Fifty Million Dollars Or More Will Be Spent During 1916 Campaign

FIFTY million dollars, at the lowest estimate, will be spent in 1916 on our quadrennial political jag. It is a moderate estimate, for, by being a little far fetched, it could be doubled. It may, indeed, amount to a cool $100,000,000.

But a total expenditure of $50,000,000 means an expense of $3.50 per voter and 50 cents per capita for the entire population. It can be defended on the Tom Reed theory that this is a $50,000,000 country.

Laws of recent years enacted by Congress and most of the states requiring the filing of sworn statements of the origin and disposition of campaign funds have lately for the first time in the history of the Nation made available fairly accurate data on the high cost of politics in this country.

Politics come highest in Presidential election years, not only because of the large expenditures of the National committees but because three-fourths of the 100,000 and more elective offices—National, state, county and municipal—are filled at or about the same time. Indeed, scarcely more than 5 per cent of the total cost of politics for the country as a whole will be borne by the big party committees.

Some 200,000 individuals are now, or soon will be, seeking offices in the United States. All will spend some money, and money will be spent by others for a great many of them. There will be several thousand "campaign committees" of various kinds and quality.

The taxpayers directly will have to take care of the largest single item of expense, that for the election machinery. In New York State alone the cost of registering the voters and conducting the November election will be about $2,500,000. For all the states it will amount to not less than $25,000,000. Several hold their state elections on dates other than for selecting a President; one, Maine, has a different day for choosing Congressmen. This makes the election machinery almost doubly costly in those states. Most of the town and city elections, which will take place in three-fourths of all the municipalities this year, will be on other dates.

Loss to Business.

If you were to add to the direct expenses the indirect losses caused by "election year," such as the depressing effect on business and the loss from industry of the time of the thousands who will give several months of their time to politics alone, not omitting the celebration of election night—a $500,000 item in New York City alone; in other words, if you were to figure the "cost" as many figure that of the European war, the expenses of our leap-year political exercises would reach a total of more than $500,000,000.

Some of the election reform legislation of late years has tended to lower the high cost of politics, while other legislation has increased it. The necessity for filing statements of expenditures, now almost universal, makes candidates and committees more circumspect in soliciting and disposing of funds. In quite a number of instances expenditures are limited by law, and to exceed the legal maximum disqualifies the guilty candidate and makes committeemen subject to indictment. The extension of the primary election idea has increased the expense because it necessitates an extra election and forces many candidates to make two popular campaigns where one sufficed before. About half as much money is spent in the pre-convention as in the post-convention contests.

The expenses of the National committees of the two big parties rarely fall below $2,000,000 and frequently go beyond $5,000,000 in a Presidential year.

It is generally admitted that the Republican National Committee of 1896, under the leadership of Mark Hanna, first made "the roof the limit" in spending money. The funds used to elect McKinley have been estimated at from $3,000,000 to $7,000,000. They probably were nearest the last figures. However, memoranda left by Cornelius N. Bliss, who was treasurer of the committee, indicate that the funds passing officially through the committee's hands aggregated only $3,500,000. According to the same data, the fund employed to re-elect McKinley in 1900 was a "trifle below" $3,000,000.

The Republican National Committee usually disposes of the most funds. But some Democratic National Committees have been superb spenders. In 1892 not less than $2,000,000, perhaps a great deal more, was used in electing Cleveland, all of whose races were engineered by men who were adepts in raising and generous in contributing political funds.

There are no authoritative data on Democratic expenditures except for the campaigns of 1908 and 1912, when the expenses of the committee approximated $1,000,000 for each year.

George B. Cortelyou, who was chairman, is authority for the statement that the Republican National Committee disposed of a little more than $2,000,000 to elect Roosevelt in 1904. The election of President Taft in 1908 cost nearly as much.

There are good data on all the campaigns of 1912 both before and following the conventions.

Those who sought the Democratic nomination that year did so at a total cost, in round figures, of $450,000, divided as follows:

Woodrow Wilson	$202,000
Champ Clark	50,000
Oscar Underwood	52,000
Judson Harmon	146,000

The campaigns of Taft and Roosevelt for the Republican nomination cost 100,000 or so more and the sum was divided about equally between them.

