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A STUDY OF MUCK-RAKING IN FOUR POPULAR MAGAZINES

by

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Introduction

An introduction to a paper on muck-raking can best be made by an explanation of the term and its significance. An admirable exposition of muck-raking was made by President Roosevelt in an address which he delivered on April 14, 1906, at the laying of the corner-stone of the office building of the House of Representatives. I shall quote from him:

> In Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" you may recall the description of the Man with the Muckrake, the man who could look no way but downward, with the muckrake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muckrake; but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor.
>
> In"Pilgrim's Progress" the Man with the Muckrake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of on spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. Now, it is very necessary that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muckrake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes save of his feats with the muck-rake, speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil.
>
> There are, in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of and attack upon every evil man whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine, or newspaper, with merci-

less severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful. The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander, he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth. An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does not good, but very great harm. The soul of every scoundrel is gladdened whenever an honest man is assailed, or even when a scoundrel is untruthfully assailed.

At the risk of repetition let me say again that my plea is, not for immunity to but for the most unsparing exposure of the politician who betrays his trust, of the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate or corrupt ways. There should be a resolute effort to hunt every such man out of the position he has disgraced. Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal; but remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself. It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the forces of evil that I ask that the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution. The men with the muck-rakes are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck, and to look upward to the celestial crown above them, to the crown of worthy endeavor. There are beautiful things above and round about them; and if they gradually grow to feel that the whole world is nothing but muck, their power of usefulness is gone. If the whole picture is painted black there remains no hue whereby to single out the rascals for distinction from their fellows. Such painting finally induces a kind of moral color-blindness; and people affected by it come to the conclusion that no man is really black, and no man really white, but they are all gray. In other words, they neither believe in the truth of the attack, nor in the honesty of the man who is attacking; they grow as suspicious of the accusation as of the offense; it becomes well-nigh hopeless to stir them either to wrath against wrong-doing or to enthusiasm for what is right; and such a mental attitude in the public gives hope to every knave, and is the despair of honest men. (1)

After this explanation of the usefulness of muck-raking and the policy to pursue in it, President Roosevelt

1. The Roosevelt Policy Roosevelt vol. II New York 1909 p. 367-371

points out the true justification of muck-raking and maintains that if fails in its purpose if it does not achieve action:

> At this moment we are passing through a period of great unrest -- social, political, and industrial unrest. It is of the utmost importance for our future that this should prove to be not the unrest of mere rebelliousness against life, of mere dissatisfaction with the inevitable inequality of conditions, but the unrest of a resolute and eager ambition to secure the betterment of the individual and the nation! So far as this movement of agitation throughout the country takes the form of a fierce discontent with evil, of a determination to punish the authors of evil, whether in industry or politics, the feeling is to be heartily welcomed as a sign of healthy life.
>
> If, on the other hand, it turns into a mere crusade of appetite against appetite, of a contest between the brutal greed of the "have-nots" and the brutal greed of the "haves," then it has no significance for good, but only for evil. If it seeks to establish a line of cleavage, not along the line which divides good men from bad, but along that other line, running at right angles thereto, which divides those who are well off from those who are less well off, then it will be fraught with immeasurable harm to the body politic.(1)

The following paragraph is perhaps the most potent of all:

> It is a prime necessity that if the present unrest is to result in permanent good the emotion shall be translated into action, and that the action shall be marked by honesty, sanity, and self-restraint. There is mighty little good in a mere spasm of reform. The reform that counts is that which comes through steady, continuous growth; violent emotionalism leads to exhaustion. (2)

In the pages of this thesis I have tried to interpret the most important presentations of a muck-raking nature in various popular magazines, in accordance with the principles laid down by President Roosevelt.

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1. The Roosevelt Policy Roosevelt vol. II p. 373-4
2. Ibid. p. 374 New York 1909

Chapter One

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE

McClure's Magazine was established in 1893, as an outgrowth of S.S. McClure's newspaper syndicate, and was a rapid success due to the aggressive policy of its editor. It had an enviable list of contributors and its circulation grew quite rapidly, although not so fast as that of the Cosmopolitan or Everybody's. It was rather a new idea that the editor put into practice of having the principal articles of each issue written by members of the staff rather than by outside contributors.

This magazine was one of the first to take up the policy of muckraking and early attained national fame by its exposure of graft. Probably its greatest claim to fame is "The History of the Standard Oil Company," which was written by Miss Ida M. Tarbell, a member of its editorial staff for several years. The idea of muckraking was an accidental one, according to Mr. McClure, who has said on this subject:

> It came from no formulated plan to attack existing institutions, but was the result of merely taking up in the magazine some of the problems that were beginning to interest the people a little before the newspapers and the other magazines took them up. . . . My desire to handle such questions in the magazine came about, I think, largely from my frequent trips abroad. (1)

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1. My Autobiography S.S. McClure p. 253

Simultaneously with the beginning of the Standard Oil series in McClure's, began the articles by Lincoln Steffens on municipal misgovernment. Steffens went to St. Louis and prepared an article on the revelations brought out at the trials that Folk had carried on against grafters. Two articles were published on that city. Next came the article on "The Shame of Minneapolis," which dealt with material that had been brought out in courts or by grand juries. Four more cities were discussed in this series, which was instrumental in the first awakening of the American people to municipal administration problems.

The origin of the history of the Standard Oil Company shows how incidentally the whole idea of muckraking came into being and how gradually it developed. Mr. McClure gives a clear account of it:

> At the time of the World's Fair there was established the Armour Institute of Technology under the charge of Dr. Gunsaulus, the great preacher. I sent Arthur Warren to Chicago to write for McClure's an article on the Armour Institute and on Mr. Armour. That gave me the idea of having articles written on the greatest American business achievements and methods of the Standard Oil * * * * planned three or four articles, about February, 1897. Trusts were then a common subject. We decided to handle the trust question by taking one, giving its history, effects and tendencies.
>
> The Standard Oil trust company aided Miss Tarbell in obtaining material -- her other sources of information were records of Congressional investigations, of state investigations, and the testimony of Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Archbold, and other officers of the company given in suits brought against the company in different states. Her study lasted five years, and enabled her to produce a history of unimpeachable accuracy. (1)

1. My Autobiography S.S. McClure p. 250

Miss Tarbell had spent nearly three years on this work before the first chapter of it was printed. She had read and digested almost a library of material, and had travelled and seen a number of people. When she wrote this "History of the Standard Oil" she was probably the greatest living expert on that subject. (1)

An editorial announcement preceding the publication of the series says in part:

> McClure's Magazine has always endeavored to deal in a fresh and stimulating way with all important public questions. It proposes in its coming volumes to take up the trust. It will begin its work by the story of the growth of a particular organization. It selects this method of presentation in order that its readers may have a clear and succinct notion of the processes by which a particular industry passes from the control of the man to that of the one or the few -- that they may see the methods by which competition ends in combination. The organization selected for this object lesson in trusts is the Standard Oil company. The reasons for this choice are obvious. It is the popular typical trust. It was the first in the field, and it has furnished the methods, the charter, and the traditions for its followers. It is, too, the most perfectly developed trust in existence; that is, it satisfies most nearly the trust ideal of entire control of the commodity in which it deals. Its vast profits have forced its officers into various allied interests, such as railroads, and into new combinations, thus giving them doubled power in carrying out their own projects. It has led in the struggle against legislation directed against combinations. Its power in State and Federal government, in the press, in the college, in the pulpit is generally recognized. The perfection of the organization of the Standard, the ability and daring with which it has carried out its projects, make it the pre-eminent trust of the world -- the one whose story is best fitted to illuminate the subject of combinations of capital.
>
> It is a story of daring action, of bold projects ably realized, of heart-breaking tragedies -- a story in which the strange new conditions of business life in America are illustrated as in no other of which we know.(2)

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1. My Autobiography S.S. McClure p. 250
2. Announcement McClure's vol. 19 p. 589 Oct. 1902

Miss Tarbell was particularly well equipped for such an undertaking. She was born in Erie county, Pennsylvania, on November 5, 1857, and was graduated from Allegheny college, Meadville, Pa., with the degree of bachelor of arts in 1880. She received the master's degree in 1883, the degree of L.H.D. in 1909, and the degree of doctor of laws in 1915 from Allegheny college, and the degree of L.H.D. from Knox college also in 1909. Before she went to France to study, she was associate editor of The Chataquan from 1883 to 1891. In 1906 she joined the staff of the American magazine, where she remained until 1915. She is a member of the American Historical Association and of the English Society of Women Journalists, and is the author of several historical works. Her history of the Standard Oil company was published in two volumes in 1904.[1]

A sketch of her qualifications was published in McClure's preliminary to the publication of her history.

> Miss Tarbell, who has spent the greater part of two years in gathering and studying original materials for a history of the Standard Oil company, first gained prominence as the author of a series of articles on the life of Lincoln, as remarkable for the bringing out of hitherto unknown and yet most important facts as for the sympathetic insight into the human side of the great president. Miss Tarbell did not stumble into historical work. After an arduous and valuable editorial experience, deciding to follow out her instincts and tastes and take the writing of biography and history as her life work, she spent three years at the Paris Sorbonne studying to make herself master of the tools of her profession. It was there she wrote her first historical work, the "Life of Madame Roland," which remains to this day the most penetrating study of this typical woman

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1. Tarbell, Ida Minerva Who's Who in America p. 2664 vol. X Chicago 1918-19

> of the French Revolution. It is, therefore, with a mind thoroughly trained for historical research that Miss Tarbell began work, upon the history of the Standard Oil company, one of the greatest and most far-reaching developments of our American civilization. In this field she is in a large degree a pioneer. It was planned to begin the series last year, but the difficulty of collecting and digesting the facts from the thousands of printed pages of testimony made it very necessary to postpone publication of the articles for another year. The bewildering mass of documents on the subject only yield up their significance as the result of a tremendous amount of painstaking reading and study. As Miss Tarbell passed most of her early life in the oil regions, she has a special qualification for this work; the atmosphere and the feeling, the human and social significance of the oil business she imbibed with the very air she breathed. (1)

The value of such a history, apart from its historical significance, lies in the fact that it demonstrates the necessity of fair play in business, if this country is to develop its business on lines of decency and dignity.[2]

"The History of the Standard Oil Company" is divided into two parts, the first containing nine chapters, each a separate article on a particular phase of the history, and the second, eight chapters. Part I covers a period of ten years, 1872 to 1882, and deals with the maneuvers by which the Standard Oil trust, with a capital of $70,000,000, was developed from the Standard Oil company with a capitalization of $1,000,000. It shows how Rockefeller created a trust through wresting special and illegal rebates on transportation.

Part II carries the narrative down to the present time (about 1903), and treats of such important topics as criminal underselling, the right of unlimited competition, and the price

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1. Editorial announcement McClure's vol. 19 p. 588 Oct. 1902
2. Ibid. " vol. 22 p. 108 Nov. 1903

of oil. It takes up the first resistance to Mr. Rockefeller's authority, following the great defeat of the Oil Regions in 1880 with the formation of the trust in 1882. It is a history of the twenty years war since that time and the time of publication, of the fight which centered about (a) transportation, not by rail, but by pipe-lines to the seaboard, (b) underselling competitor, and (c) the price of oil.[1]

Publication of the history began in McClure's Magazine in November, 1902, and concluded in October, 1904, running through a period of about two years. Never was a history so full of romance, adventure, and combat. Written in Miss Tarbell's admirable style, it reads like a tale of the days of old, when the giants and the pygmies battled.

Chapter I, entitled "The Birth of an Industry," was published in November, 1902, and deals with the early discovery of petroleum, of the big men in the early oil business, and the progress of communities in the oil region. Chapter II, "The Rise of the Standard Oil company," which was published in December of the same year, relates the building up of the Rockefeller firm, the question of rebates, and organization of the Standard Oil company. In chapter III, "The Oil War of 1872," (February, 1903) the uprising of the oil regions against the company is described.

Chapter IV, "An Unholy Alliance," which appeared in March, is the history of the second attempt to bring about a combina-

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1. Editorial announcement McClure's vol. 21 p. 227

tion to control the oil business, and relates facts never before revealed. "The Price of Trust Building," (April, 1903) is the next chapter, and deals with the alliance with the railroad men and the "insolent equalization of rates." The remaining chapters in Part I are as follows: "The Defeat of the Pennsylvania," (June, 1903), "The Crisis of 1878," (July, 1903), "The Great Consummation" (August, 1903), and "The Real Greatness of the Standard," (September, 1903).

The chapter headings in Part II of the series speak for themselves: "The War on the Rebate," (December, 1903), "The Fight for the Seaboard Pipe-lines," (January, 1904), "Cutting to Kill," (February, 1904), "The Troubles of a Trust" (March, 1904), "The Breaking Up of the Trust," (May, 1904), "A Modern War for Independence," (June, 1904), "The Price of Oil" (September, 1904), and the conclusion of the history, (October, 1904).

One of the earliest articles of so-called muckraking was that of Ray Stannard Baker's on "What the United Steel Corporation Really Is, and How It Works," published in November, 1901. Mr. Baker describes the growth of the corporation, how it came into being, from ten other companies, its organization, manner of distribution, sales, markets, efficiency, and similar subjects. This article is analytical and describes the organization, however, rather than points out the evils caused by its organization and growth.

Mr. Baker, who later became a well-known "muck-raker," was born in Lansing, Mich., on April 17, 1870. He received the degree of bachelor of science from the Michigan Agricultural col-

lege in 1889 and the degree of doctor of laws in 1917 and pursued a partial law course and studies in literature at the University of Michigan. He was a reporter and sub-editor on the Chicago Record from 1892-7; managing editor of McClure's syndicate from 1897-8; associate editor of McClure's Magazine from 1899 to 1905; one of the editors of the American Magazine from 1906 to 1915. He is the author of several books and writes also under the nom de plume of David Grayson.[1]

The very earliest articles of an investigative nature, however, were those of Josiah Flynt, who wrote a series of three entitled, "In the World of Graft," taking up graft in cities as seen by denizens of the underworld. The nature of the series is best described by the editor's note at the beginning of the first article:

> Just one year ago, through an arrangement made with McClure's Magazine, Mr. Josiah Flynt undertook an investigation of the criminal classes in several of the leading cities of the United States. These studies were made, not to gratify an idle curiosity, but in the hope that they will aid the movement now in progress to better the government of our cities. For fifteen years Mr. Flynt has spent much of his time among the vagrant and criminal classes of this country and Europe, living with them under their own conditions. It is a mere coincidence that these articles are published just as Chicago and New York are arousing to the need of reform. It should be remembered that Mr. Flynt writes of what he saw in the spring of 1900, but practically the same conditions exist today. (2)

The purpose of the articles, to quote Mr. Flynt himself, was to get "the under-world's criticism of the upper world's system of municipal defense against crime."

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1. Ray Stannard Baker Who's Who in America vol. X p. 144 Chicago 1918-19
2. In the World of Graft McClure's vol. 16 p. 327 Feb. 1901

"Chicago, an Honest City," is the first article, appearing in February, 1901, in which Mr. Flynt gives an account of how Chicago is regarded by the underworld, how the city is called "open" because it permits thieves and tramps in its limits, and how the municipal authorities bargain with crooks.

The second in the series is "York, a Dishonest City," Mr. Flynt summarizes his investigations of New York as follows: "As criticized by the professional tramp and thief, New York's municipal defense against crime seems to be faulty in the following particulars: Practically the entire municipal government is at the beck and call of Tammany, and Tammany subordinates the city's interests to its own. New York is "open," because it pleases and pays the Tammany Powers that Rule to have it so." Mr. Flynt concludes that the voters want the city to be "open," or they would change their votes.[1]

"Boston, A Plain-Clothes Man's Town," is the third and last of the series. Mr. Flynt says "Goodness is lazy in this town, and that's the reason that badness is active."[2] He asserts that the public is to blame for illegal joints and crookedness in the police department.[3]

Following this series is a dramatic exposure of evils in St. Louis, showing the depth of financial corruption in that city, in an article entitled, "Tweed Days in St. Louis," or "Joseph W.

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1. In the World of Graft Flynt McClure's April, 1901 vol. 16 p. 576
2. Ibid. June, 1901 vol. 17 p. 121
3. Ibid. June, 1901 vol. 17 p. 121

Folk's Single-handed Exposure of Corruption, High and Low," written by Claude H. Wetmore and Lincoln Steffens and published in October, 1902. The fight of Folk against bribery, corruption in contracts, and so on, is described in vivid fashion. The bankers, brokers, corporation officers, and business men of the city are named as responsible for the corruption in the city.

Various aspects of the labor situation are to be seen in some of the articles published in McClure's Magazine late in 1902 and early in 1903. Among them were "The Coal Strike," (December, 1902) by John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, discussing the miners' side of the question, "The Right to Work," or "The Story of the Non-Striking Miners," (January, 1903), by Ray Stannard Baker, showing the hardships suffered by non-union men at the hands of union men, and "Children of the Coal Shadow," (February, 1903) by Francis H. Nichols, depicting child labor in the coal regions with its attendant evils, children's unions, and other phases.

The year 1903 marked a distinct period in the policy of McClure's in that a striking series of articles by Lincoln Steffens on municipal corruption and some vivid side-lights on the labor situation are presented from time to time. An editorial announcement in the issue for January, 1903, states the policy clearly:

> It is a coincidence that the January McClure's is such an arraignment of American character as should make every

one of us stop and think..... . The leading article, The Shame of Minneapolis," might have been called "The American Contempt of Law." That title could well have served for the current chapter of Miss Tarbell's History of Standard Oil. And it would have fitted perfectly Mr. Baker's "The Right to Work." All together, these articles come pretty near showing how universal is this dangerous trait of ours. Miss Tarbell has our capitalists conspiring among themselves, deliberately, shrewdly, upon legal advice, to break the law so far as it restrained them, and to misuse it to restrain others who were in their way. Mr. Baker shows labor, the ancient enemy of capital, and the chief complainant of the trusts' unlawful acts, itself committing and excusing crimes. And in "The Shame of Minneapolis," we see the administration of a city employing criminals to commit crimes for the profit of elected officials, while the citizens -- Americans of good stock and more than average culture, and honest, healthy Scandinavians-stood by complacent and unalarmed.

Capitalists, workingmen, politicians, citizens -- all breaking the law or letting it be broken. Who is left to uphold it? The lawyers? Some of the best lawyers in this country are hired, not to go into court to defend cases, but to advise corporations and business firms how they can get around the law without too great a risk of punishment. The judges? Too many of them so respect the laws that for some "error" or quibble they restore to office and liberty men convicted on evidence overwhelmingly convincing to common sense. The churches? We know of one, an ancient and wealth establishment, which had to be compelled by a Tammany holdover health officer to put its tenements in sanitary condition. The colleges? They do not understand.

There is no one left; none but all of us -- we are all doing our worst and making the public pay. The public is the people. We forget that we all are the people; that while each of us in his group can shove off on the rest the bill of today, the debt is only postponed; the rest are passing it on back to us. We have to pay in the end, everyone of us. And in the end the sum total of our debt will be our liberty. (1)

In September, 1903, more in the series of labor articles by Ray Stannard Baker, appear. The first is "Capital and Labor Hunt Together, or Chicago the Victim of the New Industrial Conspiracy." Mr. Baker relates the monopolizing of the coal deliv-

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1. Editorial announcement McClure's vol. 20 p. 336 Jan. 1903

ery of the whole city by the coal teamsters' union and coal team owners' association. He points out the combinations among practically all industries in Chicago, each industry warring against others, and the unorganized public as the scapegoat.[1]

"The Trust's New Tool -- the Labor Boss," follows in November of the same year. This article is the story of Sam Parks, boss of the builders in New York City, who so effectively organized the ironmongers, and tool of the George A. Fuller Construction company, a building trust, which was backed by the Standard Oil company.[2]

"The Lone Fighter" is a more or less general article by Mr. Baker pointing out that the conditions revealed in his previous articles can only be done away with by fighting. He says, "If this republic is saved, it must be saved by individual effort."[3]

Early in the next year an article on the union in San Francisco was published, "A Corner in Labor, What is Happening in San Francisco Where Unionism Holds Undisputed Sway." Mr. Baker shows how business-like unionism in that city sought to control the market, how it has a labor monopoly, forces up prices, and crushes competition.[4]

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1. Capital and Labor Hunt Together Baker McClure's vol.21 p.451
2. The Trust's New Tool Baker McClure's vol. 22 p. 30
3. The Lone Fighter " " vol. 22 p. 196 Dec. 1903
4. A Corner in Labor " " vol. 22 p. 366 Feb. 1904

The labor problem dragged into politics is portrayed in "The Reign of Lawlessness, or Anarchy and Despotism in Colorado," by Mr. Baker. He says that the people of the state are paying because both sides have broken the law, the corporations, the unions, legislature -- all to blame.[1] The attitude of the employers toward the growing strength of labor is brought out in an article published in the summer of 1904, "Organized Capital Challenges Organized Labor, or the New Employers' Association Movement." This movement of the employers is due, first, says Mr. Baker, to the sudden recognition and fear of the real power of the new unionism, and secondly, to excesses of a false power -- an inflated unionism. The employers are divided into two groups, according to Mr. Baker, those who propose to fight the unions and those who propose to deal with them.[2]

Parallel with Mr. Baker's articles was a series extending over more than a year of articles on municipal and state corruption by Lincoln Steffens. Mr. Steffens is a particularly able writer and has been described as a man who stands at the head either of a class of literary men who possess a nose for news or of newspaper men who have a turn for literature.[3]

Mr. Steffens was born in San Francisco on April 6, 1866. He received the degree of bachelor of philosophy from the Uni-

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1. The Reign of Lawlessness Baker McClure's vol. 23 p. 43 May 1904
2. Organized Capital Challenges Organized Labor Baker McClure's vol. 23 p. 279 July 1904
3. Editorial announcement McClure's vol. 25 p. 107 Nov. 1904

versity of California in 1889, and studied philosophy in the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Paris, and Sorbonne, 1889 to 1892. He was reporter and assistant city editor of the New York Evening Post from 1892-8, city editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser, 1898-1902, managing editor of McClure's from 1902-6, and associate editor of the American Magazine and Everybody's from 1906-11.[1]

His series on municipal corruption began in January, 1903, when "The Shame of Minneapolis or the Rescue and Redemption of a City That Was Sold Out," was published. This article is a vivid portrayal of graft and corruption in politics in Minneapolis, showing how the mayor and all of the officials were in alliance with the criminals of the city and how prosecution cleaned up the city. The keynote is police corruption.

This article is followed by "The Shamelessness of St. Louis, or Something New in the History of American Municipal Democracy," an account of the unique position of that city, which is unashamed of its corruption, in that the conviction of boodlers leaves the felons still in control, the system intact, and the people mere spectators.[2]

Pittsburgh with its police and financial corruption is the next city to be taken up by Mr. Steffens. It is the type of city that has tried to be free and failed. Mr. Steffens discusses Christopher L. Magee's political ring, his alliance with

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1. Steffens, Lincoln Who's Who in America p. 2575 1918
2. Shamelessness of St. Louis Steffens McClure's vol. 20 p. 545 March, 1903

William Flinn, how the city broke them, only to have Tom S. Bigelow become boss. The one-man ring under Magee controlled everything.[1]

Another city in Pennsylvania was also discussed by Mr. Steffens, Philadelphia, "The worst governed city in the country," in an article entitled "Philadelphia: Corrupt and Contented." The Philadelphians were virtually disfranchised, according to Mr. Steffens, in that "the political machine controls the whole process of voting and practises fraud at every stage." About 15,000 persons were employed by the machine to represent nearly a majority of the city voters.[2]

"Chicago: Half Free and Fighting On," an analysis of political conditions in that city, relating the fight of the Municipal Voters' league in cleaning up the town, (Oct. 1903), and "New York: Good Government in Danger," discussing the reelection of Seth Low as mayor, representative of good government, complete this particular series of Mr. Steffens (Nov. 1903).

