hearts towards each other. I here betroth ye, for ye are worthy of one another. In good truth, my friends," he added, addressing the witnesses, "I have already enjoyed more satisfaction from this decision and arrangement than the entire Schüppelhof is worth."

The Warden now beckoned the speaker aside. "A word with thee, Manlicken," he said, in a whisper. "What has become of the bond for four hundred florins which thou hadst from me? In thine altered circumstances it can no longer be of any use to thee. As a prudent man, thou comprehendest my meaning. Wilt thou return it to me at once?"

But Manlicken, surprised at the demand, answered him, "Your worship, the amount being the produce of the Schüppelhof, it henceforth belongs to Peter Pommer, the rightful proprietor. I have, therefore, put him in possession of the document, and I have no longer any concern in the affair."

His face flushing with anger, the baron exclaimed, "Thou art ignorant as a child——"

"Yes, your worship," said Manlicken, interrupting him, "and I will continue even as a child, for 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.'"

"Dost thou pay the expenses of this foolish business?" was the question the Warden now addressed to Peter Pommer, who, starting as if from a dream, made an awkward bow, and replied, with all humility, "As your worship pleases."

The latter, muttering something between his teeth, dismissed all the company excepting Peter, whom he called back from the assemblage. Much as the latter dreaded the wicked Warden, yet he was glad to find himself freed from the presence of Manlicken, who, although he had given him a beautiful estate, thus cruelly refused him his beautiful daughter. He felt quite at a loss to know in what manner he should behave towards him—whether to thank or to upbraid him.

But Manlicken, with a contented mind displayed on his countenance, turning, ere their homeward journey, to Anthony Wallner, who had been present at the transaction, inquired whether his conduct had met with his approbation. With earnestness Wallner replied, "Thou hast only done thy duty, Manlicken, and even after we have accomplished that, we ought still to confess ourselves unprofitable servants."

Afflicted at this severe sentence, Manlicken, whose pleasing anticipations were somewhat disappointed, cast his eyes on the ground and remained silent.

"Do not misunderstand me," the scribe mildly said, by way of comfort to him. "Thou hast taken a great step towards thy peace in yielding up so cheerfully the property of which thou wert unjustly possessed; but if thou wouldst be fully worthy of our Saviour thou shouldst be ready to offer him everything—fortune, wife, child, and even thy life. Art thou capable of this?"

Manlicken pensively gazed on all who were dear to him, and then meekly replied, "I will not tempt the Lord, and therefore I leave thy question unanswered. His will be done; praised be his name."

HOW THE PRESIDENT IS ELECTED.*

On the third day of this month the people of the United States will make their choice of a new President; and on the fourth of March, 1869, the successful candidate will be inaugurated, in as much state as republican principles will admit of, at the national Capitol, surrounded by the official dignitaries of the nation and by the envoys of foreign powers. The workings of American politics are so little understood in England—and indeed they are somewhat confusing to Americans themselves—that this seems a proper time to explain by what process the highest officer of the republic is chosen. The steps by which the result is reached are gradual and various: let us begin at the beginning, and briefly follow the "movement" which results in the choice of a President, until that end is reached. The final election taking place in the autumn, the subject begins to be mooted in the preceding winter. The two great parties—Republican and Democratic—begin to bestir themselves to look about for a candidate, and to "pull the wires" for the purpose of securing that man as their nominee who is most likely at once to catch the popular vote, and faithfully to carry out the principles of the party if elected to the chief office. When the time approaches for the election, of course there are a number of men in both parties spoken of as candidates, and between whom the preliminary choice is to be made.

The first thing to understand is, that the profession of politics in America is carried on entirely by nominations, caucuses, and conventions; and that it is very rarely that any candidate proposes himself to the people for any office, however insignificant, unless he has received the formal nomination of a convention of his party. In England, the candidates for Parliament propose themselves, or their friends propose for them; there is no mustering of the party to which they belong in formal convention, no balloting for candidates of the party, no majority of a convention necessary to a man in order that he may stand a fair chance of being elected. The first movement in America, in view of an approaching presidential election, is to call a ward-meeting of the party—each of the two parties holding separate meetings, of course—in the cities, or a "town-meeting" in country towns. All persons who belong to the party which has called the meeting through its local committee, are admitted to participate and to vote in it; but such meetings are not seldom "managed" by two or three local politicians, who know "the ropes," and in whom the body of the party place their trust.