Statements filed by all the committees of parties running Presidential candidates in 1912 shows receipts and expenditures as follows:

	Receipts.	Disbursements.
Republican	$1,076,391.51	$1,071,848.57
Democratic	1,139,446.53	1,134,948.00
Progressive	976,672.73	663,500.00
Socialist	54,580.96	66,507.82

"Campaign statements" often are most interesting for what they do not show. None can very well include every item of expense either of a candidate or a committee. Many thousands of dollars are employed very often without the official knowledge of either. Then, as will be shown, it is easy to juggle such statements, for they are based on the third and worst grade of lies—statistics.

What Will Be Spent This Year.

National politics so far this year have been rather inexpensive as compared with the preliminaries of 1912. It is safe to predict that between $3,000,000 and $4,000,000, and possibly a great deal more, will be disposed of in aiding the free and untrammelled voters to select a Chief Magistrate.

What Presidential Campaigns Have Cost.

1864	$ 200,000
1872	500,000
1884	1,500,000
1892	3,000,000
1896	6,000,000
1900	3,000,000
1904	4,000,000
1908	4,000,000
1912	3,000,000

But, as stated, the money employed directly on behalf of the Presidential candidates is a bagatelle as compared with the total cost of "election year."

The general election of 1914—a non-Presidential year—involved an expense in New York State alone of more than $4,000,000. Candidates and their sponsoring committees expended $1,500,000, while the expense of preparing for and holding the election cost the taxpayers directly the startling sum of $2,500,000.

Committees filed statements showing aggregate expenditure as follows:

County committees	$290,916.29
State committees	276,132.42
Special committees	159,904.95

Some idea of the individual expenditures by candidates can be gained by the fact that candidates for Congress spent a total of $138,566.88.

The expenses of committees and candidates as above did not include municipal contests or preliminary races. If everything could be included the total probably would reach $4,000,000 or more. That for an off year, so-called.

Further light on the subject of expenditures, aside from and in addition to those for the promotion of Presidential candidacies, may be gained from the statements filed by men who were candidates for United States Senatorships in 1914, the first time Federal Senators were chosen by popular vote.

Only one-third of the Senate was chosen that year, yet candidates for the thirty-odd places managed to get rid of $450,777.25 in impressing their Senatorial qualifications on the voters of 31 states.

And half of it was their own money! The rest was contributed by adherents.

Per capita expenditures averaged $3074.63 for Democratic and $2852.44 for Republican candidates. If all the Senate had been up for election the filling of 96 $7500 jobs would have involved campaign expenses of $1,284,000.

Large as the figures seem, in all probability they represent less than one-half, possibly less than a third, of the actual expenses incurred by or on behalf of candidates for places in the Senate.

Joker in Federal Publicity Act.

For the act requiring candidates for places in the United States Congress to file statements relative to campaign expenditures contains a very embracing joker"—one that well-nigh nullifies the law as a practical measure.

It specifically excepts the "personal," letter writing, circular sending, meeting promoting, expenses of candidate. The exception is so broad that it can be made to cover almost any kind of expenditure except newspaper advertising, for almost any kind of political work can be included under this heading. A "worker" can be employed to fold circulars, but be used really to look after his friends. Even the most scrupulous candidate has no occasion to report the largest of all single current items of expense, i. e., postage, or the second, printing, or the third, clerical help.

A further requirement of the law, viz., that they shall report the origin of all funds, tends to counteract the "joker," for if one exceeds the $10,000 maximum legitimately one must say who furnished the money.

But funds can easily be spent for a candidate without his "knowledge and consent," or that of the committee behind him.

The "knowledge and consent" phrase is peculiar to most so-called corrupt practices acts, and it affords a loophole whereby even an honest candidate may escape the reporting of more than a mere tithe of the funds actually used in his behalf. There frequently is an enthusiastic coterie of friends or relatives who, to make victory certain, will expend large sums independently.

The Federal law aims at covering such expenditures, too, by requiring all "persons," as well as candidates and committees, to report such expenditures, but it is largely nullified by an exception similar to that applying to candidates.

