

search for God. If he seems burdened, it is as if the weight of the divine revelation might overpower him. His attitude is that of receptivity for truth, or as if passivity were the condition for seeing and receiving. His experience confirms what Wordsworth had taught:

Nor less I deem that there are powers
Which of themselves our minds impress;
That we can feed this mind of ours
In a wise passiveness.

Think you 'mid all this mighty sum
Of things forever speaking,
That nothing of itself will come,
But we must still be seeking?

In addition to his other work, Maurice gave much of his time and thought to the improvement of the working classes. So identified was he with the cause of social reform that he became known as the father of Christian Socialism. He was the founder of a college for workingmen whose success was mainly owing to his disinterested labors. He had a lofty conception of the capacity of men engaged in physical toil and without education to receive the higher forms of truth and the results of learning. He aimed to overcome their peculiar skepticism as to whether God were doing anything for the emancipation of society from its oppression. It was the spirit of his teaching that it was God who was raising up the very reformers who disowned Him, that it was a divine spirit which stirred up social discontent as the condition of social progress.

While the thought of Maurice does not lend itself easily to brief summaries, yet it is not difficult to trace in all his writings one common element which binds them together in a consistent whole. That "religious realism" which enabled him to grasp the fatherhood of God as an actual relationship which could not be broken may be discerned in every attitude of his mind. He looked upon religious institutions, not as identical with their divine idea, but as witnesses to a higher reality. Because the reality existed independently of its acknowledgment, he could be charitable while holding the strongest convictions, dogmatic while rejoicing in the largest freedom of thought. What to the popular mind seemed like divine indifference to human affairs was to his mind the visible token of His presence. The religious doubt from which others fled in alarm, he welcomed as an aid to the deeper knowledge of God. Where others spoke of a lost and ruined world, he spoke of a world which had been redeemed by Christ. Some said that only those who had been baptized were the children of God; others, that to become a child of God one must have been converted and have the witness of an inward experience; he said that all men were children of God in virtue of their creation by the eternal Father. Against those who maintained that religion was repugnant to the natural man, he affirmed religion to be that which the heart needed and for which it craved. In contrast with the method of those who labored to overcome the natural depravity of the heart as the first step in religious experience, he preached the "God within," even to reprobates, as a divine appeal in order that they might claim the heritage of sonship. In the common thought the Church of God was identified with some existing institution; he regarded the institution as witnessing to the existence of the Church. The true Church did not require to be founded or carried, but to be proclaimed as having already an actual existence, the brotherhood of men in Christ. It was customary in speaking of the forms of human government to classify theocracy by itself, as if it had once existed among the Jewish people or been attempted as an experiment at various moments in history; but he maintained that theocracy, God's government, underlay all forms of human government as their pattern, the test by which they would be vindicated or condemned.

This reversal of ordinary judgments, to which men have become accustomed by long habit of training, constitutes a difficulty in reading Maurice which is not easily overcome—a difficulty akin to that which followed the Copernican discovery, when reality was placed in such strange contradiction to the testimony of the senses that it still requires

an effort of the mind to adjust the seeming appearance with the actual fact. There was one inference which Maurice urged with great strenuousness—that in the spiritual world relationships were timeless, or could not be expressed in terms of quantity; that eternal life and eternal death were phrases charged with spiritual potency without reference to their duration. This contention regarding the use of the word "eternal" goes to the heart of the Maurician theology, affording a glimpse into a higher order, where things are not what they seem; where, instead of the divine revolving around the human, God becomes the central sun of an infinite spiritual universe in whom men live and move and have their being. The relationship of fatherhood and sonship constitutes the law of spiritual gravitation from which there is no escape, in whose glad recognition and obedience consists eternal salvation.

But, apart from his theological teaching, it is the supreme tribute to be paid to Maurice that he stood throughout his life as a confessor to his age, listening to the story of human doubt in deep sympathy, and never turning his ear away from any man who found difficulty in believing. Tennyson, who was his friend, has described him in what he did for himself and for others:

The faith, the vigor, bold to dwell
On doubts that drive the coward back,
And keen through wordy snares to track
Suggestion to her inmost cell.

He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
He would not make his judgments blind,
He faced the specters of his mind
And laid them; thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own;
And power was with him in the night,
Which makes the darkness and the light,
And dwells not in the light alone.

It was the testimony of Archdeacon Hare, while Maurice was still alive, that no one had done so much in reconciling the reason and the conscience of the thoughtful men of the age to the faith of the Church: "It is in great measure owing to him that the intellect of the rising generation is with us rather than against us." In the words of another eminent contemporary, Dr. Montagu Butler: "Wherever rich and poor are brought closer together, wherever men learn to think more worthily of God in Christ, the great work that he has labored at for nearly fifty years shall be spoken of as a memorial of him." He held no high preferment in the Church of England, but the world recognized him for what he was and for what he had done. At his death in 1872 there was a demonstration of public feeling which for spontaneity and universality had not been witnessed since the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. Beneath his bust in Westminster Abbey is recorded the only estimate we need: "He was not that light; but was sent to bear witness of that light."



