

HOW DEMOCRACY WON.

MANNER OF CONDUCTING THE LATE CAMPAIGN.

The Western Branch of the Democratic National Committee and How It Did Its Work—A Recital from Which Politicians May Gather Hints.

A Campaign of Education.

Chicago correspondence: When a great political victory has been gained immediately the victors seek some individual upon whom to lavish their praise for the result. Thus, when the late political revolution left only scattered relics of a once formidable—and a once honored—party, there were those who believed the event due to the strategy of single minds who had organized victory for the people. But as the glow of enthusiasm settles into the calmer study of the campaign's results and possibilities, the thoughtful mind looks deeper and discovers the praise is due rather for the organization of the people for victory than for the organizing of victory for the people.

The political revolution in Illinois is worthy of study by all who would take part in American politics. A generation had passed away since the people of Illinois had elected a Democratic governor. Illinois Democrats had so long been accustomed to nominate candidates for State officers only to meet defeat that they had come to look upon the quadrennial struggle as one of the efforts to be made to preserve their organization. Other Western States had, in off years, rebuked the dominant party by electing Democrats to office, but the fierce heat of a Presidential election had always fused the old elements and given the electoral vote to the party of monopoly.

Into the campaign of 1892 the Democrats brought a new factor. They appreciated the impossibility of conducting the contest in the west from headquarters on the Atlantic coast. To aid the State organizations of the western branch of the National Democratic Committee was established in Chicago. The work of that branch was to cooperate with the local committees and bring to the polls the largest possible Democratic army. Let those who have believed that the result in Illinois was due alone to the work of one man or one committee during the short campaign of nine weeks, note the progress of the contest as it developed at the western headquarters. Let those who have despaired of American institutions because of the power lodged with a federal administration note how easily the people triumphed when a fair issue



N. H. BRIGHAM.

had been presented and a campaign marked out in which they were to be trusted. But let no one imagine that the purpose of this record is to detract one iota from the praise lavished upon the active head of the western committee. It is to be further noted that he helped show the people of Illinois how to overthrow the entrenched Republican party. The name of Ben T. Cable has been upon many tongues. Those best appreciate his services to the nation who understand the nature of the campaign he marked out and carried to a successful conclusion.

Head of the Committee.

Ben T. Cable is still a new hand in the Democratic army. Not yet forty years of age, he has achieved what is called political success, rather through his keen insight into popular thought than by the arts of the merely practical politician. He entered Congress as the successful candidate from a Republican stronghold after a campaign in which there had been a sharp lack of bombast and red fire. Studying the result of his effort in a Congressional district, he believed it could be extended over the State and into other States. He believed the people were tired of excessive taxation, and that, on the issue presented by the Chicago convention, they would rally to the support of the Democratic party. He appreciated the nature of the contest and the necessity of utilizing every possible factor for its accomplishment. Then remained but two months for work when his committee had organized and chosen their headquarters. So far as the contest in Illinois was concerned, he had the advantage of work already done by the State committee through its secretary, Theodore Nelson, who had been continuously at work since the close of the campaign of 1890. Placing himself in close touch with that committee, he selected his personal staff from a mob of Democrats who had proved their capacity for the duties to be performed.

Having a strong nucleus of a perfect organization in the various county committees and their appointees in townships and school districts, Mr. Cable determined to extend this into every precinct in the State. Nearly half a million voters were to be reached. The task was herculean, and a veritable Hercules of organization was chosen in the person of the secretary of the committee, Mr. W. J. Mize, formerly for many years secretary of the Illinois State Democratic Committee. Mr. Mize demonstrated as the campaign progressed his full sympathy with the plan of work marked out. He is not given to fuss or feathers. He cares little for the old-fashioned methods of organizing. Taking the lists of county chairman furnished by the secretary of the State Committee, his first work was to send to each a personal letter asking for the names of the local committees, and assuring each that the committee had determined to make a vigorous effort to carry the State. The responses came with encouraging promptness, and those who lagged were reminded by urgent appeals for haste. Then other letters were drafted and sent to the school district and prefect committees calling for active canvass of their localities. Soon a communication was sent to the school district and prefect committees asking for the names of Democrats of the various professions and industries.

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WHAT LOW TARIFF DID

GAVE THE COUNTRY UNRIVALLED PROSPERITY.

Great Revenues Produced by the Low Ad Valorem Tariffs of 1846 and 1857—Why Farmers Are Dissatisfied—The Potato Tax—Wages in Germany.