Therefore, a large number of "campaign expense" statements are scarcely more than jokes, and at the same time do not of necessity involve perjury.

"Campaign Fund" No New Invention.

While the method of using and raising campaign funds on a large scale is of modern invention, the "campaign fund" as an institution is as old as popular government itself. Sir Robert Walpole was probably a greater genius than Richard Croker in handling such funds. He didn't hesitate in using even the public money for paving the way to Westminster for his adherents or for keeping them his adherents after they reached Parliament.

John Wilkes while boasting vociferously that he had never taken and would never give a bribe was paying £50 a head for Berwick freemen, who failed to elect him, and £7000 in bulk for Aylesbury, which he won. Even the government could not outbid him.

Lord Chesterfield wrote that borough jobbers quoted him Parliamentary seats at from £3000 to £5000, and at a much later date places in the English Parliament were odvertised for sale openly in the public prints.

The noted "spendthrift election" in the county of Northampton, England, cost three noble Lords a total of $1,500,000 and broke the two that lost.

"Among the items of a bill of election expenses incurred by George Washington in 1757 are one hogshead and one barrel of punch, thirty-five gallons of wine and forty-three gallons of hard cider," says Professor Henry Jones Ford in his "The Rise and Growth of American Politics."

In the early days of American politics, though candidates were put to heavy expense for entertaining, the campaign fund in the modern sense was virtually unknown.

The committee which directed Abraham Lincoln's first race spent less than $1000, though his second cost $200,000.

Grant's Campaigns.

Grant's first campaign marked the beginning of large campaign funds in National elections, but Samuel J. Tilden, who most perfectly of all American public men had great genius for both practical politics and statesmanship, discovered the modern method of organized begging and spending pursued by the party committees. But it was left to Mark Hanna and Thomas C. Platt to perfect the method by adding "fat frying" devices and adopting spending measures Napoleonic in their boldness.

The day of the "big beggar" has passed, as late publicity compels campaign managers to depend for the bulk of their funds on the very public on whom they are spent. In the old days when a campaign lagged someone with talent for "shaking down the plum tree" was appealed to, and he would grab the telephone and exchange conversation for $10,000 checks.

Marshall Jewell when chairman of the Republican National committee raised $170,000 in a single day in Boston and Levi P. Morton once did better in New York by raising $200,000 in the same length of time.

The "big giver" also has seen his day. Committees are afraid to touch contributions larger than $10,000.

A dozen men, including William L. Scott, William C. Whitney and Oliver H. Payne, gave out of their private funds a total of $1,000,000 to the Cleveland campaign of 1888. Scott is said to have given $250,000 of it.

William K. Vanderbilt is supposed to hafe contributed $150,000 to the McKinley campaign of 1896. A benevolent savings organization voted $25,000 to the same campaign "to protect its depositors."

How Ryan Paid the Bills.

Thomas F. Ryan was one of the best "givers" of late years. He virtually financed the Parker campaign of 1904. He first gave $100,000.

"Toward the end of the campaign the members of the committee came to me," swore Mr. Ryan, "and said—when it was perfectly evident that Judge Parker could not be elected—that the campaign would collapse unless they had financial aid, and I made up my mind, in the interest of the Democratic party, and through the Democratic party the interests of the people . . . and contributed $350,000 and paid the debts of the committee, so that on the day before election every debt the Democratic National committee had was paid. . . I did that because I did not want to see the Democratic party disintegrate."

His $450,000 contribution is the largest known single one ever made in this country.

Mr. Ryan contributed "thirty-odd thousand dollars" to the Underwood pre-convention campaign of 1912 and "somewhere between 70,000 and 80,000" to that of Governor Harmon, of Ohio.

"I was not asked to contribute to Mr. Clark or I would have done so, or to Mr. Wilson, or I would have done so," said Mr. Ryan.

Most big givers expect some return in the woy of favors or honors in case the candidate is successful, though when conditions are attached to gifts the contributions are declined.

A man entered the Chicago headquarters of the Republican committee in 1904 and tendered a check of $20,000. It was accepted. After chatting a moment or two he mentioned the fact that he would be an applicant for a big post in the diplomatic service and said he would like the managers to assist him.

