

What a National Campaign Costs

BY RUFUS ROCKWELL WILSON.

The late Leonard Swett, speaking from first-hand knowledge of the facts, once said that the whole expense of Lincoln's first nomination for President, including the cost of headquarters, telegrams, music, fares of delegates and incidentals, did not exceed \$700. It cost the Republican national committee less to elect Lincoln in 1860 than it does to conduct many a State canvass of the present time.

It is a far cry from 1864 to 1908, and it is well within the bounds to say that it will cost more than \$5,000,000 to elect a President this year. This sum will be spent by the national committee of the two great parties and does not include the funds collected and disbursed by the several State committees and other smaller agencies. The use of large sums of money in politics, as has been referred, is a growth of the last forty years. Previous to that time political campaigning was largely a matter of hurrah and sentiment, but in the later 60s business men, alert, shrewd and fond of system and order, began to take the management of politics into their hands, and a wonderful change in methods and measures was speedily effected.

Time stamped Tilden's methods with the seal of success, and they have taken the place of those formerly employed. In 1876 more than \$500,000 was collected and spent by the campaign managers of the two great parties. Four years later they had at their disposal more than \$1,000,000, and in 1884 the campaign disbursements were half as much again. In 1888 the Harrison-Cleveland campaign cost not less than \$1,800,000; and in the campaign of 1892 the expenditures of the two national committees were quite \$2,000,000. Finally, in 1896, more than \$4,000,000, and in 1900 an even larger amount passed through the hands of Chairman Hanna and Chairman Jones and their associates. In 1904, at least \$5,000,000 will be expended. But the charge that the greater part of these vast sums is used to corrupt voters and purchase votes is a false and silly one. Nearly, if not all, of the moneys collected are anticipated by the legitimate expenses

of the campaign. These cover a wide range, and their volume swells with every succeeding campaign. The first work of a national committee is to prepare campaign literature. These documents not only inform the people but give to orators and writers a mass of facts and arguments. They are in the main the speeches of leading Senators and Congressmen, but often brief and trenchant cards and circulars, which pierce with a single shaft the armor of the enemy, are emphasized with telling effect. In 1854 the famous "Sum, Romanism and Rebellion" utterance of Dr. Burchard was printed on small cards and distributed before the doors of all the Catholic churches of the country the Sunday before election. Its effect was most disastrous, and as there was little or no time in which to counteract it it had much to do in determining the result of the election. This year the two national committees will probably spend fully \$500,000 in the preparation, publication and circulation of documents. This represents a mass of printed matter large enough to fill a small freight train, and it is an open question whether or not too much money is not spent in this way. Still, so shrewd a politician as Senator Hill is of the opinion that this plan of appeal has more influence on the wavering and doubtful than any other.

Each of the national committees also maintains throughout the campaign a news bureau, which, under the direction of experienced political writers, supplies partisan news and arguments to the smaller newspapers. A good many newspapers are subsidized—newspapers in foreign tongues, and certain class journals. There are hundreds of these kinds in the larger cities and towns, nearly every one of whose editors is ready to support either party for a consideration. They do not say so openly, but they announce their bias in a way that unless they are "helped" in some way by the national committee to which they appeal, it will be inconvenient for them to devote a proper amount of space to "booming" the candidate. Payments to these political soldiers of fortune usually take the form of standing orders for a certain number of papers of each issue, the order ranging from 3,000 to 10,000 copies.

The campaign orator does not cut a figure in politics that he did in former years; the multiplication of printing presses and telegraph lines has struck a heavy blow to his prestige as a creator and mold of public opinion, but his influence is still great and certain class journals, through campaign managers. During the months of a national campaign hundreds of speakers of a national and local repute are kept constantly employed by the national and State committees, the efforts of those under the direction of the national organization being as a rule confined to the close and doubtful States. The expenses of all of these speakers are paid, but their services are generally given without expectation of monetary reward. In the cases of men of exceptional gifts of oratory, or of those who cannot afford to neglect their business without a money recompense, fees are paid, though an effort is generally made to keep the fact of such payment secret, as when it is known the orator is looked upon as a special pleader and his arguments carry little weight. The result of this flood of

campaign oratory is an open question. As Republican mass meetings are attended in the main by Republican voters and Democratic mass meetings by Democratic voters the number of converts made by them must be small. Still they serve to create enthusiasm, to maintain and improve discipline and, as it were, to close up and steady the party ranks. Very useful for the same purpose are the campaign clubs and societies, whose organization and equipment cost in the aggregate a large sum. The moneys which a national committee gives to its several State committees are sent grudgingly and the latter are always urged to raise all that they can themselves.

