The era of muck-rakers

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THE ERA OF MUCK-RAKERS

By

Cornelius C. Regier

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the State University of Iowa in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

August, 1922
The term muck-raking was popularized by President Roosevelt in an address at the laying of the cornerstone of the Office Building of the House of Representatives on April 14, 1906. He said in part, "In Bunyan's 'Pilgrims Progress' you may recall the description of the Man with the Muck-rake, the man who could look no way but downward with the muck-rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck-rake, 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 our time, he said, this man typifies the man who consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes on the vile and debasing things. Filth there is, and it must be scraped up, but the man who never does anything else speedily becomes one of the most potent forces for evil. There are many economic and social evils in our body politic, and they should be relentlessly exposed. "If hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use
only if it is absolutely truthful. Exposures should not be sensational, lurid, or untruthful. Continued muck-raking blinds the people to the bright and hopeful things of the world. They grow suspicious, and cease to be enthusiastic for what is right.

Inadvertently Mr. Roosevelt was instrumental in attaching a name of odium to all reformers who were engaged in exposing corruption, regardless as to whether they deserved the name or not. While he was careful to distinguish between sound and sensational exposures, others were less critical and less conscientious, and classed them all in one category.

In this sense the term will be used in this treatise, signifying literature of exposure, regardless as to whether it is sensational or not. To draw any line between good and bad, or sane and sensational muck-raking would involve the writer in endless difficulties, for there is no definite dividing line. One kind shades

into another until a classification is a purely arbitrary matter. It is often not even easy to differentiate literature of exposure from other forms of literature, say from some forms of description or tragedy. Muck-raking may be said to consist of exposing evils and corruption for the real or ostensible purpose of promoting righteousness and social justice.
Chapter I

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND
Chapter I

The latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth saw enormous industrial development in this country. It has been said if a single word can summarize an epoch, "money" is the word for the twenty-five years previous to the publication of Frenzied Finance in 1904. Colossal fortunes were never rolled up more quickly, and men with intelligence never elevated themselves to the "sordid ideal" with more energy. The United States presented a phenomenon new to history - a very rich country of vast natural resources in the process of feverishly-rapid exploitation. Its great cities expanded at an unprecedented rate. Immense prizes could be won by the forceful, unscrupulous financier, and the municipal or state politician was beset by great temptations. The control of mineral lands, or of water-power, or of municipal franchises, might mean the acquisition of gigantic fortunes in a short time. Great skill, ingenuity, and daring was, therefore, devoted to the evasion of the inadequate and feebly-enforced laws of

the land. "The United States is", said an English observer, "like an enormously rich country overrun by a horde of robber barons, and very inadequately policed by the central government and by certain local vigilance societies". 2

How rapidly the movement toward industrial consolidation went ahead is well known to historians of the period. By 1900 there were two powerful groups of financiers definitely formed. The Standard Oil or Rockefeller group was heavily interested in such railroads as the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul. It had an alliance with the National City Bank of New York, and was in touch with gas and electric companies and the great life insurance companies. The Morgan group had influence over the Philadelphia and Reading, the New York, Lake Erie and Western, the Lehigh Valley and others. Morgan himself also organized the Federal Steel Company and the National Tube Company.

The census of 1900 showed that ninety-two large corporations were organized between January 1, 1899, and

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June 30, 1900. In 1904 it was noted that the capitalization of 440 large industrial and transportation combinations amounted to nearly $20,500,000,000. They controlled more or less successfully the production of tobacco, petroleum, sugar, linseed oil, iron and steel, copper, ship-building, beef, starch, flour, cottonseed oil, candy, chewing gum, candles, ice, glucose, crackers, matches, whiskey, anthracite coal, fertilizers, tin cans, farming tools, locomotives, writing paper, school furniture, sewer pipe, glassware, rubber goods, buttons, leather, electrical supplies, etc.

Some of them, like the Standard Oil Company, the live stock and dressed beef combinations, the coffee, steel, and other trusts, secured great advantages over their rivals from railroad favoritism; and the tariff wall afforded shelter for the growth of the steel, tin plate, sugar, leather, and other combinations.

4. Ibid., pp. 463-464.
In 1901 the United States Steel Corporation was formed in order to avoid a threatened competitive struggle among certain steel manufacturers. The value of the tangible property thus brought together was estimated at $700,000,000 by the United States Commissioner of Corporations. The company, however, issued securities to more than twice that amount, and the financiers who organized the Corporation received a commission of $62,500,000.

By this time about ninety-five per cent of the important railroad lines had passed into the control of six groups of influential persons which were dominated by fourteen individuals. Of these E. H. Harriman was the most ambitious and powerful.

The same concentration took place among banking interests. It became doubtful whether any great business enterprise which demanded large capital could be started without the aid of either the Morgan or the Standard Oil banking interests. The Pujo Commission of Congress found some years later that the "members of four allied financial institutions in New York City held 341 directorships in banks, insurance companies, railroads, steamship companies and trading and public utility
corporations, having aggregate resources of
$22,245,000,000".

Frank Parsons stated in 1901—and his figures
agree substantially with the best estimates we have—
that the per capita wealth of this country had increased
from $200 to $1200 during the nineteenth century. This
wealth at the opening of the twentieth century, however,
was very unevenly distributed. One half of the people
owned practically nothing; one eighth of them owned
seven eighths of the wealth; one per cent of the pop­
ulation owned 54 percent of the wealth; one family in
every hundred was able to buy out the other ninety-nine
families and have something left; one two-hundredth of
a percent, or 4000 millionaires, had 20 percent of the
total wealth, or more than 4000 times their fair share. 6

This great concentration of wealth and the dis­
appearance of the public lands naturally narrowed the
opportunity for the working man to achieve economic
independence.

5. Lingley, Charles Randell, Since the Civil War,
6. Parsons, Frank, "Great Movements of the Nineteenth
Century," II The Great Conflict, Arena, Vol. 26
(August, 1901), pp. 141-153. See King, Willford
Isbell, The Wealth and Income of the People of the
United States, (New York, 1915), Chapter IV for
confirmation.
While this movement went on other tendencies made themselves felt. William Allen White said with a good deal of truth that an extra-constitutional government passed over the country from East to West, and was dominant between 1897 and 1903. There was a constitutional government and a business government in the city, the country, the state, and the nation. The constitutional government punished crimes of violence, crimes that were directed against individuals. But crimes of cunning, that were directed against public rights, were protected by the superficial government. It was in the interest of business that laws were enacted, interpreted, and administered. There was one jurisdiction for private business and one for public business. Gradually the two were allied together—business and politics—and the governments were cemented in the customs and traditions of the people. In every lawsuit, for instance, there are two sides, and adds Mr. White humorously, "it was just as easy to see the railroad's side as it was to see the other side, so the mass of federal decisions for years favored the railroads". The courts were not corrupt, nor was the

government. Everybody wanted business to be prosperous, so they all looked at the problems from the business point of view. The term "person" in the Fourteenth Amendment was originally understood to refer to negroes, but by 1890 the courts applied it also to corporations. Between that date and 1910 the Supreme Court rendered 528 decisions on this Amendment, and only nineteen concerned the negro race, while 289 concerned corporations. This was a great extension of federal protection over business.

The psychology of business was getting hold of people's minds. It did not only cloud the judgment of business men, but it threatened to become our national way of thinking. When people talked about "success", they meant business success. Any movement, whether industrial, or educational, or religious, was complimented by being called "business like". In all schools

8. If Walter Lippmann be taken for an authority on the subject of corruption, such a course on the part of the courts or the government would probably fall under that category anyway. He says a person who betrays a trust; one whose loyalty is divided and whose motives are mixed, is a grafter. "The attempt to serve at the same time two antagonistic interests is what constitutes 'corruption'". Lippmann, Walter, *Drift and Mastery*, (New York, 1914), pp. 13-14.

colleges, churches, philanthropies, etc. the business methods had to prevail and business men were in control. If business men did anything humanitarian (like providing rest-rooms and chairs with backs for their working girls) they excused themselves by saying it was "simply to augment output". The spirit of monopoly was strong. It was not regarded as a disgrace to get special privileges from the government, whether local, state or federal. Business men clamored for such monopoly rights.

To "develop business" even vice was organized and commercialized and advertised!

The commercial philosophy degraded the Church, the school, the press and society, said Professor Ross, and reacted unfavorably upon the character and integrity of the American Nation. Where it was applied to the industries it was reckless with our natural resources and with human life. Some 500,000 workers were either killed or badly maimed in the United States every year. An inventor said he could sell a time-saving invention in twenty places, but he could not sell a life-saving invention at all.

10. Ross, Edward Alsworth, Changing America, (New York, 1912), pp. 87-88. Most of these chapters had previously been published as articles in various magazines.
The men who were engaged in business were often men of noble personal virtues. Even among the "chiefest sinners" were men who were pure and kind-hearted, who loved their families and were kind to their friends and generous to the needy. These virtues lulled the conscience of the sinner and blinded the eyes of the onlookers.

Our sins and our crimes had become social and were no longer personal. It took a long time to educate the American mind and conscience from the Puritan personal standards of morality and up to the modern social standards of morality. Business had changed. The human sentiment and conscience had gone out of it, due to modern organization and management. Corporations had become impersonal and non-moral. They created hard conditions without waiting to do so. The stockholders did not mean to wear out children, to maim workmen, to defraud consumers, to pollute the ballot, or to debauch public men. Yet these were sometimes the results of the system.

Professor Ross brought out the difference between the old and the new criminal in the following passage:

13. Ross, Sin and Society, p. 14
14. Ross, Sin and Society, p. 113
"Unlike the old-time villain, the latter-day malefactor does not wear a slouch hat and a comforter; breathe forth curses and an odor of gin, go about his nefarious work with clenched teeth and an evil scowl.... The modern high-power dealer of woe wears immaculate linen, carries a silk hat and a lighted cigar, sins with a calm countenance and a serene soul, leagues or months from the evil he causes. Upon his gentlemanly presence the eventual blood and tears do not obtrude themselves."

That it was not easy to lord it over the modern criminal he brought out in this passage: "If you want a David-and-Goliath fight, you must attack the powers that prey, not on the vices of the lax, but on the necessities of the decent. The deferred-dividend graft, the 'yellow hog' fund, the private-car iniquity, the Higher Thimblerig, far from turning tail and slinking away beaten like the vice-eaters, confront us rampant, sabre-toothed, and razor-clawed". They were able to gag critics, hobble investigators, hoard the press, and muggle the law, he said. "Drunk with power, in office and club, in church and school, in legislature and court, they boldly make their stand, ruining the innocent, shredding the reputations of the righteous, destroying the careers and

15. Ross, Sin and Society, p. 10
opportunities of their assailants, dragging down pastor and scholar, publicist and business man, from livelihood and influence, unhorsing alike faithful public servant, civic champion, and knight-errant of conscience, and all the while gathering into loathsome captivity the souls of multitudes of young men. Here is a fight where blows are rained, and armor dinted, and wounds suffered, and laurels won. If a champion of the right will prove he is a man and not a dummy, let him go up against these!"

And up against these the "muck-rakers" were to go, winning all the laurels and suffering all the consequences here mentioned.

The growth of monopoly came like a surprise and a shock to the people of this country. They thought monopoly was dependent upon royal favors. They did not realize that a rich and unexploited country might be a fruitful field for monopoly even in a democracy. The sudden increase and concentration of wealth caused suspicion. But this was greatly aggravated by the arbitrary exercise of power and the ostentatious display of luxury. "The Social atmosphere grew thick with

suspicion and distrust". It was contrary to two persistent American traditions, one in favor of morality, and the other in favor of liberty. Both were violated by the trusts.