"Then I told him in the circumstances we could not take his check and returned it," says Mr. Cortelyou.

But it is noticeable, or coincidental, that many heavy givers to various campaign funds have landed at big diplomatic or other important Governmental posts.

How $25,000,000 Will Be Spent "Educating the Voters."

Postage	$ 2,000,000
Telegraph and telephone service	1,000,000
Advertising	10,000,000
Speakers	1,000,000
Publicity	1,000,000
Brass bands	500,000
Rent of halls and theaters	500,000
Clerical help	1,000,000
Campaign buttons and badges	1,000,000
Conventions and "rallies"	1,000,000
Printing	3,000,000
"Workers"	3,000,000

Many, however, give out of pure sporting impulse or for sentimental reasons. Some even give substantial sums anonymously and widowed women of means have been known to send in checks for as much as $10,000 out of pure and unalloyed sentiment for the party or the candidate.

Begging by Scientific Rule.

"The work of collecting the funds," says George B. Cortelyou, of the Republican campaign of 1904, "was carried on by a force of 700 or 800 persons scattered throughout the country, with organized bureaus in large cities."

A subscription book scheme worked beautifully in that campaign and helped to induce some 4000 different individuals to contribute.

Perhaps the most popular of all funds was that raised for Bryan in 1908. More than one hundred thousand persons contributed. One man—Ewing, of Illinois—collected $3000 in five and ten cent pieces. Many other individuals and some newspapers raised similar funds, and many thousands contributed to the fund of a little more than a million dollars which was raised. However, the big contributor was necessary after all. Several gave as much as $10,000 and Herman Ridder, treasurer of the committee, gave $37,000.

National campaigns are organized with infinite care and detail for both raising and dispensing funds. Though collecting the "dough" calls for skill, diplomacy and ingenuity, getting rid of it most efficiously demands a much higher order of genius.

A campaign headquarters is organized as perfectly as the offices of a bank. But that is for detail. The big work is done by men capable of political generalship.

Campaign managers must be quick in discerning the weak spots in the opponent's line-up and must attack those spots with boldness and alertness. They must keep up a perfect defensive and anticipate attacks from the "enemy."

A political campaign is run very much on the same underlying principles as a military one.

Managers must be original and, above all, quick in decision and action. They have little time to investigate and are tormented by hordes of would-be advisers and petty grafters. No two political fights can be conducted in the same way. A slogan never survives a contest, and rarely does an "issue." The public demands novelty in politics and insists on being surprised.

The other day when the Roosevelt committee sent $2,000 telegrams into Massachusetts, at a cost of $22,000, more good probably was accomplished than would have been done by the expenditure of twice as much on speakers and literature. For the telegrams were novel and dramatic. They "went home."

Mark Hanna was a great political general. In 1896, two weeks before the election, he became convinced that Iowa was lost to the Republicans. It was too late to save it by the usual campaign methods, so he decided on a personal canvass, that is, to have every voter visited in person. The undertaking required the organization of an army over night, but it was done at the cost of $200,000 and the state was saved.

Blaine Gave $125,000 for Defeat.

Candidates for lesser offices have to bear the brunt of the expense of their campaign; those for President rarely make heavy contributions. It is not considered good taste, and, besides, the candidates usually are relatively poor men.

But James G. Blaine gave $125,000 for the privilege of being defeated in 1884. He gave an original contribution of $25,000 and when the committee wound up with $100,000 of debts he wrote a check for the amount. He was told it would be returned, but it was not, and he wrote his book, "Twenty Years in Congress," to recoup the loss, so it is said.

Campaigns often wind up heavily in debt. That of the Republicans in 1888 collapsed with a debt of more than a million.

Most business concerns are very indifferent about crediting a "campaign committee" unless its bills are indorsed by some individual able to pay them. Poor credit and other things compel committee to pay from 10 to 25 per cent more for nearly everything of a commercial nature, like printing, that is bought.

With all the modern office efficiency that has been introduced into campaign management politics still are very inefficient and wasteful. It is safe to say that 50 per cent of the money turned loose gets no results whatever.