In April, 1904, Mr. Steffens began a second series much the same in purpose and contents, entitled "Enemies of the Republic." As he himself puts it, "my gropings into misgovernment of cities have drawn me out of politics into business, and out of the cities into the state."[3] And in another place he says that municipal corruption and reform is only part -- it is local. "It isn't political corruption. It's

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1. Pittsburgh Steffens vol. 21 p. 24 May 1903
2. Philadelphia: Corrupt and Contented Steffens vol. 21 p.249 July 1903
3. Enemies of the Republic Steffens vol.22 p. 587 April 1904

corruption. The corruption of our American politics is our American corruption, political, but financial and industrial, too."[1]

His first article deals with Missouri, where the political leaders are selling out the state to corrupt business men. The lobbyists run the legislature. "Illinois: a Triumph of Public Opinion," "Wisconsin: a State Where the People Have Restored Representative Government and the Story of Governor La-Follette," "Rhode Island: a State for Sale--What Senator Aldrich Represents -- a Business Man's Government Founded Upon the Corruption of the People Themselves," "New Jersey: a Traitor State," "Ohio: a Tale of Two Cities"(Cleveland and Cincinnati), are included in the series, appearing successively in the August, and October, 1904, and February, April, and July issues in 1905. In each state the problem is a little different, but in each some form of corruption and obstacle to true government is found.

In the case of New Jersey, the results of Mr. Steffens' investigations revealed such startling conditions that the editor's note appended to the article is worth quoting:

> Every citizen who cares for his country, his state, or his city, should know the facts in this article. When we began to investigate New Jersey we thought we knew something of political and commercial corruption. We had charted some of its submerged depths but here we have found ourselves at times off soundings and the leadsman has reported no bottom. This is the longest of Mr. Steffens' articles and the most important; yes, and the most interesting; this unrelenting story of sordid things. And if the reader feels as we do,

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1. Enemies of the Republic Steffens McClure's vol. 22 p. 587 April 1904

> how intelligent, how sure the corruption of the state has been, let the truth serve to arouse a courage equal to the task ahead. (1)

Mr. Steffens incorporates this striking statement in his article: "Jersey has been bought and sold both at home and abroad; the state is owned and governed today by a syndicate representing capitalists of Newark, Philadelphia, New York, London, and Amsterdam. The offense which commands our special attention, however, and lifts this state into national distinction is this: New Jersey is selling out the rest of us."[2]

Following his series on "Enemies of the Republic," Mr. Steffens in the following year, 1906, wrote two articles on slightly different aspects of the corruption question, that of "cleaning up politics." The first of these was "A Servant of God and the People -- story of Mark Fagan, Mayor of Jersey City," (January, 1906) telling of Fagan the Christian mayor who made Jersey City "pretty," and the second was "The Gentleman from Essex -- the Story of Everett Colby, a Rich Young Man in Politics: What He Discovered from the Inside; and What He Did About It," (February, 1906) relating how Colby fought "to restore government of the people to the people."[3] These virtually complete Mr. Steffens' work in this particlar field, and it was about this time that he transferred to the staff of the American Magazine.

In the fall of 1905, Mr. Baker began a series of articles, entitled "The Railroads on Trial," which ran until the middle of the next summer. In this series he took up the investigation of

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1. New Jersey: a Traitor State Steffens McClure's vol. 24 p.649 April 1905
2. Ibid. vol. 24 p. 649 April 1905
3. The Gentleman from Essex Steffens McClure's vol. 26 p. 433 February 1906

the charges against the railroads that (a) they do not observe justice toward the people -- individual shippers are said to have received rebates -- (b) that they disobey the law, and (c) that they smothered competition and created monopolies. Part I, "The Railroad Rate," was published in November, 1905; Part II, "Railroad Rebates," in December of that year; Part III, "The Private Car and the Beef Trust," in January, 1906; Part IV, "Private Cars and the Fruit Industry," in February; Part V, "How Railroads Make Public Opinion," in March. As a concluding article in the series Mr. Baker wrote on "The Unreliability of Official Documents,"[1] showing how even these documents were not always reliable as sources of information. In June, 1906, he wrote "The Way of a Railroad with a Town,"[2] the story of the struggle of Danville, Va., with the Southern Railway.

Following close upon the conclusion of Mr. Baker's series came another series by Burton J. Hendricks, on "The Story of Life Insurance," which ran through several numbers of McClure's, and dealt with the development of life insurance, and the careers of the men who have most conspicuously contributed to its growth. Mr. Hendricks describes the work of the great men who made the American life insurance system one of our greatest claims to national distinction; and the work of the corrupt men who have done so much to degrade it. He relates the growth of two schools of life insurance systems under Elizur Wright, to whom everything that is sound in life insurance today can be traced and under

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1. Unreliability of Official Documents Baker McClure's vol. 26 p. 672 April 1906

2. Way of a Railroad with a Town Baker vol. 27 p.131 June 1906

Henry B. Hyde, to whom everything unsound and unjust can be traced.[1]

The series was written in six parts, entitled respectively, "Surplus, the Basis of Corruption," published in May, 1906; "The Pioneer," in June; "The Founder of the Equitable," in July; "The Great Tontine Gamble," in August; "The Thirty Years' War," in September; and "The Raid on the Surplus," in Octob er.

Among other important articles of a muckraking nature during the next few years were: "The Story of Montana," by C.P. Connolly in August, 1906; "The Confession and Autobiography of Harry Orchard," following the sensational Moyer and Haywood trial, which began in July, 1907, and ran for several months; "Bees and the City Liquor Problem," by George Kibbe Turner, in September, 1909; and "The Organized Criminals of New York City" by General Bingham in November, 1909. Another important series was "The Masters of Capital in America" written by Turner and John Moody.

About this time, McClure's distinctive muckraking policy seems to end, or rather to merge into an investigative spirit, constructive rather than destructive, praising rather than deploring. In other words, having devoted its powerful and influential editorial energies to delving into the muck of the earth, it gradually turned its editorial searchlight into the projects of American civilization which deserve laudatory comment.

At present McClure's Magazine has lost its old leadership, although it is still prominent with a good reputation. It has lost some of its old popularity along with its loss in aggressive-

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1. Editorial announcement vol. 26 p. 675 April 1906

ness. More about the decline of muckraking will be found in the conclusion to this thesis.

Chapter II

EVERYBODY'S MAGAZINE

Everybody's Magazine, which was brought into being in 1899 by John Wanamaker, is among the oldest and best known of the popular magazines. It was bought by the Ridgeway-Thayer company in 1903 and soon after branched into muckraking with much "wim and wigor." Its campaign in the literature of exposure is epitomized in "Frenzied Finance," a lurid series on the Standard Oil company and one of its greatest projects, Amalgamated Copper, which still lingers in the minds of people. This famous series was written by Thomas W. Lawson, financier, who was at one time connected with the Standard Oil company. It ran for two years, from July, 1904, to February, 1906, and "made" Everybody's.

The magazine's circulation jumped enormously and the publishers could scarcely meet the demand for copies because the series was so popular and widely read. In its November, 1904, news-stand sale, the magazine reached the largest circulation of any magazine, and it was reaching out for a million subscribers. By the end of 1904 it had 600,000 readers. At this time it was selling for ten cents a copy. The magazine never attained a circulation of more than 700,000, however.[1]

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1. Thesis W.L. Ninabuck 1911 U. of W. p. 48

The foreword to the series, "Frenzied Finance," in the July, 1904, issue of Everybody's contains the germ of the series and its motivation:

> The series will set forth the story of Amalgamated Copper and the "system," of which it is the most flagrant example. "This system" is a process or a device for the incubation of wealth from the people's savings in the banks, trust, and insurance companies, and the public funds. Through its workings during the last twenty years there has grown up in this country a set of colossal corporations in which unmeasured success and continual immunity from punishment have bred an insolent disregard of law, of common morality, and of public and private right, together with the grim determination to hold on to, at all hazards, the great possessions they have gulped or captured. It is the same "system" which has taken from the millions of people billions of dollars, and given them over to a score or two of men with power to use and enjoy them as absolutely as though these billions had been earned dollar by dollar by the labor of their bodies and minds. Yet in telling the story of Amalgamated, the most brazen and voracious maw of this "system," I desire it understood that I take no issue with men; it is with a principle I am concerned. . . . . The "system" is the thing at fault, and it is the "system" that must be rectified.(1)

Then Mr. Lawson, in preparation for the avalanche of questions which he knew would be showered upon him, proceeds to state at some length and with great care, his motive for writing the series:

> In asking for the serious, earnest consideration of the public, I shall be honest in giving to them my qualifications, my motives, and my desires for writing this narrative. For thirty-four years I have been actively connected with matters financial. As banker, broker, and corporation man, I have from the vantage point of one who actually handled the things he studied, studied the causes which created the conditions which made possible the system which produced the Amalgamated affair. In my thirty-four years of business experience I have seen the great fortunes, which are the motive power of the system referred to, come out of the far West as specks upon the financial horizon, and grow and grow as they travelled Eastward, until in their length, breadth and thickness, they obscured the rising sun. At short range I have seen the giant money machine put together; I have touched elbows with the men who made it, as they fitted this wheel and grooved

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol. 11 p.1 July, 1904

that gear, while at the same time I broke bread and slept with the everyday people who, with the industry of the ant, and the patience of the spider, toiled to pile in the pennies, the nickels, and the dimes which have kept the'system's' hopper full. (1)

Mr. Lawson is careful to state again and again that he is not violating business confidence or misusing knowledge in his frank revelations concerning the "system." [2]

> Amalgamated was the service the system asked of me. It was created because of my work. It was largely because of my efforts that its foundation was successfully laid. It was very largely because of what I stood for and the public's confidence in fulfilment of the promises I made that the public invested their savings to an extent of over $200,000,000: and it was almost wholly because of the broken promises and the trickery of the creators of the "system" that the public lost the enormous sums they did. (3)

Mr. Lawson gives the dire results of the Amalgamated coup as bringing losses amounting to more than a hundred million of dollars, 30 suicides, and 20 convictions. [4] These almost unbelievable disasters are partly responsible for his desire to inform the public:

> My motives for writing the Story of Amalgamated are manifold: I have unwittingly been made the instrument by which thousands upon thousands of investors in America and Europe have been plundered. I wish them to know my position as to the past, that they may acquit me of intentional wrong-doing; as to the present that they may know that I am using all my powers to right the wrongs that have been committed, and as to the future that they may see how I propose to compel restitution.
>
> My desire in writing the Story of Amalgamated, while tinged perhaps with hatred for and revenge against the "system" as a whole and some of its votaries, is

1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.11, p.1 July 1904
2. Ibid. p. 4
3. Ibid. p. 6
4. Ibid. p. 2

> more truly pervaded with a strong conviction that the most effective way to educate the public to realize the evils of which such affairs as the Amalgamated are the direct result, is to expose before them the brutal facts as to the conception, birth, and nursery-breeding of this, the foremost of all the unsavory offspring of the "system." Thus they may learn it is within their power to destroy the brood already in existence and render impossible the creation of their like.
>
> In doing so I shall describe such parts of the general structure as will place my readers, especially those unfamiliar with its more complicated conditions, in a mental state to comprehend the methods by which the savings they think are safely guarded in the banks, trust and insurance companies, are so manipulated by the votaries of frenzied finance as to be in constant jeopardy. I will show them that -- -- there is a tangible, complicated, yet simple trick of financial legerdemain, operated 24 hours in each day of the year, and which the press, the books, the politicians and the statesmen never touch upon -- a trick by means of which the savings of the people and the public funds of the government, whether in the national banks, savings banks, trust or insurance companies, are always at the absolute service and mercy of the votaries of frenzied finance. (1)

A prophecy of the contents of his astounding revelations is briefly touched upon in the next paragraphs:

> Therefore in the course of my Story of Amalgamated will come a few kindergarten pictures of how the necessaries and luxuries of the people are "incorporated;" how the evidences of corporation ownership are manufactured; of the individuals who "manufactured" them: of the individuals who control or unmake their values; of the meeting-place of these individuals, within and without the stock exchanges; of some of the corporations and of some of the signs and tokens of corporation ownership; of some of the histories; of some of the doings, and of some of their contemplated doings. (2)

Because of the intricate nature of his task, Mr. Lawson felt compelled to begin at the very beginning of his subject, to explain matters of financial juggling from time to

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.11 p.6 July 1904
2. Ibid. p. 7

time, and to approach his real topic very slowly in order to be thoroughly understood by his readers. Consequently he started in to treat the Bay State Gas intricacies and trickeries, in which in a certain sense Amalgamated had its being; He devotes a chapter to "one of the most picturesquely notorious characters of the age, John Edward O'Sullivan Addicks, of Delaware."[1] The main part of his narrative deals with the "two real heads of Standard Oil and Amalgamated, Mr. Henry H. Rogers and Mr. William Rockefeller; and with the biggest financial institution of America, if not of the world, the National City Bank of New York and its head and dominating spirit, James Stillman."[2]

Another chapter relates the conception and formation of the United States Metals Selling Company, intended practically to control the copper industrial world "without coming within the restrictions of the laws for the prevention or regulation of monopolies."[3] Considerable space is devoted to F. Augustus Heinze, of Montana, notorious in copper affairs, and to James A. Keene, of Wall Street. A bit of the nation's history in which within a few days of the national election of 1896 a hurry-up call for additional funds to the extent of $5,000,000 was so promptly met as to overturn the people in five states and thereby preserve the destinies of the Republican party.[4]

The vivid style which characterizes all of Mr. Law-

1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol. 11 p.9 July 1904
2. Ibid. p. 9
3. Ibid. p. 9
4. Ibid. p. 9

son's work is seen in the following passage:

> I shall draw a picture of two dress suit-cases of money being slipped across the table at the foot of the judge's bench in the courtroom, from its dustodian to its new owners, upon the rendering of a court decision, and I shall show how the new owners frustrated a plot whereby they were to be waylaid and the bags of money recovered.(1)

The evils and dangers of the latter-day methods of corrupting law-makers and how one Massachusetts legislature was bribed, the manipulations of certain financial sandbaggers and blackmailers, a complete list of the original subscribers to the Amalgamated flotation will be touched upon at some length, promises Mr. Lawson, who will also deal with Wall Street, the Stock Exchange, State Street, and the courts of justice of New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Massachusetts, and Montana.

This foreword of Mr. Lawson, from which I have given the above quotations seems to be rather lengthy, but when the magnitude of his series is considered, the multitude of details involved, and the nature of his subject, his introductory paragraphs will appear most essential. His purpose is revealed clearly in his closing:

> When my story is ended and the great American people, whose simple but proud boast is that they cannot be fooled in the same place by the same methods and the same instruments twice, know as much as I now know of Amalgamated and its relation to the "system" which has for years as boldly, coarsely, and as cruelly robbed them as the coolie slaves are robbed by their master, it will be for them to decide whether my story has been, because of the facts which entered into it, so well told that they

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.11 p.9 July 1904

> will be satisfied without the restitution of the vast sums of money which the Amalgamated took from them, which the U.S. Steel took from them, and the others took lesser amounts by equally flagrant methods; but will demand the overthrow of the "system" itself. It will be for them to decide; and if their decision should be the latter, I will be amply repaid for the pains and miseries which must necessarily follow in the wake of a task such as the one I undertook when I decided to tell the Story of Amalgamated. (1)

Early in the series, Mr. Lawson's plan to reveal the graft prevalent in the life insurance companies became known and both he and Everybody's publishers were the target for attack by the great companies. In December of that year, the publishers of the magazine stated their attitude on the question:

> If Everybody's Magazine can have a part in righting what seems to be a great wrong, it will begin to be worthy of its name, and whatever responsibility may be incurred in facing and forcing the issue we shall cheerfully shoulder, knowing that in doing so we are having a part in averting a crisis which would bring untold misery to millions of people. (2)

Mr. Lawson's views on the subject are also presented at this time:

> Mr. Lawson protests with all the fire and vehemence of which he is capable that he has no thought but for the interests of the policy-holders, that the evils which he intends to point out are full of menace, that by directing them now and forcing a change he will save millions for the policy-holders and their familes, and that unless the evils in question are corrected very soon there will be precipitated the gravest calamity that has ever befallen this country. (3)

That the magazine contemplated the utmost fairness is shown by the fact that it offered to give the life insurance companies space in which they could answer the charges

1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol. 11 p.10 July 1904
2. Ibid. p. 868 December 1904
3. Ibid. p. 867-8

as they saw fit, and by the following statement:

> We ask all policy-holders to be the judges: let them read the statements and go on their way as if they had not read them until the case is complete and each side has had a hearing. (1)

In August, 1904, the first of Lawson's series was published. In this instalment Mr. Lawson describes the "System," its master, Henry H. Rogers, and how the hideous crime of Amalgamated was born at the home of the "System" on Broadway.[2] Mr. Lawson is never better than when he describes Mr. Rogers. His style is a marvel of lucidity, colorful expression, and terse forcefulness. Of Rogers he says:

> He who reads "Standard Oil" history will note that, from its first day until this day, whever the bricks, cabbages, or aged eggs were being presented to "Standard Oil" always was Henry H. Rogers' towering form and defiant eye in the foreground where they flew thickest. (3)

Even better is his portrayal of Mr. Rogers when testifying in court:

> His "I will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God" sounds absolutely sincere and honest, but as it rings out in the tone of the third solemnest bell in the chime, this is how it is taken down in those unerring shorthand notes of the recording angel and sent by special wireless to the typewriter for His Majesty of the Sulphur Trust: "What I tell shall be the truth and the whole truth and there shall be no truth but that I tell, and God help the man or woman who tells truth different from my truth." The recording angel never missed catching Henry H. Rogers' court oath in this way, and never missed sending them along to the typewriter at Sulphurville, with this postscript: "Keep your wire open, for there'll be things doing now." (4)

Another extract from this instalment shows Lawson's

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1. Frenzied Finance Everybody's vol.11 p. 868 Dec. 1904
2. Ibid. Editor's note vol. 11 p. 154 August 1904
3. Ibid. p. 159
4. Ibid. p. 161

method and style to advantage in respect to the workings of the "System:"

> In the big room, on the fifteenth floor, at 26 Broadway, there gather each day, between the hours of eleven and twelve o'clock, all the active men whose efforts make "Standard Oil" what "Standard Oil" is, and there also meet and mingle with the active heads the retired captains when "they are in town." Around a large table they sit. Reports are presented, views exchanged, policies talked over, and republics and empires made and unmade. If the Recorders in the next world have kept complete minutes of what has happened "upstairs" at 26 Broadway they must have tremendously large fireproof safes. It is at the meeting "upstairs" that the melons are cut, and if one of the retired captains should be asked why he was in such a rush to be on hand each day when in town and he were in a talkative mood -- which he would not be -- he would answer: "They may be cutting a new melon, and there's nothing like being on hand when the juice runs out." (1)

In chapter five of this instalment, "The Power of Dollars," Mr. Lawson utters the following telling phrases concerning the financial operations of the "system:"

> I shall go further and say that there exists today uncontrolled in the hands of a set of men a power to make dollars from nothing.
>
> Today "Standard Oil," the "Private Thing," is the greatest power in the land -- more powerful than the people, individually or as a whole, and its secret is the knowledge of the trick of finance by which dollars are "made" from nothing in unlimited quantities subject to no laws of man nor nature. The dollars that "Standard Oil" <u>makes</u> are the exact equivalent of the dollars of the people as made by the government which we know can only be coined and put into circulation in accordance with law and for the benefit of all the people. (2)

In another chapter entitled "Juggling With Millions of the People's Money," he waxes even more eloquent in regard to a deal consummated by Mr. Rogers one day:

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol. 11 p.157-8 Aug.'04
2. Ibid. p. 294 September 1904

> Thirty-six million dollars for one honest day's labor? Thirty-six million dollars -- and Alaska cost us but fourteen millions and Spain relinquished to us her claims on the Philippines for only twenty millions. Thirty-six million dollars! More than a hundred times as much as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and "Abe" Lincoln together secured for the patriotic labors of their lifetimes. And this vast sum was taken from the people to enrich men whose coffers were already, as the results of similar operations, so full of dollars that, neither they nor their children, nor their children's children, could count them -- as the people count their savings -- a dollar at a time -- as thoughtlessly taken as are the apples that the school-boy steals after he has eaten so many that he can eat no more. (1)

In August and September of this year Mr. Lawson devotes his space in the magazine to relating certain isolated facts in the career of Amalgamated in order to illustrate the methods of the "system" and its masters. Beginning in October he takes up the thread of his story in its natural order, showing how Amalgamated grew up out of relations established through the Bay State Gas company, how it obtained control of the great banks and insurance companies, and how it invested, in gas stocks, the funds acquired.[2] In this connection the figure of J. Edward O'Sullivan Addicks, so-called "financial guerilla" enters, and Mr. Lawson's description of his personality is most vivid:

> Here we have a man without a heart, without a soul, and, I believe, absolutely without conscience -- the kind of man who even his associates feel is likely to bring in after their deaths queer bills against their estates as an offset for what he owes them; the type of man whose promise is just as good as his bond, and whose bond is so near his promise as to make it absolutely immaterial to him which you take. He is rather a curious piece of

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol. 11 p.301 Sept.'04
2. Ibid. p. 455 October 1904

> mechanism than a human being. . . . The public would long ago have given up J. Edward O'Sullivan Addicks if he would have let them. (1)

Then he goes on to tell more of the man and his method of conducting his financial affairs:

> It should be explained here that whenever Addicks plans an illegal transaction -- one for which he might be civilly or criminally liable -- he invariably coaches each of his accomplices alone, "without witnesses." And when it becomes necessary in developing the plot to have a confab, at which the several parties to the proceeding must meet, Addicks is most careful to preserve a legal semblance of ignorance. At intervals, when a dangerous place in the discussion is approaching, he will get up from his seat, and, moving to the door, will say: "Gentlemen, halt right there, until I step out of the room; tap at the door when you are over that bad spot, and I will return." (2)

A comprehensive summary of the November, 1904, instalment is presented in the editor's note:

> In this instalment Mr. Lawson tells of his great fight against the "system" on behalf of the Westinghouse companies, describes his first encounter and subsequent alliance with Addicks against Henry H. Rogers, and then gives particulars of the terrific struggle of the Bay State Gas cohorts against the forces of "Standard Oil" for supremacy in Boston. The long-continued warring culminates in a meeting between Lawson and Rogers to discuss a settlement. The interview, big with significance to both men, is one of the great scenes in Mr. Lawson's story, and affords, perhaps, the most vivid and dramatic report of a business conversation extant. (3)

In chapter 12 Mr. Lawson describes Mr. Westinghouse, with whom he was associated at one time; as"in many ways the conception of what the ideal American should be."[4] His fortune "had been accomplished along those manly, independent,

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.11 p. 459 Oct.'04
2. Ibid. p. 462
3. Ibid. p. 601 Nov. 1904
4. Ibid. p. 603

Yankee lines which have made the name in every part of the civilized world synonymous with bustle and success. Above all, the man had organized and developed his companies without the aid of the "system" or without truckling to its votaries and consequently had incurred the deadly hatred of some of its lords paramount."[1]

"The Duplicity of Addicks" is one of the most vivid and dramatic chapters in Mr. Lawson's series, in which he recounts his successful interview with Mr. Rogers and then finds that Mr. Addicks has no money to pay for the purchase which he has been negotiating. He has tricked Lawson, who is furious but able to convince Mr. Rogers of his own innocence.