The routine work of a national committee requires the renting of spacious quarters, the employment of a large force of clerks, stenographers and messengers, all of whom are well paid for their services, and the committee generally sustains the expense of the party parades and demonstrations held in New York City during the campaign months. These parades alter the result in the metropolitan area are not expected to, but their influence as imposing partisan spectacles are believed to have good effect upon the county at large. Thus it will be seen that while the sums of money collected for campaign purposes swell yearly, the ways of spending them, more than keep pace with the means of raising them.

With the growing use of money in politics it has been found more and more desirable that the chairman of a national committee should be a man of large private fortune, with a credit and business status which inspire confidence and respect. When subscriptions are slow in coming in and he has as yet only promises in lieu of cash, he must become responsible for or advance the funds needed to meet current expenses, and these advances often amount to several thousand dollars. If there is a shortage after the campaign is ended, he is the one who is looked to to make it good.

The caution of contributors coupled to the close watch which one national committee keeps on the doings and disbursements of the other reduces to a minimum the possibility of campaign funds being misappropriated. Though they are disbursed in a large measure on honor, and a final accounting is seldom had, still their management is governed as far as possible by strict business rules, and handled as they are by men of the highest character and integrity, instances in which they fail to reach the channels for which they were intended are very rare indeed. It can, I think, be said with truth that the funds of a national committee are as carefully managed as are those of any large business corporation. In 1888 Postmaster-General Wanamaker was at the head of the finance committee, which had in charge the work of raising the Republican campaign funds, and carefully supervised all disbursements for which he received vouchers. Still, as I have just said, the disbursement of the party funds is in large measure a matter of honor, and the innovation introduced by Mr. Wanamaker may not be repeated.

How is the money raised for campaign funds? The work has developed shrewd and successful beggars of money. As a collector of campaign funds, Marshall Jewell, who was for several years chairman of the Republican national committee, perhaps never had an equal. When others failed he succeeded, and it is told of him that in Boston in a single day he collected \$170,000. President Arthur was a charming beggar, and when he was

an active politician his services as a money-getter were always counted as of the first importance. He had much to do with the collection of the funds disbursed by the Republican national committee in 1880. So had Levi P. Morton, who, it is generally believed, within twenty-four hours collected \$300,000 or thereabouts for purely technical politics. His power was again put to the test in 1888. He prepared a list of men whom he knew, and put down opposite their names the sums he thought they ought to give, and he went to see them. Few words were spoken. The business men looked upon the matter as a business transaction, and felt confident that Mr. Morton had good business reasons for calling upon them.

"Do you think I ought to put my name down for so much, Mr. Morton?" "If I had not thought so, I shouldn't have named that figure," he answered. "Most men paid without further ado." The fund used to elect Mr. Cleveland in 1884 came, in the main, from a dozen men. William L. Scott, Whitney and Oliver H. Payne each gave it is believed, quite \$100,000. It is thought that Edward Cooper and Abram S. Hewitt each contributed an equal amount. Senator Benjamin F. Jones was chairman of the Republican national committee in that year, and the aid of Senator Stephen B. Elkins he collected in round figures \$800,000. But this sum did not pay all the bills, and there was a deficiency at the end of the campaign of \$135,000. This Senator Jones made good out of his own pocket.

Nor was he the only heavy loser. Mr. Blaine, at the outset of the campaign, drew his check for \$25,000, and his share of the campaign expenses. In the last days of October, his managers became seriously alarmed at the situation in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, and decided, as a last expedient, to raise \$150,000 for use in those States. Only \$50,000 could be got from the usual sources, all of which had already been freely drawn upon by the committee. Mr. Blaine was informed of the difficulty, and, on the assurance that the money would be collected and repaid to him later, he advanced \$100,000. But after the campaign the national committee was unable to make any collections, and Mr. Blaine's loan was not repaid. It is thought that it was mainly to retrieve this loss that he wrote his "Twenty Years in Congress."