This is because everything is done in a hurry. Election day is certain, developments are rapid and uncertain; the manager cannot afford to wait until he can find out definitely about a situation, but often must act on incomplete information.

Grafters, under the various forms of political grafting, get perhaps twenty-five per cent of all political funds.

In some sections of the country the donations candidates are forced to make to struggling churches, lodges, public bands, etc., mound into the thousands.

How a National Committee's Funds Go.

Some idea of how funds are used may be gathered from the following summary of expenditures of the National Republican Committee in 1912:

General income account	$904,827.67
Expenditures—	
Advertising	$414,904.87
Publicity	36,702.72
Printing and pamphlets	63,622.49
Travelling and speakers	68,251.05
Lithographs and buttons	30,802.52
Payrolls and salaries	78,903.54
Postage	9,119.00
Telegraph and telephone service	6,813.00
Rent and furniture	15,785.52
Legal expenses	1,875.53
State committee	112,160.00
General and incidental expenses, such as hotel, office supplies, freight, cartage, expressage and transportation other than speakers	59,728.05
Total	$899,162.88
Petty cash	600.00
Cash in bank	4,464.09
Total	$904,827.67

Tammany spends from one-half to a million dollars on an important election in New York City. It takes one hundred thousand dollars or more to provide workers at the polls on election day.

A torchlight procession, once described by Roosevelt as a "peculiar form of idiocy particularly dear to the mind of the average American voter," in New York costs from twenty-five to fifty thousand dollars. Happily, they are becoming unfashionable.

A Madison Square Garden meeting will cost as much.

It often costs as much as a dollar a head to get a fair sized crowd of voters out to a "rally" of the faithful.

One sealed letter sent to every registered voter in America would take $300,000 in postage. Other expenses would make the total cost about one million dollars.

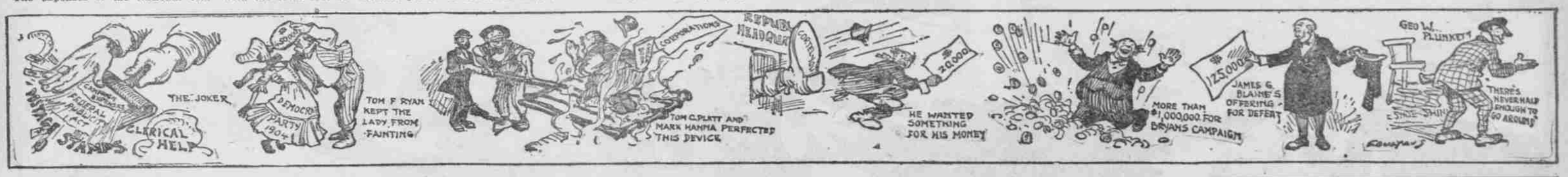
It costs $5000 to give even limited distribution to a speech.

Some campaign orators come high, though many take only expenses, and some don't do that. It is said that as much as $10,000 has been paid a single speaker. The average spellbinder gets $10 a night or about $50, when so employed by the week.

Campaigners are using straight advertising in the newspapers and periodicals more and more for putting their claims before the public. It is not unlikely that $10,000,000 will be spent that way this year.

There are said to be more than one hundred thousand professional politicians outside of office holders—that is, men who live, but sometimes don't thrive—on campaigns of some kind.

Lord Bryce estimates that there are only 3500 professional politicians in all England, and these include members of Parliament, writers and others who are but indirectly associated with practical politics.



HAND OF TRAGEDY EVER CASTS ITS SHADOW ON ROYAL NURSERIES

BY F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

QUEEN MARIE AMELIE will celebrate a few days hence, at her quiet home at Richmond, one of the most picturesque and charming suburbs of London, the 13th anniversary of her marriage to the late King Carlos, and many kindly and sympathetic thoughts will go out on that day in Portugal, in France and in England to this royal lady, who, in spite of the fact that her life may be said to have been darkened by many tragedies, still remains so bravely cheerful, so smiling, so flowing over with optimism as to bring comfort and sunshine to the bedside of all those wounded soldiers to whom she has been devoting herself since the beginning of the present war.