There can be no doubt that the rapid growth of combinations and the concentration of wealth caused genuine and wide-spread uneasiness, and even fear. It is true that the commercial spirit was strong, even dominant for a while, but at the same time it caused real concern among the thinking people. The Arena, at least, sounded the alarm persistently. After the assassination of President McKinley by Leon Czolgosz the editor did not hesitate to publish an article entitled, "Czolgosz, The Product of a Materialistic, Greed-Crazed World", in which he quoted at length an editorial from an English periodical. President McKinley, said the editorial, was personally a very estimable and amiable specimen of humanity, but he stood in his continent, perhaps without himself realizing his position, as the head and most conspicuous representative

of a world order which did not recognize that all men were brethren. The cure for the disease of civiliza-
ion was not murder, but the recognition of human brotherhood and unity, and the widest possible cooper-
ation for eliminating misery. "Good-will is the only real sanity: good-will, without respect to persons, to emperors, kings, millionaires, sweaters and paupers; good-will like sunshine upon the evil and the good. The dawn of sanity in any mind shows itself in love". With the last sentence the editor was especially in sympathy. A year later the readers were told that the fundamental conflict of the present was the old battle of privilege and arbitrary rights versus demo-
cracy. Another writer said the vast increase and congestion of wealth, along with the vast increase and diffusion of knowledge and political liberty constituted the paradox of the nineteenth century, and caused the social unrest.

It would not be difficult to pile up evidence to show that the so-called muck-raking campaign "was the inevitable result and punishment of the reckless course that great business consolidations pursued in their early history", or that it was the "inevitable expression of the long-smouldering public resentment".

People feared the corporations and combinations might control the government. They suspected what Lincoln Steffens later found to be true, that back of all political corruption (which he had investigated) there was business.

Chapter II.

RISE OF POPULAR MAGAZINES

(As Vehicles for the Expression of Discontent)
Chapter II.

One of the most significant developments of American publishing in the nineteenth century has been the rise of the magazine. An enormous amount of literature has reached the public through the magazine, and very much of the best literature of the last fifty years first appeared in periodicals. Their influence greatly increased between 1880 and 1900, and early in the twentieth century they undertook the task of guiding public opinion, a function which the newspapers had almost ceased to perform. They became the vehicles for the dissemination of the literature of exposure. Without them the muck-raking could, probably, not have been carried very far; the "moral awakening", if it had come at all, would likely have been much less pronounced, and the Roosevelt administration would have been much different — much less militant than it actually was.

Up till 1890 the four old literary magazines - Harper's, Scribner's, Century, and the Atlantic - were about the only ones in this country. One of them sold for 25 cents a copy and the others for 35 cents. Then came a number of new ones, with different aims, methods, and prices. In 1883 the Ladies Home Journal appeared, in 1886 the Cosmopolitan, in 1891 Munsey's, then McClure's in 1893, and Everybody's and Pearson's in 1899. These were all profusely illustrated, sold for ten cents a copy, and were started as money-making ventures. The improvement of the half-tone process and the development of advertising made them economically possible. They all attained great circulation.

Another group of a slightly different character but of much importance were the Review of Review, the Arena, and the Yale Review, established in 1890, 1889, and 1892, respectively. Several others appeared during this and the following decade.

Harper's Monthly Magazine was the first of the greater illustrated magazines. It was established in

3. Cairus, loc. cit.
After three years its circulation was said to be 130,000. Henry Mills Alden was editor-in-chief from 1869 to 1919. George W. Curtis conducted "The Editor's Easy Chair". Later William Dean Howells took charge of that department. In the nineties there were besides the "Editor's Easy Chair", the "Editor's Drawer"; and the "Editor's Study", as regular features of the magazine; and there was the "Monthly Record of Current Events". All these items together amounted to about 85 pages in six months out of a total of nearly 1000 pages.

Scribner's Magazine was edited by Edward L. Burlingame from 1886 to 1914. It, too, was an illustrated literary magazine. "Point of View", "The Field of Art", and "About the World" were departments which received from two to four pages each month. The last two began in 1896. During the period under consideration Scribner's Magazine had a decidedly human touch. It gave much attention to art, especially to the subject of wood-engraving.

The Century Magazine was started in 1870, but it did not acquire its present name until 1881. It was illustrated and gave much attention to art and
history. Richard Watson Gilder was the editor from 1881 to 1909. More of the leading writers of the decade were contributors to the *Century* than to any other periodical. On economic subjects it was not strong, and religion and education received little attention. This, however, can be said of the other literary magazines as well.

The *Atlantic Monthly* was founded in 1857 with James Russell Lowell as first editor-in-chief. Oliver Wendell Holmes had something in nearly every volume of it for 37 years. During the closing years of the century it had a decided human appeal. Volume 73 (January to June, 1894), e.g., contains seven articles on biography, three on birds, five on nature, five on education, two on history, three on travel, and others.

The first copy of *McClure's Magazine* appeared in June, 1893. It was the first to sell for as low a price as 15 cents a copy. A few months later the *Cosmopolitan* and *Munsey's* brought the price down to 10 cents a copy. The first issue consisted of 20,000 copies, the December issue of the same year was 35,000. A complete set of portraits of General Grant helped to raise the circulation to 40,000, and the articles and
portraits on Napoleon increased the circulation by 30,000 in one month. In April, 1895, the circulation reached its 100,000 mark. S. S. McClure, the editor and owner, aimed to supply the people with the writings of the best authors at the lowest prices. Highly trained writers were set to work to make careful investigations of big public problems. Ida M. Tarbell and Ray Stannard Baker, who became famous during the next decade, were already frequent contributors to McClure's. In the field of popular science it claimed in 1895 to have no equal. It had a pronounced personal note which appealed to the popular imagination.

John Brisben Walker founded the Cosmopolitan in 1886 and did all the editing. He read all the contributions, had personal charge of the free educational work, wrote articles, and kept close watch over his varied business interests. Art and good literature were given to the public all through the decade, but the best writers were not frequent contributors. Six brief articles were given to "Social Problems" by Edward Everett Hale in each volume, and current events received five or six.

The Outlook grew out of the Christian Union of which Lyman Abbott was editor. Since 1882 he has been the editor-in-chief of the Outlook. Its chief interest was in religion, but it developed into a well-balanced popular weekly. The contributed articles were usually short, also the editorials. Of the signed articles about 300 were published during a year; besides these - in 1897 - about 1300 editorials on a great variety of subjects, 354 paragraphs on religious topics of all kinds, and 632 brief book reviews appeared. Early in 1897 it assumed the form and size of the regular literary magazines, and the editor said in that connection it was a characteristic of the Outlook to believe in the immortality of the spirit and in change of form: in the old religion and in a new theology, in the old patriotism and in new politics, in the old philanthropy and in new institutions, in the old brotherhood and in new social order.

The Review of Reviews was started in London in 1890 by W. T. Stead. It was supposed to be an inter-

national review. Leading English, American, German, French, and Italian articles were reviewed. The intention was not to drive other periodicals from the field but to cooperate with them. Some ten pages were devoted to the progress of the world every month. In a year the circulation had gone over 100,000 in the "Three Kingdoms" alone. In the following year Albert Shaw began to publish an American edition of it. He has been the editor of the American Review of Reviews ever since. Besides the editorials dealing with current events and movements and the reviews of the leading articles of the month, there were some pages of cartoons, book reviews, and half a dozen leading articles every month.

B. O. Flower was the first and sole editor of the Arena from its foundation in 1889 to late in 1896. Then some reorganizations were made, but its policy did not materially change. John Clark Ridpath was the second editor, resigning in September, 1898. In 1897 a "stroke to the people" was offered by reducing the

7. "In the Mirror of the Present", Arena, Vol.42. (July, 1909.)
price to $2.50 a year. A special appeal was made to the farmers. In the same year its mission was stated to consist of placing before the people facts which the "plutocratic" press and the magazines withheld from the public or ignored for their own sordid purposes. Its aim was to advance all that was good for the common people. This "foremost radical review in the world" had nearly one hundred thousand readers in 1898, when Paul Tyner became its editor. He called the Arena an absolutely independent review whose aim was to tell the truth and to present facts and arguments on various sides of important questions. The former owner of the magazine was a manufacturer and merchant, the new owner purchased controlling stock because he believed in the usefulness of the Arena as an engine of social reform. In the fall of 1899 Paul Tyner laid down the editorship for the purpose of devoting himself entirely to the practice and teaching of metaphysical healing. He was succeeded

in the editorial chair by John Emery McLean, formerly editor of Mind. A few changes were made in the magazine but none of fundamental importance. To promote the social and civil welfare of the race through an unbiased search after truth was declared to be still the aim.

By the end of the nineteenth century Munsey's Magazine had by far the largest circulation among American magazines, and by paying special attention to illustrations had "attained a reputation for picturesqueness wholly unequalled by any other magazine". The story of the foundation and the development of this periodical is told by the founder himself in a notable article, entitled, "The Making and Marketing of Munsey's Magazine", in Munsey's Magazine for December 1899. It was started in 1891. On October first, 1893, Munsey undertook to publish it for ten cents a copy, or one dollar a year. Before that it had sold at the usual price of 25 cents. The American News Company was strongly opposed to the ten cent magazine because that would reduce their profit.

as newsdealers to about one quarter or one fifth of their earnings at the 25 cent rate, and they would have to perform practically the same service. Munsey was convinced that the modern way of doing things was by big volume and small margins. Everybody who had tried to oppose the American News Company - a wholesale news monopoly - had been crushed. Munsey decided to go over the head of the middlemen, directly to the retail newsdealers. These, however, raised objections. They did not wish to handle Munsey's unless they could buy it for six or six and a half cents a copy. Munsey asked seven cents a copy. Nor would they handle it unless they could get it through their usual whole­salers - the American News Company. And, finally, they would not order magazines directly and send cash. Not until it had been demonstrated that the ten cent magazine was popular and had come to stay did this news company agree to pay five and three quarters cents, - wholesale. Five and three quarters cents per copy made the publish­ing of the ten cent magazine possible; seven cents per copy to the wholesalers by the retailers made the whole­sale business profitable; and ten cents per copy at the
news stand made the retail news business profitable.

By the end of 1899 Munsey's had a circulation of 650,000 copies a month. The first ten cent issue amounted to only 35,000 copies.

This large scale production greatly reduced the cost of production. In 1899 the cost per copy was not more than 15% of what it was in 1893.

The ten cent magazine increased the magazine purchasing public from about 250,000 to 750,000 in 1899.

Brief accounts will be added on -

Collier's Weekly
The Nation
Ladies Home Journal
Frank Leslie's Monthly (later the American), etc.

Chapter III.

A DECADE OF PREPARATION: THE SOCIAL UNREST
Chapter III.

For the purpose of understanding the muck-raking movement of the early twentieth century it will be helpful to know something of the thought-life of the nation as revealed by the popular magazines in the last decade of the nineteenth century. We have already seen that wealth was being accumulated and concentrated at a very rapid rate toward the end of the century and that a materialistic philosophy was taking hold of the country. Were the people conscious of what was going on? Did they all acquiesce in the movement? Did literature, did religion, serve the best interests of the common people? These are some of the questions a survey of the magazine literature will help us to answer.

Some differences between this and the next decade will be noticeable. In the nineties there was but one high-class, dignified journal of protest. That was the Arena. Perhaps the Forum should be mentioned in this class, for it, too, contained many articles that discussed and criticized social and economic problems and conditions very frankly. In the next decade there
were a large number of magazines engaged in the work of exposure.

Another difference may be found in the method of criticizing. In the nineties the criticisms and charges were general and often veiled. Few names of persons or corporations were mentioned in the charges. The muck-rakers of the next decade, on the other hand, were insultingly personal and specific.