These ward and town meetings get together in the winter preceding the presidential election, and choose a certain number of delegates to the "state convention" of the party. The "state convention" is a body of delegates chosen from all the wards and towns of the state—each state in the Union having its separate state convention—which assembles in some central or important city. Each party holds its own state convention: that need hardly be said. When the state convention, in its turn, meets together—usually some time in the spring before the presidential election—they proceed to nominate by ballot (a majority securing a "nomination" of a candidate) their choice for the state officers, namely, the governor, secretary, attorney-general, and so on, of the state. They then vote for a certain number of men for delegates to the *national* convention of the party. The number of delegates thus elected corresponds to the number of congressional representatives and senators from the state, which varies in each state.

When, in all the states, the party has made its choice of delegates to the national convention, this largest and most important of party assemblages is summoned to convene in one of the large cities. From what has been said it will be understood that the national con-

* We are indebted for this paper to Mr. George M. Towle, of the American Consular service.

vention is composed of delegates from all the states in the Union, each state convention sending a certain number, and that the number of delegates in the national convention exactly corresponds to the number of the National Senate and House of Representatives added together. The interest of the party, of which the national convention is the supreme power and authority, concentrates throughout the country, as may be easily imagined, upon the period of its meeting; while the hostile party regards its assembling with almost equal interest, as by its action they will learn who is to be the opponent of their own candidate for the Presidency of the United States. As the time approaches when one or other of the great party conventions is to meet, the people] begin to conjecture, the newspapers to discuss, and the politicians to calculate, who will succeed in winning its choice. Often the state conventions, having a positive choice among the many names offered, pass resolutions "pledging" the delegates whom they elect to the national convention to vote for such and such a person for the presidential candidacy; and when a number of state conventions do this, it enhances the excitement with which people anticipate the meeting of the larger body, as the rivalry of various prominent persons thus becomes sharper and more distinct. As the time for the assembling of the national convention approaches, the wire-pulling and manœuvring of the politicians becomes more and more earnest—some, because they hope to reap a reward in the shape of offices, in case the man they are working for wins, and others, less selfish, working with a will from party zeal or personal enthusiasm. Multitudes of these nervous and excited folks flock to the city where the convention is to meet. The hotels and boarding-houses are full to overflowing, and the halls and corridors resound with excited discussions, and busy conferences, and loud-talking crowds.

As large a hall as can be found is engaged for the sessions of the convention; sometimes (as when the Republican convention, which nominated Lincoln, met at Chicago in 1860) a huge extempore wooden building is erected on a vast area of ground, and called, in stump parlance, a "wigwam." This building is covered with flags and festoons, and other national emblems; it is fitted up within with a large broad platform fancifully decorated, and supplied with rude but striking portraits of the party chiefs; long rows of wooden benches rise one behind the other, for the delegates, and there are rudely constructed galleries for those who are fortunate enough to obtain tickets as spectators. The assembling of the national conventions, and afterward the presidential election, are to Americans, in one respect, what the Derby day is to Englishmen—the occasion for an unlimited amount of wagers. Bets run high on the various names when the convention meets; and the first morning the "wigwam," or hall, is surrounded by immense crowds, who listen to the speeches of some politician who "spreads himself" outside the building, while the convention is organising within.