Empress Eugenie has often been described as one of the most tragic figures in Europe and as having been called upon to bear a succession of calamities such as rarely fall to the lot of any human being. But fate has been infinitely more cruel to Queen Marie Amelie. Born in exile as the daughter of that Comte de Paris who served on the staff of General George B. McClellan during the War of the Rebellion, she came into the world at Twickenham, on the Thames. After the war of 1870 her father was permitted to return to France, but 15 years later the entertainment given at his home in Paris on the occasion of her engagement to the then Crown Prince of Portugal led to so remarkable a manifestation of affection and of loyalty on the part of the royalists and of general popular sympathy that the republican government of the day became alarmed and once more drove the Comte de Paris, with his wife and children, into exile in England, where he died without ever seeing again the land of his birth.

The Assassination.

It was an inauspicious prelude to the marriage of his eldest and favorite daughter, Marie Amelie—a marriage which, as we all know, was brought to so terrible a close on that February day in 1908 when not only her husband, but also her eldest son, was riddled with bullets while driving with her through the streets of Lisbon, she herself receiving a wound, fortunately not serious, while endeavoring to shield her dead ones with her own body from harm. She was called upon to endure all sorts of ignominy heaped by the populace upon the remains of her husband and of her first-born on the day of their public obsequies and to witness the glorification of the murderers by the mob.

For the next two and a half years she acted as the guardian angel of her only remaining son, King Manuel, endeavoring with all her might and main to fit him for those duties of sovereignty for which, by reason of his youth and inexperience, he was in nowise prepared.

But the revolutionary element was too strong, and in the Fall of 1910 a rebellion broke out at Lisbon, and after the partial destruction of the royal palace by gunfire, one shell actually wrecking the bedroom in which he had been sound asleep a quarter of an hour previously, he was forced to flee, with his mother, for his life, to embark at a remote spot on the seacoast, some miles distant from Lisbon, and to seek refuge with her, first at Gibraltar, where they arrived with nothing but the clothes on their backs, and afterward in England, where they have made their home ever since.

These and other misfortunes in the career of Queen Marie Amelie are fairly familiar to the public. People also are aware of the manner in which she nursed those stricken with the horrible bubonic plague at the time when it raged at Lisbon; how she was the first member of any of the sovereign houses of Europe to allow herself to be inoculated with the anti-diphtheria vaccine, thereby not only dispelling the fears of the people in Portugal concerning its use, but also enabling her personally to take charge of the nursing in the great hospital which she had built and endowed for the treatment of diphtheria at Lisbon, where the disease had been until then a long-standing scourge of the city. That she wears among her orders a medal for saving life, earned by diving into the waters of the Tagus from the royal yacht to rescue a drowning boy, whose boat had capsized, is also no secret.

But what is not generally known is the fact that she bears on her body the scars of burns received while preserving her eldest boy from being burned in his cradle. The latter had in some manner caught fire, and the nurses, instead of attempting to extinguish the flames or to remove the child, utterly lost their heads and fled, shrieking, through the corridors of the old royal palace of the Necessidades, at Lisbon. Fortunately, Marie Amelie heard their cries, rushed to the scene and snatched the little fellow from the blaze before he had received any lasting injury.

Marie Amelie, however, was quite badly burned and, being in very delicate health at the time, suffered severely. Indeed, the shock of the entire affair resulted in her bringing into the world shortly afterword, prematurely, a still-born daughter.

The late King Victor Emmanuel of Italy was likewise almost burned to death in his cradle, and for many years there used to be a widespread popular belief, industriously fostered by the Austrian enemies of the house of Savoy, to the effect that he had really perished in the flames and that the infant son of his peasant wet nurse had been substituted in his stead, with or without the knowledge of the parents. The many peasant tastes and traits of the Re Gallant' Uomo, which so endeared him to his people and which brought him into such close touch and sympathy with them, used to be cited by way of confirmation of this utterly fantastical story.

No nurseries are the object of greater solicitude than those of the reigning houses of the Old World, for not only considerations of parental affection but likewise of vast political importance are involved in the welfare of their youthful inmates.

