ELECTIONS COST BIG MONEY

Estimates of the Expenses of National, State and Local Campaigns.

POLITICAL BATTLES REDUCED TO A SCIENCE

Men Who Write, Men Who Talk and Men Who Buttonhole Make Up a Blg Salary List-Accounts Rarely Audited.

It cost \$600 to nominate Abraham Lin soin for president and \$7,000,000 to elect William McKinley. These figures represent in part the growth of political campaigning in thirty six years into a great business with a perfect system of organization. Today the total expenses of all political parties and candidates in the United States for one campaign in which a president and congress are elected exceed the entire cost of the federal government for the first twenty years of his

Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland and Mat thew S. Quay of Pennsylvania are the men who, as chairmen of the national executive or campaign committees of the democrati and republican parties in 1884, introduced into American politics the present system of conducting national campaigns by means of thorough organization throughout the of money for speakers, literature, music fireworks and other spectacular features that please the masses and often conceal the real work of the men who control or influence voters. All the work done by the republicans in that contest, all their carefully laid plans and mastery of details were in the end nullified by one ill-timed and injudicious phrase, and in every subsequent campaign the secret watchword of each national chairman, the warning ever before his eyes, has been; "Remember Burchard!" The brief spee h of Dr. Burchara, in which he used the phrase, "Rum Romanism and Rebellion," in the opinion of all republican politicians of that time, defeated Blaine. Prior to that speech party managers eagerly sought and encouraged with ut question any and all public declara tions in favor of their party or its candidates. Today they censor 90 per cept of all the campaign speeches delivered, and carefully consider the possible reception and effect of every public utterance before they permit it to be made,

The business affairs of the great political parties are entrusted to national committees, composed of one member from each delegates to the national conventions at the time the conventions are held. The chairman of a national committee is always the | proximately correct. The accuracy choice of the nominee for president and he is the supreme power in planning and conducting the campaign. Candidates for president, with few exceptions, make speeches or public appearances and write no political letters during a campaign without the advice and approval of the national chairman of their party. The exceptions to this rule have all been defeated. In this connection it may be recalled that Blaine was in New York contrary to the advice of Senator Quay when the Burchard incident

Getting Down to Business.

National headquarters are opened soon after the candidates are nominated. The national chairmen appoint various subcommittees and assign members of the national committees to certain specific work, and then for four or five weeks every man ampaign funds, that they may have friends be. Large contributions are also obtained by the personal selicitation of the chairman and the treasurer, both of whom must have an extensive acquaintance among men of large wealth. Because of the civil service regulations no money is raised by political theory at least, a voluntary contribution.

The management of a national campaign is probably the only business in the world involving the collection and expenditure of millions of dollars in a period of three months that is conducted without the assistance of a bookkeeper and at the same chairman is the only man who knows to a cent how much money is received and how the money is provided, if the national much paid out, because he alone handles the secret service and emergency funds. The bulk of the money, however, is turned and draws checks for all bills presented to him with proper vouchers and audit.

First in importance in the mass of work that confronts the campaign managers when they open headquarters is the preparation of literature. A great variety of political Information, well written and arranged, must be embodied in small books, circulars, letters, posters and pamphlets. Many expert writers are employed and well paid, while the mass of stuff submitted by outsiders is carefully examined and such as proves available is accepted and paid for Experts are employed to search the records of congress and the departments in Washington for facts and figures that may be useful and convincing. The chief document issued is known as the campaign text book. One million or more copies are printed in less than one month. The volume is called a text book because it supplies the information used in political addresses by the hunduring the campaign

Cost of Printing.

A great quantity and variety of other literature, including poems, songs, condensed statistics about finance, coinage, the tariff and other issues, and speeches in congress of prominent party leaders, is selected and erough printed to supply every voter in the country. The cost of printing the literature of one party, the matter selected by the national committee, varies from \$100,000 to \$250,000, and the expense of distribution is nearly as much.

