

CONDUCTING A CAMPAIGN

Progressive and Comprehensive Methods of National Committees. How the Work Has Been Enlarged—Entire Country Covered.



THOMAS H. CARTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 24.—National campaigning as conducted by the two great parties has grown during the last twenty years to be more or less of an exact science. Men are still living who remember the first burrah campaign, and one could not ask a better treat than to hear the venerable Richard W. Thompson of Indiana describe the log cabin and hard cider campaign of 1840 which resulted in the election of General William Henry Harrison. The fire of his enthusiasm kindles again as he tells the story of the immense throngs that followed the stump speakers into the fields, sang the campaign songs with mighty voice, danced with glee about the representations of log cabins and quaffed hard cider. For the greater part of six months the country was a scene of political festivity. After that the campaigns were exciting. They were conducted so as to create enthusiasm and appeal both to the eye and the ear. In 1856 the campaigners organized troops of boys, and every village had its Fremont company dressed in white shirts and dark trousers, on the side seams of which were stripes of white tape, while the youthful Buchanan cohorts wore dressed in Garibaldi shirts and their trousers were decorated with red tape. The rich politicians, taking pride in these youthful displays, presented to the young politicians banners emblazoned with the legends of the campaign. The torchlight procession, which has now become a permanent feature of national campaigning,

was a product of the campaign of 1856 which resulted in the election of Lincoln. National campaigns now began to take on more exact methods than had characterized them from 1840. Then every man was a campaigner, and the desire seemed to be principally to raise a great hue and cry which might bring everybody to the polls. But from the time the war broke out business men began to assume the management of campaigns, and to conduct them with the precision and in some respects the secrecy which characterizes the management of great business affairs. This change had become conspicuous when the campaign of 1876 began. The legitimate use of money in campaigns had become well understood. Much of the credit for the new method of campaigning belongs to Samuel J. Tilden. He saw that there must be enthusiasm, something for the public to grasp, an ideal or an issue on which a campaign could be conducted with just as much enthusiasm as characterized the campaign of 1840. That, however, must be only a part of the campaign. Tilden felt the time had come when something else was necessary, and that was a work which was to be done in secrecy, not because it was dishonorable, but because it was strategic. It involved the making of lists in every school district. It required correspondence calling for great corps of secretaries. It set the printing press to work for twenty-four hours in the day, seven days in the week. In brief, the change in prevailing methods

involved the creation of an organization that included in its ranks every farm house and cottage in the land. That this required money, and a great deal of it, goes without saying. When in the campaign of 1880, \$200,000 was raised and expended in the state of New York, the size of the sum caused general comment, but no vast variations have the demands upon national committees become such a sum would be regarded as a mere incident in the campaign sufficient to carry on a campaign. The expenses of national committees and of state committees reach into the millions. In the campaign of 1892 expenditures of \$1,000,000 and \$5,000,000 were spent by the two national committees and their subordinate associates. Some of the ablest statesmen believe that the science of campaigning will be developed in the near future to such an extent that each campaign committee will be compelled to organize something like a bank or trust company, which shall have control of its financial operations, for they are enormous works that they need something different from the comparatively irresponsible financial management that in former years has characterized the handling of the funds.

No two national campaigns are conducted on precisely the same lines, so all are directed by national executive committees, and the headquarters of an executive committee is always the center of political activity during the campaign. It is held down to the present time both the great parties have always had campaign headquarters in New York, despite frequent attempts to locate them elsewhere, and it has long been an unwritten law that these headquarters should be on Fifth avenue, and that private dwelling houses should be their habitations. And often are made in bulk only toward the latter end of a campaign. Chairmen have sometimes advanced upward of \$300,000 and \$400,000 either from their own resources or through pledges given by them. Often there is a deficiency in the account at the close of the campaign for expenses incurred at the last moment, and which are beyond the control of the auditing officers of the committee. Such was the case in 1888, when Calvin S. Brier, chairman of the Democratic committee, had nearly a quarter of a million dollars in the hands of the treasurer, and he was unable to pay the bills. No two campaigns are organized exactly alike, but there is a general similarity in the methods of campaign work. It is usually divided into three or four lines. Besides the chairman there is always a secretary, a treasurer, a speakers' committee, finance committee, and a committee on election methods. The secretary of the committee acts as a buffer to the chairman. His real duty is to entertain men who come to headquarters, and to fight off the hangers-on, and to capture the headquarters for purposes of their own. The treasurer is, of course, at the head of the finance committee. In some respects he is a hanger-on, but in others he is a man since he must not only strain every nerve to meet the expenses of the campaign, but must also so manage the funds after he has secured them that he can avoid a deficit at the end of the battle. If he is a methodical business man and such he generally is, he comes to be known as a hard

