maryland, declared the slave trade "to be inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution and dishonorable to the American character to have such a feature in the Constitution."

In this state of things, Gouverneur Morris, advertising to the circumstance that the sixth section of the same article, then under consideration, contained a provision "that no navigation act should pass without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in each house"—a provision particularly affecting the interests of the New England States—suggested that this, together with the fourth and fifth sections, should be referred to a committee, in order that a bargain might be formed between the parties out of these elements of special local interest on each side and the other.

The suggestion was adopted, and on the second day afterward the committee reported, extending the slave trade to 1800, and striking out the provision requiring a two-thirds vote to enact a navigation law.

When the report came up in the Convention, General Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved to extend the slave trade to 1808, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Madison earnestly and eloquently opposed the motion, declaring it to be dishonorable to the American character, but his opposition was in vain.

Hand in hand, Massachusetts and South Carolina led the cohorts of slavery, and the motion prevailed, in all the New England States, with South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland and North Carolina voting for it, and Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware voting against it.

Luther Martin was a member of the committee to which I have alluded, and in a letter afterward to the Maryland House of Delegates, says: "I found the Eastern States, notwithstanding their aversion to slavery, were very willing to indulge the Southern States, at least with a temporary liberty to prosecute the slave trade, provided the Southern State in their turn would gratify them by laying no restriction on the navigation acts."

Grand, even in her desolation, Virginia, noblest of ancient or modern commonwealths, can point to this record and hear in contemptuous silence the taunts and sneers of the political Pharisees, who "mock at her calamity."

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Although Jefferson had failed in his attack on African slavery, he did not for a moment relax in his opposition to the arbitrary and oppressive measures of the British King.

In 1772 the people of Rhode Island began the Revolution by burning the British war vessel Gaspee, in Narragansett Bay, and when the ministers of George the Third claimed the right to transport the persons accused from Rhode Island to England for trial, Jefferson saw at once that the time had come for joint and concerted action between all the colonies. To concede this claim as to the humblest citizen, was to surrender the liberties of all. In the early part of March, 1772, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Dabney Carr and Thomas Jefferson met at the Raleigh Tavern, in Williamsburg, Virginia, and drew up the famous resolutions pledging Virginia to stand by Rhode Island, and creating a committee of eleven, whose duty it should be to correspond with the other colonies, and concert measures for the general defence.

It is singular with what pertinacity amidst all the passionate delirium and resolves of this eventful period, Jefferson and his associates still clung to the idea of loyalty to the king. Not till 1775 did he reluctantly come to the conclusion that the colonies must separate from the mother country.

Thus had the Commons of England advanced step by step until the head of Charles the First rolled from his shoulders before his palace at White Hall, and thus had the Girondists given place to the revolution, until Louis the Sixteenth and Marie Antoinette died beneath the axe of the Guillotine. In 1774 the people of Boston threw into the harbor the famous shipment of tea, and the King of England retaliated by closing the port. Again, Jefferson and his associates met at the Raleigh Tavern, and resolved to stand by New England, Massachusetts and Virginia then stood shoulder to shoulder, and who could have believed that in less than a century the same States would grapple in deadly conflict?

On June 21st, 1775, Jefferson took his seat as a member of the Continental Congress, and in June, 1776, wrote, with his own hand, the Declaration of American Independence, the most sublime emanation, save one, ever made to the human race.

"That all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is but a corollary from the divine injunction, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Together these two great truths embrace all the rights and duties of mankind. The Declaration, having been reported to Congress, was debated on the second, third and fourth days of July, and adopted on the afternoon of the fourth, every member present signing it, except Mr. Dickinson.

In after years, Mr. Jefferson related with great humor a ludicrous event connected with this solemn transaction. Near the hall in which Congress assembled was a large livery stable, and the weather being extremely warm, the bloodthirsty and aggressive flies, which swarmed through the open windows, attacked our patriotic fathers, in abbreviated pants and thin silk stockings, with such pertinacity as to terminate the debate.

So near the sublime is the ridiculous, and so wonderfully do the most insignificant creatures influence the destiny of man.

REFORMING VIRGINIA.

Thirteen States had now sprung into being, with institutions and laws not only varying as between themselves, but with some utterly opposed to the genius and spirit of the Declaration of Independence.

In none of the colonies were abuses so rife and firmly established as in Virginia. Primogeniture and entail had created a class of thoughtless elder brothers and vagabond heirs, who were reckless and self-indulgent to the very verge of lawlessness.