Our First Presidential Contest

By James M. Whiton

This summer is its centennial anniversary. George Washington and John Adams were chosen in 1788 without opposition. In 1792 Washington was again unanimously chosen, and Adams was elected Vice-President by a vote of 77, to 50 for George Clinton, the candidate of the Republicans, nicknamed "Democrats" by the Federalists. In 1796 party lines were for the first time strictly drawn, and a strenuous struggle for the Presidency ensued.

The adoption of the Federal Constitution had been stoutly opposed on the ground that the Federal authority would override the local authority of the several States. But when its adoption brought the Federalists into power, the opposition naturally became a party of vigilant critics of its working, determined to restrict it to the letter of its provisions. This was then the fundamental principle for which, under the name of "Republicans," the opposition

contended, a strict construction of the Constitution. They held that whatever powers it did not expressly delegate to the Federal Government were reserved to the States—the “States-rights” theory. And yet Jefferson himself threw this principle away and acted like a Federalist when he bought Louisiana. The Federalists preferred a more elastic construction of the Constitution in favor of the Federal power. The stock objection of their party opponents was that they were monarchical and hostile to the rights of the people. This objection was constantly urged against Washington himself during his second term of office. Washington was a thorough Federalist. “Remember, especially,” said he, in his farewell address, “that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable.”

The name “Republican party” was used first by Jefferson in a letter to Washington, May 13, 1792. On the appearance in 1793 of Washington’s proclamation of neutrality in the war between England and France, a violent faction opposed both it and him. Their ruling idea was hostility to England and partiality to France. They condoned the worst excesses of the French Revolution as excusable vengeance on tyrants, and fiercely denounced Washington for negotiating Jay’s commercial treaty with England. To these hot-heads, who were ready to drag us into war in behalf of France, the Federalists gave the then invidious name of “Democrats”—as disreputable as “Communists” to-day. When the Jeffersonian party crystallized, in 1796, this faction fell into its ranks. Hence the official style and title, which it has borne since then, of “Democratic-Republican,” though the latter and older half of the name has been obsolete in popular phraseology since 1830.

The prelude to the contest for the Presidency was a struggle over the admission of Tennessee, with a population of sixty-six thousand white people, to be the sixteenth State in the Union. Then for the first time the admission of a State was advocated and opposed on the partisan grounds which have since been often taken. Tennessee was certain to re-enforce the Republican column by three electoral votes. In view of the probable closeness of the election the Federalists resisted this, but Tennessee was nevertheless admitted on the last day of the session, June 1, 1796. When Congress reassembled in December, Andrew Jackson, as her representative, made his appearance at the seat of government four months before Washington left it.

When Washington, in his weariness of the burdens of State, determined to retire from office, the Federalists had no lack of able men to succeed him. The Republicans had but two at all competent—Jefferson and Madison. It was informally agreed among the Republican Congressmen that their party candidates should be Jefferson and Aaron Burr. This was the beginning of the so-called “Congressional Caucus,” which appeared fully developed in 1800.

The Constitution forbids any person to be chosen a Presidential elector who is either a Senator or Representative in Congress, or holds any office under the United States. It was against the spirit of this provision, which aims to exclude Congress from any control in the selection of the Chief Executive, for the Congressional caucus to dictate the Presidential nominations. This was at length so apparent, that “King Caucus” fell into disfavor, but it was not till 1824 that his reign ended. In 1828 the State Legislatures made the Presidential nominations. In 1832 the present nominating conventions undertook their extra-constitutional but necessary functions.

It was less easy for the Federalists than for the Republicans to select Presidential candidates. The party was rich, too rich, in leaders. Hamilton was its ablest man, but identified with measures which, though salutary, were unpopular—such as the funded debt, as exasperating to the non-commercial classes as a “gold-bug” is to a “Populist.” Jay was a close second to Hamilton, but he had been brought into unjust odium by his British treaty. Finally, and mainly by men outside of Congress, it was

determined that Adams and Pinckney should be the Federalist nominees.

Thomas Pinckney had been Governor of South Carolina, had served as our Minister to London and Madrid, and had won great credit by negotiating a treaty with Spain.

Never since in our national history have two so illustrious and able statesmen competed for the Presidency as Adams and Jefferson. Each had sat in the Continental Declaration of Independence; each had been employed in Congress; each had had a hand in the preparation of the missions to European powers. Adams had been Vice-President for eight years. Jefferson had been Governor of Virginia, and had served as Secretary of State for three years. Adams was now sixty-one years of age, and Jefferson fifty-three. Their long and honored lives were to end on the same day, July 4, 1826.