A third difference is noticeable in the classes of people who were affected by the spirit of unrest. In the former period it was the proletariat - the farmers of the Middle West and the laborers, - that were dissatisfied. During the next ten years the muck-rakers appealed not so much to the proletariat as to the average middle class citizen. The spirit of discontent had apparently spread to the larger part of the population.

For convenience this review of the popular literature is grouped under three heads: the social unrest, literary criticism, and religion.

It would be difficult to establish just where and when muck-raking began. Some of the later muck-
rakers like to think that Jesus was one of the greatest of muck-rakers. Certainly Luther did a man's work in exposing what he regarded as corruption in the Roman Catholic Church of his day. Mr. S. S. McClure holds that De Foe and the pamphleteers of his time were the real predecessors of the kind of work that his magazine was doing two centuries later.

There can be no doubt that the early Abolitionists in this country were muck-rakers in the sense that they exposed corruption. Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin and Helper's Impending Crisis are very good examples of this kind of work. A little later we had another group of literary men who were engaged in exposing the evils of our social and economic system. Henry George published his Progress and Poverty in 1879. The Breadwinners, by John Hay, appeared as a serial in the Century in 1883. Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward appeared in 1888, and his Equality in 1897. Henry Demarest Lloyd wrote a number of books that would fall into this class, e.g., A Strike of

Millionaires Against Miners (1890), and Wealth Against Commonwealth (1894). Harvey's Coin's Financial School (1895) created much interest, and Ignatius Donnelly wrote along the same general line. Some of these works were very popular for a while.

This was not a time when novelists dealt with national problems extensively, but some fiction was produced in the nineties that foreshadowed the literature that became so common in the next decade. John March, Southerner, by George W. Cable and Red Rock by Thomas Nelson Page dealt with the problems and conditions of reconstruction in the South after the Civil War. William Dean Howells A Hazard of New Fortune and Robert Barr's The Mutable Many considered the problem of labor and capital; while A Spoil of Office by Hamlin Garland and The Honorable Peter Stirling by Paul Leicester Ford concerned themselves with the political boss. Between 1900 and 1902, inclusive, and before muck-raking became common in the magazines, such subjects as the following were dealt with, in books in the form of fiction: graft, 3

criminality, speculation, divorce, the negro
and Indian problems, the wheat and mining indu-
tries, the factory, reconstruction in the South,
and others. Much of this was plainly muck-raking.

The newspapers, too, did some of this kind of
work before the magazines took it up, but the great
bulk of the really important muck-raking was done by
the popular magazines in the early part of the twent-
ieth century.

The last decade of the nineteenth century was a
time of profound social unrest. During the first few
years Populism was rife in the Middle West; in 1893
the panic swept over the country and kept it in indus-
trial straits for at least five years; in 1894 came the
Chicago strike. The trust, and tariff, and free silver
agitations reached their culminaition in the stirring
campaign of 1896. During the last few years of the
decade economic conditions improved somewhat, and the

5. Webster, H. K., The Banker and the Bear. (New
York, 1900).
10. Webster, H. K., Roger Drake, Captain of Industry. (N.Y.1902)
Spanish-American War of 1898 turned public opinion into new channels. America left her "splendid isolation" and assumed her position as a world power.

A survey of the magazine literature shows clearly that next to fiction the people were most interested in economic and social problems. The table on the next page, "Fields of Popular Interest", shows this.
Table I.

Distribution of Magazine Articles According to Fields of Popular Interest, 1890-1899

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Government &amp; Politics</th>
<th>Economics &amp; Sociology</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Literary Criticism</th>
<th>History &amp; Biography</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>Foreign Affairs</th>
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Average percent: 8.6, 4.5, 5.7, 10.7, 8, 13.8, 4.1, 4.9, 3.6, 17.3
The Forum has articles on foreign affairs, but they have not been separately classified for this table. The last five periodicals give but slight attention to poetry and fiction.

The first eleven vertical columns indicate percentages while the last two give the average number of poems and articles that appeared in the different magazines yearly. Under "stories" are classed not only short fiction stories but also novels which appeared in serials, and some fact stories.

The above table indicates the average percent of articles that these magazines published on the different subjects during the decade under consideration. The figures are not derived from an actual count of every article of every year, however. Only in the case of the Arena has that been done. For the Outlook only the volumes for 1897 and 1899 have been examined. In all other cases the figures indicate averages derived from an examination of the volumes for three or more years, usually for 1890, 1895, 1899, and one or two other years. The number of articles that any periodical devotes to any particular subject varies from year to year, but the above figures show with a fair degree of accuracy the relative emphasis which each field received in each journal.

That the table can be only approximately correct is easily seen from the fact that many articles lend themselves to different classifications. An article dealing with a campaign for free coinage of silver, for instance, might with equal propriety be classed under history, economics, or politics. And whether it be placed in one or in another category depends largely upon the mood in which the investigator finds himself at the movement.
In 1890, when the McKinley Tariff act was passed, much attention was given to tariff problems. The *North American Review* was especially interested in this subject. Articles from the most prominent tariff legislators appeared. James G. Blaine and other friends of protection argued their cause, while Roger Q. Mills and John G. Carlisle and even William E. Gladstone wrote in favor of "free trade", or at least in opposition to the high McKinley tariff.

Populism was repeatedly discussed in the *Forum*, the *Arena*, the *North American Review*, and other magazines. Some writers regarded it with alarm, and believed the western farmers to be ignorant fanatics; while others saw in the movement the natural outcome of the hard economic conditions prevailing in the Middle West. The *Arena* claimed its great aim was to establish equal freedom and to preserve the republic. Albert Shaw, the editor of the *Review of Reviews*, was himself a westerner and he understood conditions in that

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region as few editors did. He tried to explain the situation to the people of the East. In 1894 he published a number of letters from people in the West who stated their point of view. He himself wrote in July of that year: "The Coxey movement, the rise of the People's party, the income tax, the demands of the Farmer's Alliance, and the silver question have led to much discussion of a so-called 'new sectionalism' that is arraying the West against the East." Then followed an article on "Coxeyism".

The Coxey movement created much interest. The Nation blamed the Republican party for much of the unrest. Ever since 1865 that party had promised the people prosperity and good times if they would keep the party in power and maintain high protection. It claimed that high protection was the chief cause of the Populist movement and of Coxey's army.

The Chautauquan said Coxey and Carl Brown, his lieutenant, advocated views which were a"mingling of blas-

phemous insanity and political incendiarism. The cause of the unrest, it held, were hard times.

The works of such social philosophers as Henry George and Edward Bellamy received much attention all thru this decade. Goldwin Smith published an article in the Forum in 1890 under the title "Prophets of Unrest", which was a criticism of Bellamy's Looking Backward. But he admitted there was a general feeling abroad "that the stream is drawing near a cataract now, and there are apparent grounds for the surmise. There is everywhere in the social frame an outward unrest, which as usual is the sign of fundamental change within. Old creeds have given away. The masses, the artisans especially, have ceased to believe that the existing order of society, with its grades of rank and wealth is a divine ordinance against which it is vain to rebel. They have ceased to believe in a future state, the compensation of those whose lot is hard here. Convinced that this world is all, and that there is nothing more to come, they

want to grasp at once their share of enjoyment. The labor journals are full of this thought. . . . The governing classes, unnerved by scepticism, have lost faith in the order which they represent, and are inclined to precipitate abdication. Many members of them - partly from philanthropy, partly from vanity, partly perhaps from fear - are playing the demagogue and, as they did in France, dallying with revolution."

In the same year the Arena expressed itself editorially as follows: "To-day from the artisan to the philosopher men are thinking, talking, and proposing measures to avert a national catastrophe which thinking people realize must come unless some more equitable adjustment of the social problem be speedily reached. The unprecedented sale of Henry George's works on social problems; the formulation of the 'single tax' societies throughout the land; the almost simultaneous appearance of numerous journals devoted to the exposition of multitudinous means and measures calculated to relieve the conditions of the masses and

abridge the almost supreme power of the money kings; the marvelous sale of Mr. Bellamy's 'Looking Backward', which according to the publishers some weeks ago was averaging 1000 copies a week; the rapid growth of numerous Socialistic and Nationalistic societies throughout the length and breadth of the land"; these, it said, were signs which revealed most eloquently the fact that the moral nature of man was being awakened and that the higher impulses were being quickened. "And what is true in reference to the labor problem is also true in a certain degree of other great social and ethical questions which are pressing upon society for solution, as for instance, popular education, where we note the rapid growth of sentiment in favor of industrial schools and an awakening appreciation of the value of moral education. . . . What then is our duty? to agitate, to compel men to think; to point out wrongs inflicted on the weak and helpless; to impress higher ideals on the plastic mind of childhood; . . . to stimulate love of truth and liberty and education; and to frown upon all bigotry.

In the field of social reform B. O. Flower, editor and owner of the *Arena*, was the dominant figure. Perhaps nobody else voiced the deep convictions of social injustice and the high hopes and aspirations of the western farmer and the eastern laborer as fervently and as persistently as he did. Like Albert Shaw, he was a westerner. Born and reared in Illinois, he went East at the age of twenty-six. By the time he was thirty-two he was editor of the *Arena*, *Current Literature* for April, 1890, described him as "impulsive, cordial, and earnest, an enthusiast on every conversational subject broached, full of energy and of personal magnetism"; a man of "bright mentality, a fluent conversationalist with a mind stored with information. On the great social, political, and ethical questions of the day he entertains most decided opinions, and fearlessly advocates them." His magazine was not a money making adventure, but was founded "on principle." There are 808 articles in the *Arena* of that decade which were signed by him, and many of

them are long and scholarly. Late in 1896 some changes were made in the ownership and management of his journal, and for a year or so he ceased entirely to contribute, but by 1900 he was again at the editorial desk and managed his periodical during the stirring days of the "Muck-rakers". All through the nineties and through the following decade, he agitated and educated and encouraged and inspired. In 1891 he said editorially that much of the best thought of the time necessarily took on a gloomy cast, because the wisest and most earnest reformers realized keenly the giant wrongs that oppressed humanity. The so-called pessimists, however, were chiefly optimists in the true sense of the word. 21 In 1894 he quoted Professor George D. Herron of Grinnell College to the effect that the country was in the beginning of a revolution that would strain all existing religions, and political institutions, and would test the wisdom and heroism of earth's purest and bravest souls. Flower went on to say that the plundering of the poor was immoral.

though it might be legal, and for the rich exploiters of the poor to give a few millions to conventional education and churches was Pharisaical. The time for dreaming was past. From that time on plain speaking would be in order. "Let us agitate, educate, organize, and move forward, casting aside timidity and insisting that the Republic shall no longer lag behind in the march of progress... It is no time for sleeping."

The problem of the concentration of wealth and of the effects of it were often considered. A writer for the Forum estimated that 70 names in the United States represented an aggregate of $2700,000,000, and average of $37,500,000. And at least 50 others were valued at 10,000,000 each. This was in 1889. Pittsburg had 67 resident millionaires, Cleveland 63, and Boston 50. The average annual income of the richest one hundred Americans was estimated at $1,200,000 at the least. On the other hand fully four fifths of the families of this country did not earn more than

$500 a year. And our taxation system was such as to place the chief burden upon the poor. It took from the rich only from 3 to 10 per cent of their annual savings, while from the poor it took from 75 to 90 per cent of their savings. B. O. Flower pointed out in 1892 that this country suffered from the same causes that brought about the failure of the great republics in the past, Namely great concentration of wealth, and ruthless labor control. The Nation claimed that a millionaire was for an American youth what Roland was for the youth of the Middle Ages. He was a mysterious being whom everybody respected and envied. His habits excited probably as much interest and curiosity in America as those of royal personages did in Europe.