William L. Scott's contribution to the Democratic campaign fund in 1888 was \$250,000. Other generous contributors were Christopher C. Baldwin, E. C. Benedict and William C. Whitney, who added perhaps another quarter million to the fund. A large sum, it has been said \$400,000, of the Republican campaign fund of 1888 was collected by John Wanamaker. An equal amount was raised in New York City through the efforts of Cornelius N. Bliss and Levi P. Morton. Four days before the election, Senator Quay, who managed the Republican campaign, felt the urgent need of an additional \$200,000 and appealed to Senator T. C. Platt. Senator Platt at first protested that, in the brief time, the task was an impossible one; but he finally accomplished it by discounting a note which, according to common belief, bore the indorsement of Collis P. Huntington. The largest contributions to the Democratic campaign funds in 1896 were made by the "silver interests"—the owners of silver mines.

Campaign managers say that it is under most conditions easier to raise money for the party which is out of power than for the party that is in office. Be that as it may, it is certain that the Democratic managers in 1896 had a larger fund at their disposal than the Republicans. And in 1896, when the Republicans were out of office, the committee headed by Chairman Hanna collected a campaign fund almost twice as large as the fund of the managers of the Bryan canvass. It is an open secret that the largest subscriber to this fund was William K. Vanderbilt, who sent his check for \$150,000. It was not sent in answer to any appeal, but was a deliberate and voluntary gift late in the campaign. The largest subscription from a corporation came from a purely savings and benevolent association, whose directors voted \$25,000, "to protect their depositors from loss of their savings."

This fact brings us to the source of most of the campaign funds in recent years—the great corporations. The so-called "business interests" contribute most freely to the party that is in power; for they wish no change in the conduct of affairs; but many large concerns contribute to both sides, to have friends at court in any event. Office-holders are another certain source of revenue to the national committee of the party in power, and a third source is a considerable class of men who, anxious to secure political prominence or to occupy high positions, give lavishly as a means of advancing their personal interests. Finally comes the aggregate of small popular subscriptions, which, especially in contests of unusual enthusiasm, is a large sum.

There is always a sum, large or small, spent in "secret" work, which is charged on the books of the national committee to some general account where it could never be traced, just as the contributions of corporations are charged on the books of these corporations to some account where a stockholder, for instance, could never find it. There are many uses of campaign money that the managers think prudent to keep secret which are not legitimate. Indeed, the money that is used in buying votes on an election day may have been properly charged on the books of a national committee as a legitimate expenditure and it may have been perverted from its legitimate use on the last day by the last man who received it, or—it may have come from some "secret" fund which had in the beginning been provided for uses that would not bear investigation. How much is spent in buying votes can never be guessed at. But since the secret ballot law went into effect in many States, bribery has been lessened.

A very important and costly piece of work is the polling of doubtful States. From the first, the national committee keeps in close and constant touch with the several State committees. Some States are so safe and others so hopeless as to require no attention from the national managers, but for strategic reasons a sham campaign is sometimes made in hopeless States. The real battle-ground is the doubtful States. The national committee, at an early stage of the campaign, causes to be prepared as nearly correct and complete a list of the voters in these States as possible.

Most of the men who make these canvasses have to be paid, and the aggregate cost is, of course, enormous. It is money regarded as well spent, for the real weak spots are discovered and campaign work is re-doubled where it is most needed. Meetings are organized at short notice, an army of workers is employed, and the best speakers are sent where they may change votes. Thus the most expensive work of a national campaign is done during the last three

weeks before the election. Every doubtful State and city is closely watched by men prompt to discover every change in the political tide, and money is transmitted in large sums to the localities in which it is believed it will produce the best results. Political parties are now so thoroughly organized and national campaigns are so skillfully conducted that the vote of every State can be foretold with reasonable accuracy at least ten days before election, but the loss of a presidential election by 1,200 votes proves the lurking peril that beset the pathway of the wariest political strategist. Reckoning all the expenses in all the States, it may be roughly estimated that a presidential campaign, including also congressional causes the total expenditure of personal, gubernatorial and lesser campaigns, haps \$20,000,000.

SCRIBBLINGS OF AN IDLER BY S. B. U.

A little learning is a dangerous thing—in politics Mr. Horne had just enough to be costly.

Experience is the best school—but the tuition rates are too high.

A girl in the kitchen is worth two in the parlor.

When a woman marries a man to reform him, her whole nature is soon deformed.