Specific and Ad Valorem Duties.

This active correspondence was continued until the last days of the campaign. The responses were such as to impress upon the committee the propriety of conveying to the workers throughout the State the gratifying intelligence coming to headquarters too late for further use of the mails. Therefore, on Monday, the day before election, over fifteen hundred telegrams were sent to correspondents in the State. The event justified the course, as from all directions have come assurances that the workers were thus inspired to renewed efforts.

The above outlines the work of organization. From it resulted enormous demands for campaign literature. This demand came from men who showed their intelligence and zeal by explaining just what they needed in their localities. Some asked for arguments to demonstrate to farmers the evils by which they had been reared under a system of protection. Others wished to furnish proof for workmen in factories that the enhancement of the cost of the material upon which their labor was expended must necessarily decrease the possible return to labor and capital employed in production.

The Literary Bureau.

At the head of the literary bureau Mr. Cable placed a volunteer who brought with him a degree of earnestness and enthusiasm which proved contagious in all departments. Nat S.

Brigham, of Utah, accepted the responsible position, and filled it to the fullest possibility. With a corps of able assistants, he planned the work, maintained a full supply of the material most needed, reprinted from the newspapers

such short and pithy arguments as he deemed most useful in the campaign, and to the last day of the contest made the document-room look like a section of a metropolitan postoffice.

And there was still another department over which Mr. Cable had the good fortune to place one perfectly fitted to the arduous task. It was known that large numbers of Democrats and of persons inclined to support the principles of the party were still unmotivated. They had come to look upon a political contest in Illinois as hopeless and neglected taking out their final papers. To reach these persons, even in Cook County alone, involved unceasing effort, and could only be well performed by one as faithful, honest and reliable as he was intelligent and untiring. For this most important position Mr. Cable selected a Democrat in other positions and never found wanting. Mr. Reuben E. Spangler had come to Chicago from McDonough County, and here had taken up the work for his party with the enthusiasm which had characterized his efforts in a less populous community. It was his duty to note the work of the local committees and to see that ways and means were provided for bringing out every voter to be naturalized and registered.

Figures That Were Verified.

Through a comparatively young man and a new-comer to Chicago, Mr. Spangler impressed himself upon the campaign and made an enviable record in his department. There were those who believed the enormous registration in Cook County tokened a public can-
vassing. There were others who asserted that only the count of the votes could furnish reliable information as to which party had the advantage on the face of the registration. But there was never a doubt in Mr. Spangler's mind. Though accused of being a "rainbow-chaser" he was convinced that he had figures to prove his assertion that the Democrats would have over 20,000 majority in Cook County. And on election night, as the returns began to come in from the city precincts, "Spangler's figures" were verified. He had been only too conservative in his estimate of the always large doubtful vote.

For these very reasons, makers of the next tariff bill should avoid specific duties. There are other serious objections. Specific duties always discriminate against the poor, who are compelled to use the cheap articles, and in favor of the rich, who purchase expensive articles. Thus a duty of 44 cents per pound and 50 per cent. ad valorem on West of England broadcloth, that sells for \$3.60 per yard, gives a protection of only \$3 per cent. The same rate of duty on diagonal cheviot that sells for 76 cents per yard, yields a protection of 140 per cent. It is safe to say that for every dollar spent by the millionaire or by the day laborer the latter pays five times as much tariff taxes as the former.

Ad valorem duties are open to none of the above objections. If levied equally on cheap and costly goods, they tax the rich and the poor at the same rate—though, of course, the poor must spend a larger proportion of their earnings for tariff-taxed goods than the rich. Ad valorem duties permit consumers to get the full benefit of declining prices and they will not subserve the purpose of those who wish to put up tariff "jobs" on the people. The one grave objection to ad valorem duties is that they lead to undervaluation, especially when the duties are high or when the goods are extremely valuable. This is the duty of about 70 per cent. on most kinds of gloves is a strong temptation to importers to undervalue their goods. It is said by good authorities that the undervaluations in this line will average 15 or 20 per cent.

This is the condition of affairs in a European country having a high protective tariff, copied from that of the United States by the great Bismarck, who thought to reproduce in that old, thickly populated, army-ridden, monarchical country the prosperity enjoyed in this newer and freer land, with its boundless opportunities and wonderful natural resources.