William Dean Howells raised the question in 1894 whether we were a nation of plutocrats. Everybody who believes in the capitalistic system, whether he is a rich employer or an aspiring laborer is a

plutocrat in spirit. The wage takers deserve only a qualified compassion, for most of them believe in the wage system and are dreaming of the time when they will give wages to others. If this country has a plutocracy it is because the voters allow it to flourish here.

In the campaign of 1896 the Arena threw its influence whole-heartedly in favor of Mr. Bryan. It urged the people to forget party prejudices and to array themselves against the double-headed party of plutocracy and centralized wealth. If there ever was an hour, said Flower in the November number of that year, when freemen should refuse to sell their birthright; when they should be vigilant workers for home, freedom, prosperity, and the great republic, that hour had come. The election of Bryan would mean the rejuvenation of democracy and the salvation of republican government from a lawless plutocracy. Two years later he wrote about the "titanic struggle" that was going on

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and that was threatening the very existence of popular government. There were monopolies in money, in transportation, in public utilities, and in control of the necessaries of life. The corporations had ensnared our nation, and they all agreed in uniting against the public.

In 1899 the Outlook published an article giving the impressions of a foreigner about conditions in this country as he had observed them during a visit to the United States. He praised the Americans for their patriotism, their love of education, and their sense of righteousness in every national crisis. But he found one shadow which gravely affected the dignity and beauty of American public life, and that was the strength of the "secular spirit", or the tendency to give an undue place to the value and influence of wealth. With a few exceptions all Americans bowed the knee to the golden calf of wealth. In two fields especially money should not control, in government and in the church. But in America it was the common talk

that one state legislature was the obedient tool of a great railway company, and other legislatures and municipal governments were under control of other corporations. If one-half of the charges were true, he said, then the secular spirit in its grossest and most offensive form was staining political life. In the church, too, money played an undue role. The value of a preacher was often estimated from his financial abilities. It was commonly assumed that any preacher could be drawn from any church by offering him a large enough salary. This spirit seemed to have attained "a perfect height of insolence in America."

Even United States Senators and historians became alarmed at the growing power of wealth and began to talk and write about a "money power" or an "invisible empire" that threatened the very civilization of the world. Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada wrote in the Arena about an organization which grew with marvelous success and conspired in the dark for the enslavement of the human race. This power was the

Rothschild money syndicate. It already controlled England and the rest of Europe, and was rapidly gaining in Asia, Japan was a bankrupt appendage of the British Empire, and would sink back into the miserable condition from which she had so recently emerged. China was being enslaved, as India and Egypt already had been. In the United States this syndicate was trying to destroy democracy and enslave the people. The only fear which it entertained was that the American people might yet be aroused to assert themselves by the use of the ballot and thereby regain the financial independence of the United States, which would be a deathblow to the scheme of universal slavery.

The next month John Clark Ridpath published a sensational article, entitled, "The Invisible Empire". On January 28, 1898, he wrote, the payment of the national debt according to contract came up in the United States Senate. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts offered an amendment to the effect that the debt be paid in gold dollars, worth more than twice as much as the dollars

in which the debt had been contracted. Twenty-four Senators voted for the amendment. On April 16th Cuban independence was voted on in the Senate. The vote stood 67 in favor and 21 opposed. Of these negative 21 voters all had voted for gold payment in January, except two. Those who wanted gold payment and those who opposed Cuban independence were practically identical. These anti-Cuban gold-bugs were all mentioned by name, and the readers were then told that these gentlemen constituted the "American Committee of the Invisible Empire". The people of this country were no longer under the government of the American Republic, but under the Invisible Empire. So were also the people of all other countries. Not a nation in the world was exempt from the dominion of the Universal Monarchy. All political powers had surrendered to it. He ends his article with this appeal: "Men of my country! Men of the world! You can accept this situation if you want to accept it. If you have no more love of freedom, no more patriotism, no more sense than to accept it, why then accept it and be slaves forever. If nothing will arouse you, why, then, sleep, sleep!.}
But remember that there is no sleep in the Invisible Empire. People noted the contrast in the mode of living between the rich and the poor. Impatient reformers complained of the difficulty of awakening the sleeping conscience of our people to a realization of the "essential immorality and injustice of the present social conditions" that existed in the large cities. Here and there a poem uttered a cry from the depth, as the following by Sidney Lanier:

The poor, the poor, the poor, they stand
Wedged by the pressing of Trade's hand,
Against an inward-opening door
That pressure tightens evermore;
They sigh a monstrous, foul-air sigh
For the outside leagues of liberty,
Where ant, sweet lark, translates the sky
Into a heavenly melody.
"Each day, all day" (these poor folks say),
"In the same old year-long, drear-long way,
We weave in the mills and heave in the kilns,

We sieve mine-meshes under the hills,
To relieve, O God, what manner of ills?
The beasts, they hunger, and eat and die:
And so do we, and the world's a sty".
Silence, fellow-men; why muzzle and cry?
Swinehood hath no remedy
Say many men, and hasten by.
But who said once, in a lordly tone,
Man shall not live by bread alone,
But all that cometh from the Throne?
Hath God said so?
But trade saith No;
And the kilns and the curt-tongued mills say Go:
There's plenty that can, if you can't we know;
Move out, if you think you're underpaid,
The poor are prolific; we're not afraid;
Trade is trade.

It is idle to talk about prosperity when the
life of the millions of the laborers is becoming
steadily more precarious, said the Arena. The gamblers

34. Flower, B. O., "The Dead Sea of Nineteenth Century
Civilization", Arena, Vol. 5 (March, 1892),
pp. 523-527. Poem quoted from Sidney Lanier,
p. 525.
of Wall Street, the bankers, the moneylending class, and the promoters of trusts and monopolies were becoming fabulously rich, while one person out of every ten who died in New York was buried in Potter's Field. Our appalling social conditions were largely due to our "monstrous economic order" in which the law was often on the side of the few and against the millions. The remedy for such a system was cooperation. Others advocated government ownership, nationalization of land, and the ownership and operation of telegraphs. Frank Parsons had a long series of articles in the Arena in which he tried to show that European countries owned and operated the telegraph to the great advantage of the public, and that the same was feasible and necessary in this country. Other writers in other magazines discussed the same and similar subjects.

One other effort of the Arena deserves attention. It attempted to organize the moral forces of the country. In 1893 the editor stated he had received about a thousand letters from readers of his magazine during the last three years, hundreds of which voiced high aspirations.

Many people felt there ought to be some way for like-minded people to act together. He, therefore, suggested the organization of a "League of Love" or a "Federation of Justice" which should be open to all people who wished to promote the interests of humanity, irrespective of race or creed. To look after the poor and to care for the education of the unfortunate children should be a large part of its work. Clubs for such purposes should be organized in all localities. The suggestion seemed to bear fruit, for a Union for Practical Progress was organized on a nation-wide scale. Many localities had their "Arena" clubs. From time to time there appeared suggestions as to the best methods of organizing and utilizing the moral forces of a community or of the country as a whole. Practical illustrations were offered, as for example the Baltimore Union for Public Good, which held its first meeting in 1893 and included in its membership representatives from nearly every religious, philanthropic, and reform society of the city. It included Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Mohammadans, Spiritual-
ists and Materialists. Professor Thomas E. Will wrote an article for the national committee of the Union for Practical Progress in which he explained the methods which were to be employed in organizing and promoting social reform work. He outlined the program of the Union for six months as follows:

- **June:** Child Labor.
- **July:** Public Parks and Playgrounds.
- **August:** Prison Reforms.
- **September:** Municipal Reform.
- **October:** The problem of the Unemployed.
- **November:** Best Methods for Combating Political Corruption.

The Arena, the New York Voice, and such other papers as might wish to promote this movement published elaborate bibliographies and articles on the different subjects for the several months. The Arena gave 15 pages to a symposium and a bibliography on public parks and playgrounds.

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Later in the decade (1898) a new League of Social Service was formed in New York. Its aim was to unite the efforts of the already existing organizations in the field of social service. The advisory council was composed of such well-known social workers as Jane Addams, Washington Gladden, Edward Everett Hale, and Alice Freeman Palmer. Dr. Josiah Strong was elected president of the organization. Another organization of which the Arena approved was the National Conference of Social and Political Reforms which met in Buffalo in July, 1899. It was composed of Socialists, Individualists, Single-taxers, Silverites, Direct-legislationists, Greenbacks, Populists, Democrats, and Republicans. They tried to find a practical plan for united action in order to bring about some radical reforms. The Conference put itself on record as opposing the encroachment upon academic freedom in educational institutions; it established a free school of economies; it adopted a practical plan for a referendum of the independent reform vote which should make it possible

for the people to unite at the polls; it established an engine of enlightenment in the Social Reform Union; and it sent an address to the people which was written by George D. Herron and was agreed to by the Conference. The problem of academic freedom was much written about in the nineties. Professor Edward W. Bemis of the sociology department of the University of Chicago was dismissed about 1895, stated a writer, very likely because he said and wrote things that the railroad presidents and other corporation leaders considered dangerous to their business. In 1897 President E. Benjamin Andrews resigned from Brown University because the board of trustees of that institution sent a communication to him in which they stated that the university had already lost gifts and legacies on account of his views on bimetallism, and that it would be hard to get pecuniary support unless he should forbear to promulgate views which appealed most strongly to the passions and prejudiced of the public. This

communication was dated July 16, 1897. On the following day Andrews resigned because he would not surrender his liberty of utterance. Much public discussion followed. The gold standard men and the monopoly people generally sided with the trustees, while the educators defended academic freedom. Twenty-four professors of Brown University sent a dignified "Open Letter" to the corporation. The editor of the Arena published an open letter to President Andrews in which he praised his manly stand in the cause of the people and severely censured the trustees for their course. "The battle is on in this country between the Man and the Dollar. It is a fight to a finish. You are one of the champions of the Man. Brown University seems to be wedded to the Dollar."

President Andrews withdrew his resignation and did not retire from that university until the year following.

The withdrawal of President Thomas Kilmer Will and Professors Frank Parsons and Dr. D. J. H. Ward

42. Ridpath, John Clark, "Open Letter to President Andrews", Arena, Vol. 18 (September, 1897) pp. 399-402.
from the Kansas State Agricultural College on the ground of their supposed radical tendencies in political science and economics formed another topic for discussion in this connection.

Then came the resignation of Professor George D. Herron from Grinnell College, at that time known as Iowa College. His chair of Applied Christianity had been created expressly for him seven years earlier. His teachings and utterances disturbed so many people that a majority of the trustees and supporters of the college regarded his connection with the institution as detrimental. On October 13, 1899 he resigned, explaining his course of action in a carefully prepared message to the board of trustees. "It is certainly true," he said, "that the doctrines of property which I hold are subversive to the existing industrial and political order. I do believe that our system of private ownership of natural resources is a crime against God and man and nature; that natural resources are not property, and cannot be so held without destroying the liberty of man and the basis of the religion of Christ". Since sincere friends of the college felt that its well-being was being jeopardized because of the lack of
support from men of financial means and of influence among the churches, he resigned.

The Arena had several articles on academic freedom in the October number for 1899. One of them was by Professor Albion W. Small of the sociology department of the University of Chicago. He did not agree with the statement recently made at the Buffalo Conference that "there is not a single institution of learning in this country in which the teaching of economics and sociology is not muzzled by the influence of...

In accepting this resignation the trustees of the college expressed their high regard for Professor Herron personally and their appreciation of his ability to understand their position; and proceeded, "Whatever may be the ultimate and ideal trust as to the private ownership of natural sources of wealth, to us it seems clear that the most promising course for promoting the ultimate right is at present to impress on men their present duty rightly to use what wealth shall properly come to them under the present organization of society and in the world in which they now live, rather than to spend much time and force in directly attacking systems that can be best changed but slowly in the interest of a scheme, which, if ideal, has never yet been shown to be practical in a highly organized society".