In the next chapter a new enemy is introduced, H.M. Whitney, who attempts to secure a charter for a new gas company from the Massachusetts legislature. He is interesting chiefly because of the opportunity he furnishes Mr. Lawson to expose the corruption in that body. According to the latter:

> The Massachusetts legislature is bought and sold as are sausages and fish at the markets and wharves. That the largest, wealthiest, and most prominent corporations in New England, whose affairs are conducted by our most representative citizens, habitually corrupt the Massachusetts legislature, and the man of wealth among them who would enter protest against the iniquity would be looked upon as a "class anarchist." I will go further and say that if in New England a man of the type of Folk, of Missouri, can be found who will give over six months to turning up the legislative and Boston municipal sod of the past ten years, who does not expose to the world a condition of rottenness more rotten than was ever before

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.11 p. 601 Nov.'04

> exhibited in any community in the civilized world, it will be because he has been suffocated by the stench of what he exhumes. (1)

At a critical moment in making arrangements with Whitney, Lawson is taken ill, and this is what happens:

> My associates had gone ahead with a vengeance, without waiting a minute to see whether I should live or die. My offer to the Legislature (to pay for gas company charter) had been withdrawn; Addicks had substituted his name for mine in all the documents and then he had traded with Rogers. It had been arranged between them that Whitney should go on and get the charter, which was to allow the company to sell gas at any price, for it was not to be under the supervision of the gas commissioners, who had pledged the public that the price of gas in Boston should not ever be more than $1 per thousand feet. This obtained, a new corporation was to be organized, into which Rogers would merge his companies, and Addicks our Boston properties, in such a way as to leave Bay State stock and bond-holders high and dry, while Addicks, Whitney, and Rogers reaped tremendous profits. These amiable plans were being hammered into shape at top speed, and unless I could get into harness at once, my friends and I would most certainly be ground up. (2)

In the next chapter, Lawson apropos of trying to raise six million dollars to pay Rogers, describes Whitney's method of controlling the legislature:

> At the head of Whitney's forces was his lawyer, George H. Towle, big of brain, ponderous of frame, and with the strength of an ox. . . . Second in command was Mr. Patch, Towle's secretary and factotum, his exact opposite in every way. . . Subordinate to Towle and Patch was a long line of eminently respectable lawyers known all over the Commonwealth as "Whitney's attorneys." These men participated at nominations, orated at elections, and took care of the finer preliminary details. The first line of attack was composed of practical politicians of various grades -- ex-senators or representatives, and local bosses, who were known as "Whitney's right-hand men." Below these were the ordinary lobbyists, the detectives, and runners, who kept "tab" on every move and deed, day and night, of the members

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.11 p. 755 Dec.'04
2. Ibid. p. 756

> of the legislature. This was the Whitney machine, and it worked together with that fine solidity and evenness which can only be attained with lots of practice and much success. In comparison with this competent organization, an average "Tammany Gang," a "Chicago Combine," or a "St. Louis Syndicate" would look like a broken down snow plough in August. (1)

Further history about the Bay State stock is related in the January, 1905, instalment, to which the editor appends a note, as follows:

> This instalment is concerned with the further tribulations of Bay State Gas, how it fell into a Receiver's hands, and was rescued after an incredible struggle. We are introduced to three new characters and learn something more about financial morals and the cost of success. Incidentally the author tells of how the "System" expended five million dollars to change the votes of five doubtful states in the '96 election, and called the bribery patriotism. Addicks' plot to "hold up" the Receiver and the extraordinary scene in the Delaware court-room, where two dress suit-cases filled with mondy change hands under the Judge's nose, form the most sensational passage so far in Mr. Lawson's history. (2)

In this instalment Mr. Lawson gives his readers a most effective passage on making money illegally:

> Into the rigging and launching of almost every big financial operation in the United States during the last twenty years, double-dealing, sharp practice, and jobbery have entered; and what is more, the men interested have participated in and profited thereby. To correct a popular fallacy I want to say that I am not referring here simply to moral derelictions but to actual legal crimes. If the details of the great reorganization and trustification deals put through since 1885 could be laid bare, eight out of ten of our most successful stock-jobbing financiers would be in a fair way to get into state or federal prisons. They do such things better in England. During the past ten years, three "frenzied financiers," have practiced their legerdemain in London -- Ernest Hanley, Barney Barnato, and Whitaker Wright. The first is bankrupt and discredited; Barney Barnato jumped into the ocean at the height of his career, and Whitaker Wright, after numerous attempts to escape, was

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol. 11 p.757 Dec.'04
2. Ibid. vol. 12 p. 40 Jan. 1905

> hauled up before an English judge and jury, promptly convicted and sentenced, and committed suicide by poison before leaving the court-room. I will agree at any time to set down from memory the names of a score of eminent American financiers, at this writing in full enjoyment of the envy and respect of their country-men and the luxury purchased by their many millions, whose crimes, moral, and legal, committed in the accumulation of these millions, if fully exposed, would make the performances of Wright and Barnato seem like petty larceny in comparison. But freedom and equality, as guaranteed us by the Declaration of Independence, have recently been capitalized, and "freedom" now means immunity from legal interference, for financiers, while the latest acceptance of "equality" is that all victims of special privilege are treated alike by those who control and exercise such privilege. If the judges and the public prosecutors of these United States were equal to the sworn duties of their sacred offices, this "freedom" would have been confined long ago, and throughout this broad land there would be jails, full of "frenzied financiers" who had imagined themselves licensed to rob the public. (1)

With this instalment the first part of Mr. Lawson's series on "Frenzied Finance" dealing with the career of Bay State Gas is concluded. This first part ran through seven issues of the magazine. So much preliminary revelation was considered necessary by Mr. Lawson to prepare the "way for a proper understanding of the crimes to which I am now coming."[2] He also said in this connection: "My purpose is to educate the people of this country to the fraud and rapacity rampant in the world of finance."[3]

Part II, which is begun in the February number of 1905 deals with the "crimes committed in connection with the organization, flotation, and subsequent manipulation of this Amalgamated company." It starts out as an "exposition of the finan-

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.12 p.45-6 Jan.'05
2. Ibid. p. 53
3. Ibid. p. 53

cial structure of the country, so that readers unversed in the terms and institutions of the stock market would be equipped with a thorough understanding of the methods and principles of finance and the various organisms and their functions through which business is conducted."[1]

Of course the "System" was not calmly sitting still and allowing Lawson to expose its inner workings and to reveal its vital mechanism without making a protest, and a violent protest at that. As soon as the publication of the articles was begun, he was made the subject of bitter personal and business attack by the "System" and the newspapers, news agencies, etc. This fact led the publishers of Everybody's to reprint in the February, 1905, issue of the magazine an article entitled "Thomas W. Lawson at Close Range -- an Intimate Talk with the Financier and Fighter" by Arthur McEwen, which was originally published in the New York American, on Nov. 27, 1904; and another entitled "Lawson, the Man," by James Creelman, originally published in the New York World, on Dec. 12, 1904, both tributes to his remarkable personality. These attacks continued with unrestrained violence and bitterness all through the publication of the series and until Lawson gave up the fight.

Returning to the publication of Part II, which is intended to explain to the public the inner workings of stock tran-

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.12 p.65
Advertising Section Editor's note

sactions, in Mr. Lawson's own words, we have the following:

> The "System" has cunningly possessed itself of the financial mechanism of the country and is running it, not for the object for which the machine was devised, but for the benefit and personal profit of its votaries, and so the vast correlating organization of banks, trust companies, and insurance corporations which were brought into being for the safe handling of the people's savings has become an agency for transferring these savings to the control of unscrupulous manipulators, who take liberal toll of every dollar that passes through their hands. (1)

Chapter three of this second part is an admirable exposition, treating of the origin of law, money, life insurance, fire insurance, bank, corporation, stock exchange, and other institutions in response to the growing demands of civilization. Chapter four, "The Magic Jimmy," shows how the trust of "Jimmy" controls these institutions and is the master key to the people's financial structure.

In the March instalment, the Editor's note foretells the contents of the various chapters:

> The author plunges directly into "Coppers," explains the economical situation out of which Amalgamated was evolved, and describes the significant interview at which he induced Henry H. Rogers to take up the project. "Standard Oil's" method of organizing a stock campaign is graphically set forth, and incidentally we are given the story of the bitter fight over Butte and Boston. (2)

Typical of Lawson's vivid style is the following passage, apropos of the period between 1896 and 1904 which is interwoven with the narrative of happenings in Amalgamated:

> It is a span of years crowded thick with events, for it is the period of the greatest financial "jamboree" the world has ever seen, when American financiers, glutted,

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol. 12 p.67 Feb.'05
2. Ibid. p. 341 March 1905

gorged, and frenzied with millions, in the throes of their golden delirium vied with one another in debauching the industries of the country, perverting the proud and untarnished institutions of an honorable commerce into wantons of the stock market. (1)

Under the heading "Rogers Grasps 'Coppers'" Mr. Lawson writes chapter eleven of the March instalment, describing the birth of Amalgamated:

Thus Amalgamated began. It might have brought to all the world good will and happiness, and to the men who made it much glory and the great regard of their fellowmen. Instead, it has wrought havoc and desolation, and its Apache-like trail is strewn with the scalped and mutilated corpses of its victims. The very name Amalgamated conjures up visions of hatred and betrayal, of ambush, pitfalls, and assassination, It stands forth the Judas of corporations, a monument to greed and a warning to rapacity. And may this story that I am to tell so set forth its infamies and horrors, that never again shall such a monster be suffered to violate and defile our civilization.(2)

The April chapters are best characterized by the editor's note attached to the first of the instalment:

In this instalment the author describes the process of accumulating the copper properties which went to the making of Amalgamated. The tremendous excitement the movement aroused in Boston, the market battles waged over coveted stocks, and the various vicissitudes of a spirited campaign, are set forth in a vivid and picturesque narrative. A crowning exhibit of the "System's" method of possessing itself of the people's money is presented in the story of how the stock-holders of Utah Consolidated, including a great corporation lawyer, were tricked out of stock worth millions of dollars --one of the most extraordinary performances of Frenzied Finance. The details of this marvellously profitable piece of financial legerdemain are frankly exposed, and afford a fresh examination of the "System's" insensate greed for the dollars of others and the lengths it will go to gratify them. (3)

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody'ss vol.12 p. 346 March '05
2. Ibid. p. 353 March 1905
3. Ibid. p. 485 April 1905

The May instalment is a prelude to the dramatic climax to which Lawson has been so slowly and thoroughly working up to, a climax revealed in the June number of the magazine after the series had been running nearly a year. The editor comments as follows:

> We are now fairly into the first crime of Amalgamated. In this instalment the extraordinary personality of Henry H. Rogers is to the fore, and the inexorable force and relentless will of the man are graphically depicted. The change of plan by which the Daly-Higgins-Levis properties were substituted for the Boston group of "Coppers" is explained, and the purchase of the Parrott mine at four times its value furnishes a contrast to the invariable victories of the "System." The most dramatic episode is the hold-up of the Lewisohn Brothers, who are coerced by Mr. Rogers into surrendering to him their great copper business. The austere business religion of "Standard Oil" -- Extract Every Dollar -- is disclosed in all its pitiless greed. Some of the tremendous profits yielded by subsidiary deals to Rogers and Rockefeller are revealed for the first time. (1)

The June instalment of the series contains the Crime of Amalgamated, which has been prophesied by Lawson for such a long time, as it seemed to the impatient public. The editor says of it:

> In this, the pivotal instalment of the "Frenzied Finance" which the public has so impatiently awaited, the author plainly sets forth the details of the <u>first great crime</u> of Amalgamated, describes the interview in which H.H. Rogers sought to compel him to shoulder the legal responsibility for the subscription advertisements of the new corporation, and tells how finally he outwitted Rogers and committed "Standard Oil" and the National City Bank to announcements which absolutely fastened liability on them. These advertisements are reproduced and dissected, and there follows a vivid picture of the spectacular midnight scene in the great banking house where the subscription allotment was made and the fraud perpetuated whereby, contrary to the formal public pledges, each subscriber was deprived of his

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.12 p. 606 May '06

proper proportion of the stock by the introduction of a bogus subscription. Never previously has there been an intimation of this nefarious proceeding, and it has remained unknown save to the handful of conspirators who profited by it. (1)

The next instalment in July closely follows the vein of the June revelations. An able summary is made by the editor:

Treachery and greed are the keynote of this instalment. In his most graphic vein the author describes the immediate consequences of the Crime of Amalgamated, the brutal repudiation of pledges, the uneasiness of Wall Street, and the determination of Rogers and Rockefeller to turn their allotments into money after organizing a pool of insiders to hold up the market price of the stock. The attempt of Rogers to deprive Mr. Lawson of millions -- his share of the flotation profits -- and its frustration, together with the subsequent reconciliation of the belligerents, are among the most dramatic episodes in the story. Some new personalities come on the stage; and it is made plain how "Standard Oil" takes care of its political friends. In "Lawson and His Critics" new phases of the insurance problems are discussed. (2)

The exact nature of the so-called "Crime of Amalgamated" is set forth by Mr. Lawson in the following passage:

The crime of Amalgamated, as I have explained it, constitutes a specific breach of the banking laws of the state and nation. But the legal aspects of the offense are trivial in comparison with the great moral crime which was consummated by Henry H. Rogers and James Stillman in the National City Bank on that night in May, 1899. Through false representations and specious pledges and the credit of the names of "Standard Oil" and the National City Bank, thousands of people were beguiled into investing their savings in the Amalgamated Copper company. Because of the promise of great gains other thousands mortgaged their homes, appropriated their wives' savings, even their employers' funds, and put them into this fair-seeming enterprise. The greatest bank in America aided and abetted the conspiracy, by the loan of its funds to lure the victims deeper into the toils. All in, the trap is spring;

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.12 p. 717 June '05
2. Ibid. vol. 13 p. 40 July 1905

> the thousands are despoiled of the savings of years by familiar devices of finance, and throughout the land is spread a wave of misery, madness, and despair.
>
> A few men cannot deprive even a few thousands of so great a sum as $36,000,000 without working untold injury upon the entire body of the people. Such a stupendous sum looted from the coffers of the man and piled in the vaults of three or four men unbalances the whole economic structure of the nation. . . . . Not only have the people been deprived of the profits of their labor, but this capitalized prosperity is the stern instrument by which new burdens are laid upon their shoulders and new tithes are exacted from their wages.
>
> The love men have for the formulas and conventions of their daily lives is the "System's" opportunity for plunder and it is this fundamental principle of humanity that makes my work so difficult. It would be as easy to instruct the masses that their playing cards are all wrong and that the ace is really of lower value than the two-spot as it is to awaken them to the terrors of the conditions that are confronting them; to compel them to realize that the despotism of dollars is being organized among them; that the cherished institutions of generations are the instruments by which a few daring schemers are concentrating into their own hands the money of the nation, and that this concentration can have no other result than the abject slavery of the American people. (1)

The story of Frenzied Finance continues to run on for several months elaborating the career of Amalgamated and shedding further light upon the financial methods of the "System." The copper war in Montana, figuring Fritz Augustus Heinze, a young mining engineer who knew how to fight the "System" with its own weapons, is discussed in the October number. In the succeeding month the story of the Northern Pacific Corner is thrillingly related. How closely finance is related to politics is shown in the December instalment wherein we read:

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.13 p.43-4 July '05

> A sensational instalment covering the assassination of President McKinley and the crowning catastrophe of Amalgamated's career -- and the cutting of the dividend. How the author gained millions by the Northern Pacific crash and subsequently dropped them in Amalgamated; how "Standard Oil" knowing the President must die, disposed of its stock holdings and sold the market "short;" how the expected smash was averted by the power of J. Pierpont Morgan and in place of a panic there ensued a bull market; are most graphically set forth. How "Standard Oil" precipitated the decline it needed by scuttling "Coppers" the day after the President's funeral; the terrible slump in Amalgamated that then set in, and the ruin and dismay that followed, form the climax of a great story. (1)

It was expected that the opening number of the year 1906 would mark the conclusion of "Frenzied Finance," as is set forth in the editor's prefatory remarks:

> Boston Gas is the subject of this, the last instalment of "Frenzied Finance," The later vicissitudes of the unfortunate corporation are set forth; Addicks reappears and is discovered for a brief period in Rogers' arms. A new class of financiers -- the "Goodie Goods" -- takes the stage, and there is an inspiring tableau representing the stock raid for conscience's sake. Lawyers, judges, receivers, and other functionaries participate in a Donnybrook fight for the relic and remnants of Bay State Gas; a vital passage describes the final falling-out between the author and the Master of "Standard Oil," and in brilliant fashion there is described the tremendous court duel which signalized the parting of the ways. In conclusion there is a brief review of the story. (2)

A "Lawsonesque" description of the "smug men of finance" mentioned above is found in chapter 31 of the January number:

> When these white-wax-plated warriors of the golden highway are marshaled for the easel, the inkpot must be discarded and the quill reversed lest their immaculately glazed hides should be stained or punctured. So with the feather end, my weapon, I shall run over their enameled-for-inspection surface and lay-in their outlines in a solution of smudge juice and pansy extract. (3)

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol.13 p.822 Dec. '05
2. Ibid. vol. 14 p. 73 January 1906
3. Ibid. p. 80

The series is at last concluded in February, after having run for almost two years. Mr. Lawson says in his epilogue that he has another motive for writing the story besides that of revealing the "Crime of Amalgamated." I shall let him tell this motive in his own words:

> In closing this narrative I desire to reiterate that my primal object in setting down my story has been to educate the American people so they could grasp: first, the appalling corruption of prevailing financial methods; then the significance of this remedy and its application to existing conditions. Throughout I have had these two purposes in mind -- and while in any event I should have given the people the history of the monstrous frauds of Amalgamated, so they might be awakened to their wrongs, the story has owed its chief importance in my eyes to the fact that at its conclusion I should have my audience equipped to understand and turn to practical use the Remedy devised to correct the very evils which it had been my task to expose. The method and the style of narrative used was aimed at arousing the people's attention to my facts. It will be admitted by my severest critics that the latter result has been achieved. The people are awake. They are ready to act. My judgment has been vindicated.
>
> The elucidation of my Remedy is another affair, however. It calls for quite a different form of exposition, and from now on I shall perhaps err on the side of calmness, studied evenness of statement, and sobriety of recommendation. Not indeed that I shall throw away the pen with which "Frenzied Finance" was written, for the crimes set forth therein have many prototypes calling as loudly for the scourge and scalpel, and in the course of time, when the mathematics and economics of my Remedy have been given to the people, I shall return to the performance of other American royalties, whose millions have been crimped and gathered by methods as devilish as those of "Standard Oil" and Amalgamated. (1)

The elucidation of Mr. Lawson's remedy, however, was slow in coming about, and it so happened that it was never given to the world at all, for Mr. Lawson found that increasing

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1. Frenzied Finance Lawson Everybody's vol. 14 p. 70
Advertising section February 1906

business cares demanded his attention after two years of partial neglect and he also decided that the "people" were not worth all the trouble he was taking in their behalf. Their gratitude was an uncertain quantity.[1] This decision was a great blow to Everybody's publishers. Immediately upon the conclusion of "Frenzied Finance," however, he was still planning to set forth his Remedy, and during the period of waiting for the proper time to "spring" it, he wrote several "muckraking"articles for Everybody's, as well as a thrilling serial entitled "Friday, the 13th."

The first of the muckraking articles appeared in the March number of the magazine, immediately following the conclusion of his famous series. It was entitled "The Black Flag on the Big Three," and is a further discussion of the insurance companies, a problem which was touched upon in "Frenzied Finance." The editor gives the crux of the article thus:

> The last state of the great insurance companies is worse than the first. The author declares the "System" had the New York Investigation Commission muzzled and Counsel Hughes in shackles. All trails leading to big steals were smothered and public indignation was shunted upon minor thieves. The Rogers-Ryan-Morgan Combine, now in supreme control, seriously menaces policy-holders' interest. (2)

In this series Mr. Lawson contends that legislative investigation of the life insurance companies covered only the petty grafting and that the really big steals are more safe-guarded than ever as a result. He says:

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1. Why I Gave Up the Fight Lawson Everybody's vol. 18 p. 287 February 1908
2. The Black Flag on the Big Three Lawson Everybody's Editor's note vol. 14 p. 407 March 1906

> Can any permanent good come from any investigation which stops short of the headwaters of the "System?" For myself I have no hesitancy in declaring that the only remedy I see for the evils which are now partially exposed, is to place the companies in the hands of men at the coming annual election who will be pledged to find out by the employment of public accountants how many dollars have been looted and how, and who will then compel restitution and punishment, and, after that, an honest reorganization. (1)

He concluded with the dire prophecy that if this were not done, within five years the Big Three insurance companies would become insolvent. The attack on the life insurance companies was continued by Mr. Lawson in the April number of the magazine, in another article, entitled "The Fight for the Big Three." The editor says of this:

> This article reports the progress of the contest for the control of the Mutual Life and New York Life insurance companies, and discloses the dangerous and corrupt tactics of the officers to obtain proxies. The author indorses the Armstrong recommendations, and outlines the plans of the Commission of Governors for controlling forthcoming elections of trustees. (2)

Mr. Lawson shows in this article how important the ready millions of the life insurance companies are to the operations of the "System."

In May of that year, Mr. Lawson published an article called "Fools and Their Money" in which he explained why he was delaying the publication of his Remedy. He felt that the people were not ready to receive it. The editor explains Mr. Lawson's position to the readers of the magazine in this fashion:

> In this article Mr. Lawson states his reasons for withholding his Remedy. That the people are wholly unready to receive it is amply proved by his story of the recent Heinze-United-Copper-Amalgamated coalition. With stupendous audacity the "System" has openly rigged its old game, and the

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1. Black Flag on the Big Three Lawson vol.14 p.65 adv. section March 1906
2. Fight for the Big Three Lawson vol. 14 p. 545 April 1906

people, despite twenty-three months of "Frenzied Finance," and numberless other exposures of the "System's" crimes, have rushed as madly as ever to be fleeced. Heinze's proposition that Lawson take charge of the marketing of United Copper, the startling results of an investigation of the property, the implanting of the stock in banks and trust companies, and its manipulation in the market, make up a story in comparison with which previous episodes of Frenzied Finance seem pale. Th article closes with a brilliant description of the court room scenes in Boston during the arguing of the Bay State Gas case. (1)

"Punch and Judying the United States Court" is a dramatic article by Mr. Lawson in the June issue, showing "high finance" on trial.

In a series of flash lights Mr. Lawson presents the court scenes -- this time, a high court scene. The reader will see, true to life, the "System's" hair-splitting machine in one of its high-speed contests. No one, after reading this article, can fail to understand the difference between the vulgar theft of a five dollar gas meter and the aristocratic leeching of $4,000,000 of the people's savings. In the February issue the author graphically describes the trial of the poor gas-meter thief; taken together with this portrayal of the formal and polite acquiescence in the dishonest annexing of millions, the two pictures might well bear the inscription, "Modern Justice." (2)

Other articles appearing during the rest of the year which were written by Mr. Lawson include: "A Prediction Roll Call" in July; "The Muck-Raker" in August; "The Burning Insurance Issue" in October; and "To My Readers" in November. These practically conclude his muckraking articles in Everybody's Magazine.

Although the publishers of Everybody's Magazine devoted a vast amount of space to "Frenzied Finance" and the inevitable accompaniment of discussion and letters evoked by it, yet they found space, soon after it was initiated, to publish other

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1. Fools and Their Money Lawson Everybody's vol. 14 p. 690 May 1906
2. Punch and Judying the United States Court Lawson Everybody's vol. 14 p. 828 June 1906

articles of a distinctly muckraking nature. One of the first of these was "The Greatest Trust in the World," written by Charles Edward Russell, a series which ran for seven months and was second in importance to "Frenzied Finance." This series was devoted to an exposure of the Beef Trust. Although it lacks the blood and thunder of Mr. Lawson's work, it is very interesting and is carefully and ably written. Mr. Russell presents a vast number of facts and figures most clearly and effectively.

I shall quote from a prefatory note to the series written by the editor, outlining the nature and purpose of the series:

> The meat, fruit, and dairy products on which the American people live, grow more costly every year. At the same time the farmer and cattle-raisers complain they are receiving less for their products than ever before. Why? Everybody's Magazine commissioned Charles E. Russell, one of the ablest and strongest of our great newspaper writers, to make a thorough investigation and to ascertain exactly the cause of this anomalous condition. The result of his investigations is set forth in the series of articles, of which this is the first. He reveals a monster monopoly greater and greedier even than "Standard Oil," with its tentacles fixed in the natural food supply of the American people, racking producer and racking consumer, and standing resolutely between, gathering toll from each. It is the Beef Trust, remorseless, tireless, insatiable, defying the law of the land, and even Wall Street itself, terrorizing great railways, exacting tribute from more commodities than all other trusts and monopolies together, and planning to control the price of every eatable thing grown in our country, and to control it for its own profit. Today it fixes the prices of all meats, fruits, fertilizers, and dairy products; within certain limites it can make the price of wheat, corn, and oats what it pleases. Tomorrow, it may be able to control the price of every loaf of bread. The growth and development of this terrible monopoly which threatens to reduce to semi-serfdom the farmers of the West and to make its owners the richest men in the world is a story of extraordinary interest, the details of which may well astonish the American people. (1)

The building up of the great Beef Trust has been made

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1. Greatest Trust in World Russell Everybody's vol. 12 p. 147 February 1905

possible, according to Mr. Russell's investigation, because of railroad rebates, a factor which made "Standard Oil" possible, too. The revolutionizing effect on the world's food markets of the invention of the refrigerator car, the creation of the dressed meat traffic, and the transformation of Chicago into the slaughter-house of the continent, as well as the formation of the trust from the interests of P.D. Armour, Gustavus F. Swift, George H. Hammond, and Nelson Morris, are all discussed by Mr. Russell. The enormous and illegal tribute in the form of railroad concessions and the 80 per cent control of the refrigerator car supply were the chief weapons of the trust in securing its monopoly, according to the series.

