

ELEVENTH HOUR ROORBACKS

Famous Cards Played by Campaign Managers in Past Political Games.

MISTAKES WHICH HAVE MADE HISTORY

The blunder of Birchard, the Morcy Fake and the Murchison Letter—Striking Instances of Political Fittness.

NEW YORK, Oct. 9.—Now in the season when the campaign managers are awake at night dreaming the roorbacks that may be sprung upon his candidate and party. These roorbacks, as a rule, are held in reserve until the briefest possible time before the day of the election, in order that the contradiction cannot have the same circulation as the original. No matter how absurd and improbable these reports may be, they always find some believers and change some votes. As long ago as the campaign which ended in the election of Jackson and the defeat of the younger Adams, such instrumentalities, scurrilous beyond anything of more modern times, were not regarded as unlawful weapons to be used in a presidential canvass. The coffin handbill, as it was called, headed with the initials bearing the names of men General Jackson had hung in the Creek war for giving aid and comfort to the enemy, was one of the most offensive.

Besides this handbill, which was spread broadcast over the country, others more personally abusive were in circulation. Adams, a purist of the purists, was accused of a variety of crimes, one of the least of which was that he had acted as a procurer to the czar of Russia. Clay was branded with more bitter epithets, it was possible, than was General Jackson. "Bargain and corruption" was charged against him for giving the deciding vote in the house of representatives for Adams in the year before, and his subsequent acceptance of the position of secretary of state under Adams gave some color to the charge, and a member of congress, George Kremer of Pennsylvania, made some statements, and I believe made affidavits to them, that charge. In after years it was proven that James Buchanan was instrumental in the circulation of this charge, and Clay never lost an opportunity while in the senate of assailing Buchanan.

When Van Buren was the candidate against Harrison, in 1840, the charges against him were extravagance, and the hard times which had prevailed since 1827. Jack Ogley made a good speech, telling how Van Buren used gold spoons at his meals, while the people, in consequence of his extravagance, were obliged to "put up with pewter spoons." It seems hardly credible at this day that such a charge should have been seriously made in a presidential canvass, but it was regarded as a powerful instrument against Van Buren, at a time when there was so much suffering and times were so hard. Van Buren's son, "Prince" John, just about the close of the campaign, returned from England. The news at once spread that he had danced with the queen. These charges were used effectively in the press, and hurried Van Buren to the van-lance of states which voted for Harrison.

"BLACK-LEG AND PURITAN." When Clay was a candidate for the presidency in 1844, his running mate was Theodore Tilton, who was a member of the democratic party of the American Bible society. Clay was assailed for his fondness for cards and horse racing, and, contrasting the two men, the ticket was called the ticket of the "Black-leg and the Puritan." Another campaign device, used most effectively by the opponents of Clay, was a translation by the democratic of a document on the tariff, which was circulated among the Germans of Pennsylvania, and gave that state to the democracy. "This translation," writes George W. Julian, "was a masterpiece of duplicity, and a means of success has no precedent in campaign politics." By the most telling method employed by Clay himself, he had the whigs on a platform

drawn for the benefit of the loose constructionists of the constitution, but which was silent on the subject of the annexation of Texas, then the dominating question of the hour. Afterward, however, Clay wrote the so-called "Raleigh letter," in which he deliberately announced his opposition to annexation, then, becoming alarmed by the dissatisfaction of his friends in the south, he wrote again, this time the "Alabama letter," and got them in large measure back to his political fortunes. It failed to restate him in favor with the south, and it lost him much of his northern support. Polk, his opponent, secured a majority of sixty-five in the electoral college.

In the canvass of 1848 General Taylor did not escape, but the worst charged against him, and it was said Webster originated it, was when he pronounced the nomination as one unit to be made—that "he was a hard-swinging frontier colonel." Webster subsequently recanted and made one or two powerful speeches for Taylor. It was charged, however, that he was paid to deliver them. Against Taylor was opposed General Lewis Cass, with his bloodless sword admirably personating the hero of Buena Vista, and got them in large measure—receiving 163 electoral votes to 127 cast for Cass. In 1852, General Scott, the real hero of the Mexican war, was ridiculed for his vanity, and that was exaggerated, of course, and his "hasty plate of soup" letter and some un-

land campaign. Had there been no Vallandigham in existence, however, the result would probably have been the same. The moral conditions existed in 1858. From the former Seymour, "refusing to consent, commented" to be the candidate, the result was a foregone conclusion. It was not until 1872 that the democratic party, with a degree of manliness unequalled, nominated its old-time foe, Horace Greeley, his success at the outset seemed assured. The life-long friend of the negro race, for whom he had met all sorts of opprobrium, and whose battles he had fought, the colored man turned his back on him, and his fate was sealed. The state election in North Carolina took place in August, and it was essential to the success of Greeley that it should be carried by the democrats. Augustus Schell, who was chairman of the national committee, gave them all they asked for, some \$30,000, and ex-Senator Ransom had charge of the campaign. The state was lost to the democrats, but the contrary was exhibited in that unexpectantly turned the political fate of Greeley. When the election was over, Ransom returned to Schell a balance sheet which showed that he had \$3,000 or \$4,000. It was thought that if that sum had been expended in certain counties, it would have produced a different result. It may be so—but the moral was that money should be returned. It was unless I am mistaken, the first instances on record.

Perhaps the last card played in the campaign of 1876 was an alleged interview with Tilden and a southern senator, in which Tilden declared in favor of the payment of cotton tax and other southern war claims. The interview appeared in some obscure southern paper and was copied here and extensively circulated only a few days before the election. Tilden wrote a letter denouncing the interview as false and took ground against the payment of those war claims, and millions of that letter in every form—letters, posters, circulars—were spread broadcast in the south.

THE MORCY LETTER. The canvass of 1880 abounded in roorbacks. The canvassers, seeking upon a luckless utterance of General Hancock's to the effect that the tariff was a "local issue," took occasion to ridicule his ignorance of economic and political affairs, and their efforts were directed to the effect of causing his defeat. Hancock could truly have said, "Some enemy hath done this," but, as a matter of fact, it was Senator Richard, an indirect friend, who advised him to thus define his position on the tariff question. On the other hand, Garfield was accused of disreputable connection with the Credit Mobilier and with the Washington ring back in the seventies, while shortly before election day the democratic campaign managers signed broadcast facsimiles of a letter signed with Garfield's name, and representing him as so lovingly attracted to "our great manufacturing and corporate interests" as to favor Chinese immigration until laborers should be sufficiently abundant to satisfy capital. The document, known as the "Morcy letter," caused Garfield no end of trouble at the time, but was promptly stamped as a forgery, and failed of its hoped-for object—the defeat of the republican candidate.

Renowned Philip, who was credited with being the real author of the letter, has been

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THE AMERICAN MARSEILLAISE. A political sermon entitled "The American Marseillaise" delivered at the office of the popular party, and rendered for the first time in English by the Rev. Dr. H. W. Templeton of Columbus, O., and many other prominent representatives of various denominations. The congress is a direct outcome of the World's Fair Congress of Religious Societies, the initiatory step having been taken during that meeting. It is an attempt to ameliorate the dogmatic spirit and to minimize the sectarian divisions in communities.

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