Professor Herron's case was complicated by matrimonial difficulties, of which, however, the magazines said nothing.
wealth in the case of private endowments, or of part-
isan politics in the case of State universities. He admitted that we could not have absolute freedom of speech, but among responsible Americans there were none freer than the university professors. Rumor had it that professors had lost their positions at the hands of wealth, but so far no well substantiated case had come to his attention.

Another writer in the same number claimed there seldom was a place in an American college for a teacher who had taken advanced ground on problems relating to the distribution of wealth or the destruction of monopoly. Enough professors had been ejected from college faculties to prove the case against the college. The board for the new school of economics, which had been agreed upon by the Buffalo Conference, was not able to find a place of location because it could not find a place where academic freedom was allowed to exist.

Two years later a very strong article appeared in the same magazine by Thomas Elmer Will, entitled, "A Menace to Freedom: The College Trust". It seemed clear, he said, that the triumph of plutocracy must precede that of the people. Industry has been almost completely unified in the hands of a few kings of commerce. It was evident that the coming issue would be a Rockefeller and Morgan versus Uncle Sam. "For years the plutocracy have been preparing for the coming conflict. Otherwise, . . . . why the bastiles of death booming grimly in all our great cities? Why the recent vast expenditures for the navy? Why the steady pressure for a large and permanent increase in our standing army; and why the recent parade of the Rough Rider and his cohorts?

"But more insidious and dangerous still are the attempts to debauch the public conscience with schemes for conquest and plunder and to blind the people to the development actually in progress and to its inevitable effects. To this end the organs of intelligence must be controlled. Most of the great dailies and magazines have been captured. How news is systematically
'doctored' or suppressed by the Associated Press monopoly, such men as Congressman John J. Lentz have told us. Rumors of the coming newspaper trust are in the air. And he went on to criticize the government for its censorship of the press, and the "back-slidden" church for having become plutocracy's right arm.

The most dangerous enemies to industrial monarchy were the colleges and universities. Free investigation was all that was necessary to expose the rottenness of the existing economic system, and competent teachers were at hand in every university to turn on the search-light. This, however, would be dangerous to the plutocracy, so the edict had been issued that the colleges and universities must fall into line.

He had before him, he wrote, an extended list of proscribed teachers concerning whom he was bound to secrecy - "eloquent testimony to the potency of the black-list". Other cases were disputed, but besides these there was a long list of removals or resignations which he ascribed to progressive teaching in social or
political science.

An attempt was actually made to create a college that should be free from the influence of millionaires and in which there should be freedom of speech and investigation. At Trenton, Missouri, there was a little struggling college, known as Avalon College. In the spring of 1900 Dr. George Mc A. Miller took charge of it on a ten year contract. Walter Vrooman, founder of Ruskin Hall in Oxford, England, heard of Avalon College and decided to visit it. The upshot of it was that he co-operated with President Miller. The name of the school was changed to Ruskin College, and it was made the center of the Oxford movement in America.

The aim was to offer education in the industries as well

46. Among these were: Dr. George M. Steele of Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin, 1892; Dr. H. E. Stockbridge, President of North Dakota Agricultural College, 1893; I. A. Hourwich, and Professor E. W. Bemis of the University of Chicago; Prof. James Allen Smith of Marietta College, 1897; President E. B. Andrews of Brown University; Prof. John R. Commons of Indiana University, and later from Syracuse University, 1899; Prof. Frank Parsons, E. W. Bemis, and Dr. D. J. H. Ward from the Kansas State Agricultural, 1899 (The last named was removed because he was a Unitarian); Prof. George D. Herron, Iowa College, 1900, and President George A. Gates from the same college; President Henry Ward Rogers, Northwestern University, 1900; Dr. E. A. Ross, Leland Stanford University, 1900.
as in culture, and to make it possible for a student to work his way through college. The faculty of the new college included representatives of the best universities and colleges of the country, including four former college presidents. In 1901 there were 300 students, and several hundred more were expected for the coming year. In 1903, however, Ruskin College joined with a group of other institutions to form Ruskin University of Chicago. In that year the new University had a total resident enrollment of 2500 students, besides 8000 correspondence students. The faculty was composed of 250 members, of whom J. J. Tobias was president and George Mc A. Miller Dean. The new ideal was to train the hand, head, and heart harmoniously. Much attention was given to sociology.

(Charles Henry Eaton, after having made a careful comparison of the Forum for America and of the Nineteenth Century for Great Britain for the decade preceding 1898, drew the conclusion that the great movements of that...)

age were undoubtedly economic and political. All our ideals and ways of life were becoming commercialized. The rise and growth of democracy, which had characterized the century, he said, had reached their climax toward its end. The subjects which had received most elaborate discussion during the last years were the rights of working-men, scales of wages, the length of the working-day, the laws of production and distribution of wealth, and methods of finance and taxation. The social and economic unrest, he went on to say, had been presented by the ablest thinkers and writers on the different phases of politics, economics and sociology.

Chapter IV.

A DECADE OF PREPARATION: LITERATURE
Chapter IV.

A person who has familiarized himself with the deep social unrest of this decade and then turns to the literary magazines of the same period, feels that he has entered an atmosphere that is lacking in reality. It is pleasant and charming but it hardly voices, adequately, the great aspirations of the age. It is, as Mr. Heydrick says, a literature of optimism. It reflects for the most part a life in the sunshine. It is cheerful, kindly, clean in life and speech, and with the salt of humor sprinkled everywhere.

One of the most searching criticisms of contemporary American literature was made by Hamilton W. Mabie in an article which appeared in the Forum and in Public Opinion. Our literature for the last two decades, he wrote in 1899, had not made a very deep impression on the imagination of the country. It had been admirable in form, sound in tone, and often charming in style; but it had lacked depth of feeling and seriousness. It had seemed to shrink from deep conviction, strong feeling, and great emotion. There was a great gulf between the

seriousness of American life and the lightness and grace of American writing. "Our literature has lost the note of discovery, the audacity of spiritual adventure, the courage of great faiths and passions: it is in danger of becoming a recourse of polite society, instead of an expression of vital experience and a dominant force in national life. It has struck some deep notes with great clearness and resonant power: but it must continue to strike such notes; and it must put behind the clarity of its vision the vitality and sheer human force of rich and deep experience. . . . A great deal of the literature of the last two decades would have been admirable as a subsidiary literature; it has been inadequate as a representative literature".  

American critics realized that there was much pessimism and cynicism in the literature of the world during the last quarter of the century, but most of them maintained that American Literature was comparatively free from it. A writer in *Scribner's Magazine* reported that the world had been roughly treated at the hands of the pessimists of late, but contended that there had been

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no diminution in the fund of enthusiasm, initiative energy, and genuine hope in the race at large. He himself thought much of this sort of literature was written because it expressed sentiments that were not commonly held, and it was the exceptional that makes interesting news and stories.

A Scotchman in 1891 thought American fiction as lacking in creative power, and depth, and passion, and richness. American writers, it seemed to him, were playing with problems as cats play with mice. Seldom did they wrestle with a problem and squeeze out its life.

Richard Burton found the chief menace to literature to consist in the negative spirit that brooded over modern efforts of letters. The "art-for-art's-sake" doctrine of the French was the paramount temptation. This creed would sharply disavow art from ethics. Its only care was that literature be artistic and true to life. This morbid and cynical and naturalistic tendency, he thought, was an emanation from the

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lack of faith and courage following on the loss (or at least change) of definite and economical religious conviction was broader, more enlightened, more Christ-like than ever before in history. Our litterateurs, he was convinced, were comparatively free from the faults of the realists. The negative, cynical, pessimistic spirit belonged with us, rather to the critics than to the creators. Our literature was sound at heart and eager to do work which should be sane, broad, truthful and wholesome.

Unlike in England there were not many literary giants in America in 1890. Lowell, Holmes, Whittier and Whitman were still alive, and occasionally contributed an article to a magazine, but it can hardly be said that they dominated American literature during the closing years of the nineteenth century. There were, however, good writers who were at the height of their fame and activity. Among these were William Dean Howells; Edward Everett Hale; Edward Eggleston, George W. Cable, N. S. Shaler, Henry James, Julian Ralph and John Burroughs, Among the younger writers who contributed much to the

magazine literature of the period were Lyman Abbott, Richard Harding Davis, E. O. Flower, Hamlin Garland, Robert Grant, Rudyard Kipling, Henry Cabot Lodge, Thomas Nelson Page, Frederic Remington, Agnes Repplier, Jacob A. Reis, Theodore Roosevelt, Albert Shaw, Ida M. Tarbell, Mark Twain, Henry Van Dyke, William Allen White, Mary E. Wilkins, Woodrow Wilson and Owen Wister.

The chief literary periodicals were the Atlantic Monthly, The Century Magazine, Scribner's Magazine, and Harper's Monthly. These contained many essays and poems and much fiction besides articles on literary criticism.

Essays appeared mostly in the Atlantic Monthly. There they were numerous. The Century, Scribner's, and Harper's also published some. A writer in the Chautauquan summed up the views of the essayists of this period. They reported, he wrote, that the ideals of American life were substantially those of our forefathers; sectional feeling was fast disappearing; the nation was not universally money-mad; even those who seemed most devoted to wealth were interested in the game rather than in the stakes and gave away their winnings with unparalleled generosity; our fortunes, great and small, had not always been honestly acquired; which was part of
the price we had to pay for living at too intense a pace. This is perhaps no essential contradiction to what already been stated about our attitude toward wealth.

In poetry the Century led all the others by far. The other literary magazines and the Outlook and the Chautauquan had a good many poems also. To prove that it was a poetry reading age William Dean Howells expressed his conviction that Rudyard Kipling, the young poet of India, was the best known man in the world. Of American poets James Whitcomb Riley had endeared himself to more people than any other American poet, not excluding Longfellow and Whittier. Other poets of real quality whom Howells mentioned were Stedman, Mr. and Mrs. Stoddard, Aldrich, Gilder, Hay, Harte, and Mr. and Mrs. Piatt. Another critic saw in poetry the sincerest form of literary expression. The poets warned the people of sin and greed, but in general, the view of American life which they presented in the form of poetry was more hopeful and more encouraging than that found in fiction or the drama.

Many of the best novels of the time first appeared in serial form in magazines before they were published in book form. Among the more prominent novelists we have Henry James, Edward Eggleston, Mary E. Wilkins, and especially William Dean Howells. He published his stories and novels in various periodicals. As a novelist he was a careful student of conditions and tendencies, and looked deeply into all phases of life. He was a born poet, claimed a writer, and he made himself a novelist.

Magazine contributors exerted a wide influence. Some of them wrote for half a dozen or more different periodicals. This is well illustrated in Table II. Ten magazines - the Atlantic, Century, Scribner's, Harper's, North American, Forum, Cosmopolitan, McClure's, Chautauquan, and the Arena - have been carefully examined with a view to determining the number of articles that certain prominent writers contributed to each during


the decade. Among the list of writers were novelists, short story writers, clergymen, university presidents, and professors, journalists, statesmen, naturalists, scientists, historians, editors, humorists, artists, poets, social workers, philosophers, military men, and capitalists.
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Table II - Foot-note

From Table I it is evident that Harper's, McClure's, Scribner's, the Cosmopolitan, and the Atlantic, were very active in fiction. Under the heading "stories" not only short fiction stories have been counted but also serials and novels - each installment being counted as a separate article - and some true stories.
Perhaps nobody contributed more short stories during these years than Richard Harding Davis, and B. O. Flower led all the rest in the number of articles he contributed; but they all appeared in the Arena. Theodore Roosevelt wrote for nine of the ten magazines, and William Dean Howells and Henry Cabot Lodge were contributors to all but two journals each.
So much was written about Napoleon that a writer sounded an alarm. He said a military wave was passing over the country which was probably intended to keep down labor disturbances. Napoleon, he said, had been idolized in essay, story, poem, portrait, and panegyric, in magazines, newspapers, and reviews. At the same time boys had been drilled in the schools of the large cities with guns and in uniform. This followed upon the heels of a great increase in the number of armories located at places where they would do most good in case of labor riots such as took place in Homestead and Pullman.