Indeed, the interests of an entire nation, as well as its relations to the various foreign powers, are often centered upon the life of a tiny bairn, which, however much it may be tended by its royal mother and by the great ladies of the aristocracy who are responsible to the crown, to the government and to the people for its safety, is, nevertheless, dependent, like every other child, upon the devotion of the nurses. It is therefore natural that the utmost care should be observed in the selection of the nurses, usually English or Scotch women, to whom the earliest training of the future rulers of the monarchical countries of the Eastern Hemisphere is intrusted.

Yet, in spite of all this, tragedies in royal nurseries are by no means unknown. In fact, when one reflects upon the threats which the Tsar and Tsarina were at one moment constantly receiving of the murder of their children and the attempts made in the past to kidnap King Alfonso during his infancy, and also the children of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, it is surprising that tragedies of royal nurseries should not be more frequent.

Twice has the reigning house of Hesse been overtaken by calamities of this kind during the lifetime of the now reigning Grand Duke. The first occasion was in 1873, when the Grand Duke, then a boy of 5, was playing with his 3-year-old brother, Prince Frederick, and the latter fell out of the window of the palace at Darmstadt.

Of course, it was due to the negligence of his nurses that the little fellow, a favorite grandchild of the late Queen Victoria, had been able to climb up on the window sill and to fall out, crushing his skull on the flagstones of the courtyard two stories below, and had it not been for the fact that the Grand Duke, divorced from his first wife, has now several sons by his second marriage to inherit his throne, the latter would, owing to the loss of his younger brother, Frederick, have passed to a distant branch of the family, of wholly Prussian nationality, much to the dismay of the people of Hesse.

Grand Duke Ernest of Hesse had a very pretty little daughter by his first wife, Princess Victoria Melita, of Great Britain and Coburg, now married to the Grand Duke Cyril of Russia. This little girl's name was Elizabeth, and on account of her beauty and sprightly cleverness she was a universal favorite and the only tie between her parents after the estrangement.

While staying with her uncle and aunt, the present Tsar and Tsarina, at their picturesque country seat in Poland, she succumbed, at the age of 7, to poison, which, according to some, was of a ptomaine character, and according to others some food or drink that had been specially "fixed" by the Nihilists for the purpose of taking the life of Emperor Nicholas.

To this day a veil of mystery rests on the accident of some kind or other which had the effect of crippling the young Tsarovitch for so long. Fortunately, he has now entirely recovered. But for the space of two years the little boy was unable to walk, and had to be carried about everywhere by a strapping Cossack attendant, his aspect exciting universal sympathy and giving rise to fears that he would never live to succeed his father on the throne. All sorts of stories were current as to the origin and nature of his injuries, concerning which some of the most eminent surgeons in Europe were consulted. According to some reports he had sustained serious hurts in some boyish play. According to others he had been wounded by an attempt on his life when on board the imperial yacht, it being pointed out in support of this latter theory that the big sailor who from the time that the Tsarovitch was 2 years old had been his chief playmate, watchdog and constant companion disappeared at about that time, while the admiral commanding the imperial yacht had committed suicide at Petrograd under circumstances and for reasons that have never been disclosed.

Prince and Princess Mirko of Montenegro, who have now three little boys, aged 8, 6 and four, had formerly two elder sons, Stephen and Stanislas, who, if they had lived, would have been 13 and 11 years old, respectively. When Stephen was 5 years old both he and his younger brother, Stanislas, were suddenly stricken with acute tuberculosis of the lungs, and only then, too late, was it discovered that one of the nurserymaids was afflicted with the malady, which she had communicated to her young charges, who, in spite of the efforts on the part of the greatest specialist in Europe to arrest the progress of the disease, succumbed thereto within five weeks of one another, Stephen dying at Cannes, in the French Riveral, and 3-year-old Stanislaus at Cattaro. The little boys, by the by, had an American aunt. For their mother's only brother, Vladimir Constantinovitch, is married to the former Miss Anna Cutting, of New York, whose first husband was Baron de Vriere, of Belgium, whose home is in the Champs-Elysees, at Paris, but who has been living here since the beginning of the war.