The union of Church and State had destroyed the rights of conscience, and a licentious clergy, so far from "leading the way to Heaven," were merely adjuncts to the great houses, where high play and old Madera rewarded their complaisant ministry.

The world, for hundreds of years, had listened to the clanking of chains and shrieks of martyrs, whilst fire and faggot irradiated the deadly work of religious bigotry.

Even the Pilgrims, flying from persecution, "having landed on Pilgrim Rock, fallen on their knees and then on the aborigines," no sooner found themselves firmly established in New England, than they began to torture in the name of God.

To deny any book of the Old or New Testaments to be the word of God was punished by fire or by stripes, and blasphemy left the delinquent withered ears and with his tongue bored by a red-hot iron. Men were pilloried, branded and executed for non-conformity to the established church, and in but three out of the thirteen colonies was there religious toleration—Rhode Island, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Mr. Jefferson graphically describes the condition of Virginia:

"The first settlers of this country were emigrants from England of the English Church, just at a point of time when it was flushed with complete victory over the religion of all other persuasions. Possessed, as they became, of the power of making, administering and executing the laws, they showed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian brethren who had emigrated to the northern government. The poor Quakers were flying from persecution in England; they cast their eyes on these new countries as asylums of civil and religious freedom, but they found them free only to the reigning sect.

"General acts of the Virginia Assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1693, had made it penal in parents to refuse to have their children baptized; had prohibited the unlawful assembly of Quakers; had made it penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the State; had ordered those already here, and such as should come thereafter, to be imprisoned until they should abjure the country; fixed a milder punishment for their first and second return, but death for their third; had inhibited all persons from suffering their meetings in or near their houses, entertaining them individually, or disposing of books which supported their tenets.

"If no executions took place here, as did in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the church or spirit of the legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself, but to historical circumstances that have not been handed down to us.

"By our own Act of Assembly of 1705, if a person brought up in the Christian religion denies the existence of a God, or the Trinity, or asserts that there are more Gods than one, or denies the Christian religion to be true, or the scriptures to be of divine authority, he is punishable on the first offence by incapacity to hold any office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil or military, on the second, by disability to sue, to take any gift or legacy, to be guardian, executor or administrator, and by three years' imprisonment without bail.

"A father's right to the custody of his own children being founded in law on his right of guardianship, this being taken away, they may of course be severed from him and put by authority of the court into more orthodox hands."

Amidst a storm of opposition and obloquy, such as was never before seen on this continent, Jefferson resolutely attacked primogeniture, entail, and the union of Church and State.

From October the 11th to December the 5th the battle raged daily in the Virginia Assembly, and resulted in a substantial victory for Jefferson, although the statute for religious toleration did not finally become a law until 1786.

When nearly eighty years old, Mr. Jefferson spoke of this as the most terrible contest of his long and stormy career. Against him were arrayed the wealthy families whose large estates were held by entail, the elder sons whose patronies were taken from them, and more than all, the clergy and established church, who resented the statute for religious toleration and a personal outrage upon themselves. Jefferson was denounced as a communist, an atheist, a foe to religion, and the bitter enmities engendered by this conflict harassed him during life and assailed his memory after death.

No one knew better than Jefferson how unrelenting is religious intolerance, and how dangerous the charge of infidelity or atheism to a public man, but so true was he to the rights of conscience, that in his long life and under all assaults, he made no reply to his enemies. He absolutely denied the right of any being, except his Maker, to call in question his religious belief, and thus he lived and died.

In a private letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush, dated April 21st, 1803, he wrote of his religious opinions:

"They are the result of a life of inquiry and reflection, and very different from that anti-Christian system imputed to me by those who knew nothing of my opinions. To the corruptions of Christianity I am indeed opposed, but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian in the sense in which He wished any one to be, sincerely attached to his doctrines in preference to all others, ascribing to himself every human excellence, and believing he never claimed any other."

To his young grandson, when life had almost faded away, and he could feel upon his aged brow the breath of eternity, he wrote:

"This letter will be to you as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate father has requested that I would address you something which might possibly have a favorable influence on the course of life you have to run, and I too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course.

"Few words will be necessary with good disposition on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself,

and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence, so that the life into which you have entered be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. And if to the dead it be permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard."

If this be theism or infidelity, what honest man or pure woman will not pray that the world be filled with unbelievers?

To Jefferson the doctrines of primogeniture, entail, and an established church were but part and parcel of the system which gave to certain families the divine right of governing their fellow men, and against this heresy, with all its incumbrances and corollaries, he made untiring and relentless war until the end of his life.