A point that critics of American literature frequently brought out was its sectional character. To mention only a few writers from the main sections of the country, there were Howells and Mary E. Wilkins for New England; Thomas Nelson Page, Charles Egbert Craddock and George W. Cable for the South; and Edward Eggleston, James Whitcomb Riley, Hamlin Garland, Mrs. Gertrude Atherton and Bret Harte from the West. The literature of the West and the Middle West had its own peculiarities, according to Henry Mills Alden. It did not try to do

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away with art but with artifice. The men there devoted their energies to the mastering of nature, so the pursuit of literature fell largely to the women. Hamilton W. Mabie felt that the American people had come to sectional self-consciousness but not to national self-consciousness. The nation had not reached a clear understanding of itself. It had found powerful expression of her instincts and ideals, but only very inadequate expression on the side of art.

The social point of view, we were told, found more expression than before. Raymond MacDonald said in 1895 it was an age of reform, or at least an age of reformers, and literature had its proper place in reform. It must reflect what the people think. Not all kinds of reform, however, were equally adapted to artistic treatment. Problems of human liberty, like the slavery struggle, were well adopted to that kind of treatment; human appetite, like the prohibition question, defies the artist. The subjects that literature could help to reform at the time were the great humanizing

efforts in which standards of ethics and sociology sought the practical betterment of their brothers; not particular political or economic or religious movements. The Dial found the new social sympathy to be perhaps the greatest gain in recent literature. Much was written about "democratic art", and the writings of Tolstoy became more and more popular.

The Arena sometimes stressed this point to such a degree as to give a false impression of the literature in general, as in the following passage:

"Never have the rights of the masses been so dwelt upon, never has there gone up such a mighty protest for justice for the oppressed as to-day. Our literature, from the newspaper to the most solid review, from the family weekly to the popular novel, is ablaze with moral enthusiasm... From the thinker in the seclusion of his study to the artisan at the bench and the farmer in the field, we find a profound intellectual awakening, which demonstrates the onward march of humanity". In this new age, he claimed, religion would play

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a big part.

Protest and moral enthusiasm there undoubtedly was, but it was not to be found in any considerable amount in the literary magazines, or the belles-lettres, of the decade. For every magazine, or book, or novel of these years that dealt in a serious way with reform in politics, or economics, or society, there were perhaps a dozen in the next decade.

Chapter V.

A DECADE OF PREPARATION: RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES
Chapter V.

People's conceptions of religion and theology underwent a mighty transformation during the second half of the nineteenth century. This was due to the rapid advance of science and biblical and historical criticism, and to the increasing knowledge of other religions. It resulted in much uneasiness and skepticism, but also in a truer understanding of the functions of religion. And who will say that the "moral awakening" of the first decade of the twentieth century was not partially due to the fact that people had ceased to be interested in theology and had turned their attention to practical, ethical, human affairs?

There can be no question as to the reality of the revolution that was taking place in the nineties. One sees it written large everywhere. Even conservative papers and journals that would not themselves ex-

1. A good example of this was the first article of the first copy of the Arena, entitled "Agencies that are Working a Revolution in Theology". It was an able article, written by Minot J. Savage, a noted Unitarian minister. Savage, Minot J., "Agencies that are Working a Revolution in Theology", Arena, Vol. I (December, 1889), pp. 1-14.
cept the findings of modern science and philosophy felt themselves called upon to defend their position against this revolution.

Modern historical and literary criticism can probably be traced back as far as the Italian Renaissance, and the Italian critics did not hesitate to apply their new methods to the Bible, but the full development of biblical criticism was left for the nineteenth century. During the decade under review, there was much discussion of it in the popular magazines. The Arena said in 1891 heresy was spreading widely among the churches. Leading men in the Protestant churches were rejecting the verbal inspiration of the Bible and the dogma of eternal damnation, and it was causing much uneasiness among the orthodox. The Chau- tauquan discussed the subject of higher criticism in 1889. The editor explained briefly what was meant by the term and then went on to say that we were perhaps more interested in the results that these methods produced than in the thing itself. The question under

discussion at the time, was whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch. President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago and others held that he did not. The editor was convinced that there must be the same freedom in applying scientific methods to the Bible that was to be found elsewhere. The Truth cannot be harmed by any new knowledge, though he doubted whether the 3 critics of Moses had a good case.

Goldwin Smith published an article in the "North American Review on "Christianity's Millstone", which aroused much comment in other journals. By the millstone he meant the Old Testament. He thought these old accounts were so faulty in science and fact, so incredible and crude, that a theology based on it was positively harmful. The Nation made a lengthy reply. Smith, it said, seemed to have lost sight of the religious movement for the last thirty years. The documentary theory was doing for theology what the "Origin of Species" had done for natural science. Just what people did

think about the Old Testament it was hard to determine; most of them perhaps did not think about it at all. For the pulpit it seemed to serve as a sort of homiletic treasury of curious texts, inviting to ingenious handling. It was with the creeds, not the Old Testament, that Mr. Smith had his quarrel, and there his assault was overwhelming.

Public Opinion for December 26, 1895, reported a number of other replies, among them that of the Toronto Week, which claimed that no Christian scholar of note any longer held to the doctrine of verbal inspiration, as Mr. Smith asserted in his article. He should have pointed out that there was among scholars a newer and truer theory of inspiration, one which recognized all the faults which he pointed out. Then it severely criticized his unwise attack upon the people's religious beliefs.

In the same year an article appeared in the Century on the subject. The writer shows that higher criticism had taught us to see the Old Testament with

5. "The Old Testament Scriptures", Public Opinion, December 26, 1895. The documentary theory applied to the Old Testament holds that the Pentateuch and some other books are composed of two or more original documents.
new eyes. He explained what the phrase "higher criticism" was generally held to mean among scholars. It was a "method of knowledge by means of which all questions concerning the literary structure or form, the historical character and credibility, the authorship, date, and literary position of any writings, may be determined, especially by a careful scrutiny of the writings themselves, and by comparison of them with other writings which may throw light upon them." Higher criticism was a true friend of religion, although it might appear behind a mask of rationalism. It restored the great literature of the Hebrews for us, it revealed the points of unity between science and religion, and it showed that the spiritual development of mankind has been a progressive course of revelation. It has taught us that we must go back to the person of Christ.

People began to realize that the Bible was the record of the religious experiences of a preeminently religious people. That it was, therefore, a human document.

The development of science also influenced the theology of the last half of the nineteenth century profoundly. The Ptolemaic system of astronomy, under which much of the old theology grew up, had been exploded centuries before, but the theology persisted well into this century. In 1859 Darwin published his "Origin of Species", and before 1890 the theory of evolution was playing havoc with the old theology. The earth was not created in six days, said Mr. Savage in the article already referred to, but in millions of years; man had lived on earth not only six thousand years, but perhaps at least two hundred thousand years. He came from the jungle close on the border of the animal world, and has ascended, not fallen. For a while the church generally opposed the claims and assertions of the scientists, but the more progressive preachers came to be very much interested in the discoveries of science. And scientific terms were used in nearly every defence of the faith.

The relation between the theory of evolution and Christianity was repeatedly discussed. St. George Minard had a series of four articles on this subject.
in volume thirteen of the *Cosmopolitan*, and Lyman Abbott had thirteen articles on the "Theology of An Evolutionist", in volume fifty-five (1897) of the *Outlook*. This was a modest and sensible interpretation of spiritual religion. In discussing the place of "Christ" in the scheme of evolution he questioned whether the divinity of Christ differed in kind or only in degree from the divinity of other men. Differences in degree are sometimes so great that they become equivalent to a difference in kind. With this one great qualification, he answered without reservation that the difference was in degree and not in kind.

The study of "Comparative Religion" came about largely as a result of missionary activity. Missionaries came into contact with various religions, and it became evident that Christianity and religion are not synonymous terms. In 1871 James Freeman Clarke published his first volume of "Ten Great Religions". In 1886 the twenty-second edition of it was published. Men came to emphasize the moral and ethical side of religion, rather than the theological. If God has

infinite power and infinite wisdom that He has also infinite obligation. And if He condemns any soul to everlasting punishment he is unjust. Men no longer worship a God who is below their own moral level.

In connection with the Columbian Exposition in Chicago a World's Parliament of Religions was held, composed of representatives of ten religions. It was visited by more than 150,000 people. This Parliament of Religions was widely discussed in the newspapers and periodicals of the time. A writer in the Review of Reviews believed it would mark an era in human history. Since it has been held the various religious communities, whether Christian or non-Christian, would never be able to take up again to each other quite their old attitude. The fierce hatred and deadly intolerance which once generally prevailed had received their death.

The subjects of psychical research and spiritualism, too, received a great deal of attention. Perhaps all magazines dealt with it. The volumes for 1892 and 1894 of the Arena were full of it.

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ism appealed to love and hope, and not so much to the intellect. Thousands of people believed in it. Departed friends would call to those who were left behind, and tell them that death was only another birth. The "spirits" were never orthodox, and the whole movement tended to undermine the orthodox theology.

The person around whom the storms of controversy raged perhaps most fiercely was Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll. He had two articles in the "North American Review" in 1889 and 1890 on the subject, "Why Am I An Agnostic?" It was evident that he had been strongly influenced by the scientific movement. From the laws of probability, he said, we cannot reach any definite conclusion about religion. All peoples develop their own religions, and ignorance and tradition induce the great mass of people to adhere to them. If there is a God, why does he tolerate misery and injustice? If he created the universe, who created him? Missionaries go to heathen lands and demand that the inhabitants renounce their own religions and accept Christianity, without investigation. We must examine

10. Savage, W. J., loc. cit.
all religions, and then we must arrive at some conclusion. The sacred books all contain some truth.

Darwin and Huxley and the other great scientists know, then thousand times more about the earth than all the writers of the sacred books. We feel that we are forever dealing with the superficial and the relative; the real and the absolute always elude us. "We do not know." The Christian religion rests on miracles. In science there are no miracles. If the Bible is not literally inspired, or if the books that compose it are not authentic, Christianity breaks down. If all the historic books of the Bible were blotted from the memory of mankind, nothing of importance would be lost. He ended this second article with this bit of characteristic dogmatism: "To-day the intelligence of the world denies the miraculous. Ignorance is the soil of the supernatural. The foundation of Christianity has crumbled, has disappeared, and the entire fabric must fall. The natural is true, the miraculous is false." 

These articles, of course, created much interest in the public press. The *North American* asked Lyman Abbott to write a reply to them for publication. This he did in the April number under the title "Flaws In Ingersollism". It was a dispassionate treatise on the value of religion.

The next month Archdeacon Farrar had an article on "Ingersollism" in the same magazine. He severely criticized the famous Agnostic for his dogmatism and showed him to be an amateur in theology.

Ingersoll wrote and published articles on Thomas Paine, M. Renan, and Tolstoy. These afforded opportunities for voicing his religious sentiments in the press. At the end of the century, and the year of his death, there appeared one last article by him on the "Agnostic Side". In it he expressed some beautiful sentiments in eloquent words, and closed with this appeal: "Preach, I pray you, the gospel of Intellectual..."