In March, 1905, Mr. Russell started the first part of the series under the title, "The Great Yellow Car -- the Bandit of Commerce."

> In this instalment Mr. Russell starts the story of the Beef Trust, that monster monopoly whose stealthy hold is fast closing over our entire food supply. He shows the very source of it, in the Refrigerator Car -- the bandit of commerce. He shows Nelson Morris, the first to realize its immense possibilities, and Gustavus against crushing odds. He shows the first glimpse of a rebate -- founded in the ugly private graft. He traces the stealthy growth of the rebate to the extortionate and corrupt mileage and "icing" charges. The mysterious terror, the Big Pistol, is made clear; the dry, grim chuckle of the Trust when called to face the inquisition of the Federal government is reproduced. This instalment ends with the detailed story of the capture of the California fruit market by the Trust. (1)

A clear idea of Mr. Russell's style can be gained from the following passage about the formation of the Trust:

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1. Greatest Trust in World Russell Everybody's vol. 12 p. 291 March 1905 Editor's note

As the four great packing houses, Armour, Swift, Hammond, and Morris, began to assume over-shadowing importance and to draw together toward the eventual Trust, the refrigerator car and the Big Pistol became the most powerful agents for crushing out competition. Rival houses that had no refrigerator cars found that rebates made the four big packers unassailable. Such houses succumbed first. Rival houses that had refrigerator cars found that the cars of the bigger and more aggressive packers were favored by the railroads, handled more rapidly, sent back with less delay; that the car of the big house was in fact a club to beat the smaller firm to death; and they gradually got out on the best terms they could obtain. Thus the refrigerator car formed the Beef Trust. (1)

How the railroads were utilized by the Beef Trust is shown in the following:

In the April instalment Mr. Russell tells of the victimizing of the Railroads by the Beef Trust. He depicts in detail the workings of "under-billing" vice -- the shipping of a product at a rate lower than the scheduled one. He shows the farcical inspection of the trust cars. He gives us a picture of 16 great railroad presidents, sneaking into the Metropolitan club to rebel in concert against the low "minimum load limit" forced on them by the Trust, and the impotent end of their efforts. The reason for the terror the powerful railroads suffer is shown in the statistics of the huge traffic the Trust controls. All Mr. Russell's statements are nailed down by vivid instances of robbery of the merchant, who, in turn loads it all "upon you, and you pay it -- good, easy man -- three times a day." (2)

Mr. Russell says in this connection:

But the Trust's extortions from the railroads are small compared with its extortions from the shipper, the grower, the commission merchant, and the small dealer. The situation it has created in respect to these interests is so extraordinary that the attention of the whole country should be drawn to it.(3)

The Garfield report which tells the country that there is no such trust as the Beef Trust, is next taken up. The editor comments as follows:

Mr. Garfield, the National Commissioner of Corporations, has

1. Greatest Trust in World Russell vol. 12 p. 295 March 1905
2. Ibid. p. 503 April 1905
3. Ibid. p. 509

recently assured the country officially that there is no Beef Trust, or if there be one, that it is a harmless institution. The Legislature of Kansas has by resolution denounced his report as "little less than a fake." In the June instalment of his story, Mr. Russell will deal with this report and show the amazing errors it contains, and explain the subtle, wonderful, and far-reaching political "pull" of this rapacious combination that enable it to influence even the official reports of government officials. In the present instalment Mr. Russell relates the startling story of the Beef Trust's operations in the cattle markets and upon the vast cattle industry of the West. He shows how the destruction of competitive buying impoverished farmers, ruined cattle-raisers, drove banks into liquidation, and men to suicide. He tells how the Trust inflicted losses estimated at $12,500,000 in Iowa and $10,000,000 in South Dakota, how the markets were manipulated and controlled for Trust profits, how the farmer found himself at the mercy of a cruel and greedy monopoly. He relates how it came about that one buyer was all buyers and one market was all markets. He shows how the Trust has created a system by which it can draw supplies as it wants them until it artificially decreased cost. (1)

The June instalment is an analysis of the Garfield report. It "lays bare its erroneous statements and ex parte and untrustworthy deductions and shows how the report deals with only one phase of the Trust organization and a small part of the Trust operations and how most of its conclusions are baseless." (2) The final results of the trust extortions as shown in the increased household expenses of the nation, with tables showing the increases, are set forth in the July number of Everybody's.

The far-reaching effect of the Trust's operations is thus seen by Mr. Russell:

In its power to affect the business, happiness, and lives of millions of people, in its ramifications incalculable, in its strange ability to thwart laws and circumvent government, this Trust excels all others. The amount of its capital directly and obviously employed in the slaughtering of cattle and the

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1. Greatest Trust in World Russell Everybody's vol. 12 p. 643 May 1905
2. Ibid. p. 779 June 1905

selling of meat is not so great as the capital employed by some other monopolies, to name a conspicuous example, but the easily recognized business transacted by the Beef Trust amounts to more than a billion dollars a year, and when to these activities are added its myriad transactions not so easily discernible, here is to be seen a commercial force without a precedent in Trust history.

It has, besides, certain intimate, useful, and often unsuspected alliances that must be accounted with if we are to understand any part of its gigantic operations.

For this is no mere combination of a few firms to control one specific industry; here is no ordinary trade "merger." Here is something of proportions so huge and possibilities so dazzling that the imagination flags in following the dizzy spirals of its plans; here is something that as far transcends the limits of other trade trusts as its influence exceeds the narrow boundaries of Packingtown. (1)

The final instalment in August discusses various remedies for the problem, and suggests the elimination of illegal and prohibited rebates, the abolition of the system of exchanging immunity for campaign funds, and the solution of the railroad question as a basis for the cure of trust evils. In a postscript to the series, which was published in September, Mr. Russell comments on the Trust's efforts"by means of disguised advertisements in newspapers and illegal cooperation with the Republican machine to nullify the effect of Russell's incontrovertible charges."[2]

In the spring of the same year, Everybody's Magazine published an article entitled "The West Coast Land Grafters," by Bailey Millard, which portrayed the amazing, stupefying graft in the land business in the West. The careers of men prominent in

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1. Greatest Trust in World Russell vol. 13 p. 63 July 1905
2. Editor's note vol. 13 p. 380 September 1905

the faking of government surveys, including congressmen and the U.S. district attorney, are sketched in their relation to defrauding the government in the matter of forest reserve lands, in California and Oregon. The means employed by these men in obtaining extensive control over land in these states include, according to Mr. Millard, fraudulent surveys, the use of dummies to hold land, and the overworking of the forest reserve scheme. He says in this connection:

> When you have learned these things it is not difficult to understand how one hundred men in the great Sacramento valley have come to own over 17,000,000 acres, while in the San Joaquin valley it is no uncommon thing for one man's name to stand for 100,000 acres. This grabbing of large tracts has discouraged immigration more than any other single factor. A family living on a small holding in a vast plain, with hardly a house in sight, will in time be glad to sell out to the land king whose domain is adjacent. Thousands of small farms have in this way been acquired by the large holders at nominal prices. (1)

The year 1906 marks the gradual decline in the appearance of muckraking articles in this magazine, and after that year only a few are published. Constructive articles take their place, articles showing improvement and progress in the city, state and nation are to be attained.

Among the last muckraking articles published are the series entitled "Bucket Shop Sharks," by Merrill A. Teague (June, 1906); "The Coal Trust, the Labor Trust, and the People Who Pay," by Hartley Davis (April, 1906); and "The Condemned Meat Industry" by Upton Sinclair (May, 1906), In December of that same year an article on the oppression of Congo Free State in Africa, entitled "The Terrible Story of the Congo," and written by Robert

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1. Coast Land Grafters Millard Everybody's vol. 12 p. 589 May 1905

E. Park, secretary of the Congo Reform association, was published.

Mr. Teague's aeries was an exposure of petty thievery as opposed to the Big Financiers, and revealed the organization of the fake exchanges, as "subterranean connection between several gangs of notorious bucket shop swindlers and supposedly reputable members of legitimate stock exchanges." He gives a detailed account of the workings of the robber exchanges and describes how victims of the bucket shops may recover their money and how bucket shopping may be suppressed. Of the bucket shop evil, the writer says:

> It is a villainy which takes from Americans of comparatively small earnings one hundred million real, honest dollars each year. One-third of this sum goes directly to the pockets of thieves of the sort with whom Bowker (typical victim mentioned elsewhere) dealt. The other two-thirds is tribute to the ostensibly respectable accomplices of the thieves -- publishers of newspapers, brokers of standing in the world's stock markets, the telegraph and telephone corporations.
>
> Rogues who operate this system for fleecing the public establish themselves in the financial districts of the great cities; they push their way to the remotest nooks and crannies of the Republic. Their harvest field lies wherever there is a dollar that can be stolen. For their assistance leading daily newspapers and periodicals freely offer advertising space -- even seek their patronage, offering them place and publicity equal with that afforded advertisements of legitimate bankers and brokers, not in any way distinguishing, for the public's protection, the spurious from the genuine. (1)

Of the bucket-shopper he is even more scornful:

> Your bucket-shopper is a blatant-lipped swindler, crafty, expert in crime and its concealment, brazenly indifferent to the woe he works -- a thief who boldly walks in public places. (2)

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1. Bucket Shop Sharks Teague Everybody's vol. 14 p. 728 June '06
2. Ibid. vol. 15 p. 33 July 1906

A reply which was really an attack on the Chicago Board of Trade, was made to Mr. Teague's article by C.C. Christie, president of the national board of trade of Kansas City, in an article entitled "Bucket Shop versus Board of Trade" published in October, 1906.

In April and May, 1906, Mr. Davis' articles on "The Coal Trust, the Labor Trust, and the People Who Pay," were published because of an advance in the price of coal. The thesis of the series is that the government should exercise supervision over public utilities. The editor's note appended to the April chapter says:

> Our research has laid bare the most perfect of all monopolies. The Coal Trust controls the hard-coal supply of the world. It owns the railways that transport it and holds in the hollow of its hand the dealers who distribute it to the consumer. (1)

The size and gigantic operations of the Trust are pictured by Mr. Davis in the following passage:

> The Coal Trust is a scant half-dozen years old. Yet it owns eighty-three per cent of the coal in the ground and controls ninety-eight per cent; it owns a perpetual franchise to mine and distribute; it owns the labor of thousands of men and boys; it owns the men who used to be known as "independent operators," then as "operators" merely; it owns the railroads that transport the coal; it owns the selling machinery. It decides how much coal shall be taken from the grounds, where it shall be shipped and how, what the carrying charges shall be, and the selling price. (2)

The May instalment deals with George Franklin Baer, head of the trust, how he brought it into being, and turned labor troubles to its advantage. Mr. Davis then discusses the remedy for the evils of the trust.

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1. Coal Trust, etc. Davis Everybody's vol. 14 p.435 April 1906
2. Ibid. p. 436

A vivid article on stockyard conditions is embodied in "The Condemned Meat Industry," or "A Reply to J. Ogden Armour," by Upton Sinclair in the May number of the magazine. Mr. Sinclair deals with the question of federal inspection and says that meat may be condemned by the inspectors but it is not destroyed. It is used for canning purposes and consumed. The article contains testimony of workmen and former employes of Armour who have made specific charges that Armour violated the law.

In his article Mr. Sinclair quotes Mr. Armour and says "in the statements quoted above, Mr. Armour wilfully and deliberately states what he absolutely and positively knows to be falsehoods."[1]

In the next year or two we find little of a muckraking nature in the pages of Everybody's, but in 1909 more of it appears. "The Beast and the Jungle" by Judge Ben B. Lindsay of the juvenile court of Denver was published in September, 1909. The story tells of the fight of one man against the conditions that threaten to make the American democracy a failure in government and a farce in the eyes of the world. The series, which runs into May, 1910, was written by Harvey J. O'Higgins from the original manuscript of Judge Lindsay.

In common with other contemporary magazines, Everybody's editors began to tire of muckraking or felt that their readers soon would lose their appetite for it, consequently we find them turning to less violent subjects, written in a more optimistic tone.

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1. Condemned Meat Industry Sinclair Everybody's vol. 14 p. 609 May 1906

Chapter III

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE

As early as the spring of 1901, we find fore-runners of muck-raking articles appearing in the Cosmopolitan Magazine, one of the earliest and best-established of the monthly magazines. By fall these first articles had taken on a more definite tone, and in November there was published "Municipal Misgovernment and Corruption, a Warning to Patriots," by Frank Moss, in which the city of New York received a thorough going-over.

The sturdy tone of this fore-runner is shown in the following extract:

> At present the administration is the merest pretense of a popular or representative government, the principal officers being openly and avowedly the puppets of the dictator of their organization, dependent upon him for direction and approval even when he is residing in a foreign land. . . . .
>
> The rulers of New York have reduced profitable misgovernment to a science, and have made popular and representative government a mere form and pretense. For piratical reasons they have passed the absolute authority to an unofficial, unsworn, and irresponsible despot. They have swelled their legitimate and illegitimate money brooks into immense rivers. (1)

The series "Captains of Industry" which began in 1902 and ran into the fall of 1903 is indicative of the awa-

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1. Municipal Misgovernment Moss Cosmppolitan vol. 32 p. 102 November 1901

kening public interest in the "big business" men of the country. These were brief character sketches and treated nearly 50 prominent men. "The Story of the World's Largest Corporation," which began in the October, 1902, issue and ended the next fall, discussed the growth of the steel corporation and its place in American progress.

Other pre-muckraking articles worthy of mention in this period were: "A Great Public Service," whose sub-title "The Courage, Determination, and Skill Exhibited by the Men Who Have Undertaken to Relieve New York's Poor of Policy-Thieves" indicates its keynote, written by Frank Moss in rather uninteresting fashion; and "Wall Street's Wild Speculation: 1900-1904" by Henry Clews, which was really an impartial critical survey of speculation during that period.

In January, 1905, "the literature of exposure" makes its undeniable appearance, as is evidenced by David Graham Phillips' "The Delusion of the Race Track," in which the evils of gambling on the races are described and moralized upon. The writer says:

> In results, in dividends, no other activity, not even the liquor traffic, compares with racing. For, as a judge recently pointed out, the race track is directly the largest agent, and the most successful, in recruiting for the criminal class. It makes more thieves, more murderers, more moral wrecks, than any other. And to deprave and debauch is its chief object. (1)

Some of Mr. Phillips' telling phrases are cited:

"Racing does not 'improve the thorough-bred.'"

"Its whole root is gambling; its whole flower and fruit, crime.

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1. Delusion of the Race Track Phillips vol. 38 p.251 Jan. '05
Cosmopolitan

"What bloody butcheries of characters and careers to make the race-track's smiling holidays!" (1)

A dramatic confession of the graft prevalent among the police force of New York City where it is impossible for a politician to do his duty if it interferes with his allegiance to Tammany, is portrayed in "Confessions of a New York Detective," made by an ex-captain of police. The concluding paragraph of the series is exceedingly forceful:

> Graft? You want me to give you a sort of graft map of the town, do you? There wouldn't be room to draw one in what space is devoted to a score of magazine articles. There's no limit to graft; it's everywhere. A building falls down -- a case of rotten mortar; that's graft. A thousand chimneys send up a cloud of soft-coal smoke; that's graft. You fall over a pile of boxes, or bark your shins on a bunch of building material in the street; that's graft. You stroll down to the wharf for a look at the river, and can't see it for a mountain of freight that's holding down the wharf at the street's end; that's graft. You get in a building, and somebody yells "Fire!" and there isn't any fire escape; or if there is one, it's loaded to the guards with tubs, coal-scuttles, and trundle-beds; that's graft. And so the good work goes on. Why, man! the very ordinances are passed by the City Council, not to protect the city, but to promote graft. Every one of those ordinances gives some department a fresh grip on the public. The ordinance gets in somebody's way; and that somebody has to pay. Sometimes it's to one department, sometimes to another; but at least he pays. Every department, Street, Dock, Water, Building, Park, Health, Lighting, each has its special line of graft. The police aren't alone; they're not the only gamblers. (2)

The fairness of the article is shown in the following quotation bringing out the other side of graft:

> It may please you to hear before I close that, in this art of graft, the police don't always have it all their own way. Those who live by the sword are sometimes grievously wounded, even if they do not quite perish, by the sword. About every other Albany winter, a bill is introduced to do this or that savage thing to the Force. I've seen a measure offered

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1. Delusion of Race Track Phillips vol. 38 p. 262 Jan. 1905
2. Confessions of a N.Y. Detective vol. 40 p. 354 Jan. 1905
   Cosmopolitan

> that was meant -- or pretended to be meant -- to wipe the police from the map. It became a case then of protecting your job -- a job, which if you were a captain as I was, had cost you $15,000 in cold, reluctant coin of the realm. (1)

More on graft is put forth in October, 1905, by Charles Ferguson in "The Redoubts of Graft and How to Take Them," an editorial article on the nature of graft and offering remedies.

> Graft is not the invention of a few, bad men. It is the break-up of the old order through the spawning of a thousand conspiracies -- sects, parties, trusts, trade-unions, financial systems -- that batten upon the commom life. The man who stands for the public stands alone.
>
> There is only one way to abolish graft. It is not by spiritual calisthenics or punctilio. It is not by jails or by hangmen. It is by the raising up of a public power that shall drive the private armies from their intrenchments. (2)

In August of the same year, a single article on the peonage system as in vogue in Alabama and Georgia is published, entitled "Peonage in America" and written by Herbert D. Ward. Mr. Ward cites "many examples of criminally unjust workings of the frightful peonage system and its far-reaching effects."[3] In one case a negro borrowed a dollar, failed to pay it, was arrested, put in jail, fined by a magistrate, bound over as a peon to a white man, and compelled to work under guard for eight months.

A scathing indictment of the activities of the Harvesters' trust, showing its crushing of competitors and use of illegal freight rebates is the subject of an article by Alfred Henry Lewis, entitled "A Trust in Agricultural Implements -- the Opportuni-

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1. Confessions of a N.Y. Detective vol. 40 p. 358 January 1905
2. Redoubts of Graft Ferguson vol. 39 supplement October 1905
3. Peonage in America Ward vol. 39 p. 423 August 1905
   Cosmopolitan

ties of the Newly Formed Trust, and its Far-Reaching Influences." Mr. Lewis has an interesting style, as may be seen from the following:

> The harvester trust in approaching freight rebates waxed diplomatic, not to say forbearing. It would not rudely fall upon the law in front, breaking it perforce, and thereby outraging the sickly, sniveling sensibilities of what shallow percentage of our citizens still stood for the majesty and sacred character of a public statute. No, it would attack the law in flank. It would not buck-center, it would go around the ends. The harvester trust would profit by football . . . . The trust whipped the rebate Satan around the statute stump. Having billions behind it, the harvester trust bought up for itself. (1)

"The Treason of the Senate," the first breath of which appeared in February, 1906, is one of the most important contributions of a muckraking character in the Cosmopolitan and was written by David Graham Phillips. The editorial foreword appeared in February, part of which is quoted:

> A searching and unsparing spot-light directed by the masterly hand of Mr. Phillips, will be turned upon each of the iniquitous figures that walk the Senate stage at the National Capitol. This convincing story of revelation, to be told in several chapters, and to run well through the magazine year, has been called "The Treason of the Senate," for the reason that that is a fit and logical title for this terrible arraignment of those who, sitting in the seats of the mighty at Washington, have betrayed the public to that cruel and vicious spirit of Mammon which has come to dominate the nation. (2)

Then the editor proceeds to show how small a percentage of the people the Senate represents and concludes:

> Who, then, is to protect the people but the press?
>
> The Cosmopolitan is ready to do its share, and by the presentation of Mr. Phillips' "Treason of the Senate," it will

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1. Trust in Agricultural Implements Lewis vol. 38 p.668
   Cosmopolitan April 1905
2. Treason of the Senate editorial foreword vol. 40 p. 478
   February 1906

> probably do a more conspicuous act of exposure of corruption than has ever before been attempted. For in all the literature of exposure no such series of articles has ever been presented to the public. (1)

That the Cosmopolitan is now fully in the swing of genuine muckraking is seen from the largeness of the above promise. In March the first chapter of the series is presented, dealing with the economic aspects of the senate's perfidy. Mr. Phillips says in his introduction:

> The treason of the Senate! Treason is a strong word, but not too strong, rather too weak to characterize the situation in which the Senate is the eager, resourceful, indefatigable agent of interests as hostile to the American people as any invading army could be, and vastly more dangerous; interests that manipulate the prosperity produced by all; so that it heaps up riches for the few; interests whose growth and power can only mean the degradation of the people, of the educated into sycophants, of the masses toward serfdom. (2)

The first chapter takes up New York's Misrepresentatives, Chauncey M. Depew and Thomas C. Platt, in the writer's vigorous style and phraseology. There is a vivid bit concerning Depew's attachment to Cornelius Vanderbilt:

> "William H. Vanderbilt said to me, ' We want your services,' and the commodore remarked, "Chauncey, politics don't pay. The business of the future in this country is railroads.'"
>
> It is impossible to say whether the commodore indulged in that bit of persiflage, or whether Depew's memory is flexible as his tongue, his knees, his brain, and his conscience, has here bent for him. The Commodore never was and hardly professed to be a railroad man, any more than Ryan is an insurance man or Morgan a steel man; he was, almost frankly, a purchaser of stolen franchises, a procurer of profitable legislation, a bond and stock-jobber and swindler, a parasite upon production; he founded and entailed the policy which has made the New York Central about the most corrupt and about the least progressive railroad

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1. Treason of the Senate Phillips vol. 40 p. 478 Feb. 1906
2. Ibid. p. 488 Cosmopolitan

in the world in proportion to its opportunities. So, he must have meant by that remark to Depew, if he made it, "railroading legislation;" must have meant that while politics as an honorable pursuit did not "pay," politics as a criminal industry was the future business of the country; for, not out of business but out of politics have the vast fortunes been made, except the few real estate and mining accumulations. (1)

Much space is devoted to Depew, the junior Senator:

It would be a moderate statement that the geniality of Depew has cost the people of New York State a thousand million dollars, besides the infamous grants of the right to tax the public in perpetuity. The Vanderbilts and their clique kept much; but it is characteristic of plutocracy that it damages and destroys much more than it carries away, like a bear in a beehive. "Our Chauncey's geniality is responsible, to cite one of the graver kinds of instances, for the tunnel exit from New York City, a criminal nuisance which the Vanderbilts have maintained all these years in brutish disregard of the comfort of the people, and at an appalling sacrifice of human lives. (2)

Depew's political career is traced by Mr. Phillips, and his long and faithful service to the Vanderbilt interests, as well as his connection with Henry H. Hyde in the Equitable Life Insurance company, and his subsequent public disgrace resulting in damage suits brought by the policy-holders.