man to get along with by the committee's subordinates, and even by some of the committee-men quite early in the campaign. The printing committee is generally in charge of the editorial work as well as the printing. There is a tradition among every political headquarters which favors the circulation of documents, and this circulation is stimulated by the demands of local speakers. During a recent presidential campaign the bills for printing, including the work of preparing copies for the printers and the expense of mailing, amounted to \$250,000. Of course, the getting out of such an enormous number of documents renders necessary the organization of tremendous shipping departments. In the campaign just mentioned this department, together with the printing department of the printer, occupied three floors of huge building a whole block long and several hundred men, women, boys and girls were kept busy every week day and Sunday, and many nights, during the campaign getting the matter off. As a rule, however, campaign managers consider money expended in the circulation of documents money well spent. It was the opinion of Mr. Tilden, and has been the recently expressed opinion of Senator Hill that the silent workers which came through the mails to the voters had far more influence in determining the doubtful than stump speeches or political processions, and that is also the case when the republicans convert few voters, mainly for the reason that when a republican speaks he is listened to for the most part by republicans, and that is also the case when the democracy holds meetings. The chief value of the public demonstration and of the stump is that it maintains the party in the mind of the voter, and the senator puts it, it steadies the ranks. In the close states in the north, however, the doubtful voters decide the battle, and they are reached by the republicans by the greatest effect of mail. Still, few people have patience or interest sufficient to read political documents of any length, and the publications which have the greatest effect are the very brief paragraphs representing great concentrations of facts upon one sheet of paper.

The speakers' committee also has a difficult task to perform, for at least 2,000 orators find employment in a national campaign. Many of these speakers are under

are nearly all men of national repute, and their efforts are confined in the main to the close and doubtful states. The lot of the national committeeman who directs their movements is neither an easy nor a pleasant one. Some orators decline to speak in small towns, and others of less extended fame insist upon being scheduled for speeches in New York and other large cities. But the speakers' committee is generally successful in smoothing over these difficulties, in impressing the different orators with the field in which they can do the most good, and in persuading them to accept the assignment for which they have been scheduled. Formerly the cost of campaign speeches was the largest item in a bill of campaign expenses, but it is very different now. A great majority of campaign speakers, aside from their necessary expenses, receive no recompense for their services; those of the first class are paid a high salary, and a few are employed for several years by the national committee of his party, at a handsome salary.

In some of the states the result of an election is not uncertain, and in these little work is necessary, though watch has to be kept lest through apathy the unexpected

may occur. It is to the doubtful and close states that most attention is given. The national committees watch everything in these states very closely, and by means of meetings and processions keep the excitement at an high a pitch as possible. A most important part of a committee's work is known as polling the doubtful states. That is, securing a supposedly complete and correct list of the voters in each state. These lists often cost a great deal of money, and often are found to be discouragingly faulty and incomplete. This is not surprising when one considers the brief life of an executive committee. In very few cases does such a committee have more than three months in which to do its work, a work involving the organization of a vast business institution as well as a political machine. Many times would have four years instead of three months in which to do its work. Its poll lists would be kept constantly revised, and its machinery would always be well oiled and efficient. This year the campaign promises to begin late, and it is possible that at least one of the great parties will have its headquarters away from New York.