To him there was but one creed in matters spiritual or temporal: "All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In addition to the legislation abolishing primogeniture, entail, and an established church, Jefferson, at the same session of the Assembly, introduced and passed a bill fixing the terms upon which foreigners should be admitted as citizens of Virginia, and this act became the model for the general naturalization law of the United States. Under a resolution introduced by himself in October, 1776, he commenced the next summer, in connection with Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe, a revision of the laws of Virginia, and in 1779, after three years of arduous labor, the work was completed.

But his great ambition was to establish a system of common schools, which should place a liberal education within the reach of every child in Virginia, to create high schools, found a library at Richmond, at a cost of two thousand pounds a year, and change William and Mary College into a University. With indefatigable zeal he perfected all the details, but the war absorbed the entire resources of the commonwealth, and long years of eventful history passed before he realized any part of his cherished plans.

GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

On June 1st, 1779, Jefferson was inaugurated Governor of Virginia, succeeding Patrick Henry, the first executive of the State. From the day of his inauguration to the hour when he retired from office, he was overwhelmed with difficulties, before which an ordinary man would have shrunk appalled and hopeless.

Without navy, arms or money, Jefferson was expected to defend an exposed seaboard, furnish supplies to the Virginia troops in the field, and prevent the horrors of an Indian war on the western border.

All that could be done by untiring energy and the wisest forethought he accomplished, but in 1780 the storm of war burst with relentless fury upon Virginia.

Gates was defeated at Camden, the traitor Arnold sailed up the James, burning and pillaging on either side, until he captured Richmond, whilst news came that Washington's army was on the eve of dissolution.

In 1781 Cornwallis invaded Virginia from the South, and a troop of cavalry dashed upon Monticello with the hope of capturing Governor Jefferson, and his faithful slaves refused, under bribes and threats, to give information of the route he had taken.

"As always in the hour of national calamity, a seapegout was necessary to appease the popular disquietude, and Jefferson was in this instance the victim of his own faithful discharge of duty, he chafed under these assaults as never before or after, and although acquitted by the unanimous vote of the Assembly, declared that he would never accept another public trust, and that, with the close of the war, his political career had ended.

Surrounded at Monticello by his family, to whom he was tenderly attached, and with his books and flowers, Jefferson looked forward to years of quiet happiness, such as every man, worn with the battle of life, has pictured in his day-dreams of the future. But Providence had destined otherwise.

In the spring of 1782 death robbed him of a wife whose beauty and accomplishments gave to Monticello its charming mistress that ever blessed a Virginia home, and from a stupor of grief Jefferson awoke, anxious to leave the scenes which constantly reminded him of his irreparable loss.

Again he plunged into the vortex of politics, and in 1783 we find him at Annapolis, ready to take his seat in Congress, to which he had been recently elected. Again he devoted himself with untiring assiduity to public business, and, as chairman of the Committee on Coins and Currency, gave to his country and the world a system of coinage on the decimal basis, the most perfect known amongst men.

At the same session he introduced the celebrated ordinance, afterwards enacted in 1787, by which Virginia gave to the Union the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

ENVOY TO FRANCE.

On May 17th, 1784, Jefferson was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to assist Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, then abroad, in concluding commercial treaties with Great Britain, Holland, and other governments, on "the footing of the most favored nation," and on March 10th, 1785, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister to France.

Jefferson remained in Europe five years, residing in Paris, and watching with deepest interest the great drama of the French Revolution. He witnessed the fall of the Bastille, and the massacre of the Swiss Guards; but, like Charles James Fox, he saw through the blood and horror the outlines of liberty; and, unlike Burke, he beheld in the French queen, not only a beautiful and unfortunate woman, but the reckless, self-indulgent cause of her husband's ruin.

"This angel, as gaudily painted in the rhapsodies of Burke," he wrote forty years afterwards, "with some smartness of fancy, but no sound sense, was proud, disdainful of restraint, indignant at all obstacles to her will, eager in the pursuit of pleasure, and firm enough to hold to her desires or perish in their wreck."

"Her inordinate gambling and dissipation, with those of the Count d'Artois and others of her clique, had been a considerable item in the exhaustion of the treasury, which called into action the reforming hand of the nation; and her opposition to it, her inflexible perverseness and dauntless spirit, led herself to the Guillotine, drew the king on with her, and plunged the world into crimes and calamities which will forever stain the pages of modern history. I have ever believed that, had there been no queen, there would have been no Revolution, no force would have been provoked or exercised."

Like John Knox, in the days of Mary Queen of Scots, Jefferson could not appreciate the beauty which looked, without pity, on the starving multitude, and listened, without emotion, to the cries of her unfortunate people.