Aldrich is the subject of chapter two of the series, which appears in April. Of this senator's power, the writer says:

Politically, the state is securely "the interests" and his; financially, "the interests" and he have incorporated and assured to themselves in perpetuity about all the graft -- the Rhode Island Securities company, capitalized at and paying excellent dividends upon thirty-nine million dollars, representing an actual value of less than nine million dollars, owns, thanks to the munificence of the legislature, the state's street and trolley lines, gas and electric franchises, etc., etc. (3)

Various senators represent various divisions and subdivisions of this colossus. But Aldrich, rich through franchise-grabbing, the intimate of Wall Street's great robber barons, the

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1. Treason of the Senate Phillips vol. 40 p.495 March 1906
2. Ibid. p. 499
3. Ibid. p. 630 April 1906 Cosmopolitan

father-in-law of the only son of the Rockefeller -- Aldrich represents the colossus. Your first impression of many and conflicting interests has disappeared. You now see a single interest, with a single agent-in-chief to execute its single purpose -- getting rich at the expense of the labor and the independence of the American people. And the largest head among many heads of this monster is that of Rockefeller, father of the only son-in-law of Aldrich, and his intimate in all the relations of life! (1)

A passage is here quoted to show Phillips' method of scathing indictment and almost Lawsonesque style:

No railroad legislation that was not either helpful or harmless against "the interests"; no legislation on the subject of corporations that would interfere with "the interests," which use the corporation form to simplify and systematize their stealing; no legislation on the tariff unless it secured to "the interests" full and free license to loot; no investigations of wholesale robbery or any of the evils resulting from it -- there you have in a few words the whole story of the Senate's treason under Aldrich's leadership, and of why property is concentrating in the hands of the few and the little children of the masses are being sent to toil in the dampness of the mines, in the dreariness and unhealthfulness of factories instead of being sent to school; and why the great middle class -- the old-fashioned Americans, the people with the incomes of from two thousand to fifteen thousand dollars a year -- is being swiftly crushed into dependence and the repulsive miseries of "genteel poverty." The heavy and ever heavier taxes of "the interests" are swelling rents, swelling the prices of of food, clothing, fuel, all the necessities and all the necessary comforts, And the Senate both forbids the lifting of those taxes and levies fresh taxes for its master. (2)

The editorial note appended to instalment three of this series says in part:

In this chapter, Mr. Phillips vividly writes of Gorman, of Maryland, the left arm of the money power in the state.

The story of the rich and influential senator's "rise" from a page on the Senate floor to the "high" position he now occupies in the House of Dollars is in itself a blazing indictment of the upper chamber of Congress; but more is to follow, 3 and with each chapter the revelations will grow more startling.

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1. *Treason of the Senate* Phillips vol. 40 p. 632 April 1906
2. *Ibid.* p. 634
3. Ibid. vol. 41 p. 3 May 1906 Cosmopolitan

About Arthur P. Gorman, nominal head of the Democratic machine, Phillips says strikingly:

> To our national political machine, with its label that reads "Republican" on the one side and "Democratic" on the other, Aldrich and Gorman are as the thumb and forefinger to a skilful hand. (1)

This dramatic chapter is summarized as follows:

> In many ways, and at every session, Gorman is useful -- as useful as Aldrich.
>
> For a small but classically perfect instance; on April 11, 1904, a resolution to investigate post office conditions, including the huge railroad graft upon the post office department, came before the Senate, Gorman moved to eliminate the list providing funds for the investigation. Aldrich rose and pointed out that another clause, overlooked by Gorman, might be construed as ordering the appropriation. Gorman at once modified the motion. The resolution, freed of its hasty and ill-considered features by the Gorman-Aldrich amendments, was passed by a "merger" vote and there could be no investigation of railroad postal loot for lack of funds.(2)

Senator John C. Spooner, of Wisconsin, is described in chapter four as "The Chief Spokesman of the Merger," and his career is traced as an attorney for the Omaha railroad and its land operations, in Wisconsin politics, and in the Senate. "A vain search," says Phillips:

> Ever since Spooner attained manhood's age and influence, the great, vital, all-dominating, all-dwarfing issue, has been justice in the distribution of wealth -- the product of a man's labor to the man himself. The politicans, serving the plunderers and diverters of the people's property and prosperity, have been trying, often successfully, to obscure or to pervert this issue. But it has always reappeared, stronger, clearer, more insistent. In preparing this article about the foremost senator in talent and in reputation for respectability, his record has been searched diligently with the desire in fairness to present, if possible, some act of his that would show at least an occasional impulse toward the side

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1. Treason of the Senate Phillips vol. 41 p. 4 May 1906
2. Ibid. p. 12 Cosmopolitan

> of right and justice on the great issue. The search has been in vain. Spooner has been in deeds steadfastly and constantly where he was when his Omaha patrons and pals were stealing the vast tracts of the people's lands, where he was when he devised an injunction making the working-man the slave of his employer. So much for domestic affairs. In foreign affairs, the only matter wherein senatorial action was greatly important to the American people in a quarter of a century was the reciprocity treaties. These the traitor Senate killed at the bidding of "the interests;"and Spooner's record there is the record of all the "merged" senators. (1)

In like manner Senator Joseph W. Bailey, of Texas, the coming Democratic leader of the Senate, is discussed, and other prominent Senators, such as Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, Elkins of West Virginia, Foraker of Ohio, Henry C. Lodge of Massachusetts, Allison of Iowa, and several others. The series was concluded in November of that same year.

The attitude of the Cosmopolitan Magazine toward muck-raking and its policy in general is shown in the following quotation from "Magazine Shop-Talk" for the month of August, 1906:

> It would be idle for the Cosmopolitan to affect a languid interest in the direct and indirect attacks made upon its so-called "destructive" policy, its wielding of the "muck-rake," and its sturdy determination to print the things which the solemn shows and the respectable scoundrels of the land do not approve. In truth the Cosmopolitan takes an interest in these attacks, and particularly in one which spread itself over several pages of a capitalistic magazine and in which even our literary announcements were held up to ridicule. We have been reading with attention the long and harsh criticisms of the trust-owned newspapers and are pleased to note their frequent paragraphic flings.
>
> Not only do we read these lavish lucubrations, but we keenly enjoy them. They are a source of infinite delight to us. There is only one regret in connection with them, and that is that the periodicals in which they appear do not have a wider circulation. If they were more generally read, it would not be necessary for us to advertise our magazine anywhere.

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1. Treason of the Senate Phillips vol. 41 p. 132 June 1906 Cosmopolitan

> As a verity, let us state that the kind of people and the kind of journals that are attacking the Cosmopolitan are the very kind that we had hoped and shall always hope to antagonize. (1)

Another quotation showing the complacent attitude of the editors is here quoted:

> This magazine has paid particular attention to the great social unrest in this country -- an unrest born of the conditions forced upon the people by aggressive criminal corporations, aided and upheld by an insolent and insidously working officialism and backed up and encouraged by a universal flunkeyism which stands awed and eager, panting to do the work of its moneyed masters. To this flunkeyism many of the journals of the day belong. They print what pleases the master mind.
>
> The new Cosmopolitan has not been in the courtier class of publications. It has been and is a liberty-loving magazine for a liberty-loving people. (2)

Apropos of the circulation of the magazine, the editorial continues:

> But the strangest argument against the Cosmopolitan is that it has adopted its present policy for the sake of increasing its circulation, which our critical contemporaries admit is booming, while in the same breath they declare that a "constant" policy is the only popular one. It is true that the Cosmopolitan's circulation has vastly increased and twice as many people are reading it today as were reading it a year ago; but this could not have been otherwise, and it seems queer to us that it should be urged as a fault of ours. Our growth in circulation merely goes to show that there are more liberty-loving people in America than there are lovers of slavery. We can perceive but we cannot prevent this, and we do not feel in the least culpable because of the undeniable fact that we have profited by it. Indeed, we would far rather profit by leading people to liberty and to light than by leading them into darkness by the devious paths of the "constant" policy, which is the Wall Street policy, which is the Standard Oil policy, which is the bribery policy, which is the policy of corrupt officialism, as exemplified by our "House of Dollars," the home of smug official respectability, the hotbed of treason against republican ideals. (3)

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1. Magazine Shop Talk vol. 41 p. 442 August 1906
2. Ibid. p. 443
3. Ibid. p. 443

During the summer of 1906, the Cosmopolitan sent out thousands of letters to high school boys all over the country, in questionnaire form, about their ideas of graft. In September answers to these questionnaires were printed under the title, "Graft and the Young Idea." An editorial note says in part:

> Graft?
> What does the youth of the land think of it? To get rid of the great evil they must receive ethical training, that they may recognize and combat the insidious temptations of business and official life.
>
> How may the youth be reached?
>
> The Cosmopolitan has had an idea and has carried it out. It has sent to the principals of American high schools a list of "graft" questions to be put to the boys. The lists were accompanied by a letter to each principal, in which various questions were put. (1)

The article consists of a list of the questions asked and the typical replies, with humorous comments by the writer. In answer to the question:"What is meant by the term, 'official corruption," one answer is: "the state of affairs in the government." The author of the article says by way of comment: "How is that for a perfect and incisive epigram?" (2)

In conclusion, the writer says: "Aside from the crudities of phraseology and the many laughing whimsicalities of the budding imaginations, the growth of the moral sense seems to be quite healthy and deep-rooted." (3)

Child labor is another problem which soon claimed the

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1. Graft and the Young Idea vol. 41 p. 444 September 1906
2. Ibid. p. 477
3. Ibid. p. 477 Cosmopolitan

attention of the editors of the Cosmopolitan, as is evidenced by a series of articles by Edwin Markham, entitled "The Hoe-Man in the Making," and appearing first in September, 1906. This "is written in the beautiful poetic prose of our acknowledged foremost man of letters,"[1] say the editors in announcing the series, which is strikingly illustrated by silhouette pictures. A quotation from the first article, "The Child at the Loom," shows the writer's beautiful figurative language:

> After all these ages, more children are crowded into this limbo of doom than into any other cavern of our industrial abyss. In the Southern cotton mills, where the doors shut out the odor of the magnolia and shut in the reeking damps and clouds of lint, and where the mocking-bird outside keeps obligato to the whirring wheels within, we find a gaunt goblin army of children keeping their forced march on the factory floors -- an army that outwatches the sun by day and the stars by night. Eighty thousand children, mostly girls, are at work in the textile mills of the United States. The South, the center of the cotton industry, happens to have the bad eminence of being the leader in this social infamy. At the beginning of 1903, there were in the South twenty thousand children at the spindles. The "Tradesman" of Chattanooga, estimates that with the springing up of new mills there must now be fifty thousand children at the Southern looms. This is 30 per cent of all the cotton workers of the South -- a spectral army of pigmy people sucked in from the hills to dance beside the crazing wheels. (2)

The second article which appeared in October was entitled "Child-Wrecking in the Glass Factories" and was a dramatically vivid portrayal of the horrors endured by children, their lack of education, and physical, mental, and moral degeneration. Mr. Markham points out in a most impressive way, the remedy for the situation, which would be the installation of machinery to replace the work of the small boys. His colorful language is seen in the following striking passage:

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1. Magazine Shop Talk vol. 41 p. 443 September 1906
2. Hoe-Man in the Making Markham vol. 41 p. 482 Sept. 1906 Cosmopolitan

> Two and a half millions of children under 15 years of age are now at long and exhausting work in the offices, shops, mills, and mines of our model republic. In Pennsylvania alone there are at least one hundred different kinds of work at which children are employed; and, unhappily, it is into cheap and dangerous work that the children always swarm. They are doubled over the coal-breakers, breathing black coal-dust; they are racked in the cotton-mills, breathing damp lint; they are strained in furniture factories, breathing saw-dust; they are parceled in glass factories, breathing dust of glass; they are crowded in soap factories, breathing dust of alkali; they are herded in felt-factories, breathing dust of fur; they are twisted in tobacco factories, inhaling the deadly nicotine; they are bent over in dye-rooms, soaking in the poisonous dyes; they are stooped in varnishing rooms, absorbing noxious fumes; they are stifled in rubber factories, where they are paralyzed with naphtha; they are choked in match factories, where they are gangrened with phosphorus; they are huddled in type-foundries, where they are cramped with the poison of lead.
>
> It is in the glass factories, perhaps, that the child is pushed most hopelessly under the blind hammer of greed. Go to the glass-works and amid the roar and the glare and the torrid heat, gaze on the scorching and shriveling children clustered about the red-hot hives of the furnace. (1)

Following this series is an editorial in the October (1906) number, entitled "To Free the Child-Slaves," which is an appeal to the readers of the Cosmopolitan to join the Child Labor Federation.

"Little Slaves of the Coal-Mine" is an equally vivid portrayal of conditions in the coal-mines, published in November. Mr. Markham has a gripping way of presenting facts and of tugging at one's heart-strings, as is seen in the "The Grind Behind the Holidays," a December offering. His style is well adapted to his subject:

> In the year 1812 a wild call thrilled over southern Europe -- a call for the children to gather into bands and march away to the far-off Holy Land. The word went out over Christendom that only the children could conquer the Saracen and recover the Sepulcher; that only "the pure-heart" could recover

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1. Hoe-Man in the Making Markham vol. 41 p. 568 Oct. 1906 Cosmopolitan

the blessed tomb from the Paynim hordes. The little ones must join the Holy War! And for all who lived through the perilous adventure, there waited a place of honor in the hearts of men; and for all who died in battle, there waited the vacant places in heaven left of old by the fallen angels!

So from cradle and hearth, from hill and field, the children gathered into armies and marched away. Up the Rhine and over the Alps, down the Rhone and over the Pyrenees, they trailed and trooped, weary and wondering, halt-and heavy-eyed, hurrying on, ever one, at the mystic call. Thirty thousand from France, under the boy Stephen; twenty thousand from Germany, under the boy Nicholas; fifty thousand strong, the "children's crusade" poured on toward holy Palestine. Hundreds perished of fatigue and homesickness on the stony roads; hundreds more went down at sea; hundreds more were sold in Mohammedan slavery. The agonies of those little ones have never been recorded; the waste of the hope and joy that went down with them has never been computed. Fifty thousand precious lives were poured out -- a flood of bright waters lost in the desert sands.

Let any cause today, whatever mistaken devotion, dare to call a host of little children to such an open field of death, and how soon the majesty of public opinion and the sovereign of the land would smite the criers and hush the presumptuous pleading! Yet the mysterious and awful mandate of some Power has gone out over our own land, summoning our little ones from the shelter and play and study, summoning them to a destruction less swift, less picturesque, less heroic, but hardly less fatal, than that medieval destruction. Greed and gain, grim guardians of the great god, Mammon, continually cry in the ears of the poor, "Give us your little ones!" And forever do the poor push out their little ones at the imperious ukase, feeding the children to a blind Hunger that is never filled. And the spell of material things is so heavy on the hearts of us that scarce a protest goes up against this betrayal of youth, this sacrifice of the children in factory, store and shop. (1)

Less beautiful, perhaps, but just as impressive is Mr. Markham's language in "The Sweat-Shop Inferno," which appeared in January, 1907, wherein he cites the kind of work the children may do and its effect on their physical well-being. This article is perhaps the most tragic of any that have yet appeared because

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1. Hoe-Man in the Making Markham vol. 42 p. 143 Dec. 1906 Cosmopolitan

it shows the danger of infection from clothes made in crowded homes to the persons who buy them. Mr. Markham says in part:

> In three hundred out of five hundred homes, women and children must work to eke out the living. Fourteen to sixteen hours is the usual stretch of this long working-day. A child frequently eanrs only one cent an hour; while the sweater figures so that a woman shall earn not more than ten cents. The average income of the whole family is five dollars and seventy cents a week. Sometimes in a rush order the elders can sleep only five hours of the twenty-four. An order must be finished on time and be back on time, though all other activities of the house should cease. The sewing-machine must whir, the fingers must fly. Little and big must toil, ever-hastening, never-resting, to get the work out and to get more home work to hold the job. For worse than all work is no work, and the slack spells may fall on any day. (1)

Child workers in the tobacco industry are treated in a milder chapter, entitled "The Smoke of Sacrifice," (February, 1907), those in the artificial flower industry in "The Blight of the Easter Lilies," (April, 1907), and those in the silk, cotton, and woolen mills in "Spinners in the Dark," (July, 1907).

In November of that same year, another editorial on child labor appears, which advocates the financial support of the readers of the magazine of the Child Labor Federation, that has been organized to publish facts about the child labor situation. Part of the editorial is quoted:

> It is a melancholy fact that under our present system the pursuit of profit will banish every noble instinct from the minds of some men and lead them to gloat over their own dread handiwork. The class that defends the employment of child labor asserts that child labor is indispensable to industry. How do you relish a vaunted prosperity which is built upon the bodies of two million children? Would you not rather have every machine scattered to the four winds of heaven than see so heinous an injustice perpetuated? Is it with satisfaction that you wear goods made at such an appalling expense to humanity? We think not . . We demand that the children be where they properly ought to be -- at home and in the school. (2)

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1. Hoe-Man in the Making Markham vol. 42 p. 328-9 Jan. 1907
2. Editorial on Child Labor vol. 42 p. 110 Nov. 1906

Jumping from child labor problems at home to the human side of the Panama canal-making, we find in September, 1906, the beginning of a series of articles on conditions in the Panama Zone by Poultney Bigelow. The first of these entitled "Panama -- the Human Side," is a revelation of the sanitary evils evoked by misgovernment and graft in Panama and Colon, besides giving an historical account of the building of the canal. The next month appeared "The Canal Laborer," wherein is discussed the unfair treatment of the laborer, who is usually a negro, and the ignorance and laziness of the overseers. Bad conditions are laid to the inefficiency of the labor administration and the oppression of the negroes. Administration of canal operations is severely criticized in the third article, "Conditions in the Canal Zone," which was published in November.

A short, almost editorial-like article, ridiculing a United States senator's suggestion that if public men are unworthy the fact should be concealed from the public, appears in August, 1906, under the name of Ernest Crosby and called "The Man with the Hose." The writer says pithily: "The man with the muck-rake has done his work well. Now for the man with the hose.

"For the hose must be played all over the Capitol at Washington from dome to cellar. The dirt has been pointed out. Now it must be removed."[1]

A minor muck-raking article is that entitled "Weyerhauser -- Richer than John D. Rockefeller" and written by Charles P.

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1. Man with the Hose Crosby vol. 41 p. 341 August 1906 Cosmopolitan

Norcross. This appeared in December, 1906, and shows how a great lumber fortune had been built up by securing lands fraudulently. Of the lumber king, Mr. Norcross says, he is a man "whose wealth is millions more than that of John D. Rockefeller, and whose vast fortune has been made possible by a great national crime."[1]

In February of the next year, an important contribution to the muckraking articles of the magazine is found in Josiah Flynt's series on the pool-room evils. The first of these is entitled "The Pool-Room Vampire and Its Money-Mad Victims." The editor's note appended to it says in part:

> In this article, Mr. Flynt surveys his subject in a general way, and shows the far-reaching effects of the pool-room and race-track mania. In the succeeding articles he will tell in detail about the big gambling spiders and the little human flies that get enmeshed in the ppol-room web. He will also tell who the men"higher up"are, and describe the system of police proection in the large cities, the travels of a hundred-dollar bill from the bettor's pocket to the humble guardian in blue whom it reaches very much shrunken in denomination. Finally he will show where the real responsibility lies, and tell about the men of "culture and refinement" who knowingly permit this terrible traffic to thrive, and who themselves thrive upon its proceeds. There is scarcely a home in the land that has not felt in greater or lesser degree the curse of the Pool-room and the Race-Track. It behooves every good wife and mother, every honorable and clean-minded man, to read this fearless arraignment of a vast criminal system as described by a man who knows what he is talking about. (2)

In March the second article, "The Pool-Room Spider and the Gambling Fly" appeared, and in April, the third, "The Men Behind the Pool-Rooms"which cnnsisted of sketches of various New York and Chicago gamblers. A striking article called "The Tel-

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1. Weyerhauser Norcross vol. 42 p. 253 December 1906
2. The Pool-Room Vampire Flynt vol. 42 p. 360 February 1907 Cosmopolitan

egraph and Telephone Companies as Allies of the Criminal Pool-Rooms" appeared in May showing how the Western Union Telegraph company and the New York and New Jersey telephone companies pocket enormous dividends through their cooperation with gamblers. The magnitude of their operations is touched upon in the following quotation:

> Every poolroom of the two thousand or more that were running in New York before District Attorney Jerome began his last crusade were equipped with one or more telephones that were used for gambling purposes and for nothing else. All of the many hundreds of pool-rooms still running in New York, and all of the handbooks, are equipped with telephones for gambling purposes and for nothing else. Every one of the estimated four thousand pool-rooms throughout the United States is equipped with telephones used for gambling purposes and for nothing else. In every big city in the United States there are extensive switch-boards, with hundreds of telephone connections, which are used for gambling purposes and for nothing else. Every one of these telephones and switch-boards was installed by one of the big telephone companies, and in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred the company knew that it was to be used to lure men and women to destruction. But for the sake of the swelling of dividends to stockholders the managers of telephone companies have entered into active partnership with the pool-room criminals, and, because their dividends are swelled so materially by these managers, the stockholders and directors have not said the word that would clear their skirts of the nasty smirch of this crime. They tacitly have allowed their companies to become bone and sinew in the body of the pool-room crime. (1)

A scathing indictment of the New York Telephone company is found in the following quotation from Flynt:

> The hypocritical cry of the New York Telephone company, when criticized for complicity in this crime, has been that it does not know to what uses a telephone is to be put, and that, being a common carrier's corporation, it could not base a refusal to serve the public on a mere suspicion. Does anyone believe for an instant that the New York Telephone company does not know virtually every pool-room telephone it owns?

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1. Telegraph and Telephone Companies as Allies of Pool-rooms
Flynt vol. 43 p. 50-51 May 1907 Cosmopolitan

> Does it install extensive and expensive switchboards, especially designed to serve the largest possible number of pool-rooms at one time, and enter into contracts at such installation without having any idea about what use the apparatus is to be put? Does anyone outside of an insane asylum believe that the names in this big secret book maintained by the company are thought by the management to be those of honest business men? These be times when the public is asked by a certain class of corporations to believe many things. Is it not inferring that the public is credulous to the point of feeble-mindedness when we are asked to believe in the innocence of the telephone company? (1)

The series is completed in June by "Corporation and Police Partnership with the Criminal Pool-Rooms -- the real story of how many millions of dollars are paid over annually to corporation stockholders and the police officials of the chief American cities." Shortly after the publication of these articles Mr. Flynt died and no more brilliant offerings from his pen appear.

Election frauds is the subject of the next important muckraking series, which is entitled "At the Throat of the Republic" and is written by Charles Edward Russell. The purpose and character of the series is outlined in the editor's note attached to the first article:

> This is the first of three articles dealing with the character and prevalence in this country of crime against the suffrage, the greatest danger to which a popular government can be exposed.
>
> Election frauds are organized and systematically committed along the three following lines:
>
> First: Before the Election, by colonizing non-residents and by padding the registration lists with the names of these and others not legal voters.
>
> Second: At the Election, by the casting of fraudulent votes; by "repeaters," or men that go from polling-place to polling-place, voting in each; by mutilating ballots so that

1. Telegraph and Telphone Companies as Allies Flynt vol. 43 p. 52-53 May 1907

they will be rejected by the canvassers; by bribery; by intimidating voters and driving them from the polls.

Third: After the Election, by miscounting the ballots; by certifying falsely to the returns; by preventing investigation that would reveal these crimes.