Bobbie—Mother, were all the bad men destroyed by the flood? Mother—Yes, my dear Bobbie—who has just received a whipping from his father—When is there going to be another flood?



CALVIN S. BRIER.

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AMERICAN HISTORY IN SONG

Political Issues of a Century as Set Forth in Campaign Verse.

ONE THAT HAVE STIRRED THE VOTERS

Clever and Crude Parodies Commemorating the Changes in Political Thought from Washington to Cleveland.

(Copyright, 1896, by S. S. McClure Co.) In our campaign songs, emphasizing as they do the live issues of political parties and the personal traits of the candidates, we have a fairly complete outline of American history from Washington to Cleveland. Some record, perhaps, but an indisputable record nevertheless. Like the old English ballads, these electioneering songs commemorate the changes in political thought from decade to decade. First off, "The Father of His Country," the immortal George, in 1792 was elected to the strains of the following somewhat grandiloquent ode: "Great Washington, the hero's come! Each heart exulting hears the sound: Thousands to their deliverer throng, And shout him 'welcome' all around. Chorus: 'Now in full chorus join the song, And shout aloud for Washington.' For his second election in 1792, although there was a great deal of party strife, the tone of the songs was in the following verse of the favorite federal song: "No more shall anarchy bear sway, No petty states pursue their way; But all united firm in one Shall seek the general good alone. Chorus: 'Great Washington shall rule this land, While Adams' counsel aids his hand.' The tunes to which the electioneering songs were sung at this time were, with the exception of Yankee Doodle, familiar tunes of Great Britain; thus we find Washington's praises sung to the air of "God Save the King," the federal song to the tune "Rule Britannia," "Black Steer" and "King William's March," also figuring in the campaign of Washington's second election. In 1804 the stirring song "Jefferson and Liberty" and the tune "A Cobler There Came" assisted in Jefferson's victory. The campaign of Washington's second election, and Clinton in 1805 produced many "Embarco songs," one of these set to the tune "The Little Lads" is exceedingly clever, and one of the verses remains a significant trend which is quite surprising for that period of our country's history. Here it is: "Was that I could sing in Allegro mood, Could I have my choice I would strain up voice Till it snapped all the strings of 'Embarco.' Chorus: Oh, what a fat keg Embargo, A thorough-bred kind of 'Embarco.' The parts never chime, and 'tis set to no time, 'Tis a long-winded tune of 'Embarco.' During the campaign appeared the "Tag Rag and Bobtail" songs in which the Jeffersonians caustically defended themselves from the stigma cast upon them by the upper tier or silk stockings of Baltimore. The old

favorite Scotch tune, "John Anderson, My Joe," began to do service as early as 1812, and President Madison was unmercifully lampooned in those familiar strains in verse, commencing, "James Madison, My Joe Jim." The collapse of the federal party during the war of 1812-14, owing to the Hartford Convention, left Monroe to run, virtually without opposition, and "a roaring song from little Delaware," entitled "American Perry," sung to the tune of "Abraham Newland," helped to give spirit and fun to the campaign. In a comical vein it relates how the British commodore, getting tired of Jamaica rum and cherry, concluded to go and get some cheap American Perry, but that he was so deceptive that they were greatly disappointed, and rued their unlucky wafery. "Your liquor's too hot, Keep it still in the pot, No petty states pursue their way, No civil war we mean, nor no Disunion. When Jackson and Calhoun ran in 1828 with Adams and Clay for opponents the poetic muse was compelled to pay tribute both for and against the military hero, and for the first time, the strains of the "Star Spangled Banner" appear with praises of Perry's heroic victory on Lake Erie furnished themes for popular songs to the tune "The Star Spangled Banner." The contest between Jackson and John Quincy Adams developed no campaign musical literature, unless an anti-tariff song, "Aly Crooked" and Scotch considered. It is, however, most interesting in view of the secession which occurred thirty-six years later to note the following lines which clearly indicate that the south had already been suspected of separation intentions: "Nay, quake not, Yankee brother, now, 'Tis better to patch up your old panjane, than to fight a war that will ruin you both. 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