Hospitality— the liberty of thought and speech. Take from loving hearts the awful fear. Have mercy on your fellow men. Do not drive to madness the mothers whose tears are falling on the pallid faces of those who died in unbelief. Pity the erring, wayward, suffering, weeping world. Do not proclaim as 'tidings of great joy' that an Infinite Spider is weaving webs to catch the souls of men."

After his death there appeared many estimates of the man and of his probable influence on humanity. Some thought he had done harm, others believed his denunciations were beneficial. A bold argument for a false theory sometimes helps us to discover the true theory, said his friend Henry M. Field.

A similar review was made by Public Opinion after the death of Huley. Brief statements were collected and presented from a dozen different newspapers.

and journals from all parts of the country and from different shades of religious belief. All agreed in the opinion that Huxley had honestly sought to promote the truth. The Kansas City Star summed it up in one brief paragraph: "It is a question whether the churches have lost a friend or an enemy in the death of Professor Huxley. His attacks upon the preachers never weakened one whit the basic principles of the Christian system. But what they did do or helped to do was to explode those narrow and intolerant dogmas which offend reason and which have always been harmful to the church. Conduct and character have taken precedence of belief and adherence to fixed forms of worship. The church is stronger for the change, and the world is vastly better." 17

The problem of immortality was repeatedly considered. Lester F. Ward explained that man universally has experience with such natural phenomena as swooning, trance, insanity, dreams, shadows, reflections, echoes, and death. These make people believe in spirits, usually evil spirits, and in supernatural manifestations of nature.

17. "Professor Huxley and Religion", Public Opinion, July 18, 1895."
From the belief in spirits and the supernatural it is but a step to the belief in immortality. Goldwin Smith, writing on the same subject, said science had taught us that soul and body were indivisible from each other. He admitted, however, that there might be things which science cannot know. Everybody revolts against the idea that the just and the unjust should come to exactly the same end. But we do not know. Others were more hopeful.

In 1896 the venerable English statesman, William E. Gladstone, published six articles on "The Future of Life and the Condition of Man Therein", in the North American Review. It was an orthodox attempt to prove the immortality of the soul.

Skepticism and agnosticism were apparently very common during the latter part of the century. One writer divided agnosticism into four forms. The first form which he mentioned he called the common irreligious agnosticism. It is crude, ignorant and lazy. It claims that nobody knows anything about religion; and

is glad to see religious sects quarrel among each other. Secondly, there is religious agnosticism. It is tender, humble, pious, emotional. The people who are possessed by it do not think much about God; they feel and are quiet. Many of the great poets belong here. Thirdly, there is painful agnosticism. To this class those people who have tried to settle their doubts with reason and have failed, belong. These people say nothing about religion for they know not what to say. Lastly, there is scientific agnosticism. This is generally not demonstrated but accepted. It is not so much a conviction as a convenience.

The philosophy of pessimism was examined in the Atlantic Monthly, in 1902, and was said to be in great repute at the time. The modern pessimist does not rail at or curse God; nor does he despise man or parade his gloom before mankind like Schopenhauer. The agnostic, said this writer, belongs to a dogmatic sect which for the most part decries what it calls the superstition of other people. The pessimist hates dogmatism. The

20: Dutton, J. Frederic, "Forms of Agnosticism", Public Opinion, August 16, 1890. Also, Unitarian Review, August, 1890.
American pessimist is as profoundly and as completely skeptical as his European fellow, but he is less brutal. He has inherited from his Puritanic ancestors a "fastidious scrupulosity of conscience". He has no vices, is gentle, tender, mild, and infinitely tolerant. He abhors convictions, although he is a patient and interested listener. He seldom talks about his troubles, and rarely does a person get a glimpse into the profound darkness that is in his soul.

The cause for much of this skepticism was, no doubt, the rapid advance of science, not only physical science but also literary and historical science. So many great discoveries had been made since the middle of the century that it left intelligent people guessing what to expect next. The theories as to the creation and development of the universe and of man and of the Bible and of creeds and institutions had all been profoundly modified. Where would these revolutionary discoveries lead?


An interesting article along similar lines appeared in the Forum a few years later on the philosophy of Melliorism, a term which George Eliot is said to have invented herself. Browne, Junius Henri, "The Philosophy of Melliorism", Forum, Vol. 22 (January, 1897), pp. 624-632.
stop? What were the limitations of science? Scientists did not hesitate to enroach upon the field of the theologians and the philosophers. In the exaltation of youth science attempted to lord it over the entire field of human knowledge. Nor were the people accustomed to differentiate clearly between religion and certain kinds of literature and institutions and creeds and traditions. So when biblical and historical criticism proved that the Bible and the church and the creeds were all human products, many doubted whether there was any place left for religion. The result was agnosticism and skepticism.

In the mean time the different churches were rapidly gaining in membership; and although skepticism was a characteristic of the more educated classes, a great many people were still orthodox, and the camp meeting and the revival were not given up. One observer found that a large number of the people in the large cities never went to church. They were not skeptics but they were perplexed by the many problems that grow out of our complex competitive civilization. The Scriptures were very popular with the mass of the people. No preacher in the English tongue, he thought, with
adverse criticism of the Bible could get a large popular hearing. Some of the most fascinating themes that could be presented were future punishment, the judgment, and eternal justice. These city folks were not angry at any great wrong, but they were sad and in despair of the outlook for their children. He would have camp meetings with orators who would assert judgment, justice, mercy, the resurrection, heaven, hell, and a Savior.
And this should be proclaimed with unspeakable ardor and unfettered by conventional rules. But denominational lines should not be drawn. What the Protestant 22 churches need is feeling and emotion.

The tendency in the churches as well as elsewhere was toward liberalism. The Chautauquan regarded this as one of the most important changes that were silently coming about. Dogmatism, it said, had gone out of fashion. No wise man any longer boasted of the "peculiar doctrines" of his particular church. He felt that the church of Jesus Christ had no business with peculiar doctrines. Christians were approaching each other in thought and feeling. A few years later the

same magazine commented again on the liberality of the period. The policy of the churches toward recreation and amusements were becoming more liberal. It was an age of education in the church rather than of revival work. It was also a time of theological controversy, investigation, inquiry, reflection, and interest, but hardly of enthusiastic religious endeavor. The church was encamped, debating over the situation and questioning as to the methods and objects of its warfare. These things might all be good and necessary, said the editor, but the army of the Lord must always march forward. People cannot live on controversy and religious inaction. A revival was probably at hand.

Then again he informed his readers that liberalism was spreading itself all through politics and religion. Preachers easily crossed the denominational lines. Numerous instances were mentioned where preachers served other churches than their own. Even Catholicism seemed to be growing more liberal. Lyman Abbott was reported

to have said that it was impossible to determine the denominational bias of a preacher from his sermons.

Churches began to cooperate in common tasks, and interdenominational conventions were held. In 1894 several such conventions considered the political and religious needs of the cities, and it was agreed to make the cities the centers of political and religious attack. The Christian Endeavor movement was interdenominational. It held frequent conventions. In 1895 it had a membership reaching far above two million, composed of red, yellow, black, and white members. In that year it held a convention in Boston at which 56,265 delegates were registered and more than 500 meetings were held. All leading denominations were represented.

Another movement that was becoming very evident in the church and outside of it was the social

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movement. In discussing social settlement work Jane Addams stated in 1892 that one of the chief motives for such work was a renaissance of Christianity. People wanted some natural way to express their fellow feeling, and turned to the simple method of Christ; of doing good without iconoclasm. One editor said there was a genuine and general desire that men should be treated justly, and should have opportunities to provide for the comforts of life. The poor, the rich, the weak, the degraded, and the criminal were regarded as public cares. The brotherhood of man was more than a sentiment, it was becoming a practical principle of society. Cruelty, polygamy, licentiousness, and intemperance was persistently warred against. There was a quick conscience on these lines, and public men, the press and parties, claimed public favor because of their activity in furthering these causes. In the matter of common honesty, however, he admitted the public conscience was apathetic.

The Nation would have people believe that many ministers were preaching and teaching about Socialism. This did them credit, it showed their humanitarian spirit. All this talk about a "diseased society" and about "social wrongs" disturbed them. Only they ought to remember that the people to whom they preached did not belong to the classes that were favorable to social changes.

There were some exciting controversies in some of the churches during these years. In the Presbyterian church "higher criticism" and the Westminster Confession caused trouble. Much of the controversy centered about the person of Prof. Charles A. Briggs of the Union Theological Seminary. In the Congregational church Prof. George D. Herron came in for some severe criticism on account of his ideas of applied Christianity. And there were controversies in the Episcopal and Catholic

34. "What has been Gained by Recent Religious Controversy?" Chautauquan, Vol. 13, (August, 1891).
35. Ibid.
churches. Much was written about them in the public press, and the cardinal principles of Christianity were freely discussed. The result was that the old severe theology was forced to yield.

The Roman Catholic church received considerable attention in the Forum, the North American Review, Public Opinion and other periodicals. The problems of religious authority, of the confessional, of religious education, and the rapid growth of an authoritative religion in a free country were discussed in connection with Catholicism.

From Table I it will be seen that the Outlook led all other periodicals of this group in the field of religion. Its editor-in-chief was Lyman Abbott, who has already been several times referred to. He was a clergyman and from 1888 to 1899 pastor of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Besides serving this big and famous church and editing the Outlook he found time for frequent contribution to other magazines. Few men exerted such a wholesome and steadying influence over the religious movements of the period. The tone

36. Ibid.
of the Outlook was always honest, open-minded, and philosophically and historically progressive. Washington Gladden was another prominent clergyman who found time for numerous articles in various periodicals.

Besides the Outlook, the Arena, the Chautauquan, the Forum, and the North American Review gave much space to religion. Then there were the religious journals which gave most of their attention to this field.

The tendencies of the religious discussions of the second half of the nineteenth century were so well summed up in 1890 that the summary might as well have been made ten years later. There were especially three tendencies according to this authority: First, there was an earnest and ethical tone that pervaded the utterances of both the apologists and of the critics of Christianity. Nobody demanded the elimination of the idea of God, not even the agnostics. What they declared was that we do not know what God is. The theistic conviction was more generally held and more strongly intrenched than ever.

Second, the drift of modern thought was not anti-religious, but the reverse. It was anti-ecclesiastical and anti-dogmatic. The essential content of
religion was more sharply distinguished from church practices and from theology than before.

Third. Jesus Christ was treated with reverence. He was regarded as the greatest religious teacher of history. Modern criticism was at heart reverent and Christian.

For the last decade alone it can perhaps be said that the dogmatic tone in religious discussions became less pronounced. Critics of religion and Christianity began to see that science could not usurp the place of religion. Ingersoll's defense of Agnosticism in 1899 seems milder, less dogmatic, and more ethical than in 1890. Professor Thomas Henry Huxley died in 1895 and left no scientific successor to attack Christian theology as aggressively as he had done. The philosophic limitations of science and the eternal place of religion in human society became more evident.

This made possible a saner application of the principles of Christianity to practical affairs in the next decade.

37. Behrends, A. J. F., Forum, June, 1890. Also, Public Opinion, June 14, 1890.
Chapter VI.

BEGINNINGS OF MUCK-RAKING, 1900-1902
Chapter VI.

It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that newspapers and fiction-writers were engaged in muck-raking even before the periodicals took it up, but that the most important part of this work was left to the popular magazines.

It began gradually. There was very little of it during the first two years of the century. It came into vogue in 1903, and the second half of 1904 and 1905 saw perhaps the most sensational publications that respectable periodicals ever undertook.