Against such men party spirit could bring no serious charges. Nevertheless the game of defamation, to whose quadrennial recurrence we have become accustomed, was initiated with such material as seemed serviceable. Adams was accused of being an aristocrat and a monarchist. In 1770 a squad of British soldiers had fired upon rioters in Boston. Adams had defended them against the charge of murder, and secured their acquittal. This noble opposition to the popular fury was now brought up against him. On the other side, Jefferson was accused of being too much of a philosopher to be a practical administrator. He was taunted with cowardice in having fled, when Governor, from a raid of British cavalry. The most serious charge against him was infidelity. In fact, he and Adams, who was a Congregationalist, were pretty nearly at one in what would now pass for a moderate Unitarianism. Among the arguments employed in his behalf, one is singularly illustrative of that period of national weakness. Elect Jefferson, it was said, and conciliate France. Indeed, the election of Jefferson was almost effected by the impertinent intermeddling of the French Minister.

The promptness of our Government in sending Lord Sackville West his passports in 1888, for writing a private letter advising an inquirer, formerly a British subject, to vote for Mr. Cleveland, curiously reveals, by contrast, the weakness of the Government in 1796, which was obliged to tolerate the extreme impudence of Adet, the Minister of France. This person wrote four notes designed for publication as campaign documents. In these he complained of the unfriendliness which the Federalists had shown to France, and ostentatiously praised Jefferson by name. The consequence of this intervention was that the Quaker vote in Pennsylvania was diverted from Adams to Jefferson for the preservation of peace with France.

The Federalists, feeling sure of Pennsylvania, had carried a law for the choice of electors by general ticket, while the Republicans had contended for choice by districts. At that time, in most of the States, electors were chosen by the Legislature. But the unexpected diversion of the Quaker vote gave all but one of the fifteen Pennsylvania electors to the Republicans. Had not Virginia and North Carolina each given a single vote to Adams, Jefferson would have been at the top of the poll. The one hundred and thirty-eight electors of that year voted for thirteen different persons. Adams received 71 votes and Jefferson 68. When the votes were counted, February 8, 1797, Adams was declared elected as President and Jefferson as Vice-President. Pinckney had but 59 votes, and Burr 30. Schouler says that Burr coquetted with both parties and incurred the distrust of the Republicans. Next came Samuel Adams with 15, Oliver Ellsworth with 11, George Clinton with 7, John Jay with 5. Two votes were thrown away on Washington.

Presidential electors had not then been reduced, as now, to mere recording clerks, but retained the freedom of choice which the framers of the Constitution intended them to exercise. But for this, Pinckney, as well as Adams, would have distanced Jefferson. That he came in third was due to a quarrel among the Federalists. It was then the rule for each elector to write two names on his ballot, each of them as a candidate for the Presidency. When the votes were counted the highest total carried the Presi-

dency, the next highest the Vice-Presidency. Now, Hamilton strongly desired Pinckney to lead Adams, who was no favorite of his. This might be effected if some Federalist electors could be induced to give scattering votes instead of votes for Adams. The Adams men believed that Hamilton had done this, and revenged themselves by giving scattering votes instead of votes for Pinckney. In this way, though New England was solid for the Federalists, as many as eighteen votes were lost to Pinckney in New England alone.

This is the first notable instance in our political history of the process known as "knifing." But its sequel showed that the transient gratification of the process is not always equaled by satisfaction with the results. In this instance the Federalists paid dear for it. By throwing out Pinckney they brought in Jefferson, their astute and implacable enemy. They gave him a coign of vantage in the Vice-Presidency. Here, in freedom from all political responsibility, he employed the opportunities of his position in directing the policy of his party, and in watching and counter-working that of his opponents, till at the end of four years more, by over-weaning and imprudent use of power, they had dug their own political grave. To their everlasting honor, they had wisely organized the political forms of our national life. Their opponents prevailed by adopting their work and administering their institutions in closer accord with popular demands.



A Man of Education in Prison

A Personal Experience

When a man of gentle education, who has never dreamed that such an evil as being convicted of crime could befall him, arrives in prison, he reminds himself of one of those trembling shades, of his classical reading, who awaited the unknown on the shores of the Styx. His coming has been timed by night, out of deference for that poor thing, his pride, and his reception by the Deputy Keeper is not unkindly.

"We've been looking for you for a week past," says that official, hospitably. "Let me see, you got five years, didn't you? Well, that means three years and seven months—forty-three months, all told. It will soon go by. Why, we have men coming back here regularly who would look on that as a mere fly-speck. They call this place a 'play-house,' you know. I'll just lock you in one of the detention-cells to-night, and to-morrow I'll rig you out and find you some easy job. Don't brood, don't look back; just take things as they are. Why, in eighteen months or so you may be pardoned. Come this way, will you?"