One of the loafers the other day got off the following, which he does not claim to be original:

Johnnie went to Sunday school with a brand new nickel, given him by his uncle the day before. As the children made their contributions, each recited a verse of Scripture, appropriate to the occasion. One youngster said proudly, "God loveth a cheerful giver." Another, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." etc. Finally it came Johnnie's time and he marched up to the table with something of a frown upon his face. As his nickel disappeared into the capacious basket, he said religiously, "A fool and his money are soon parted."

The father held the man-child in his arms during one brief day. All the pent-up love of thirty childhood years poured its sacred flood upon his heart. He looked a-down the future and saw tender childhood, hopeful youth and vigorous manhood. He saw his own unfinished tasks taken up bravely and carried on to successful completion; and the soul of him thrilled with a new and strange joy. For one brief day, then back into the great light whence he came went the man-child and a mighty darkness put its pall about the father. And yet, people wonder at the grief of the man. "It was only an infant," they say.

TO ESIOLE. Dear, I have wandered all my days Over many a barren path and bleak. But come at last from out the mass. Or fancied ways, and strive to seek. And find thy heart of love.

"I've heard tell that that man spent mighty nigh five thousand dollars to be nominated Governor. Now you jest watch taxes go up. He will git the job and us poor devils will have to pay for it. He'll set back in the shade up thar in Raleigh and we'll sweat down here in the sun to pay for it." The above verbatim quotation from a

conversation on the streets of a certain North Carolina town shows how much some people know about civil government and politics. It is a fact that a large number of citizens, in every community is at heart snarlers. They rebel at any semblance of outside rule, however democratic it may be. We all know men who are honest and sincere, who pay their debts and behave themselves, and yet secretly think that the governorship is a useless ornamentation to the body politic. The Legislature exists, according to their way of thinking, simply to provide jobs for the faithful politician. The county commissioners, even, are only trying to catch the humble citizen upon the hip. These same men are the ones who grumble at paying a hard-worked school teacher \$30 a month for four months in the year and sneer at the merchant who "ruins" them because he wears "suits" and clothes himself, and yet secretly ask for a contribution to the expenses of the Church, they invariably say: "Let the preacher work for his living, like I do." They are honest and sincere, but—

The Leap Year girl had, with flushed face and halting tongue, just stammered out a serious proposition to the coy young man at her side. He hesitated thoughtfully, while she waited with bated breath for his answer. He looked into her liquid eyes with a friendly gaze, "It'll be shorter to you," he said gently. And the spirit of dozens of rejected summer suitors laughed silently, but gleefully. Their revenge had come at last.

The Observer is interested in Madison county journalism but the by-ones means-effete cast his them all "beat a block" when it comes to the question of newspaper enterprise. For a chronicler of all the important happenings of the neighborhood, a true recorder of local current events, commend me to a paper published by the placid Pasquank, clipping from which is appended. Nothing is allowed, to escape the eagle eye of this reporter. If a person visits his neighbor, especially if he has serious intentions, he may look to see the event chronicled in his home paper—which is well and gives the paper deserved popularity.

"Misses Sarah and Maude Austin have just returned from Slabtown where they have been attending meetings.

"Mr. Willie Lewark is a constant visitor of Miss Sarah Austin. It is suspected that the wedding bells will soon ring there.

"Mr. Clair Baum was to see Miss Maud Austin Monday night.

"Miss Annie Gallop is the guest of Miss Sarah Ruster Monday.

"Mr. Ray Sanderlin and Mr. Ernest Sanderlin had a pleasant ride over Waterlily Monday in their gas boat.

"Hooray for Frog Sidon the wedding bells have begun to ring when Miss Maud Rustin will become Mrs. Maud Baum."

Baseball. Greensboro Record.

The baseball league winds up August 12th and taking it as a whole the people fond of the sport have been well pleased with the entertainment furnished. The games have served to while away many an afternoon and while the home team may not be able, at this late day, to win the pennant, the patrons of the game have been well satisfied. We have not heard the matter discussed, but quite likely Greensboro will be ready to put another team in the league next year.

ATLANTIC HOTEL Morehead City, North Carolina "Queen of Seaside Resorts."

COME IN AUGUST

Fishing is the finest sport, Mackerel is the finest fish, August is the finest month to catch them.

Encampment of the Third Regiment Here August 4th

Come and have a great time then. Plenty of music. Plenty of Fun.

WRITE FOR RESERVATION TO

Frank P. Morton, Mgr. - MOREHEAD CITY, N. C.