

HARDEST JOB IN THE LIST

Extent and Variety of Labor Required of the Manager of a Presidential Campaign.

MUST BE A HUSTLER AMONG HUSTLERS

How Political Gospel is Prepared and Fed to the Press and People—Orators Who Speak for Glory—Others for Pay.

In a burst of confidence, following a long day of devotion to the consideration of a soluble puzzle in practical politics, in the midst of the campaign of 1896, the Hon. A. Hanna declared that of all the jobs he had ever tackled, the chairman-ship of a national campaign committee was by long odds the worst. Then after a picturesque recital of some of the exasperating, brain racking experiences through which he had recently passed, he made the unqualified statement that no imaginable consideration would induce him to attempt the management of a second presidential campaign. Yet, there are plenty of indications that unless his health shall fall he will enter the campaign this year with as much heartiness as he did four years ago.

As to the trials and difficulties which beset a national campaign committee chairman, there is probably no man living that has been through them who would disagree with Mr. Hanna. Leaving the political work out altogether and considering it solely from the business point of view, the conduct of a presidential campaign committee is an appalling proposition, especially of late years. It involves the creation of an executive organization quite as elaborate and complicated as that required to carry on the most extensive of modern enterprises, the collection and expenditure of a sum of money so large as to require seven figures for its expression, the selection and employment, directly and indirectly, of thousands of workers, the gathering and dissemination of special information on a scale not less extensive than that of a great telegraphic news association, and a hundred other things beside, none of which can safely be entrusted to any one not an expert in his line.

Moreover, the organization of the committee's forces has to be effected in a very short time, and as its entire work must be accomplished in a little more than four months, at the outside, everything has to be done under the most intense and wearing pressure.

Committee Headquarters.

Until 1896 campaign headquarters were invariably established in the city of New York, and according to an unwritten rule they were almost always located in a four-story house on Fifth avenue. That year, however, both parties broke away from the old order of things and housed their chief headquarters in Chicago, though the committee performed maintenance of a branch in the metropolis. In Chicago the forces of both committees were quartered in modern office buildings; in New York the republicans took one whole floor in a handsome white marble structure on Union Square, while the democrats occupied a portion of a well known hotel not a stone's throw away.

The headquarters of a national campaign committee must of necessity be almost as extensive as a big railroad's executive offices, since room must be afforded for half a dozen different sets of employees, besides suites for the various committee officials. In 1896 Chairman Hanna and Jones were provided with large airy rooms both in New York and Chicago, but in 1892 it was different. Chairman Carter of the republicans being content with a hall bedroom for an office and Chairman Harry of the democrats faring little better.

In a sense, the "press bureau" is next in importance to the chairman's headquarters, since through it the reporters and correspondents are furnished with such news as the committee wishes to give out. It cannot be revealing a secret to say that national committee press bureaus are sometimes managed about as inefficiently as possible. There have been some exceptions to this rule, but there is hardly a political correspondent in the business who cannot substantiate the statement that as a general thing the committee press bureau most unlikely place in the world to look for really important news.

Making of Documents.

This bureau, however, is only a small part of the committee's machinery for the distribution of campaign matter. The bureau's relations are mainly with the telegraphic news associations, the metropolitan papers and the special correspondents. The country journals are fed with political news through the medium of the big national publishing houses and the concerns which supply "plate matter," copy for the "patents" and the "plates" being furnished by an editorial staff employed especially for that purpose. Often the "plates" and sometimes the "patents" of necessity incur the papers at the committee's expense. One year one of the great parties supplied between 2,000 and 3,000 weekly newspapers with virtually all their political reading in this way throughout the entire campaign, while the other party supplied perhaps two-thirds as many.

Gospel in Many Tongues.