The means of eradication of these most dangerous frauds lies in the hands of the American voters, each one of whom must have a share in the work; Mr. Russell's graphic articles ought to find their way to every citizen of this land.(1)

Apropos of criminal and fraudulent voting, Mr. Russell in his first article, appearing in December, 1907, says in part:

Vaguely and loosely most of us know that this sort of thing goes on more or less. Scarcely one of us (except the practitioners and abettors of the crimes) understands that it is no longer something sporadic or spasmodic, but has become a vast, organized, articulated, captained, and profitable industry, taking its place in the evolution of an evil, from some form of which scareely any community in the United States is free. In rural regions and smaller towns where colonization is impossible, votes are bought or farmers are hired to stay away from the polls. In the cities, colonization, false registration, repealing, and fraudulent voting have been reduced to a business, a matter of contract and brokerage, a business with branches in every city, with a common system of operation, with interdependence among the branches, and with a faultless method of exchanging and protecting supplies. What was once a crude and occasional excursion into the realms of crime seems now to have been so developed and systematized that, practically speaking, one can order any reasonable number of fraudulent votes with as much certainty as one would order oysters, a statement that will not seem in the least extravagant to anyone that knows the facts. (2)

Mr. Russell goes on to cite instances of fraudulent votes cast in New York City, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Providence, Chicago, and other large cities,, giving figures in each case. In concluding his first contribution to the series, he says:

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1. At the Throat of the Republic Russell vol. 44 p. 146 Dec.1907
2. Ibid. p. 148 Cosmopolitan

> One fact is apparent in all these transactions. Clearly the thing has passed out of the domain of partisan politics. Whatever may have been the case in earlier years, these operations are not now a charge upon party campaign funds. That is demonstrable from the fact that their extent and cost have grown beyond the limits of the party treasury. Tammany Hall has, no doubt, the most perfect and productive of all systems of filling the campaign treasury; but, when the regular and necessary campaign expenses are deducted, there would be left no margin sufficient for such gigantic expenditures as the colonization of 1905, for instance, necessitated. To bring a floater to New York, to maintain him the requisite length of time, to pay the tariff rate for every vote he casts, to return him whence he came, to pay the lodging-house keepers, to provide the army of herders, managers, thugs, and cheap lawyers necessary to protect and direct him, and to pay the brokerage, masses the items of a big bill. If, to take the lowest estimate of the New York Press, twenty thousand floaters were used in the New York City elections of 1905, the bill for their work could hardly have been less than eight hundred thousand. This sum never came from the contributions of party members. To find its origin we must lay hold of the fact that within four years of the election the New York board of aldermen would have franchises worth eight hundred million dollars to dispose of; that many public service corporations -- gas, transportation, electric light -- had vital interests at stake; that the great insurance companies were directly involved. It was from these sources that the colonization fund came into New York elections; it is from similar sources that similar funds are drawn into other cities.
>
> In other words, here is revealed one of the means by which the corporations elect their puppets, secure their franchises, obtain the laws they want, control legislative bodies, forestall investigation and present, for instance, any rate regulation that would regulate or any meat inspection that would inspect. Here is a part of the method employed since the floater, colonizer, and the padded registration list (1) became useful machinery in the making of corporation success.

A fascinating account of election-day methods is contained in the second article, "At the Election," appearing in January, 1908. Part of the conclusion is here quoted:

> One curious fact, well worth pondering, has forced itself upon the attention, I dare say, of every person that has ever in-

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1. Throat of the Republic Russell vol. 44 p. 157 December 1907 Cosmopolitan

vestigated the subject. The trial of the actual work of fraud in the ballot-boxes invariably leads from the public in utility corporations to the haunts of crime, the gambling houses, the pool-rooms, and other vicious resorts. In most of our large cities vice has been syndicated, and the syndicates have found it profitable to combine vote-brokerage with prostitution or dive-keeping. Thus the head of the vote-brokerage business in Philadelphia is a principal backer of the gambling houses; the head operator in New York has made millions from pool-rooms, brothels, and depraved theaters; the man that for years and years ruled Cincinnati through fraudulent votes, owns half of the disreputable quarter of the city; universally gambling and disorderly houses appear on the list as the home of colonizers, floaters, and repeaters. Eminent gentlemen whose dividends and public utility franchises fare exceedingly well because of these alliances may not care to inquire too nicely concerning the means by which their special privileges are secured; but if they desire to know I can assure them that these are facts. And if Mr. Rockefeller's millions are tainted some other millions I know of are putrid, being redolent of some of the vilest spots and vilest deeds known upon this earth. For the same persons that are brokers of votes are also brokers of men's honesty and brokers of women's souls. (1)

"After the Election", the third article,"deals with fraud in the counting of votes and the means to prevent investigation and punishment taken by those who have power to thwart the will of the people. The alarming situation in regard to the growing prevalence of election frauds is one that vitally concerns the future of our Republic. From a conservative estimate only one in twenty thousand election crimes is followed by actual punishment. It has been the Cosmopolitan's aim to drive this fact home to the American people," according to the editor's foreword: (2)

The fourth article, which appears in April and marks the end of the series, was entitled "Postscript--The Election."

1. At the Throat of the Republic Russell vol. 44 p. 271 Jan.'08
2. Ibid. vol. 44 p. 361 February 1908 Cosmopolitan

The editor's note appended to this is rather enlightening:

> Mr. Russell and the Cosmopolitan have made plain to the American public in the previous articles of this series, two appalling facts:
>
> First: That a new system of election methods, simple, business-like, and unfailingly effective, has been vigorously developed in this country, whereby the political boss and the public utility corporation already have their hands at the throat of our republican government.
>
> Second: That election crimes, the most baneful to the public welfare, are the safest of all offenses to commit, and the seldomest punished.
>
> To work at shattering the vicious chain of the vote-broker, his employer, and the criminal repeater is the most patriotic duty before the American citizen today. But how little the duty is recognized will be seen by a reading of the following article, in which Mr. Russell describes the effectiveness of the system at the election of 1907 -- two years after the one from which he drew his previous array of facts. (1)

Mr. Russell makes the point in his last article of the series that election crime is a routine occurrence:

> The great change that in recent years has come over our political campaign methods can hardly have escaped the attention of any thoughtful person. In the New York City campaign of 1907, as on other occasions in recent years, the successful party held practically no meetings, hired no halls, had no speakers, proclaimed no "rallies," made no appeals to voters, presented no arguments, made no promises, urged no attack, offered no defense, outlined no program, raised no question, indicated no policy. It merely went directly and plainly to the vote-brokers, contracted for the number of votes needed, paid the bill, and took the election. And there is the whole new system of election methods, in New York City and in other places; simple, plain, business-like, and unfailingly effective, the dirty hand of the political boss and the dirty hand of the public utility corporation clutching straight at the very breath of republican government in America. (2)

The crusading policy of the magazine is again revealed in the next important series appearing in the Cosmopolitan, which

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1. At the Throat of the Republic Russell vol. 44 p. 475 April '08
2. Ibid. p. 480 Cosmopolitan

takes up "The Fight Against Alcohol" and deals with the significance and effect of recent prohibition legislation. Since this is not a muckraking series, strictly speaking, we shall merely mention it in passing. Written by Arthur Brisbane, the first article appeared in April, 1908, and was followed in successive months by similar discussions by various writers, including Dr. Alexander Alison, of the National Temperance society, Gustave Pabst, John Temple Groves, Vance Thompson, and Julian Hawthorne.

One of the most interesting series we have yet discussed in this paper began in June, 1908, when the editors published "Owners of America," treating in a personal, intimate way the careers of many of the leading financiers of the country. Part of the series was written by Alfred Henry Lewis, sketching Andrew Carnegie, Thomas F. Ryan, J. Pierpont Morgan; the Vanderbilts were described by Charles P. Norcross; Charles M. Schwab and John D. Rockefeller by Lewis, the Armours by Arthur Brisbane, the Swifts by Emerson Hough, and E.H. Harriman and the Astors by Norcross. Each in the series was illustrated with pictures of the men themselves, their homes, and their families.

In a way this series is constructive in tone rather than muckraking, for it points out the superiority in brains and foresight of the Owners of America. Several of the articles are distinctly commendatory and merely trace the originality and business acumen that have made possible the success of the men.

The sketch of Andrew Carnegie is vivid and lively, more humorous than otherwise, as might be expected from the pen of Alfred Henry Lewis, containing as it does a skilful combination of facts in Carnegie's life, his birth, parents, early history, gradual accumulation of fortune, love affairs, and other things. Apropos of Carnegie's relation to his lieutenants, a charming bit is quoted:

> "You can't imagine," observed Mr. Carnegie to Manager Bill Jones of the Edgar Thomson Works, while talking of his ocean trips, "you can't imagine the relief I feel, once I'm outside Sandy Hook."
>
> "Well," replied Manager Bill Jones with a sigh, "you can't imagine the relief we feel once you're outside Sandy Hook."(1)

Mr. Lewis' humorous analysis of Thomas F. Ryan is seen in the following passage:

> Mr. Ryan will take a gentleman like Mr. Parker or Mr. Hughes, and do with him what housewives do with peaches. He will peal him and quarter him, and stew him down in corporation sweetness, and then most heedfully seal him up against every corrupting influence. Being thus successfully canned, Mr. Ryan will put him by on some shelf of his affairs, against a day of need. Later, does Mr. Ryan want a mayor or an alderman or even a governor, he takes down one of these specimens of canned humanity, blows the dust from the corporation work-done in red sealing-wax on the can -- to make sure of the genuineness of the goods, and gives him to the Machine to be its candidate. (2)

Of J. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Lewis says pithily:

> Everywhere Mr. Morgan makes money. He is the spirit of consolidation incarnate. His cry is, "There is but one god, Consolidation, and Morgan is his prophet." There is a chance here to evalue a play on "prophet" and "profit," but I hate puns and the English who make them. (3)

The Vanderbilt family is the subject of Mr. Norcross'

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1. Owners of America Lewis vol. 45 p. 15 June 1908
2. Ibid. vol. 45 p. 151 July 1908
3. Ibid. p. 261 August 1908 Cosmopolitan

first contribution to the series, in which Cornelius V. and his son, William H., are the principal figures. The writer says that these are the social leaders of America, too, as well as charter members of the "Owners of America" series. "They must be regarded in the light of custodians of property bequeathed and safeguarded rather than as a menace to field warriors of accumulation." (1)

In October, an offering from the pen of Mr. Lewis is again seen in a typical personality sketch of Charles M. Schwab. Mr. Lewis considers him more honest than the other owners, and says candidly:

> I should call Mr. Schwab a very honest man, but with this proviso, that he is honest from his own standpoint, which is the standpoint of one who besides being deflected by self-interest and blurred by an innate self-approval, conceives gambling-- which produces nothing -- to be quite as legitimate and as moral a method of money-finding as either agriculture or mining. Mr. Schwab is too wise an economist to believe that all may be gamblers and the world get on. But so he would say of a world of farmers or miners. He reckons confidently on the natural distribution contingent on differences of bent, brains, enterprises, and opportunity to round out humanity as a whole and put each man's work into his hand. And so, reckoning on the producers he reckons on the gambler. Foreseeing the flea upon seeing the dog, Mr. Schwab is ready to think as well of the parasite as he does of honest Rover. (2)

His description of Mr. Rockefeller is equally frank:

> In person, Mr. Rockefeller is a huge-boned bulk of a man, like his father before him. He is not handsome, because he has no hair; he is not happy, because he has no stomach; Remember how mankind in its civilization sits ever in the awful money-shadow of Standard Oil -- I warn you it is a fearsome thing to be at the mercy of one who has no stomach, that town and country residence of the soul. . . .

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1. Owners of America Norcross vol. 45 p. 370 September 1908
2. Ibid. Lewis vol. 45 p. 478 October 1908
Cosmopolitan

> Altogether the Rockefeller atmosphere is inimical, repellent, alarming. And yet no one will look upon Mr. Rockefeller without feeling a kind of sadness, a sympathy for him. No one will envy him; he gives forth no impression of happiness, as does Mr. Carnegie, or of cheerful, steady conceit, as does Mr. Schwab, or of contented rapacity, as does Mr. Ryan. Instead, he is like a man lost in a world strange to him, and very lonesome.(1)

His fairness is shown in the following bit:

> Mr. Rockefeller has provoked a vast amount of literature, very little of which has been eulogistic. No one has been more bitterly spoken against, more ferociously condemned. And yet why blame him? He could no more have become that perilous creature, a billionaire, wanting our permission, than he could have stolen stars from the midnight sky. (2)

An entirely different tone from this half-humorous one of Mr. Lewis' is shown in Arthur Brisbane's treatment of the Armours, for the writer makes the point that the Armours and other kings of industry are showing the people what can be done and are only doing what 99½ per cent of the people in the country would do if they could. He takes up a little of Armour's way of handling the business and suggests a few reforms the packers might effect, ending up with a sentimental rhapsody on what happens to the souls of the nine million animals killed annually.

Going back to his introduction, we find it a dissertation on kings, ancient and modern, with a transition which he calls "the forest of industrial feudalism," in which he pokes fun at Upton Sinclair's book, "The Jungle," and asserts that the book has cost America many hundreds of billions of dollars in lost European trade. He adds that, "the people through higher

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1. Owners of America Lewis vol. 45 p. 619 Nov. 1908
2. Ibid. p. 621 Cosmopolitan

meat prices, are paying and will pay in full the losses brought upon the packers who saw their foreign trade melt like snow during the Theodore Roosevelt-Upton Sinclair war-dance."[1]

The tone of this article is clearly brought out in the following passage:

> It should have been mentioned at the beginning of this article, to prevent disappointment and waste of time in reading, that this is not to be the usual delightful, daring, and dashing flogging. No shivering, cringing, money-king is to be dragged up to the magazine whipping-post and lashed remorselessly while all the world cries "Bravo."
>
> That work has been done, well done; it would be ridiculous to do it over again badly. It has been done by Upton Sinclair in shrill, spiritual falsetto; by Lincoln Steffens in grumbling, rumbling bass; by Alfred Henry Lewis with Texan foam and fury; by Ray Stannard Baker with lawyer-like reportorial coolness; by Ida Tarbell with Lady Macbeth fury and Charlotte Corday devotion. Why do it all over again feebly?
>
> The trouble in America, in the opinion of one humble American, is with American citizens themselves. Men get just about the trust government that they deserve. When eighty million of human beings, nearly all able to read, use their ballots about as intelligently and efficiently as a ten-year-old child uses his little shovel, the best advice you can give such people is to grow up and learn to use the ballot more efficiently. If the people don't want monopolies they have the power to and those monopolies when they choose. Let them have their own refrigerator cars. (2)

Emerson Hough presents in mild fashion the distribution of the Swifts among the various branches of the packing industry, with a sketch of each member, and a tribute to their square dealing. He also makes the point that packers have performed a useful service in consolidating the meat service. I quote him in part:

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1. Owners of America Brisbane vol. 46 p. 282 February 1909
2. Ibid. p. 286-7

> The Packers and Their Kingdom cannot be dismissed with the supposition that the Armours completely control this domain. Equally active, equally vigilant, and equally great are the Swifts. It was Gustavus F. Swift, the founder of the Swift fortunes, who first saw the possibility of the refrigerator car, and it was his energy that forced a realization of its imperative need in the trade. The Armours, Morrises, Cudahys, and Hammonds have all been forced to use it today. There is warfare in the Kingdom of the Packers. Armour, the elder, is fighting for trade dominance with the Swifts, who are younger, but whose organization today helps to supply the daily meat for homes all over the world. (1)

Mr. Norcross finishes up the series with a discussion of E.H. Harriman in July, 1909, and of the Astors in August. He quotes a characteristic speech of Mr. Harriman's as follows: "I am not a ten-per-cent man, and I want something that will grow."[2] He says that Mr. Harriman "has done more to build up his country than any other man in his generation. Condemn his methods if you want to -- and many of them ought to be condemned, yet he is a builder."[3] "Theirs is a clean fortune," he says of the Astors.[4]

A series in true muckraking vein is found in the fall of 1909, however, when an attack is made on the sugar trust in a series of articles entitled "The Trail of the Hunger-Tax" and written by Mr. Norcross. The title is gained from the idea of imposing a duty on sugar in the tariff schedule. A prefatory announcement says:

> Within a period of two years the American Sugar Refining company has been indicted and found guilty on more than a score of counts for rebating and has paid fines approximating $170,000; has admitted defrauding the government by a

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1. Owners of America Hough vol. 46 p. 399 March 1909
2. Ibid. Norcross vol. 47 p. 159 July 1909
3. Ibid. " vol. 47 p. 162 July 1909
4. Ibid. " vol. 47 p. 334 August 1909 Cosmopolitan

> system of false weighing and has settled in part for over $2,000,000 with more cases to be heard from; and has confessed to a criminal conspiracy to throttle a competitor by offering to pay $750,000 for a discontinuance of the suit of the Pennsylvania Sugar Refining company against it. Six of its seven directors stand indicted today for conspiracy. This is in part the record of the commercial methods of operation and the details of criminal defiance of all law and moral obligation by this corporation, as revealed in this series of articles, are enough to amaze a public already made callous to tales of corporation corruption by the revelations in the investigation of the Standard Oil company and other trusts. (1)

The nature of the trust is described by Mr. Norcross as follows:

> As the tale unfolds it will be found that the sugar trust has been at least an attempted debaucher of Congress, and it was largely the machinations of the agents of the trust in the tariff-constructing days of the last Cleveland administration that caused President Cleveland, in referring to the bill to stigmatize it as a "national perfidy." The trust has always had its agents in law-making bodies all over the country; it has browbeaten the railroads into granting huge rebates and utilized the advantage gained to crush competition; by money and otherwise it has bought up and destroyed the beet-sugar opposition as well as other competitors. Never in the history of the country has there been so much cumulated evidence of commercial outlawry. Compared to it the deeds of the Standard Oil company sink into insignificance. (2)

Mr. Norcross characterizes the sugar trust as a one-man company, that of Henry O. Havemeyer, organizer and first president of the American Sugar Refining company and blames him for the misdeeds of the trust. He goes on to recount the tale of Thomas F. Riley who quarrelled with Havemeyer and squealed on the Trust. A good summary of the Trust is found in the following passage:

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1. Trail of the Hunger Tax Norcross vol. 47 p. 588 Oct. 1909
2. Ibid. p. 589 Cosmopolitan

> Now to get back to the history of the sugar trust: to follow it step by step through its upbuilding and its widespread operations; th show how it has been a constant and ruthless throttler of competition; how it corrupted Congress and created tariff schedules that enriched its officers by millions; how it subtly absorbed the beet-sugar industry; how it browbeat the railroads and forced huge rebates; how it sank seven millions of dollars in a fight against the Arbuckles before a peace was signed that may be broken any moment. It is the most fascinating commercial romance of the century. (1)

The second article deals with the "Beet Sugar Round-Up" and appears in November. An idea of the contents may be seen from the editor's note appended to it:

> In this instalment, the history of the Sugar Trust, the methods employed by Henry O. Havemeyer to dominate the beet-sugar industry and nullify the menace of its competitors are outlined. It is significantly shown that when the beet-sugar campaign was most threatening a propaganda for the removal of the duty on Cuban sugars was engineered from the office of the secretary of war, Elihu Root holding the post at the time. The repeal of this duty would have badly crippled the beet-sugar men and assisted the trust. Mr. Havemeyer's war on the beet-sugar men by utilizing rebates to undersell them is proved from the books of the company. The destruction of the independent stove industry is recounted; the gross favoritism to relatives in coal contracts is outlined, and the facts about the relations between Havemeyer and Palmer are cited. As a result of this quarrel Palmer was forced out of the company and left a breach through which the government's agents entered to get evidence. Many of these facts have never before been told. They disclose a career of treachery and double-dealing that has proved effective in laying the "hunger-trail" over the whole country and taxing every breakfast-table in the land. (2)

An interesting editorial pertaining to the series is found in Magazine Shop Talk for November. I quote from it:

> Does it make any difference to you how much a pound you pay for sugar? Doesn't it strike near home when you hear that the gigantic and lawless corporation, which through its agents supplies practically all the tables in America--

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1. Trail of the Hunger Tax Norcross vol. 47 p. 591 Oct. 1909
2. Ibid. p. 713 November 1909 Cosmopolitan

> yours included -- with this one indispensable article of food has the brazenness to admit that for years it has been defrauding the government, stifling competition and keeping up prices to a point where the trail of the "Hunger Tax" is laid over the length and breadth of the country-- demanding its toll, without exception, from every American home? Isn't it time that the facts about this giant corporation should be made known -- how it has fooled the government by short-weighing and rebating to the amount of millions of dollars; why it has paid fines already amounting to millions without making much more than a beginning toward the rest due from its methods of thievery and dishonesty; why six out of seven of its directors today stand indicted for conspiracy? Isn't it about time to tell the story? We think so; and in this issue we give you the second of a series of four articles -- the fact-story of this soulless corporation. It is an unequalled record of lawlessness. What is more to the point, it hits your pockets like a bull's eye. (1)

A typical illustration of the sugar trust's policy is related by Mr. Norcross in his December article, showing how fraudulent weighing is accomplished. The incident is related by one of the company checkers:

> He told of the utilization of a hidden spring for lessening the apparent weight of the drafts of sugar. He said that in the ten years he had been there he had, day in and day out, under the direction and with knowledge of the company's dock superintendent, assisted in this scheme of fraudulent weighing. There are seventeen scale-houses on the docks. Some of these scales are used more frequently than others, as the cargo of each ship is weighed at the scale-house nearest her berth. It was shown later that nine-tenths of the sugar received at this refinery was weighed on five of the scales. Seated behind each one of the scales in the days of short-weighing were a government weigher and a checker for the company. When a draft from the ship was brought on to the scales the government weigher would adjust the weights before him until a balance was secured. He would then announce the weight, and it would be verified by the checker. According to Whalley's story, whenever a load of sugar was rolled on the scales, the company's checker would drop his left hand down and insert a plug which communicated with a little spring inside the weighing apparatus, the result being a marked reduction. One of these holes was at each one of the seven scales, so that no matter on which scale the sugar was weighed, not a sack was weighed honestly. (2)

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1. Magazine Shop Talk vol. 47 p. 808 November 1909
2. The Rebate Conspiracy Norcross vol. 48 p. 71 December 1909 Cosmopolitan

The final instalment of the series appearing in January, 1910, was a tale of the trust's trying to crush Adolph Segal and his Pennsylvania Sugar Refining company, whereby he failed and in the crash the trust was indicted by the government and forced to pay sixty-two million dollars in damages. Norcross condludes the series thus:

> It (the trust) has been purified by fire. Whether it will stay purged remains to be seen. Its lesson has certainly been salutary enough. (1)

A clean-up in politics and a general airing of party affairs marks the crusading policy of the Cosmopolitan in the spring of 1910. "What is 'Joe' Cannon?" a fascinating sketch by Alfred Henry Lewis is the first article of a political nature and is published in April. Cannon's great political power is described and an arraignment made of him as a man and as a politician. The editorial remarks about Cannon are extremely interesting in connection with this article and part of them follows:

> That the reign of terror and tyranny instituted and maintained with rare cunning by Speaker Cannon, in the House of Representatives at Washington, is nearing its end, is the avowal of the politically wise. The downfall of Cannon will rejoice all honest Americans. He has been a menace to good government, and his passing will be the occasion of sincere satisfaction not only on the part of the Democrats and "insurgent" elements in Congress, but on the part of every clean-minded, right-thinking citizen of the Republic.
>
> At the moment of going to press the name of ex-president Roosevelt is being exploited as that of Cannon's possible successor. "Bring him back from Africa, elect him to Congress, and make him Speaker," is the cry. What this would

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1. Tragedies of the Sugar Trust Norcross vol. 48 p. 198
January 1910 Cosmopolitan

mean to Congress and the people at large is not to be discussed at this time; but whatever happens, whoever is placed in the Speaker's chair, after the swift expulsion of Cannon, it is a plain enough fact that no one could occupy that position who is worse fitted both by temperament and by training and by thought, than the present incumbent, whose devious career is pictured in the article subjoined. (1)

Mr. Lewis' language is equally forceful, for he says:

Mr. Cannon has made politics pay. Not one in one thousand does that. But Mr. Cannon from boyhood has made everything pay. At trapping that wild beast called a dollar, he has had no superior. At taming and keeping it when caught, he has never been surpassed. When his income was smallest, he still saved one dollar out of every two. He bought land at five dollars an acre to sell it years later at one hundred dollars an acre. He broadened into street railroads, banks, and a score of similar investments. His money sense was infallible. He never had a set-back; all his ships came home. Now he can run his rake-handle arms to the shoulders in his saffron hoard and count it by the millions. (2)

In March preceding Mr. Lewis' article about Cannon appeared an editorial as a sort of question mark, to the following effect:

Who is Joseph Gurney Cannon? Oh, yes, we all know "Uncle Joe," he of the banging gavel and tiptilted cigar. We know him through a thousand caricatures and cartoons, we know him through his whiplashing of the lower House of Congress, his supercilious, arrogant, and often childish attitude toward things that are new, that make for progress. But just who is this man? What is he? From what has he sprung, and for what does he stand?