While the chairman of the national committee and his assistants are preparing the literature, they have in operation a 'speakers' bureau," where men are employed to make speeches at any place to which they may be assigned. A few prominent party leaders, senators and congressmen volunteer their services for a limited number of speeches. They expect no compensation, but their traveling expenses are paid from headquarters. The great army of speakers of less reputation, the men classed as "spellbinders," are hired and paid by the national committee. With few exceptions their speeches pass through the hands of a careful censor before the men are sent out. The pay of these speakers tanges from \$500 for one speech down to \$100 a week and expenses, the prices being regulated by the reputation of the speaker and his ability to interest and hold an audience. These men are held to strict account in the matter of expenses and are required to present vouchers with their

it sometimes happens that popular ora- politics. tors, whose volunteer services are gladly accepted, prove very costly campaigners. No one at national headquarters would preine to question their expense accounts. In 1896 a very popular volunteer speaker and lung troubles.

urned into the Chicago headquarters of his party an expense bill of \$1,200 for a trip to a nearby state, where he made one peech, \$1,000 of this sum representing, it sald, his losses at poker while on the

rip. The account was paid. Arrangements for public meetings to which hired or volunteer speakers are de alled are made through state and local committees. From these minor organizaions the demand for outside speakers is always in excess of the supply.

The man in charge of the speakers sureau is in daily communication by tele graph with his army of orators. They re port to him where they are and how the are received. In addition local leaders report to him upon the speakers and the result of their efforts. If a man proves full or unsatisfactory in one locality he s immediately ordered elsewhere or re-

Value of Newspapers.

Campaign managers depend to some ex tent upon the newspapers for information political conditions in remote sec tions of the country, and the clipping and reading bureau at headquarters is an important detail. The press committee or rusted subordinates have also to deal with ie owners of scores of small papers who lemand a cash consideration for support ng the ticket. Most of this business i egarded as blackmail, but party managerubmit rather than risk the loss of a few otes in a close state. The owner or editor makes a statement as to the circulation and influence of his publication, and then offers to publish a certain amount of adertising during the campaign and support the ticket for a fixed sum to be paid in advance. He usually has some friend in the local organization to speak a good word for him. If his demand is not toextravagant the support of his publication is secured by paying him for the advertisement five or ten times his customary

ere outlined has been arranged so care subordinates at national headquarters with men of the national committees now take tock of their funds. They usually want more money and often a great deal more. They send forth letters and appeals alarmliberal givers of the party. They always manage to replenish the treasury. While trusted experts at work gathering reports or the candidates of each party. Careful men condensed and detailed tables showing how each state will vote on election day if the first poll of the votes was apthese early forecasts would astonish the general public and they are not guesses, but careful mathematical calculations based on reports and records. Men who ecome expert at this work command high men the doubtful states and the weak oints in their plan of campaign. Within week they have doubled the number of peakers in certain sections, flooded entire states with new literature and issued the most extravagant but positive statements about the outlook in other localities in the hope of influencing those voters who want to be with the winning party. Putting Out the Money.

When this stage of a national campaign reached the expenditures are limiteonly by the amount of money on hand or in prospect. If the funds are ample, \$50, who is to take part in the management of 1000 a day or more is paid out from head the campaign is expected to work from quarters. If necessary to economize speaktwelve to eighteen hours every day. The era are laid off, literature curtailed and first and most important work is to collect state committees notified to expect no furmoney for a campaign fund. That duty ther financial assistance. In any eventhe national committee. Circular letters puts aside an emergency fund, which may generations. All the miseries of existence and personal letters are sent out to individ- be \$109,000 or \$1,000,000. This fund is have no terrors for the Chinaman so long uals and to great corporations. Many of the kept in cash ready for instant use, and as he is raising children to worship at the great corporate interests contribute to both the amount of it is known only to the ancestral tombs. His individuality he counts in power, no matter what the result may from it is kept the entries are merely lump liy and with pathetic devotion die within

sums sent to --- state or city. State and local leaders, in addition to chairman, have organized and perfected a vast secret service for their own informa- family They send out secret agents from assessments. Every dollar received is, in headquarters to report upon conditions where results are in doubt or local management unsatisfactory. termine the points where extraordinary efforts may win a victory. In this work the secret service fund is expended. Wherever a reliable worker is able to how where he can get a certain number time managed without extravagance. The of votes for the party if supplied with a certain amount of money for extra work

chairmen have it. This work is called "still hunting," and the details of it are never made public. ever to the treasurer, who keeps it in bank | There is no intention on the part of the writer to convey the impression that any part of this work is bribery or the buying of votes. Under present political conditions be put out in a hurry. But when a tried and trusted party worker says he can carry a city, county, ward or district if he has so much money for expenses he need not submit an itemized account of the ex-

Days of Auxiety.