The first day of the session is occupied in electing presiding officers and secretaries, examining the credentials of the delegates and receiving them, and, if there is time left after these tasks are over, in listening to some distinguished party orator who happens to be present, and who regales his hearers with a most eloquent harangue on "the issues of the hour." The national conventions contain, it need hardly be said, many delegates who have held high office, and are well known in the country; for the foremost leaders of the party in each state are chosen as delegates to the higher body. You will find governors and generals, ex-plenipotentiaries and ex-cabinet ministers, members of congress and judges, among the number of those who have got together to choose the party candidate for president. On the second day of the convention's session, all preliminary and organising business being disposed of, the chairman announces that the next thing in order is to ballot for a candidate for the presidency. This creates great confusion and uproarious excitement: delegates huddle together in groups, rush about with slips of paper in their hands, and are most unwilling to "come to order." It should be said that the delegates of each state, having chosen one of their number as the "chairman" of the delegation, sit together; and the way the voting is done is, that this chairman collects the votes of the several delegates of his state, and announces them to the convention. Although it is called "balloting for a candidate," the mode of voting is *vivâ voce*, and not by ballot; the chairman of the different delegations announcing the votes as they are called on.

Before the voting begins, candidates are proposed to the convention, with brief but grandiloquent speeches by various delegates; one jumps up and says, "The New York delegation nominates Horatio Seymour;" another, "I beg to present to the convention the name of that heroic soldier and noble man, General Hancock;" whereat there is, of course, uproarious applause from the friends of the gentleman named. When all the candidates for the nomination are proposed—every delegate having the right to propose one if he wishes—the secretary of the convention proceeds to call the states alphabetically. For example, he calls out "Alabama!" Then the chairman of the Alabama delegation rises in his place, and says, "Alabama casts six votes for Seymour, two votes for Hancock, and one vote for Hendricks," or whatever the votes of the delegates of Alabama are; or, as in the Republican convention of last spring, "Alabama casts all her votes for General Grant!" In the Republican convention, a majority of delegates' votes decided the nomination; in the Democratic convention, it required a two-thirds vote to secure a nomination. The secretary goes on in like manner through the roll of the states, and when he has concluded, the vote is announced. If the vote results in a sufficient number for one man, he is declared by the chairman of the convention the successful "nominee"; but this result is seldom reached on a first vote. If no one has the requisite number, the ballotings continue day after day, until that object is attained. Meantime, the evenings and recesses are taken up by innumerable meetings of the different state delegations and friends of the respective aspirants, coalitions are effected or fail, "combinations" are made, and the "wire-pullers" and outside politicians work with desperate pertinacity and earnestness.

When the convention at last succeeds in making a choice, the scene is one which mocks description, and such as is not, perhaps, witnessed at any other time or place in the civilised world. As soon as it is known that a man has received the requisite majority, all the state delegations, who have before voted against him, hasten to change their votes, and record them for the winner of the contest. They hotly vie with each other which shall be the first to "wheel in" for the successful man; chairmen jump upon the benches, frantically gesticulate to catch the presiding officer's eye, and strain their lungs to their utmost capacity in order to be heard. Meanwhile the whole body of the convention is taken with an irresistible furore of enthusiasm,

the successful aspirant becomes all at once a very hero, and his name is shouted from every side, mingled with cheers and shouts; delegates jump on the benches and chairs, waving their hands, and the ladies in the galleries (if there are any there) shake their handkerchiefs responsively. The chairman finds his attempts to preserve order quite ineffectual: presently the roar of cannon and the shouts of the outside multitude add to the excitement of the scene; and now full-length portraits of the nominated candidate, and mottoes from his speeches, suddenly appear on the platform, and awake one more deafening shout of applause. The telegraph is busy sending the news to the remotest corner of the nation, and in a thousand towns on that evening cannon are fired, and enthusiastic speeches made.

The next day there is a repetition of the scene—somewhat, however, toned down; for the next thing for the convention to do is to nominate a candidate for vice-president, the second office on the national ticket. This is done in a manner exactly similar to the nomination of the presidential candidate; and the choice made, the convention then proceeds to adopt a "platform" of the principles upon which the party bases its appeal to the suffrage of the people. A committee, which has been appointed in the first day's session, reports a series of resolutions, which announce the views of the party, and taken together, constitute the party "platform"—the "platform" upon which the candidates are supposed, metaphorically, to stand; these resolutions are put to vote in the convention, and generally adopted with exemplary unanimity. The last thing to do is to choose a committee, consisting of one delegate from each state, to wait upon the "nominees" for president and vice-president, tender them the nomination, ask their approval of the platform and their acceptance of the candidacy. This is done soon after the National Convention adjourns, and the nominees, in reply, write letters, which are at once everywhere published.