Is Speaker Cannon a true statesman, a man of fine accomplishments and high ideals? Is he a man of homely, shrewd, and lovable character like Lincoln? His friends and cohorts say he is. Or is the mere cunning, self-seeking politican given to small tricks, petty stratagems, low language, and all the mental, moral, and physical mannerisms of the professional ward politician? You shall judge for yourself when you read the character analysis of Cannon by Alfred Henry Lewis which is to be published in the Cosmopolitan for next month. It will give you a clearer conception of just what

1. What is "Joe" Cannon? Lewis vol. 48 p.569 April 1910
2. Ibid. p. 574 Cosmopolitan

> the Speaker of the House of Representatives is like and what he represents in modern politics than anything that has yet appeared in print. (1)

Charles Edward Russell comes forth in July of this same year with an interesting series of articles on legislative graft in various leading American cities. About ten articles appear in all, the first of six of which are written by him, and the balance by various writers. Apropos of the series, which is entitled "What Are You Going to Do About It?" the Cosmopolitan published an editorial in its July issue by Brand Whitlock, reformer, lawyer, author, and mayor of Toledo, Ohio, which is called "As to Grafters."

Mr. Whitlock takes the stand that corruption is not increasing and that the people's standards are improving. He believes that the people should elect their own men to represent them and get rid of the privileged corporations. He advocates the use of the referendum to curtail the lobbyists at state legislatures.

In his first article Mr. Russell deals with "Legislative Graft and the Albany Scandal," which is a story of graft in the New York legislature and bribery -- a story no more noteworthy than others we have discussed except that this series is written with the view of getting the public to act. In conclusion to this he says:

> Obviously the source of all the evil in our legislative bodies is not Bad Men nor any other kind of men, but simply and solely Privilege. Privilege requires more privilege

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1. Magazine Shop Talk vol. 48 p. 539 March 1910 Cosmopolitan

> that it may make more profits. By only one way in this world can it attain its desire, and that is by the corruption of public servants and the perversion of government. Whether that can be done by distributing money in envelopes or by awarding fat attorney fees or by retainers from the railroads or by so-called oppprtunities in stock speculation or by brokers' accounts mysteriously swelled or through mysterious kings of legislation or in some other way -- what matters? By whatsoever means employed the result is the same. Men are corrupted, government is perverted, we are betrayed.
>
> Do we really wish to stop these evils? Then we shall have to cease to waste our time on individuals whose deeds are but the products of system, and proceed to deal with causes instead of results. This generation does not remember a time when a scandal was not brewing in the government of New York state and when some individual was not being chased therefor with hue and cry. Do we need any more of that? (1)

In August appeared "Graft as an Expert Trade in Pittsburg;" in September, "The 'Jack-Pot' in Illinois Legislation;" in October, "The Man the Interests Wanted," --Senator William Lorimer; in December, "Colorado-- New Tricks in an Old Game;" and in January, "Senator Gore's Strange Bribe Story." These complete Mr. Russell's part in the series, and the following articles appear successively under the signatures of different writers: "The Senatorship that Cost $111,385 Plus," by Alfred Henry Lewis in June; "What San Francisco Has Done About It" by Edward H. Hamilton in July; "The Shame of Ohio" by George Creel and Sloane Gordon in October; and "The Carnival of Corruption in Mississippi" by George Creel in November. These articles are so much like others we have discussed in this paper that further comment would be tiresome.

A minor muck-raking article appears by Alfred Henry

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1. What Are You Going to Do About It Russell vol 49 p. 160 July 1910 Cosmopolitan

Lewis in July called "The Revolution at Washington" -- with the sub-title: "Numerous assaults upon the old guard have made pertinent the question, 'Who is a Republican?'" This is full of interesting sidelights on Congress notables -- exposes no particular graft or people but simply comments on the changing character of the Congressional personnel. The keynote of the article appears in the following passage:

> The people are in the saddle. The Cannon downfall was but an incident. The tariff struggle in Congress is but an incident. Even such as Mr. Wickersham and Mr. LaFollette, Mr. Aldrich and Mr. Dolliver, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Beveridge, Mr. Root and Mr. Borah, are but incidents. The public hosts, with the cry, "High cost of living," are moving to the destruction of criminal money, and will not be withstood. There is to be a new alignment, party landmarks which have served for forty years will be swept away. The West is to step forward, the East to fall back. (1)

Mr. Lewis contributes an article on Hughes in the November Cosmopolitan, entitled "Will Hughes 'Make Good?' Can a Corporation Lawyer and Partisan Politician Measure Up to the Supreme Court Standard?" This is a verbose, expansive article on Hughes in all his characteristic aspects, with plentiful illustrations of the man. The writer tears Hughes to pieces not cruelly but playfully, so that the reader feels only contempt for the man.

A discussion of the problem of desertion in the American army and the offer of a remedy is presented in "The Shame of Our Army" which was written by Bailey Millard for the September Cosmopolitan. He explains why fifty thousand enlisted men

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1. Revolution at Washington Lewis vol. 49 p. 252 July 1910 Cosmopolitan

have deserted. The article caused so much criticism and comment that in November he replied in another article entitled "More About 'The Shame of Our Army.'"

"The Theft of the Panama Canal" by Willis J. Abbott appeared in October and is another minor muckraking article, dealing with the transcontinental railroads which control the canal zone and which are planning a greater raid. The crying injustice that these railroads should control steamship traffic is pointed out by the writer who urges immediate Congressional action.

An editorial called "A Remedy for Machine Politics" was written by A. Leo Weil for the August magazine. Weil was president of the body of citizens who cleaned up Pittsburg, and his remedy includes investigation, demonstration, publication, and organization of politics.

"Booze, Boodle, and Bloodshed" is the alliterative title of an interesting article which appeared in November under the signature of Sloane Gordon and told what was the matter with Ohio, and Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri. It describes the reign of terror created by the "Wets" and "Drys," which was affecting the whole nation. The writer tells of the lynching in Newark, Ohio, in vivid fashion and then proceeds to discuss the question of local option and allied problems all through the Middle West, outlining the power of the Anti-Saloon league.

The reader will have marked the gradual disappearance

of the virulent muckraking article and the substitution of gentler crusading articles, which finally lose any touch of muckraking whasoever.

Various campaigns of a crusading nature were carried on by the Cosmopolitan magazine after 1910, notably such as those against vivisection, to lower the cost of living, and against Mormonism, but these have no place in our discussion here. The muckraking writers turn their attention to constructive work instead, hence in 1911 and 1912 we find Alfred Henry Lewis writing personality sketches of "good" men and an essay series entitled "Progress and Politics" written by different contributors.

In our conclusion we shall present some of the real reasons why muckraking died out so thoroughly although the public may still have been interested in it.

Chapter IV

AMERICAN MAGAZINE

The American Magazine came into the field as an aggressive publication in October, 1906, when it changed hands and began a distinct career under the editorship of such able writers as Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, Miss Ida Tarbell, and Finley P. Dunne. It will be remembered that these writers had served McClure's magazine long and well.

The policy of the new magazine, especially as regards our own particular thesis, i.e., the exposure of graft, is expressed adequately in the following extract from "The House of the Interpreter," for November, 1906;

> The thing we sober Americans are trying to do is no more tragic than the opening up of the new street or the installation of an electric plant. It is a job that calls for warm purpose, but cold language, high intentions, but low voices, poetical aspirations perhaps, but applied method, patience, and orderliness. There will be no sudden revolutionary changes if I understand the feelings of the people I meet. We shall not wake up some morning and find the rascals out and the angels in.
>
> But it is evident that there is a stirring of the internal fires among our people. The sense of justice may have smoldered somewhat in recent decades of great material striving and struggling, but it was only smoldering. These fires never die out. There are strange, subterranean upheavals, dotting the story of our national life--revolts, reprisals, small social and political outbursts.(1)

The strength and promise of the new magazine is readily foreseen from the names of its contributors and edi-

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1. House of the Interpreter vol. 63 p. 109 November 1906
American Magazine

tors. To the latter an appropriate tribute is paid in an editorial announcement in the pages of the October, 1906, magazine. Miss Tarbell is the first one commented on:

> Miss Tarbell is first of all a historian; that is, whether she is writing of Rockefeller or Napoleon, she must go to the original sources, to the fundamental documents and records. That is the reason that her work convinces. She knows what was really said and done. Her pictures live with the vigor and truth of her own clear-cut vision of character and incident; her interpretation glows with moral conviction. Her life of Lincoln is known and loved in tens of thousands of homes . . . .
>
> It is a far cry from Lincoln to Rockefeller and the Standard Oil company. If Miss Tarbell had done no other work in her career as a journalist than her investigation of this typical case of illegal and dangerous relations between railroads and industrial corporations, she would deserve the very high place she occupies among the historians of these stirring times. It was not because the Standard Oil company was rich and powerful that it was investigated; it was because, being the richest and most powerful, it was the most representative of evil conditions and made the best -- that is, the worst -- example. And investigated it was, without fear and without haste, without malice and without apology. The consequences are well-known to all readers of the newspapers. The officers of the great monopoly have been called upon to plead in court and have felt impelled to apologize, deny, and extenuate in public. But we have not heard that they have been able to contradict one of the statements of fact in Miss Tarbell's extraordinary revelations in a way to diminish the force of her conclusions. (1)

Of Lincoln Steffens, the same editorial announcement says that he is

> one of the ablest and most courageous political journalists of the day. No matter what you may know or think of him in his work, you will not get Mr. Steffens right unless you know that he is at heart an idealist and optimist. He has a passion for the good thing in man and movements. He has gone deeply into political conditions in many states; observed closely, the actual government in power. Nothing swerves him in trying to get at the truth of a situation, the facts of a man's

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1. Editorial Announcement vol. 62 p. 569-70 October 1906
American

life and career and his motives and purposes. Mr. Steffens has devotion to his work and his beliefs. This leads him to take infinite pains in his studies and investigations; he is hard to satisfy. He has justness of mind and he is tireless in seeking information. And it doesn't matter how bad things look. He still believes that the people will make them right. In him perhaps more than in any of us survives the spirit of the abolitionist. Moreover, he is a moving and vivid writer. He sees closely and knows thoroughly, so the reader gets a living impression of what he has seen and known; the characters, the episodes, the dramatic scenes, and then the meaning of it all. (1)

William Allen White is a name new to us in the annals of muck-raking, and while he, in the strictest sense, is not a true muck-raker, yet his articles contributed to the American Magazine during the period that we are studying perhaps justify his being included to some extent in these pages. Of him mention is also made, in honorable fashion, in this same announcement, quoting from Norman Hapgood who wrote in a contemporary issues of Collier's about Mr. White:

> Among American writers of our day we know none characterized more surely by rightness and health of spirit than William Allen White, of Emporia, Kansas. None sees the world more justly in its true proportions, as it is. None, therefore, is more kind, more charitable, with gentler humor, or in more every-day fashion entirely wise. He can, with this wisdom, amiability, and amusement that are his, do things that stiffer spirits find impossible. He can criticise with no suggestion of hostility. He can praise with no hint of partiality. In his freshness, in the openness of his manner and the breeziness of his words, there is much that we are proud to call American. (2)

A splendid tribute is paid to Mr. Baker:

> The one man of our group who sees a story in everything is Ray Stannard Baker. He has been called "the best reporter in America." That means that he has an eye which sees what there is in things. But he has more -- he has imagination

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1. Editorial announcement vol. 62 p. 571-3 October 1906
2. Ibid. p. 573 American Magazine

> to reconstruct vividly what he has seen, and he has unusually lucid and picturesque story-telling power. Mr. Baker is one of the most fertile and versatile writers today in this country, for all human things interest him. He looks out upon the world with the sense that it is a community of fellow human beings and he wants to know what they are doing. He has a passion for studying the ways of man.
>
> And when Mr. Baker has seen, examined, and judged, then you feel confident that you are getting a true account; he has a genius for cleanness; he seems to get the very color of the original facts and events. Besides, he is so tolerant and sympathetic that his fairness becomes a pervasive and charming quality. Mr. Baker's unquenchable curiosity, and his perception of what is interesting and significant, are certain to help in giving distinction to this magazine. (1)

Mr. Baker is one of the most prolific writers on the staff, for in a study of the muck-raking articles published in the American Magazine during the years following the inception of the publication we find his name attached to many articles. Lincoln Steffens drops out along in 1908 and no more of his articles appear. Miss Tarbell makes a long study of the tariff her most important contribution to the magazine, which although most interestingly written is scarcely legitimate material for this thesis.

One of the first articles to appear by Steffens is "Hearst, the Man of Mystery," which was published in November, 1906. The editor's note says candidly:

> This article is an examination of the fitness of Mr. Hearst for office, based on fundamental grounds. It considers him seriously as a remarkable phenomenon in public affairs, whom it is our duty to try to understand. His political and journalistic ideas are given as they are presented by himself and his followers, with all credit for sincerity. Even then our conclusions are that Mr. Hearst does not typify the movement he represents or give reasons for hoping that he will be able to accomplish what he thinks he can.(2)

Mr. Steffens writes of Mr. Hearst as follows:

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1. Editorial Announcement vol. 62 p. 575 October 1906
2. Hearst, the Man of Mystery vol. 63 p. 3 November 1906 American Magazine

> Whether all the things that he has done were right or not; whether they were done from right motives or wrong -- these are proper questions to raise. No matter how we may answer them, however, the things Mr. Hearst has done go far toward showing that when he himself has made up his own mind that a certain policy is wise or just or expedient, he goes about the execution of that policy with an independence, a fearlessness and a will so ruthless that is is easy to see that, however conservative he may be that, in action he is a radical. (1)

The article is a most effective portrayal of Hearst as a journallist, politician, and representative of American democracy. Mr. Steffens says emphatically in conclusion: "No, Mr. Hearst does not personify the new American spirit."[2]

In the same issue of the magazine appears an article by Ray Stannard Baker, entitled "A Test of Men -- the San Francisco Disaster as a Barometer of Human Nature." This is a vivid article showing conditions in San Francisco during and after the earthquake and fire. Mr. Baker paints in glowing words the bravery, unselfishness, and cooperative spirit manifest during the fire and then devotes the second half of his article to the renewal of graft, corruption, and selfishness during the period of rebuilding, bringing out in particular the contrast between Mayor Schmitz and Abe Ruef, his boss, during the two different periods.[3]

An editorial announcement in the November number heralds the articles on the tariff which Miss Tarbell has prepared:

> But "The Tariff in Our Times" is something besides an interesting historical narrative. Whether Miss Tarbell in-

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1. Hearst, the Man of Mystery Steffens vol. 63 p. 10 Nov. 1906
2. Ibid. p. 22
3. A Test of Men Baker vol. 63 p. 81 November 1906
American

tended it to be so or not, it is most significant to those who concern themselves with contemporary problems. No one who thinks at all on the Trust question can fail to be struck by the accounts of the simultaneous growth of the trusts and of the tariff schedule and to feel that there is some relation between them. Without making any attempt to show the tariff as "the mother of trusts" or even as one of the special privileges which are the chief cause of them, Miss Tarbell's narrative shows a connection between the two which at least pricks the mind.

The narrative is quite as significant in its bearings on that most serious of our present national ethical concerns--the alliance between political and business grafters. That the protective tariff gives to greedy politicians and business men an exceptional opportunity is quite as clear as that direct taxations give a fine chance to tax-payers and tax-collectors who are willing to sacrifice the public interest to their selfish gain. . . . . .

Quite as thought-provoking as anything else in the narrative are the picturesque accounts of our handling of tariff-schedules and tariff hearings -- matters which common sense agrees should be in the hands of experts -- exploited so exclusively by politicians that the necessity of any other treatment has been almost forgotten. (1)

Apropos of the organization and compilation of this series, the editors say:

In preparing the narrative Miss Tarbell has followed the method used in "Her Life of Lincoln" and her "History of the Standard Oil Company." She has sought her material first hand, studying the hundreds of reports, of pamphlets, and of speeches that the tariff discussion has bred, following from day to day the comments of the great newspapers on both sides and gathering from men still alive who have taken part in the discussions their personal reminiscences and explanations. The result is a story full of color and vigor and freshness. It brings out bits of history so little known that they have the effect of unpublished matter, and it abounds in anecdotes and pregnant information. (2)

The series began in December, 1906, and continued until June of the following year when they are suddenly discon-

1. Tariff in Our Times editorial announcement vol. 63 p. 80
2. Ibid. p. 80 November 1906 American Magazine

tinued. In September the editor promises a new series of separate studies, the first of which is to be the "Tariff and the Cost of Living," but it was some time before such a series, showing the methods by which the protected interests were able to exercise such great power in politics, appeared.

In November, 1910, three years later, another important series by Miss Tarbell was published, revealing various questionalbe parts of the tariff schedule, which was entitled "Mysteries and Cruelties of the Tariff" and ran on into 1911.

President Roosevelt's attack upon the Standard Oil company is discussed and justified in a series of three articles written by Miss Tarbell entitled "Roosevelt versus Rockefeller." The first of these appeared in December, 1907, and the editorial comment is as follows:

> One of the chief problems of the present day is restoring to business that freedom of opportunity which democracy presupposes. It is a problem which the American Magazine is particularly interested and for which it expects to labor continuously. The importance of the present struggle of the government to break the monopolistic power of interstate corporations is so great, its present suit against the Standard Oil company illustrates so admirably all the features in the problem of freeing commerce, that we have asked Miss Tarbell to postpone the publication of her notable studies of the tariff and give to our readers her reasons for believing the great suit justifiable. These articles will bring Miss Tarbell's work on the Standard Oil company up to date. (1)

The first article, published in December, deals with the case of the "Big Fine," in which Judge Landis fined the Standard Oil company 29 million dollars for receiving illegal

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1. Roosevelt vs. Rockefeller editorial announcement vol. 65 p. 115 December 1907 American Magazine

rebates from the railroads. The second, appearing in January, 1908, deals with the great pipe-line system of the company, through which it controls the crude oil manipulation of the country. The last which appeared in February deals with the present day marketing methods and business strategy of the company.

In short, the series exposes the working of the Standard Oil company and shows how justifiable Mr. Roosevelt's attack was. Miss Tarbell points out that the Standard Oil concern must realize that its monopoly is contrary to all American principles and must reform to save itself from being broken.

The problem which the negro presents for solution to the American nation is discussed in all its phases by Ray Stannard Baker in an admirable series called "Following the Color Line," which was a feature of the American Magazine for two years, beginning in April, 1907. This series was preceded by desultory articles on the negro problem by other writers. Of Mr. Baker's study, an editorial announcement for March, 1907, says:

> The American Magazine seeks in the present series of articles to set forth the real conditions of the negro South and North, always, of course, in his relationships with the white people, to understand every point of view and to set down the facts without prejudice. . . . .
>
> Mr. Baker's articles will deal with the negro not as the sociologist or the statistician or the historian sees him but as the journalist sees him. They will present, not an argument but a view, a picture of conditions as they are today. They will bring out the feeling of both whites and blacks, and tell those absorbing stories of race relationships, which as specific illustrations of general conditions, will serve to illuminate the whole situation. To be understood life must be seen and heard; and it is the high func-

> tion of the best journalism to make its readers hear and see, and by constant interpretation of facts make them understand. (1)

Mr. Baker begins his investigations in the South where he studies the condition of the negro both in the city and the country, starting out with a portrayal of the race riot in Atlanta, Ga. He shows the terrorizing results of the riot upon the industrious negroes and upon trade and labor conditions, and brings out the distinction of color in every walk of life with the conclusion that the clash is beginning to be an economic one. In successive articles he discusses the lack of educational facilities for negro children, the drug habit which leads to crimes, the labor scarcity because of high wages, the classification of negroes into the worthless, idle kind, the great middle class which does the manual work of the South, and the progressive, property-owning class; Southern country conditions where the whites insist that the negro do the manual work and keep his proper place of subordination.

The second part of his series is a careful examination of the position and influence of the mulatto, articles on negro education, on the negro in politics both South and North, on the negro in city industries where the organization of labor prevails, and on several other phases of race relationships. Naturally the articles provoked a great deal of comment from people all over the country and the magazine published many of the letters received.

A personality sketch of "Harriman" the great railroad

1. Following the Color Line Baker vol. 63 p. 521 March 1907 American Magazine

king, appeared in July, 1907, under the name of Edwin Lefevre. The magnate was analyzed as a man, and his personality, character, and lack of friends, and financial career described.

A sketch of the fighting career of Francis J. Heney, the well-known prosecuting attorney, by Lincoln Steffens, entitled "The Making of a Fighter," was published in August, 1907. This article described how Heney prepared in Arizona for the work he afterwards did in San Francisco in connection with the land graft exposures. The next month Steffens followed up the beginning of the land fraud revelations in "The Taming of the West," a detective story, featuring the investigations made by Ethan Allen Hitchcock, secretary of the Interior, and Detective William J. Burns. This was a dramatic presentation of how Burns works on a case, how he forms his theory and collects evidence to support it.

These preliminary articles lead up to Heney's vigorous prosecution of the land grafters, which is described in Steffens' vivid manner in successive numbers of the magazine.

"True stories of the plots, abductions, dynamiting, and attempted murder that have been undertaken against those concerned as witnesses, lawyers, or supporters in the San Francisco Graft Prosecution,"[1] are narrated in "They Who Strike in the Dark" written by Will Irwin, in fitting conclusion to Steffens' series, and appearing in the April (1909) American Magazine. Naturally this is a most dramatic account of the human side of the prosecution and ends with the tale of Heney's shooting.

1. They Who Strike in the Dark Irwin vol. 67 p. 564 April 1909 American Magazine

An able summary of the article is found in the following extract from its conclusion:

> A reversion -- all this -- toward barbarism? Yes, but not a single reversion -- not alone in hour history of the last decade. No more barbarous than the disgraces, the murders, the corruptions, which lay along the route of Clark and Heinze and the Amalgamated Copper company through Montana. No worse than the secret work of the Western Federation of Miners, nor the secret work in those associations of mine owners who made the Western Federation what it is. Wherever greed sets itself above law, such things happen -- the little crimes which we as a people can fully comprehend pointing the moral of greater crimes which we as a people can only dimly comprehend, so confused are we by the complexities of our new made civilization. (1)

After watching with interest not only in the American Magazine but in McClure's, the muck-raking career of Lincoln Steffens it is a little disappointing to find him sitting on top of the fence in neutral fashion as is the case in "An Apology for Graft," which was published in May, 1908. After this period, he seems to have directed his efforts in other fields of writing, for a close examination of the later numbers of the magazine fail to disclose anything of the sort again under his signature.

Mr. Steffens justifies graft in this article by saying that people mean well at heart and do not realize just when they step off the legal side of a question. He insists that the temptation should be removed, and in conclusion says:

> "Deliver us from temptation." That should be the American political prayer, and we are coming to it slowly, reluctantly, but aright -- on our knees. No matter what good men set out to do in politics, if their purpose is pure and

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1. They Who Strike in the Dark Irwin vol. 67 p. 575
April 1909 American

> they follow the fighting, bravely and honestly, wherever it is thickest, there they find themselves confronted by privileges. Heney did, who went after bad men, Ben Lindsay did, who got after the "bad" boys and girls of Denver; Governor Hughes did, who sought only to do his duty; and that is where the president is coming out. All the leaders and all of us who are following them are coming to see that governmental privileges are temptations too great for human nature to resist; that the desire for them is the source of our political corruption. And we are dealing with them. In Boston they are trying one way; in Cleveland, Ohio, another; in Washington, a third; everywhere in the United States and abroad society is dealing with these things. And that's right. Man has only to tackle a problem to solve it somehow; and it is enough, for the present, that we are realizing that it is indeed things, not alone men, that we have to deal with; that it is conditions, not solely the devil in us that makes bad men bad.(1)

Miss Tarbell does not often descend to the single article or short series, but in the fall of 1908, we find a two-part series dealing with Chicago's great traction fight, entitled "How Chicago Is Finding Herself," appearing in November and December. Miss Tarbell points out that the winning of her fight has made Chicago the "most wonderful and inspiring"[2] city in America when it comes to developing a great municipal organization for taking care of its people. This series is written in her characteristic style with a wealth of facts.