Jefferson looked with contemptuous amazement upon the French Court feasting and dancing at Versailles, while the hungry people roared and surged through the streets of Paris.

"Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion creeping nigher. Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly-dying fire."

The glamar of royalty did not seem to affect this stern republican, who rejected with scorn the divine right of kings.

In one of his letters he writes thus of the Monarchs then occupying the proudest thrones of earth:

"While I was in Europe I often amused myself in contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. Louis the Sixteenth was a fool, of my own knowledge, and in despite of the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and despatched two courtiers a week over one thousand miles to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbon. The Queen of Portugal, Braganza, was an idiot by nature, and so was the King of Denmark. Their sons, as regents, exercised the powers of government. The King of Prussia, successor to Frederick the Great, was a mere hog in body as well as in mind.

"Gustavus, of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria, were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a straight waistcoat. There remained then none but old Catherine, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense.

"In this state Bonaparte found Europe, and it was the state of the rulers which lost it without a struggle. These animals had become without mind and powerless, and so will every hereditary monarch be after a few generations."

Every fibre of Jefferson's being sympathized with the unfortunate people whose sweat and blood had been wrung from them for centuries, to feed these royal animals, and every hour in Europe added to his hatred of the monarchical system.

In February, 1787, he left Paris, and traveled incognito through the fairest provinces of France, investigating the home life of the people, their houses, food and modes of agriculture.

Besides attending to his diplomatic duties and making commercial treaties with all principal nations of Europe, Jefferson found time to correspond with leading scientists upon chemistry, astronomy, geology and natural history. He collected and shipped to the United States seeds and plants of all kinds suitable to our climate, and procured for Buffon, the great naturalist, specimens of the animals and birds peculiar to this continent.

When in France, he wrote and published his celebrated "Notes on Virginia," which attracted universal attention, and passed through several editions.

Whilst making treaties, writing philosophical essays, and watching the Revolution, this remarkable man invented an improved plough, which was awarded a medal by the Royal Agricultural Society of the Seine, and was exhibited to William C. Rives, Minister to France in 1853, as "The Prize Plough of Thomas Jefferson;" afterwards he invented the revolving chair, now found in so many offices and households.

Rice was largely consumed in France, and anxious to know why the American article was unable to compete successfully with that raised in Southern Europe, he made a journey across the Alps in 1787, into the rice-growing districts, and being unable to procure some improved seed rice, which he discovered there, on account of laws prohibiting its exportation, he filled the pockets of his coat with the best rice, of the best rice-producing district of Italy, and sent it to Charleston. It came to hand safely, was distributed in quantities of ten and twelve grains to planters, and being carefully tended, furnished South Carolina the best rice in the world.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

After five years of unrelenting toil for his country and mankind, Jefferson was compelled to give attention to his private affairs, and left Paris in October, 1789, with his two daughters, expecting to return within a year. On November 17, 1789, he landed safely at Norfolk, and found an invitation from Washington to become Secretary of State.

With reluctance, but acting under a sense of public obligation, he accepted the office, and entered upon its duties.

Accustomed, as Jefferson must have been, to the uncertainty of political events and the mutations of public sentiment, he was profoundly astonished to find that a powerful party had come into existence in the United States, which distrusted the people, and favored a strong, if not monarchical government.

At the head of this party was the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, a man of rare ability and unquestionable courage, but without faith in republican institutions or in any form of government not possessing monarchical features.

That such were Hamilton's opinions can not be doubted. In Madison's debates of the Convention we find Hamilton reported as saying that:

"In his private opinion he had no scruple in declaring, supported as he was by the opinions of so many of the wise and good, that the British government was the best in the world."

He declared that the Senate of the United States should be framed on the model of the House of Lords, and in speaking of the Chief Executive, said: "The English model is the only good one on this subject. The hereditary interests of the King were so interwoven with that of the nation, and his personal emoluments so great, that he was placed above the danger of being corrupted from abroad, and at the same time he was sufficiently independent and sufficient controlled, to answer the purpose of the institution at hand."

The notes written by Hamilton himself, from which he delivered this speech, can be found in his life by his son, and in them are the following points: "Here I shall give my sentiments as the best form of government, not as a thing attainable by us, but as a model which we ought to approach as near as possible. British Constitution, best form.

"Society naturally divides itself into two political divisions—the few, and the many—who have distinct interests.

ests, . . . and if separated they will need a mutual check. This check is a Monarch. . . . He ought to be hereditary, and to have so much power that it will not be his interest to risk much to acquire more."