When both conventions have chosen their candidates and platforms, and have adjourned, the "campaign" opens. Flags, bearing the names of the candidates, are unfolded to the breeze in every city, town, and village, principally over the newspaper offices; the Republican flags this year bearing "Grant and Colfax," and the Democratic "Seymour and Blair." Campaign clubs are formed, meetings are held in the campaign halls, and the papers devote themselves almost exclusively to discussions of the careers, personal habits, political life and principles of the several candidates. As the time of election approaches, the meetings grow more frequent, torch-light processions get to be the order of the day—or rather, night—and the editors become more fierce and pungent in their attacks upon their antagonists. It is time to say that the state conventions, when they meet, choose a certain number (equalling the number of senators and representatives) of their partisans as "presidential electors." The Americans do not cast their votes directly for the candidates for the presidency, but vote for presidential electors who are pledged to vote for one or other of the candidates. The whole nation votes on the same day—this year, on the 3rd of November. Each of the two parties has in each state a ticket of presidential electors. The voter chooses either the Democratic or the Republican ticket of electors, as he prefers, and deposits it in the ballot-box. Thus it is that he must vote for his party candidates for both president and vice-president; he cannot vote for the Republican nominee for president, and at the same time for the Democratic nominee for vice-president—for the electors for whom he votes are pledged to vote, when the time comes, for *both* the party nominees; so the voter must vote for both candidates of one party or the other.

The cities and towns are divided into convenient districts for the voting, so that every voter in the land may with ease deposit his ballot within the specified hours—between eight in the morning and six at night. The election judges sit behind a desk, where there are several large ballot-boxes, having before them the register of qualified voters; as each voter comes up, he gives his name; and if it is found on the register, he is permitted to deposit his folded ballot in the boxes. Every two or three hours the votes already accumulated are counted by one of the judges, and the progressive result of the count is posted on the walls for all to see; thus some idea may be gained in the course of the day how each district is likely "to go." This frequent counting facilitates a speedy knowledge of the popular decision at the close of the day. All through the evening of election day the telegraph wires are everywhere at work, sending to and fro the results in each state and town. Multitudes assemble about ten or eleven o'clock before the newspaper offices and in public halls, where the returns are read out to eager listeners as fast as they arrive; and so complete is the system of counting and arriving at results, that you may learn enough of them by midnight of election day to indicate whether the Grant or the Seymour electors are in a majority, and hence who will be the next president.

The elected presidential electors, who, throughout the nation, are exactly equal in number to the Senate and House of Representatives, are called, when taken together, the "Electoral College"; a majority of this Electoral College elects the president and vice-president; but as they are all pledged on one side or the other, it is practically known who is the successful candidate for president on the night of the election day. It is wonderful how the public mind calms down immediately after the election. During the fortnight before, you would almost think the community on the verge of revolution, so excited is it, and to a foreigner not used to such scenes, so seemingly violent; a week after the great day, however, you would never know that such a day had been. The community settles down to its every-day pursuits, and thinks no more of politics until Congress meets again in the ensuing December. The presidential electors who have been chosen in the several states meet very quietly, some months after the election, and proceed to give their votes as they have previously been pledged to do; and it is one illustration of the successful working of the mode of presidential elections, that since the foundation of the Republic, but a single presidential elector has voted contrary to his pledge.

The election made in the Electoral College, the result is recorded, sealed up, and forwarded to the President of the National Senate. In the month of February the Senate and House of Representatives meet together, and in presence of the united Legislature, the President of the Senate proceeds to break the seals which contain the votes of the Electoral College, to read the record, and then forthwith to proclaim and declare the successful candidates duly elected president and vice-president of the United States for four years, from the ensuing fourth day of March. On that day the president and vice-president elect proceed to the Capitol and take the oath of office; and the simple yet imposing ceremony closes with the inaugural address of the new chief magistrate, delivered from the portico of the Capitol, in presence of all the dignitaries and of an immense multitude of citizens.