After 1908 the tone of the expository articles in the American Magazine gradually changes, taking on a more judicial, constructive, coolly analytical tone, rather than the impassioned, almost vindictive, piercing thrusts of the muckraking craze.

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1. An Apology for Graft Steffens vol. 66 p. 150 May 1908
2. How Chicago Is Finding Herself Tarbell vol. 67 p. 29 November 1908 American

This change is best exemplified in William Allen White's lengthy series entitled "The Old Order Changeth" which began in January, 1909, and ran throughout the year and on into 1910 in occasional numbers. Part one is a sketch of the progress of mankind with quaint illustrations, wherein the writer shows how modern men are controlled by greed for material things, and discusses boss reign in government, the sale of special privileges, the over-emphasis of business, and the beginning of reform.

Part two is a stirring account of the secure progress made during the past 25 years in many states, relative to the ballot, primary nominations, the control of corporations, with illuminating facts and illustrative incidents. Mr. White's optimism is evident in his conclusion to this part for he maintains that broadening humanity and widening human love for one's fellows is the cause of progress.

Part three is a discussion of certain definite tendencies in the fight against greed and the methods of state control of capital; restriction, division, and prohibition. In part four he describes the progress in cities, dealing with the price of good government, municipal accounting, commission form of municipal government, municipal ownership, cost of reform, etc. In part five he places the responsibility for reforms and similar movements upon the growth of public opinion, and in part six he devotes himself to a discussion of the schools, which he terms the mainspring of democracy. "What About Our Courts?" as its title indicates is an analysis of our judicial system.

Samuel Hopkins Adams, a familiar writer to magazine readers, makes his first appearance in the American Magazine in May, 1909, when he put forth "The Indecent Stage," to which the editor appended the following prefatory note:

> There are times when it is desirable to be frank on forbidden topics. Just now the American stage is suffering from a contagious plague of evil plays and exhibitions. That this epidemic be stopped, it is necessary for good people to know about it and to be stirred up to effective measures of quarantine and support. It is with this purpose that we publish the following article. (1)

The author comments bitingly on various current plays and deplores their tone. He says America cannot afford to put on the kind of plays tolerated in France where the young are protected from evil influences.

On a par with Mr. White's constructive series is the eight-part series of Ray Stannard Baker, bearing the title of "The Spiritual Unrest," and dealing with the church and the need of practical religious teaching. This series began in December, 1908, and the last article appeared in December of the following year. The first articles are an analysis of present conditions and the last an exposition of the remedy which Mr. Baker offers.

The various titles in the series are suggestive of their contents: "Healing the Sick in the Churches," a discussion of the new mental treatment for nervous diseases as practised by ministers and sympathetic doctors (December, 1908); "The New Mission of the Doctor," a story of the significant effort of doctors to enter more deeply and vitally into the problems of

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1. The Indecent Stage Adams vol. 68 p. 41 May 1909 American

human life; to extend the influence of a great hospital into the homes of the patients, and to establish social service departments in connection with the hospitals (January, 1909); "The Case against Trinity," an indictment of the richest church in America, where religion and earnestness in the church are paralyzed by wealth and tradition (May, 1909); "The Godlessness of New York," wherein the writer says the churches are not reaching the people because they are not emphasizing Christ enough. Mr. Baker says New York is overchurched but underworked. "Human touch, not money, is required. There must be personal sacrifice."(June, 1909); "Lift Men from the Gutter, or, Remove the Cutter? Which?" under which vivid title the writer asserts that the church has no message for the vital problems of the poor and perishes among the rich from a different sort of superficiality. Men are not attracted to the church because they are never asked to do anything heroic, or anything really well worth doing, he says. (July, 1909); "The Faith of the Unchurched," a story of the Hudson Guild in New York which is a self-governing club for boys and girls, men and women. Baker says "The New faith of the unchurched is a faith in people, in the coming of the kingdom of heaven on earth."[1] (September, 1909); "The Disintegration of the Jews," showing how the Jews are drifting away from the old faith just as the Christians are and becoming interested in the socialization of religion.(October, 1909); "A Vision of the New Christianity," in which the writer is impressed by the "utter con-

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1. Faith of the Unchurched Baker vol. 68 p. 449 Sept, 1909 American

fusion of counsel among church leaders themselves."[1] This article is an exposition of Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch's book: "Christianity and the Social Crisis." (December, 1909).

Mr. Baker summarizes the book in this fashion:

> The essence of Professor Rauschenbusch's message is that religion has not one, but two functions to perform.
>
> There are two great entities in human life, -- the human soul and the human race -- and religion is to save both. The soul is to seek righteousness and eternal life; the race is to seek righteousness and the kingdom of God.(2)

In conclusion Mr. Baker says that the church has reached a stage in its development where it is fit and free for a new social mission and a new evangelism.

"Hill vs. Harriman" is an intensely interesting narrative about the fight between the two railroad magnates, written in true fighting terms, by George K. Cushing, which was published in September, 1909. It is the story of the ten-years' struggle for railroad supremacy in the West and the writer concludes:

> The Hill-Harriman feud in the West has gained for neither much of anything but additional responsibility, but has meant the creation of a new commercial hope for the western people. (3)

Mr. Cushing has summed up the two men aptly:

> Hill has worked in the tomorrow of things; Harriman, today. Hill has won by projecting an idea ahead of him and working up to it; Harriman thinks in present profit and crashes through opposition with the weight of his financial support. Hill's is the success of brain; Harriman's of money and organization. (4)

More truly muck-raking than much of the material we

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1. Faith of the Unchurched Baker vol. 69 p. 177 December '09
2. A Vision of New Christianity Baker vol. 69 p. 180 Dec.'09
3. Hill vs. Harriman vol. 68 p. 429 Sept. 1909 Cushing
4. Ibid. p. 428 American Magazine

have just been discussing is the series entitled "Barbarous Mexico" by John Kenneth Turner, which began in October, 1909, and ran for about a year. Such a horrifying group of articles was getting rare in most magazines, and is comparable to the rubber slavery agitation which was taken up in later years in regard to the Congo.

The articles dealt with the important facts about despotism and slavery in Mexico, as gathered by the writer's personal experiences during a year and half spent in study and investigation. The editorial introduction says in part:

> It is a government of the few for the few, with a big standing army to back them. Those at the top have millions and are growing richer; the middle classes are suppressed, discontented, and getting poorer; the lower classes are down near the starvation limit. (1)

"The Slaves of the Yucatan" is the first article to appear, and the writer says in his introduction:

> The real Mexico I found to be a country with a written constitution and written laws as fair and democratic as our own, but with neither constitution nor laws in operation. Mexico is a country without political freedom, with freedom of speech, without a free press, without a free ballot, without a jury system, without political parties, without any of our cherished guaranties of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is a land where there has been no contest for the office of president for more than a generation, where the executive rules all things by means of a standing army, where political offices are sold for a fixed price, where the public school system in vast country districts is abolished because the government needs the money. I found Mexico to be a land where the people are poor because they have no rights, where peonage is the rule for the great mass and where actual chattel slavery obtains for hundreds of thousands. Finally I found that the people do not idolize their president, that the tide of opposition dammed and held back as it has been by army and secret police, is rising to a height where it must shortly overflow the dam. Mexicans of all classes and affiliations agree that their country is hurrying toward a general revolution

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1. Barbarous Mexico editorial introduction vol. 68 p. 523 October 1909 American

> in favor of democracy; if not a revolution in the time of Diaz, for Diaz is old and is soon expected to pass, then a revolution after Diaz. (1)

Turner next turned his steps toward the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, who were deported to Yucatan and made slaves. Their treatment is shown in the following account of a flogging:

> Every eye was riveted tight upon that scene in the uncertain dimness of early morning -- the giant Chinaman, bending slightly forward now, the naked body upon his shoulders, the long, uneven, livid welt, the deliberate, the agonizingly deliberate majocol, the administrador, watch in hand, nodding indorsement, the grinning mayordomo, the absorbed catapaces. All held their breath for the second blow. I held my breath with the rest, held for ages, until I thought the rope would never fall. And not until it was all over did I know that in order to multiply the torture, six seconds were allowed to intervene between each stroke. (2)

The contract slaves and horrible tales of their treatment in the Valle Nacional are discussed in the next article of the series. Of them Mr.Turner writes:

> Just as in Yucatan, the slavery of Valle Nacional is largely peonage, or labor for debt, carried to the extreme, although outwardly it takes a slightly different form, that of contract labor. A portion of the laborers are convicts or those accused of crime. The origin of the conditions of Valle Nacional was undoubtedly contract labor. The planters needed laborers. They went to the expense of importing laborers with the understanding that the laborers would stay on their jobs for a given time. Some laborers tried to jump their contracts and the planters used force to compel them to stay. The advance money and the cost of transportation was looked upon as a debt which the laborer could be compelled to work out. From this it was only a step to so ordering the conditions of labor that the laborer could under no circumstances ever hope to get free. In time Valle Nacional became a word of horror with the working people of Mexico. They refused to go for any price. So the planters felt compelled to tell them they were going to take them somewhere else. It required only a little further deceit to play the workman false all around, to formulate a contract not to be carried out, but which was merely a pretense to get the laborer into the toils. Finally, from this it was only a step to forming a business partnership with the government, or at least certain officials of the government, whereby police power should be put

1. Barbarous Mexico Turner vol. 68 p. 525 October 1909
2. Ibid. vol. 69 p. 250 December 1909

into the hands of the planters to help them carry on a traffic in slaves. (1)

This would seem to mark the end of Mr. Turner's part in the series, although other articles on conditions in Mexico by different men were published.

In January, 1910, documents and communications sent to the editor of the American Magazine were published under the title "Moving Pictures of Mexico in Ferment," and in February Herman Whitaker wrote an article on "The Rubber Slavery of the Mexican Tropics," in which the most horrible incidents about the treatment of the peons are related. Mr. Whitaker puts the blame on the stockholders in the rubber companies who are ignorant of conditions on the plantations and of the Mexican government.

"Three Months in Peonage" is the story of a young German who fell into the hands of the contractors and was in slavery for a few months. The white man was treated with more respect than the Mexicans, however, for he was "white."

Still another viewpoint about conditions is related in "Personal Observations of Two Englishmen upon Slavery in Yucatan," written by Channing Arnold and Frederick J. Tabor, who wrote a travel book called "The American Egypt." They had gone to Mexico to explore the remains of Mayan architecture and sculpture in Yucatan but were so stirred by the condition of the people there that they not only expressed their indignation to President Diaz in a formal letter of protest, but also in-

1. Barbarous Mexico Turner vol. 69 p. 252 December 1909
American

corporated their impressions in articles and their book.

Although the articles continued to appear spasmodically for a few months after this, they are really a repetition of horrible facts about conditions prevalent in various parts of Mexico.

Turning from foreign turmoil, we find political insurgency rampant in America, if we are duly impressed by Ray Stannard Baker's series of political articles, the first of which appeared in February, 1910, and was entitled "Is the Republican Party Breaking Up?" This article shows keen insight into the political problems of the day and describes the Insurgent movement featuring its causes, growth, leaders, and future. Part of his concluding remarks are quoted:

> It is this continued aggression of capital -- and no one imagines that these powerful men of money will give up their advantages lightly any more than the old slave-holders gave up theirs -- that is driving the Insurgents to closer organization . . . The issue is: Shall property rule, or shall the people rule? And no one can tell how far the fortunes of war may carry the antagonists. (1)

"Is the East Also Insurgent? Signs of Revolt in Republican Strongholds" is the title of the second of the series, appearing in March. This is much the same as the preceding article, outlining conditions in the East and showing the revolt of the progressives against political domination. Baker says that the three great questions in the East as well as in the West are: first, the regulation of corporations and the effort to prevent political domination by monied interests; second, taxation; the effort to make corporations and monied interests

1. Is the Republican Party Breaking Up? vol. 69 p. 448 Baker February 1910 American

bear their honest share of the taxes; and third, the change of political machinery to meet the conditions of a new age; the effort to secure direct primaries, direct legislation, direct vote for U.S. senators, new charters for cities, etc. He makes the point that the movement is not sectional, and prophesies a new party alignment, Conservative vs. Progressive.

In the third of his series, Baker takes up Roosevelt, who has completed his presidential administration and gone to Africa on a hunting expedition, in "The Impending Roosevelt." This is an expansive article, copiously illustrated with characteristic poses on the ex-president and his dynamic qualities, in which the writer quotes various prominent men on Roosevelt and calls him a "political publicist," which is a neat term, to say the least. He says Roosevelt is still the real leader of the Insurgents and sums him up as follows:

> Roosevelt's strength was as a preacher and executive. As a police commissioner, as a soldier, as a governor, as a president, he was ever exhorting, commanding, executing, enforcing. (1)

As for the future and President Taft's part in it, Baker predicts:

> The new leadership, if it is to take the country with it, must go to the root of things. While the people want leadership, more and more they must and will know where and how far their leaders are going. Thus when Roosevelt returns he will find that public opinion has been rapidly advancing since he went away. Whether he can or will fulfill the expectations of the people remains yet to be seen. (2)

Similar articles, "What About the Democratic Party?" (June, 1910), "The Measure of Taft," (July, 1910), "An Account

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1. Impending Roosevelt Baker vol. 69 p. 744 April 1910
2. Ibid. p. 744 American

of the New Program and Leadership of the Progressives in the West," (November, 1910), and"The Meaning of Insurgency," (May, 1911), are also included in this series, the general title for which is "On the Political Firing-Line."

Baker's articles, as may be readily seen from the above have been shading away almost imperceptibly from the muck-raking type and becoming analytical examinations of various public problems. In April, 1911, he sponsors"The Thin Crust of Civilization -- a Study of the Liquor Traffic in a Modern American City," which in its exposure of the saloon evil is more a muckraking article than his others.

A most interesting dissection of Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, showing deep and sympathetic insight into his character and explaining him as a natural product of his environment, is embodied in an article written by Edwin Lefevre for the April (1910) American, entitled "Aldrich, 'General Manager of the United States.'" The writer calls Aldrich the "sublimation of intelligent trading," and says: "He takes, but also he gives, and moreover knows that he must give. In brief, he never hogs it."[1]

He casts further enlightenment on the character of this prominent man by quoting a saying of Aldrich: "Success is gained by knowledge of human nature and knowledge of conditions,"[2] and defines Aldrich's driving motive as follows: "His ruling passion is his joy in thinking, his intense desire to use his

1. Aldrich, 'General Manager of the U.S.' Lefevre vol. 69 p. 626 April 1910
2. Ibid. p. 627 American

mind -- the mind that God gave him."[1]

In conclusion he says: "He is, beyond question, the most interesting personality in public life today -- not alone for what he is, but for what, with his extraordinary mind, he might have been with a different environment in his formative period. He may be the last of his type, for his type can halt, for a time the progress of humanity toward real brotherhood by sheer weight of mind and adroit utilization of self-interest. And the influence of such men on the community is always proportionate to their mental capacity rather than to the capacity for self-obliteration in the services of their fellows."[2]

"The Great Express Monopoly" by Albert W. Atwood, which ran in the February, March, and April numbers of the magazine, in 1911, is a series in exposure of the express companies with most illuminating facts. The first article is entitled "Where the Money Comes From," and is a learned discussion of the origin, development, and methods employed by the express companies; the Adams, American, Wells Fargo, and the United States.

Part of the writer's concluding remarks raises a natural query in the mind of the reader:

> The question naturally arises as to how the express companies have been able to carry on for so many years such a perfect system of extracting money from the public without being seriously molested. The answer involves a knowledge of the relations between the railroads and the express companies;

1. Aldrich Lefevre vol. 69 p. 629 April 1910
2. Ibid. p. 632 American Magazine

> and a knowledge of the complete monopoly that exists in the express business -- a monopoly made possible only because of these very relations. (1)

In March the second article under the title "Seats of the Mighty," appeared, showing how the Adams and American express companies dominated the whole transportation system of the Northeast and exercise great power in other sections of the country. Mr. Lefevre tells how the monopoly was established, and maintained, and how its beneficiaries are the same men who profit through the railroads. "Might Makes Right" is the third and last, the story of the U.S. Express company and its government contract.

Now that the parcel post system in the United States mails has been established, the great power of the express companies has been broken. Naturally they had fought its installation every inch of the way.

A series of articles on the unjust system of taxation in force in this country is the next great project of the American Magazine, and this new subject is undertaken by a writer new to its pages, Albert Jay Nock. These articles like others we have recently discussed are only quasi-muckraking in character, but they seem worthy of mention in slight degree, at least, because they expose evils and offer constructive measures. This series began in December of 1910 and ran until the middle of the next summer. Part of them deal with the taxation system in America and part of them with the Canadian methods, comparing the two.

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1. The Great Express Monopoly Atwood vol. 71 p. 427 February 1911 American

Gradually we find fewer and fewer truly muck-raking articles and a search of the numbers of the American Magazine during 1911 reveals such scattering, semi-exposing articles as "Investigation of the Steel Corporation by Itself," (which is more analytical than muck-raking), more on the race question, La Follette's autobiography, etc. Soon even these half-hearted attempts disappear, the reason for which is best seen in the following quotation from "The Brass Check" by Upton Sinclair:

> I have told about several of the magazines which consented to "be good." I have shown the pitiful plight of the American, and the miserable piffle they are publishing. And what is the meaning of it? The meaning was given in an item published in the "New York Press" early in 1911, when the American Magazine was taken over by the Crowell Publishing company. The Press stated that this concern was controlled by Thomas W. Lamont, of J.P. Morgan and company, and declared the American will do no more muckraking. In answer, the American in its next issue made a statement, haughtily announcing that the same editors, John S. Phillips, Ray Stannard Baker, Ida Tarbell, and Finley Peter Dunne, were remaining in charge, and that "the policy of the magazine will be unchanged." To a discussion of this, my own language is inadequate; I have to employ the vocabularly of my son, a student in high school: "The poor boobs!"
>
> Four years these editors stuck it out, and then they quit, and a couple of young fellows who had been their office clerks are now editors of the American Magazine which boasts a million circulation, and fifty-eight thousand lines of advertising per month; Now as I write, I learn that this Crowell Publishing company has purchased "Collier's"and we shall see the same thing happening to our "National Weekly."(1)

There may have been other reasons for the swift disappearance of muck-raking articles in all the magazines, but they will be discussed in the conclusion to this thesis.

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1. The Brass Check Sinclair p.233 1920

Conclusion

Nearly all of the magazines were quick to realize the great possibilities of muck-raking as a means of creating popular interest in the magazine and of building up circulation, and many of them rode the hobby hard and fast for several years. Whatever may have been the various reasons why they took up the "literature of exposure" however, there is uniformly one important reason why they were forced to abandon the policy. Some writers veil the reason in a kindly mist, as I shall soon show, but others tear away all covering and reveal the cringing editorial form on its knees before the "system."

The kindlier, more widely accepted view is perhaps best illustrated in the following passage:

> As to what has come to be known as "muckraking" that somewhat peculiar development, growing out of present conditions of American life, it has done much for the ppular magazine publisher. For the growth of the magazine it was fortunate that there was in American social and political life much corruption and much need of reform. In the early 90's of the last century the public was just becoming aware of the iniquities in every line of endeavor; was just becoming really curious and "ripe" to enjoy the exposure of corruption. This was the opportunity for the magazine to get a start. The Lawson series in Everybody's and the early sensational articles in McClure's led the way. The other low-priced magazines were quick to follow. By 1906 the names of the chief muck-rakers were almost as well known in every town that saw magazines at all as the names of Morgan and Rockefeller.
>
> But like many another novelty, "muck-raking" has suffered somewhat of a reverse in the last two or three years. We

> seldom see today the extreme type of sensational article which a few years ago raised the circulation of a publication perhaps 50,000 in a month. A magazine article of the bold recklessness of Lincoln Steffens' "Philadelphia, Corrupt and Contented," is a rarity now.
>
> For some years the public fairly revelled in the "literature of exposure." It saw the word "reform" on every side, and reform has become so common that it has almost tired of the word. The public needed a popular leader like President Roosevelt to deliver his warning to "the man with the muck-rake" in April, 1906. That speech, with the publicity it received, really marked the beginning of the decline of "muck-raking," although it is by no means dead today. (1)

The increase in second class postal rates and the denying of credit to magazines have been construed by some to show pressure exerted by the monied interests. These measures made magazine consolidation necessary in order to maintain mere existence.

The approximate truth in regard to the decline of muck-raking may be reached most accurately, in our opinion, by combining the various views and assuming that the novelty of muck-raking gradually lessened and that the pressure of the advertisers became too great for the magazines to keep up their policy of exposure. It is true that public interest in any one subject is bound to wane, all the more if the subject be one which is exhausting emotionally. The "literature of exposure" stirred up much violent agitation which resulted in many permanent reforms, hence the need for it grew less as time went on. As the reforms were effected the magazines most naturally turned to a constructive view of conditions.

1. Ninabuck, W.L. The Development of the American Popular Magazine, B.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin 1911.

F I N I S

Appendix

In view of the fact that the previous study has been entirely confined to a study of contemporary material, it is interesting to note the view of a later writer, who has expressed himself most vigorously in regard to the decline of muck-raking, i.e., Upton Sinclair who published "The Brass Check," an exposure of modern journalism, in 1920.

I shall quote some interesting excerpts from him -- the first being apropos of the fact that wide-awake men in journalism "now and then yield to the temptation to get rich by telling the truth."[1]

> The whole history of the American magazine-world is summed up in that formula. Some fifteen years ago our magazine publishers made the discovery of this unworked gold mine: McClure's, Success, Everybody's, the American, Hampton's, Pearson's, the Metropolitan, even the staid and dignified Century jumped in to work this mine. Their circulation began to go up -- a hundred thousand increase a month was not unknown in those days of popular delirium. Magazine publication became what it had never before been in American history, and what it had never been since -- a competitive industry, instead of a camouflaged propaganda. Is it not a complete vindication of my thesis, that in a couple of years half a dozen magazines were able to build up half a million circulation, by no other means whatever than telling what the newspapers were refusing to tell? And is it not a proof of the pitiful helplessness of the public that they still go on reading these same magazines, in spite of the fact that they have been bought up by the "interests," and are filled with what one of their "kept" editors described to me, in a voice of unutterable loathing, as "slush for the women!"
>
> For, of course, the industrial autocracy very quickly awakened to the peril of these "muck-raking" magazines, and

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1. Brass Check Sinclair p. 229 1920

> set to work to put out the fire. Some magazines were offered millions and sold out. Those that refused to sell out had their advertising trimmed down, their bank-loans called, their stockholders intimidated -- until finally, in one way or another, they consented to "be good." (1)

Mr. Sinclair goes on to tell what happened to individual magazines who persisted in their policy of muck-raking. I have already quoted him on the American Magazine, and I shall cite him about the others that I have taken up:

> In the same tragic way, my old friend Ridgway, who published the "Condemned Meat Industry," is out of Everybody's, and a new and wholly "tame" staff is in charge, acceptable to the Butterick Publishing company. In the same way S.S. McClure was turned out of his magazine, which once published Ida Tarbell's exposure of Standard Oil, and now published the solemn futilities of Cleveland Moffett, and anti-Socialist propaganda by the unspeakable Newell Dwight Hillis. (2)

Apropos of the advertising boycott by the big interests upon "muckraking" magazines, he writes:

> I had an opportunity to watch, from the inside, the operation of this advertising boycott, in the case of my article, the "Condemned Meat Industry." Many pages of advertising were withdrawn from Everybody's Magazine -- not merely advertisement of hams and lard, but of fertilizers, soaps, and railways. Lawson several times tried to publish the names of these boycotting advertisers, but Everybody's would not let him. Everybody's possibly reflected that it might not keep up this muck-raking business always; when it had secured enough readers, it might let down and become respectable, and then all the big advertisers would come back to it -- as they have done!
>
> The few men who really did mean business knew that the advertisers would never come back to them, so they fought the fight through to a finish -- their own finish. (3)

Mr. Sinclair says of those magazines which submitted to the advertising pressure that they "have survived, as a woman without virtue, as a man without honor, of whom his friends say that he would better have died." (4)

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1. The Brass Check Sinclair p. 229-230
2. Ibid. p/.233
3. Ibid. p. 291
4. Ibid. p. 295

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