Intimately connected with the document mill, of course, is the bureau or department which prepares political reading matter for voters who have not mastered English—the Finns and the Magyars, the Scandinavians and the Bohemians, the Italians, the Poles and all the rest of the European contingent. It has commonly, though not always, been considered good enough to translate into Latin, translations into almost every European language of nearly all the documents got out in English, and the troubles of the functionary who has to look after this job are simply indescribable. To begin with, he is generally not of necessity ignorant of the languages into which the documents are to be translated and therefore quite incompetent to judge the ability of those whom he has to engage as translators or their work when it is finished. His only safety lies in engaging two persons familiar with each of the "unknown tongues" into which the matter is to be done. One of these he trusts with the translation; the other examines it carefully when finished to see that no error has been committed.

What was considered one of the most important documents in one campaign came near being a veritable boomerang, so far as the Finns were concerned. The translator understood Finnish all right, but his know-

ledge of English was limited and he transformed affirmative into negative and vice versa in a wholesale fashion that made the document stand in Finnish for exactly the reverse of what it stood for in English. Fortunately the errors were discovered in time to prevent the distribution of any of the uncorrected copies of the document, though not until after the plates had been put upon the press and about half a ton of good clean white paper had been spoiled. Documents in German and French are easily made, of course, and generally by special bureaus.

But both press bureau and plate matter department sink into insignificance compared with the "document" mill. It is the function of this department, which employs a writing and editing staff of its own, to compile, print and distribute the leaflets, tracts, the pamphlets, the handbooks and the posters which campaign committees invariably and perhaps rightly consider of such vast importance. Different committees conduct their document mills differently; of course, as a rule most wastefully, so far as the manufacturing goes, though this was not the case on the part of the republicans in 1896. The genius in charge of the document printing plant year continued the department on strictly business principles, even to so arranging the size of paper in the various documents and the number of pages in each that sheets of paper thirty-three by forty-six inches in size could be used with-



WAITING TO SEE THE CHAIRMAN.

out waste, and documents of any given number could be packed for shipment, in cases of certain standard sizes, without waste. These may seem like minor matters, but even the layman will understand otherwise when the statement is made that in 1892 the republicans put upwards of 100,000,000 separate documents—more than one and a third for every man, woman and child in the United States—at a cost for printing of almost \$200,000 and nearly as much more for distribution. Any practical printer or binder will testify that it is quite possible to waste paper by the ton when documents are not printed in million lots, unless careful attention is paid to size relations between pages and sheets. In one campaign not more than a hundred years ago the machinery for producing documents was so much more efficient than the machinery for distribution that just before the end of the struggle it was found necessary either to burn or send to the junkshop about two carloads of printed matter so fresh from the press that the ink was hardly dry.

Campaign artists are generally expensive patrons of what might by a stretch be termed the arts and also of what its writers fondly believe to be poetry.



IN THE SPEAKER'S BUREAU—WAGERS ON THE MAP SHOW WHERE POLITICAL ADDRESSES ARE SCHEDULED.

Under the head of the arts may be included the millions of candidates' portraits which are put out under committee auspices, also the cartoons, diagrams, badges (pins and buttons) and the like. Opinions differ as to the value of such things in the getting of votes, but committees always spend thousands, sometimes hundreds of thousands in the direction. One portrait engraver knows to the writer delivered more than a million portraits of both the republican and democratic candidates to the committees in 1892, and his profits thereon were big enough to make up for the heavy losses of an entire year.

Naturally the tendency on the part of committees to indulge in "art" attracts a good end of cranks to submit no end of crank designs. Every day from the beginning to the end of the campaign the mails are laden with them; every day the postal reception room is crowded with men and a sprinkling of women who prefer bringing their productions in person to introducing them to Uncle Sam's mail. In the nature of things not one in a thousand of the submitted designs is accepted, but a larger or smaller number generally of surprising crudeness and lack of cleverness are almost always taken over and made use of in addition to those which are done by professional cartoon draughtsmen. A comprehensible collection of the rejected ones would form a museum of surpassing stupidity.