The last ten days of a campaign are days of anxiety to every manager unless the political situation so favors one party that no accident or error could possibly change the anticipated result. That is the period when every possible precaution is taken to avoid a second Burchard incident and when secret service work is prosecuted with viger on both sides wherever it promises to drains of men employed to make speeches aid in the general result. The experi calculators are kept busy, final polls are made and reports are obtained from every section, and unless the contest is going to be very close experienced managers in nation and state can tell within a few hundred or thousand votes how the election is going. The figures upon which they rely never made public. The fight toward the end is often largely bluff, each side claiming everything in order to influence every hesitating voter who wants to vote with the winning side. No matter how certain a result may appear before election, there out, no relaxation of vigilance anywhere. because every campaign manager with a eputation at stake remembers Burchard. The money expended by the national emmittees is only a small part of the otal cost of the campaigns and elections from \$100,000 to upward of \$1,000,000 working for the state tickets. The party expenditures in large cities are enormous and the expenses of thousands of candiascertained. The entire system of campaigning has been reduced to a matter of business in this country and during the past twenty years the increase in the eash expenditure has been close to one hundred fold. Experienced politicians estimate that the total cost of national, state and local campaigns and elections in 1900 will largely exceed \$100,000,000. It may console the masses of the people to know that the major portion of the cost is borne by men who live or profit by the business of WALTER B. HAWLEY.

folks use it. We refer to One Minute The Chinametr's physical characteristics, Cough Cure It will quickly cure all throat too, are such as to make him formidable

Views of an American Woman Long Resident of Shanghai.

RECUPERATIVE POWER OF THE RACL

Slaughter, Plague and Famine Fall to theck the Increase-trowded Condition of Cities and Country.

SHANGHAL, China, Aug. 15.-To an American an adequate comprehension of the tremendous populousness of Caina is almost impossible. This country has nothng to approach it. The densest slums of the great American cities with their teem ing tenements give but a faint idea of ming districts are as overcrasted as ur great American cities. It is this vasd ever-increasing population when constitutes the main danger to the civilized nations, of a war which should involve the whole Chinese people. The more force of umbers of these millions, uncount d and unreckenable with any degree of accuracy. would wear down a vast army. An admiral of the American navy, who has traveled in hina, put the case tersely a few weeks ago when he said, that all the armies of the world might be kept busy for twenty years killing Chinamen and there would still be nough left to be a serious menace to man-Statistics in China are the merest guide

work, but it is highly probable that all given estimates fall short of rather than xcood the conditions. Mr. Archibald Litle, the traveler, gave, in a recent lecture a Shanghai, an idea of the conditions in he province of Szechuan at the present time. Szechuan is an inland privince. fully that it goes forward in charge of about 600 by 450 miles in extent, made up of mountain ranges, a most unfavorable few hitches or interruptions. The chair- locality for farming, nevertheless the poputace supports itself mainly by the raising of tiny crops on minute plots of land. Mr. Little said that in traveling through it in any direction it was impossible for days ing in tone and call together rich and at a time to find a vacant spot large enough to pitch a small tent upon. Fre quently, he said, the Chinese farmer would they are gathering more funds they have climb a flight of 3,000 stone steps to a piece of land no more than ten or twelve from state, county and district commit- feet square-and this economy of space ecs of the probable vote that will be polled went on to the very topmost point of all the mountains. While Mr. Little was calculations are made and in a few days traveling through Szechuan a boy of 3 or years fell in one day with his traveling arty and plodded sturdily along all day, keeping up bravely with the retinue, taking dust, heat and hill climbing as pa-

tiently as the grown men. Walking for a Job.

He was naked, save for a loin cloth, and without food or money. At night Mr. Little, who speaks the language, asked him where He was going, to which he replied, "But," said Mr. Little, "you cannot entry

cal, you are too young." "Oh," said the little man, "I can carry fteen barkets in a day, for which I will be ald 17 cash (about 1% cents.) "Have you eaten today?" inquired M:

said the brave little fellow, "but 'm not hungry.' As there was still about thirty miles of

hard hill read to be gotten over before eaching Su Low one can conceive something the moral courage of that child.