This way leads into a lofty oblong building, dimly lighted. In the center rises a solid buttress of stone and iron, composed on either side of the long rows of cells, five tiers high. Around this is a wide corridor, and then the white-washed walls, cut by tall, barred windows. At first breath the new arrival realizes his doom. The stench enlightens him. It lingers on his tongue, it permeates his blood, it contaminates his being. Oh, what must the life be when its very atmosphere reeks of filth and shame!

The detention-cell proves to be on the lowest row. There is the shooting of a bar, the turning of a key. "You'll find some water in that tin," says the Deputy. "Good-night." And then the grated door closes, and the new man is alone in a cold, narrow, dismal hole in the wall, in which the double-bunked bed of gas-pipe frame yields scarce enough room to turn around.

There come raps on the wall on either side: the hall-men in the adjoining cells are vainly seeking to satisfy their curiosity. There comes, too, a prolonged hiss, a peculiar prison signal, and the whisper, "How long did you *git*, Jack?" followed by the night-watchman's stealthy tread and flash of lantern. Then settles the normal quiet of the prison night, not tranquil nor continuous. From one tier resounds a groan; from another, a laugh, far more horrible. Hark to that pacing to and fro, now hurried, now deliberate! It comes from the cell of one who is going

mad, whose screams before morning will send him to a strait-jacket in the hospital ward.

Up from the flagged corridor comes a sodden chill; down from the tiers circles the foul air. There are blasts of biting draughts from the side windows, followed by periods of stifling; and all the while clinging to the bars stands the new arrival, inertly watching the creep of insects along the walls, the scurrying of rats around the corners, until a light as pale and as forlorn as the whitewash breaks through the dingy panes, and the heavy steps of the unwashed kitchen-gang on the stairs announce the advent of a prison day.

This day forever after stands out distinct in the newcomer's mind as the acme of terror and degradation. Beyond it lies a monotonous waste. There is surprise, there is shock; in every sound. Now a hall-man thrusts through the grating pannikins containing coffee made of burnt crust and an unwholesome mosaic supposed to be head-cheese. Now a sharp-eyed officer marches by with book and slate. Now a gong clangs, the bolts snap back. He watches with stupefaction the hurrying lines of convicts. What an acrid dust they raise with their heavy brogans, what a hideous conglomeration they form of everything coarse, uncouth, and vile, as they jostle along, ill-shapen, grimy, malodorous, chewing tobacco and emitting a hum of curses, jeers, and guffaws. Each one looks in, winking or whispering, and it seems to him as if but one man had passed and was continually repassing, so little of individuality is he able to detect. Thence comes the terror. Will his personal self, for which, notwithstanding misfortune or crime, he has retained a certain respect, ever conform to this type? Oh, what can he do—oh, what will he not do, to avoid such a degeneration?

With the Deputy comes the degradation. The new man is taken to the barber-shop, where other neophytes, sullen, ugly, timid, or hysterical, are awaiting initiation. He receives a bath, and the very thought that he is supposed to need one seems an excess of ignominy; his hair is cropped with great horse-clippers, his beard is hacked and haggled, the convict barber good-naturedly trying to instill foul bravado the while; he dons the striped suit, ill-fitting, insufficient, and casts one glance at himself in the bit of glass. Yes, the worst that could happen has happened. He is no longer a citizen, a man—but a convict, a thing removed from the sympathy of kindred or the notice of humanity.

The Deputy now shows our convict to a cell. Fortunate for him if the prison population is decreasing and he be allowed to share his misery with himself alone; fortunate for him if from the debasing association by day he has not to dread a more evil companionship at night. Then the pair proceed to the shops—a scene of confusion and distraction to the newcomer. Here the dust is flying from the whirl of machinery over the manufacture of pails; there benchful after benchful are hammering away on shoes; and, beyond, the sewing-machines are clicking for dear life. And the men so intently engaged, have they any more mind or soul than the tools and the gearings? The Deputy, true to his word, allots some light task, and then hurries away to start some other unfortunate in the prison life.

The day seems an endless dream to our convict; he is stunned, incapable of connected thought, and automatically repeating to himself, "Only forty-three months, all told." Keepers and inmates alike mercifully ignore him. He may bungle with his task as he will, but no one will censure. His apathy, which is really a period of incubation, is fully recognized in prison. When the whistle blows, some rough hand draws him into his place in line, some gruff voice, tobacco-sprayed, mutters, "You'll feel better to-morrow, Jack;" and then, like a wounded beast, he creeps into his cell. No watchfulness now. The dark is welcome; would that it might last forever; for suspense is gone, and an end has come to everything. In a living grave, what then remains? Rest. He throws himself on the straw pallet, with face to the wall; despite the noise, the filth, the vermin, the stench, he sleeps as one without hope; and when he awakes it is unto submission.

The following day becomes a type of the life, a link in