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ers will not neglect to study these lessons of history. Let them not forget that the only time the tariff question was ever settled to the satisfaction of all parties, so that neither party mentioned a tariff, was during our "Free Trade" ad valorem tariff period. If an impending war had not necessitated the raising of a great revenue, neither party would have dared to advocate higher duties. The farmers and the hard-working people can stand more of such "Free Trade" tariffs.—Byron W. Holt.

Why Farmers Are Dissatisfied.

Editor New York World:

As you call for opinions in the World, I will write a few lines. First, an extra session of Congress is demanded by the vote recorded last November. The Democratic party should take no step backward. To replace the duty on sugar is a step backward.

Sugar stands third in value of the food products consumed by the laboring people. They consume more in the average family than the wealthy, and consequently pay more of the tax. Far better remove all the duty; then the best sugar would be used without refining.

The proposed plan to tax incomes is perhaps the best and most just that has been proposed. As to farmers and mechanics not favoring it, not one in ten thousand of them has an income of \$5,000 after paying working expenses.

Farming lands have been decreasing in value for the past twenty years. The best hop-growing lands in this county (Otsego) will not sell for more than one-half what they were worth from 1855 to 1860. The situation is the same throughout the Eastern States. Furthermore, we should give away no more public lands. Make a price of \$3 to \$5 per acre, which would produce an income and make the immigrant pay something for the privilege of a home in this land of liberty. Restrict immigration. Competition is too great in agriculture. I have mentioned Otsego County because I own land there on which I have worked and lived over fifty years, and I know whereof I write. I would probably be at work on it now were I able to work from twelve to eighteen hours a day, as most of the farmers now have to do who make farming a success. I cannot see how a farmer can be a Republican. All tariff taxes and business laws favor the manufacturer and dealer.—G. O. S.

The Potato Tax.

The potato crop of the country is much below the average this year, and the price of this important article of food is likely to be so high as to put it beyond the reach of multitudes of consumers. Statisticians, who are familiar with the market, have estimated that the home supply of potatoes will have been exhausted long before the time for the planting of the new crop. In this emergency it would be necessary to import large quantities of potatoes, and to pay upon them a McKinley tax of 25 cents on every bushel.

This tax could be of no benefit to the American farmers in any circumstances. When the potato crop has been abundant there has been a large quantity for export, and the tariff could have affected the price but little if at all. When there has been a failure the domestic crop has been consumed and sold at home before the foreign supply could come in; and a large portion of the farmers have been obliged to buy the highly taxed potatoes, not merely for food, but to plant for next year's crop. In short, when the farmers have had an abundance of potatoes to sell none have been imported; and when potatoes have been imported the farmers have had none to sell.

If a bill should be introduced in the House some Monday morning to repeal the burdensome tax on potatoes, under a suspension of the rules, it would doubtless be passed by a large majority; and the Senate would hardly fail to concur.—Philadelphia Record.

Wages in Germany.

The report of United States Consul Warner, at Cologne, Germany, recently received at the Department of State, contains some interesting statistics on the wages paid in various trades in that country last year.

The Telegraphed Summary says:

"The statistics collected embrace replies from 900 cities and 924 unions. The figures show that the wages have increased in only seven cities, in 229 they have declined, and in 670 they have remained stationary, while food products have been dearer. Only 211 cities of the whole number visited showed full employment, while in thirty places almost complete stoppage of work existed. In Germany the head of the household alone cannot earn sufficient to support his family."

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The Income Tax.

The income-tax plan seems also to commend itself. It is the opinion of the leading men that a bill to impose a progressively increasing tax on incomes above \$10,000 would be passed by an overwhelming majority if presented in the House. How much revenue it would yield is problematical. That would depend somewhat upon the extent to which consumption has become more alert since the war-time income tax was abolished. That sometimes produced revenue and sometimes perjury. But that was in a time of general deflation, and it is believed that a properly drawn income-tax law would yield an important revenue without unduly tempting to fraud and perjury.

Such a tax commands itself as ideally fair and reasonable. It places the heaviest burdens where they are most easily borne. It taxes superfluous poverty, accumulation rather than industrial endeavor.—New York World.

were urged to give their time to the cause. New recruits were advised to consult at once with the chairmen of their local committee and place themselves at their disposal for actual campaigning. Men who had been prominent as speakers were asked to correspond with the headquarters for assignment. Those less note were urged to devote themselves to work in school-houses meetings.

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HOW THE WORK WAS DONE.

share of the gratitude bestowed by sensible folk long since disgusted with Chinese methods in American politics.

HOMER says the Greek bow was used by placing one end on the ground, to secure steadiness of aim.