Amidst unutterable poverty, disorder and clusion of confusions, despite overpopulaton, pestilence and famine, the Chinaman increases and multiplies uninterruptedly. This is in part due to the universal desire for children, progeny who shall hand down If any record of payments as naught if he only may turn to his famthe charmed circle. Ask him how long he has lived in a certain locality and he will the routine information from the national answer 800 or 1,000 years, meaning hat for that length of time his has perpetuated itself and records If death claim his legitimate children he looks to the children of his conubine or those of some relative whom he adopts to perpetuate the family name and raditions. Failing in this he has a recourse a method which to occidental morality somewhat startling. He hires for a year friend's wife, who has a reputation for fecundity, hoping thus to repair the forunes of his line and to escape heaven's vorse curse, that of childlessness

Wonderful Recuperative Power.

the penalty of their conditions of life, and nature, "auditing her accounts with a red pencil," has revenged herself with decimating plague and famine. But the recuperaive ability of the race after such loss of in this country a man who went to the life is without parallel. Chinese annals, headquarters of a party and proposed to | with every evidence of authenticity, state buy and deliver any number of votes would that after the black plague of the fourteenth century had swept away its million: the birth rate showed an increase that was almost incredible." The birth of triplets throughout China was of common occurrence and infant mortality decreased to a ery small percentage Love for his children is the dominant

emotion in the Chinaman's heart. Paent under abuse, ridicule and ill-treatment himself he will endure no harm to his children. Lay a hand upon them and you ce him descending wild-eyed in multitudes rom his mud hovels, every man with a heart full of sorrow and savagery, bent on celling that the secret society men of hina are now arousing widespread sentisent against all foreigners. Under their eachings millions of the coolie class are oming to believe that all foreigners are blouppers and that the eyes of Chinese hildren are used for making medicine There is a story being senttered broadcast at this moment to the effect that the railcads lay the foundation of their bridges not of much of the antagonism to the ry the Chinese are guarding their wells est the foreigners put poison in them is no letup in work while the money holds Less than 100 years ago our ancestors held precisely the same superstitions as do the Chinese today. century they persecuted and burned alive housands of Jews for the supposed poisoning of wells and during the great morfallty caused by the bubonic plague in 1445 (1448-1460) the Jews were considered as states each party organizations spends having brought the fearful mortality upon the Christians and in Mayence alone 12,009 It was reported all over Europe that the Jews received poison from remot dates throughout the country cannot be places, which they prepared with spiders. owls and snakes in order to destroy the hildren of the Christians.

In superstitions and prejudices the Chinaman is today where the European was five centuries back. Owing to the severity of the purely animal struggle for existence. his instinct of isolation and his impenetrable egotism the Oriental has stood still while the rest of the world has advanced Under favorable conditions he should have been ahead of us and this must be taken

into account in reckoning with him as a oe, for the seeds of a higher order of civlization are latent in China. They have Mothers endorse it, children like it, old blessomed once and may again blossom From the physical point of view he seems

conditions. Well built, possessed of marclous endurance, with an unequaled power f racial perpetuation, inured to all hardthips, thriving amidst conditions of life that uld wipe out most races he is of the maerial of those who conquer by the very power of persistence. That he will ever amalgamate with other peoples is highly mprobable. Admitting that we all sprang rom an anthropoid race there still must have been some characteristics peculiar to the stock from which the man with the almond eye came. The persistency with which he turns his face to the east and inokes the spirit of his ancestors, his unwillnguess to associate with other men, his neommunicativeness, his highly religious and superstitious nature are wavering shadsome faroff origin too long hidden

way from us to find out. a little has been hastily said about fighting qualities of the Chinaman, but have yet to learn what he will do under situble incentive. During the Japanbina war, we must remember, he was sked to fight for a cause of which he new nothing. With small newspaper cilities and no common tengue (it should borne in mind that each of the 1,800 ovinces uses a language peculiar to itself nd also that men from the different rovinces not only cannot converse with uch other, but usually, owing to their snnishness, hate each other), poorly paid nd peorly fed, he was hustled to the front nd asked to fight for a cause of which be ad never heard. Men who fight well are sually men who believe in their cause. matters not whether that cause be true not, the fact that he believes it dermines the man's whole conduct in conection with it. Events near Pekin recently ave demonstrated that the secret society en of China know how to bring every ar, woman and child to arms when they desire to do so. Being familiar with the uperstitions of the people, they appeal lirectly to them, with the result that they an spread abroad such infuriating rumors may yet prove a firebrand to the vast