"That there was a party in the United States disposed to Monarchy is put beyond question by the statements of Washington, Madison, Jay, John Marshall and Monroe. Even John Adams declared that "the proposition that the people are the best keepers of their own liberties is not true; they are the worst conceivable; they are no keepers at all; they can neither judge, act, think or will as a political body"

"Hypocrisy, . . . is more practiced in the courts than in popular elections, nor more encouraged by Courts than people."

"During the war for independence the Colonies had been held together by a common danger, but even then it was evident that the articles of confederation must be set aside and a stronger government established. The power to levy and collect taxes, provide for the general defence, and act as a Sovereign within its proper sphere, were necessary attributes of government demanded by self-preservation itself."

"This necessity created a tendency to centralization, and the excesses of the French revolution, at which the world stood against, furnished what seemed a conclusive argument against popular government. Jefferson soon found himself almost alone in the elegant society of New York. The wealth, culture and refinement of the city were shocked at the atrocities committed in Paris, and Hamilton was their pet and idol."

"I had left France," Mr. Jefferson wrote long after, "in the first year of her revolution, in the fervor of national rights, and zeal for reformation. My conscientious devotion to those rights could not be heightened, but it had been aroused and excited by daily exercise."

"The President received me cordially, and my colleagues and the principal citizens apparently with welcome. The courtesies of dinner parties given me, as a stranger newly arrived among them, placed me at once in their familiar society. But I cannot describe the wonder and mortification with which the table conversation filled me. Politics were the chief topic, and a preference of Kingly over republican government was evidently the favorite sentiment."

"An apostate I could not be, nor yet a hypocrite; and I found myself, for the most part, the only advocate on the republican side of the question, unless among the guests there chanced to be some member of that party from the legislative houses."

"It was not possible that harmony, nor any relation except that of antagonism, should exist between Jefferson and Hamilton. They were both men of great ability, positive convictions, and with views utterly irreconcilable as to the government."

Jefferson was the incarnate principle of Democracy, pure and simple, without alloy. Hamilton had no sympathy with the people or popular government. In February, 1802, he wrote to Gouverneur Morris, his most intimate friend, and afterward his eulogist:

"Mine is an odd destiny. Perhaps no man in the United States has sacrificed or done more for the present constitution than myself, and, contrary to all my anticipations of its fate, as you know from the beginning, I am still laboring to prop the frail and worthless fabric. . . . Every day proves to me more and more that this American world was not made for me."

Notwithstanding the great authority of Washington, and the influence which his character exercised upon all who approached him, there soon occurred an open rupture between the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury.

In February, 1792, Jefferson mentioned to the President his intention to retire from the Cabinet, and, when pressed for his reasons, frankly stated that it was impossible for Col. Hamilton and himself to continue together in the administration, and that now a proposition had been brought forward, the decision of which must definitely determine whether we live under a limited or unlimited government."

"To what position do you allude?" asked the President.

"To that," replied Jefferson, "in the report of manufactures by Hamilton, which, under color of giving bounties for the encouragement of particular manufactures, meant to establish the doctrine that the constitution, in giving power to Congress to provide for the general welfare, permitted Congress to take everything under their charge which they should deem for the public welfare. If this was maintained, then the enumeration of powers in the constitution does not at all constitute the limits of their authority."

If Jefferson should now revisit the earth he would find the same doctrine advanced even amongst those who claim to be exponents of his principles and teaching.

In the meantime all Europe was preparing to attack France, and the question presented to Washington's Cabinet was whether the United States should remain neutral or assist the people who had assisted us in our struggle for Independence.

On April 22d, 1793, the proclamation for neutrality was issued, and on the same day Citizen Genet arrived in a French frigate as Minister to the United States from the French Republic.

He was received with such tumultuous acclamation as was never before or since given to any ambassador or visitor to our shores. Public meetings, banquets, oratory and music evidenced the deep feeling of the American people for the cause of France. A storm of indignation burst upon Washington and his Cabinet for refusing to give immediate assistance to our allies of the War for Independence, then struggling against the combined despotism of Europe, led by England.

It is impossible for us to realize now the popular excitement of those eventful days, or the clamor raised about the government, but Washington and his Cabinet stood firm, and the result justified the wisdom of their course.

Jefferson's correspondence with Genet and the English Minister, afterwards published by order of Congress, stands today and will forever remain the most wonderful exhibition of learning, skill and moderation to be found in the annals of diplomacy.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

Jefferson retired from Washington's Cabinet on January the 1st, 1794, the acknowledged leader of the Republican

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