The poetry sent to the committee—and it arrives at headquarters in wholesale quantities daily—is generally in the form of songs. It need hardly be stated that most of it is written by persons who have never learned to scan their lines and have little idea of rhyme. One who escaped to write songs for the republican committee in 1896 tried to make "home" rhyme with "home" and "gate" with "take." Most committees by campaign songs pretty freely and it is agreed on all hands that a taking composition set to stirring music is a mighty good investment whether the poetry is very good or not. Indignant and sometimes abusive letters from gentlemen whose "art" and "poetry" have been thus "done" make up a very considerable portion of the committee's mail from day to day. Naturally this sort of mail grows as the campaign progresses and is generally pretty heavy by the end of the contest.

Press bureau, plate department, document mill and the art and poetry divisions are naturally in control of the committee secretary, generally and on principle a much overworked man. The committee's statistician, who is generally figuring and making tabulations of previous votes from morning to night, is also a subordinate of the secretary.

The spellbinders. Leaving out the chairman and possibly the

GOTHAM'S NEW SCHOOL LAW

Sweeping Changes in School Finances in New York City.

WAGES OF TEACHERS LIBERALLY INCREASED

Severe Criticism of Some Features of the Law—Progress of Indian Education—College Education for Women.

The new law fixing the wage schedule for school teachers in New York City and transferring control of school finances from the mayor and Board of Estimate to the Board of Education receives very little commendation from the press, but is warmly applauded by the beneficiaries. The law is the outcome of a controversy over the action of the city authorities in scripping the schools and delaying the payment of salaries. The teachers took counsel with the opponents of Tammany and the result is a law which floats Tammany "economy" and goes to the extreme of lavishness.



WAITING TO SEE THE CHAIRMAN.

The law provides for a general school fund to be paid over to the Board of Education. This fund is to consist of an amount

equivalent to a 4-mill tax on all property in the city, inclusive of state moneys. Each school board is to receive \$600 for each teacher and the remainder of the fund is to be distributed in proportion to the number of pupils in the public schools.

Power to adopt a uniform schedule of salaries is given to the Board of Education, which provides a minimum annual rate for each grade. Kindergarten or women teachers of girls' classes must get not less than \$1,240 after sixteen years' service, no woman teacher of a girls' graduating class or vice principal less than \$1,440 after fifteen years and no woman teacher less than \$600, while the annual increment must be \$40.

No man teacher of higher classes is to receive less than \$2,160 after twelve years; no man teacher of a graduating class or vice principal less than \$2,400 after ten years and no man teacher less than \$900, with an annual increment of at least \$100. Further provisions are made for teachers in the various grades.

A final provision is made that the "annual increment for each class or grade of the supervising and the teaching staff shall be doing college work in the educational institutions of this country only in twenty-one received the degree of A. B. while in the colleges for women in in fourteen attained to that degree. The present effort of the colleges for men is not to bring every young man, whatever his talent or purpose, to the same standard by use of an inflexible method, but to determine the preparation most desirable for the particular man. If this is desirable for men it is equally so for women, and absolutely necessary as between classes possessing inherently different characteristics. The work of young women, as to method, should be wrought within conditions less exacting than those for men. The woman's strength is not in the physical, but in the mental and moral. Provision should be made for regulated social functions. Her college work should qualify her for either or all of her three normal relations to society, as wife and mother, as bread-earner, and as a member of the leisure class, commanding a time for educational, benevolent and religious offices. Provision should be made for adjustment, systematic and required exercises under the personal direction of qualified medical advisers and specialists in electro-therapeutics."

Allice Freeman Palmer, so long the distinguished head of Wellesley Female college, herself a graduate of a western educational institution, stands to her alma mater, in spite of her life work as a teacher of girls in a separate school, wisely says: "My word is this: That it is not possible today, any more than it was possible 100 years ago, to annihilate the womanliness of our American girls by anything that you can do to them in education. I really cannot find that it makes much difference in their love of womanly ideals whether they are in a western educational college, or under the shadow of the old eastern university, or alone in the estates of a woman's college by themselves."