ope has gone out of the Chinaman's heart. The spirit of discontent is dead within him. Like a dumb animal, happy if he may eat r if he may not ent, with no possessions ut his children, he moves on to meet his oming doom. There are intellectual and ble Chinamen, the flower of this great stalk, but they are few, and the stalk is withered at the root. All classes are suffering from the agony that precedes the birth a new era. The time has come when hina has reached the limit of what it can to under the old conditions. The Chinese upire is on the verge of dissolution, but there still remains, for the armies of civileation to recken with, the Chinese peopleullen, savage and superstitious, with fearful possibilities of danger in their steadily increasing millions. MRS. LU WHEAT.

ROOSEVELT'S SIDE PARTNER

Passing of a Noted Rough Rider and San Juan Hero. "Buck Taylor" is dead and Teddy Roose-

elt has lest the truest, firmest friend of all the cowboys whom he drew about him during his hunting trips in the west and while he led the Rough Riders in the Spansh war. Taylor died on Sunday morning at Providence hospital, in Washington, reports the Philadelphia North American. onsumption killed him. A bullet that went through his lungs during the Santiago camaign helped along the end.

On Saturday night Taylor was taken ill it the hotel at Cabin John Bridge, near Washington. Friends looked after him and secured his consent to being taken to the hospital. There was no hope for him from the first. He died as easily as he had lived, giving no thought for the future and secure

in the present. When the republican convention was in stien here Taylor cam ngton to see his colonel, Roosevelt, nomiated for the vice presidency.

When the convention was about to get own to business "Buck" Taylor said: "Let ne go up in that convention and nominate na colonel for president and I'll stampede Nothing will step it. I tell ou. Hanna wants ma colonel on the ticket o carry McKinley through. Ma colonel has big, broad shoulders; he can do it. He'd sweep the country; that's what ma colonel

During Roosevelt's stumping tour of New York state "Buck" Taylor made the famous speech ending with "I'd fight for ma colonel; I'd died for ma colonel; I'd lie for ma

Sergeant "Buck" Taylor had been living

n Washington since he arrived there after the Spanish-American war with a number of sick and wounded soldiers who were invalided to the military hospital at the Washington barracks. He underwent treatnent and after convalescing made Washagton his permanent home, having secured position as copyist in the census office. His lean form was familiar to other emoyes of the office, who soon acquired a iking for the genial fellow who had romped about the plains of the southwest and shom many of the younger employes had known as the king of the rough riders and owboys in the Wild West show of Buffalo

Few of the most intimate friends of Tay or knew that his picturesque name was nly assumed. His correct name was Berry Tatum and he was the son of a promiat and well-to-do merchant of Montgomry. Ala., bearing the same name.

The latter is dead, but two of five broth--Haywood and Griffin-now live in easy roumstances in the Alabama capital. The mily is highly regarded in the state, and a account of this young Berry assumed e name of Berry F. Taylor, or "Buck" laylor, when he became a cowboy. The me stuck to him in after years and he sed it when he was listed as clerk in the naus bureau. He was born in Montgomy. Ala., about forty-two years ago, and ent to school in that city

After receiving his education he became actor and opera singer, in that manner uiting to good use a fine voice. He filled he role of Raiph Rackstraw in "Pinafore," nd also played in "Esmeralda" and "The unt of Monte Cristo." He afterward beame a cowboy and toured the country with Suffaio Bill ten years ago as "King of the lowboys." the star in stage ceach and rober dramas of the frontie

After leaving the Buffalo Bill show he arted in what was known as the Wyoling Wild West show, which opened in ennsylvania in 1855 and exhibited to onesy stands in New York and Pennsylvania was for several months. During the inuguration of President McKinley he was n Washington, but soon afterward reurned to Wyoming. He was well known in hat state. His genial nature, his integrity and a high sense of honor brought him the spect of the governor of Wyoming, lawers, bankers and ranchmen.

When the Rough Rider regiment was rganized Taylor took an active interest nd was energetic in enlisting the services f many frontier horsemen and cowboys. He was popular with the other members of the regiment and quickly engaged the admiration of every one, from colonel to

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