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and Chickasaw tribes, known as the five civilized tribes. In no way do they resemble the typical redskin of other days, but those who did not know they were in Indian Territory would not imagine those graduates were Indians, so fair is their complexion and so cultured their bearing.

Hundred of the girls who graduate this year will enter the musical and art professions, while some will cultivate their literary talents, others teach and a few settle down to home life. But the Indian girl is ambitious for a career and many have gained considerable fame. The young men enter law, medicine and mercantile life, but few go to the farm and less are idlers. There is much change in the Indian student today compared to ten years ago. No more do they lounge about and devour bad Indian food. Some of the brightest men in the southwest are graduates from Indian Territory colleges.

The federal government spares no expense in educating them. The Cherokees have four colleges with an average attendance of 375, and maintained at a cost of \$48,500 annually. Three of these colleges are located at Tahlequah, the capital. Boston, there, there are 124 common schools, with an average enrollment of 1,500 and maintained at \$79,700 annually. The British mission at Tahlequah has about 600 pupils.

The Chickasaws have five colleges, to which 200 pupils go, and for which \$47,000 is spent yearly. In this nation there are thirteen districts which keep up \$24,000 annually. The Choctaws have 169 common schools, maintained by an annual cost of \$55,000. There are no regular colleges in the Choctaw nation, but all the common schools teach the higher branches. The Seminole only have two schools kept up by \$21,000 per year. This is the smallest of the five tribes and the most backward toward civilization. Both schools are at Weawaka, where 200 or more pupils attend.

The Creeks have 100 colleges and sixty-five common schools, being better prepared to educate than any of the other five tribes. It costs \$73,000 annually to run the colleges and \$17,000 for the common schools. There are about 400 students in this tribe.

Education of Women.

Parents of daughters will turn with unusual interest, says the San Francisco Chronicle, to a discussion which recently took place at a meeting of educators of this country upon the advisable differences between the education of young women and that of young men. Although the trend of argument was opposed to coeducation, so temperately were these arguments advanced and so graciously toward its highest possibilities, that the appreciation of certain advantages of coeducation, that the most ardent advocate of the latter system can find no offense in their personal. The main points made by John Franklin Hughes, president of the Woman's college of Baltimore and the leading speaker, are as follows:

"The object of college education is not to make a living, but to make a life. It is the unfolding, by instruction and training, of the distinctive powers of the individual. If men and women are identical in nature, functions and ideal, their education should be identical. If, on the other hand, both nature and ideal in the one are essentially different from those in the other, their education should be different and adjusted with special consideration of each. There are physical and psychological differences between young women and young men. As we rise in the scale of civilization the demands upon women concentrate more and more, yet maintain as great variety within their narrower limits, while the demands upon men are multiplied, but simplified by processes of specialization.

"The attempt to educate young women and young men as one usually assumes that one to be the young man. Young women are not aided in their best work as students by the presence of young men. The results are variable. With some it is disappointing, with others it produces an undesirable reserve, and with others an unhealthy tension and nervous strain. Great love, and propinquity is her high prize. Of the young women who in 1892-97 were doing college work in the educational institutions of this country only in twenty-one received the degree of A. B. while in the colleges for women in in fourteen attained to that degree. The present effort of the colleges for men is not to bring every young man, whatever his talent or purpose, to the same standard by use of an inflexible method, but to determine the preparation most desirable for the particular man. If this is desirable for men it is equally so for women, and absolutely necessary as between classes possessing inherently different characteristics. The work of young women, as to method, should be wrought within conditions less exacting than those for men. The woman's strength is not in the physical, but in the mental and moral. Provision should be made for regulated social functions. Her college work should qualify her for either or all of her three normal relations to society, as wife and mother, as bread-earner, and as a member of the leisure class, commanding a time for educational, benevolent and religious offices. Provision should be made for adjustment, systematic and required exercises under the personal direction of qualified medical advisers and specialists in electro-therapeutics."

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