The only high-class periodical that deliberately and persistently aimed at social, economic and political reform before 1902, and therefore fearlessly exposed corruption in these fields and sounded warnings, was the Arena. In 1900 it published an article by Frank Parsons, which declared that though the trust and monopoly problems were great, the giant issue of that time was whether the republic should be transformed into an empire, whether the Philippine Islands should be freed

1. Chapter III.
and the Declaration of Independence preserved.

Another writer exposed the election frauds of Philadelphia of 1899. It was shown, among other things, that in February, 1899, three names appeared in the assessor's list in a certain division; were placed on the ballot at the election of that month and duly declared elected. In November three men were imported from Washington. They assumed those names, went to boss Samuel Salter of the division and obtained from him all the paraphernalia of election which he had previously - though illegally - obtained from the county commissioner. One of these men then turned state's evidence and exposed the whole fraud. Another man admitted that he had voted thirty-eight times in the election of 1899.

Munsey's Magazine was never a muckraking journal, but in 1900 it had several articles that indicated very clearly the trend of public interest. There were two on the trusts, one by Senator William E. Chandler and the other by Arthur McEwen. The former

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lamented the disappearance of competition. Large scale production reduces the cost of commodities to the producer, but not to the consumer, he claimed. The savings will go into large salaries and big dividends. The danger of the trusts is that they will destroy competition, crush out individualism and equal opportunities, and put the control of society, into the hands of opulent oligarchies. The remedy, he thought, was with the state legislatures, - the power that charters corporations. The latter believed trusts to be natural products of their environment, without morals or scruples. They will eliminate each other just as they have put individuals out of the race. It is a system of corruption that will have to be broken or it will break society. Unrestricted, the trusts will establish the worst kind of socialism - the "communism of self". The remedy against them they have taught themselves, - it is united action. People must cease looking only after their own private business and put a limit to this great modern revolutionist that is giving us a proletariat and that is breeding multi-

tudes of radicals. The people are favorably disposed toward municipal ownership of public utilities.

One article dealt with the relation of business and politics. The Third Avenue Railroad Company of New York had failed. The writer said it was a company in good standing which had done good business but it did not hesitate to make use of political influence. It sought to obtain franchises, favors and exemptions that could be secured only from the municipality. The franchises were obtained, but then the politicians made such heavy demands on the company in various ways that it failed, and the people lost millions of dollars. For this situation the politicians received the blame. They created temptations for the man in public life. The only safe remedy for this condition is a thoroughly aroused public sentiment.


"Whenever and wherever the knowledge of corruption in public places is spread through the business community, personal honesty and integrity will be weakened just as surely as slow poison saps the vitality of the human body. Let the impression go abroad that political influence will obtain business advantages, and the first impulse aroused is a determination to
In the same year the Century Magazine had a remarkable editorial on city franchises. Corporations who are engaged in the performance of public service in cities, says the editorial, are showing

6. (Continued). 'hustle' for the favors. A favor granted is an obligation created. A business advantage obtained from a politician calls for a campaign contribution; and the next favor is too often a cash transaction...

"As a matter of fact, they (the politicians) are wholly responsible in so far as they create temptations that are too strong for the weak man in public life to resist... There is but one safe and permanent remedy for the dangerous condition of public affairs where political dishonesty destroys personal and business integrity and no corporate investment is secure. That remedy is a thoroughly aroused public sentiment that will not tolerate wrong doing in public or private life, and will not hesitate to attack and destroy any political power that breeds or excuses crime. It is a slander on humanity to say that a majority of the citizens of New York, or of any municipality in the country, are dishonest.... Political dishonesty can be destroyed in a year, if every honest voter in the community will become an active politician, and see to it that only honest and capable men are elected to office, and that corruption does not become intrenched in public places. Dishonesty in politics is born of the negligence of honest men."
remarkable activity in the direction of securing ex-
tension or confirmation of the privileges which they
enjoy. Legislatures and city councils are appealed to
for longer franchises and fixed rates for service.
These companies are in almost all cases enormously
over-capitalized. They want to pay interest on two
or three times as much capital as they have actually
invested. It is amazing that so little is said about
this watered stock in the public discussions. The peo-
ple are beginning to realize that the streets belong to
them and that the right to do business in them is very
valuable. The companies fear if they do not get legal
concessions soon their profits will be reduced. That
accounts for their activity. They should not be per-
mitted to levy tribute upon the public for stock which
represents no expenditure. This is just what in nearly
every instance they are trying to do. The flagrant
injustice of such concession which oppress the poor, and
the perfidy of the city officials who sacrifice the
public welfare to their own greed, may be furnishing
the materials for one of the darkest chapters in our
political history.

7. Editorial, "Public Peril in City Franchises", Cen-
tury, Vol. 60 (June, 1900), pp. 311-312.
In 1901 the Arena was clearly in the lead in agitating for reform. In January of that year Mr. B. O. Flower suggested a program of progress that created considerable attention. During the last two years, he assured his readers, the country had moved away from the ideal of free government more rapidly than in any previous decade of our whole history.

Never before did we ape monarchies so. Some of the demands of the present are: a return to the Declaration of Independence; limitation of private monopoly; government ownership of natural monopolies; direct legislation by means of the initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the imperative mandate; compulsory arbitration; and the employment of the unemployed.

In July the same editor was trying to encourage the reformers who were disheartened at the seeming listlessness and indifference of the people by pointing out to them that there were real progressive leaders in all departments of life who were laying deep foundations.

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Edwin Markham and Ernest Crosby were good poets, John Ward Stimson and John Joseph Enneking were artists, William T. Stead is a journalist, Frank Parsons, Thomas Elmer Will, Edward Bemis, John R. Commons and Richard T. Ely were professors and authorities on social and political and economic subjects, and Samuel M. Jones and Tom L. Johnson were prominent civic leaders.

In the same issue he discussed the situation in Cleveland. Major Johnson has riveted the attention of the nation upon himself as no other man in public life. He has found the main source of municipal corruption to come from the desire to own and control valuable public franchises. In his judgment the solution lies in municipal ownership and monopoly of public utilities. In Cleveland a street-railway company refused a value of $29,000,000, at the same time it paid taxes on only $2,000,000. Other street railway companies paid taxes on three per cent of their real value, while small business men pay on a valuation of fifty to ninety percent of the real value of their

business. Frank Parsons contributed a series of very stimulating and suggestive articles on "Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century." He showed that in history, education, production of economic goods, and in other ways, the movements of the century had been in favor of the people, - in favor of freedom and happiness. But when it comes to the distribution of wealth, the movement is against the people.

The April number (1901) of the Cosmopolitan contained a four-page article in large type, reporting a great financial combination between the J. P. Morgan, the Rothschild, and the Rockefeller houses, with a total capital of $3,400,000,000. This combination was reported to have taken place on March 3, 1901. The decisive battles of the future, says the writer, will not be fought with arms and armies, but by those who control the world's supply of money. "March third marked the beginning of the most wonderful revolution in the world's history. This will be a bloodless revolution and will eventually carry its blessings to the most remote parts of the earth. Governmental divisions will

cease to exist except as a means to carry out mandates
decided upon in the executive offices of the world's
commercial metropolis. We are living in what is
without doubt the most interesting period of the world's
history. Will Messers. Rockefeller and Morgan, having
reduced production to scientific lines, proceed to the
analysis of the problem of distribution? They must*

The Steel Trust was repeatedly considered during the
year. Richard T. Ely showed that the trust
movement was strong and that monopoly might go far if
left unchecked The people were beginning to be dis-
trustful of trusts. Ray Stannard Baker wrote about
it for McClure's Magazine, describing it and showing
admiration for it rather than distrust.

McClure's had an article which showed the
connection between the New York police and the criminal
elements; the Cosmopolitan also exposed the corruption

11 Walker, John Brisben, "The World's Greatest Revolu-
12 Ely, Richard T., "An Analysis of the Steel Trust,"
13 Baker, Ray Stannard, "What the United States Steel
Corporation really is, and how it Works", McClure's
14 Flynt, Josiah, "The Tammany Commandment", McClure's
Vol. 17 (August, 1901), pp. 543-549.
of New York politics; and a writer for Everybody's Magazine held the rich responsible for a big share of the vice and crime of New York City.

During most of 1902 things moved along much as in 1901, the Arena putting her whole soul into the conflict and some of the others publishing an occasional article that voiced the smouldering discontent of the political and economic trend of affairs. Possibly the distrust and discontent was not as general as it became a few years later, for the Arena repeatedly complain's of the indifference of the masses. This, writes the editor, is the most alarming aspect of the battle for freedom.

In May a news item from the Atlanta Constitution was commented on. An attempt had been made to circulate the Declaration of Independence among the Filipinos, done in English and Spanish in parallel columns.

17. Topics of the Times, "The Titanic Conflict of the Present", Arena, Vol. 27 (February, 1902) pp. 204-207.
It was promptly suppressed, and one of the best American officers called it "a damned incendiary document".

The spirit of the present revolutionary movement demands equality and opportunity and fraternity. The key-note is "all for all", or as Massini put it, "From each man according to his ability; to each man according to his need". This means co-operation along the line that the Rochdale Society in England carries on.

The trusts were again repeatedly considered. The new controversy of the dollar is wholly reactionary in the influence, Mr. Flower wrote, and has a corrupting effect on the government in all its ramifications, as well as on the public opinion-molding agencies of the country. Nearly every necessity and luxury of life is now in the hands of protected bodies whose rapid and fabulous increase of wealth is an eloquent answer to the sophistries of their paid apologists.


The report of the steel trust shows that for the preceding year its products were worth $459,000,000. After deducting all expenses it had a net profit of $81,500,000. Of American purchases it charged $28.50 a ton for steel, while Englishmen got it from the same trust for $22.50 a ton. Protection no longer protests, but fosters monopolies. President Schwab gets a salary of $1,000,000 a year, while the average daily wage paid by the combination is only $2.50. This is robbing the American people and enslaving the nation to class-conscious capitalistic organizations that are a baleful and reactionary influence on free and popular government. Nobody who has not been blinded by prejudice will fail to see from these figures that the tariff on steel is placing the American nation at the mercy of this predatory band, he contended.

Frank Parsons criticized the President and Congress for not making use of the powers which the federal government has to control the trusts.

This year Everybody's Magazine printed articles that plainly belonged to the literature of exposure. Frank Norris wrote a story of Kansas farmer who was ruined because the stock gamblers brought the price of wheat down to 62 cents a bushel. He went to Chicago to find work. Soon he had sunk into the bread line. Then the free distribution of bread was suspended because the stock gamblers had raised the price of wheat to two dollars a bushel. Thus the speculation on wheat ruined both the producers and the ultimate consumer.

The same writer gave a frank description of conditions and the life of the miners in the coal region during strike time.

David Graham Phillips wrote on the career in purely machine politics of David B. Hill; Mary Manners contributed a series on the idle rich.

and Bessie and Marie Van Horst wrote a series on the experiences of working women.

The *Cosmopolitan* announced in May, 1902, that some twenty or thirty pages would be devoted each month to brief sketches of the leading captains of industry, - some forty to sixty in all. John Pierpont Morgan received the first treatment of about two pages. Woodrow Wilson was included in the list of industrial leaders, because he was a type of university president.

*Collier's Weekly* showed both sides of the controversy in the Pennsylvania coal strike in articles that were written by sympathizers of the miners and of the operators.

Ernest Howard Crosby wrote interestingly on the dangers of an aristocracy for the *Independent*. All true aristocracies have been predominant in at least three fields, the political, the economic and the social. Of the industrial and political fields our multi-millionaires are already masters. The United States Senate is a "plutocratic club", whose members

no longer represent states, but great combinations of wealth. Up till now these people have had no social ambitions, but at present this ambition is manifesting itself too. A stratafication of wealth is dangerous to a country. We ought to take pride in being human, in keeping in touch with the beggar and the tramp as well as with queens and conquerors.

The chief innovation of the year came from McClure's during the last few months. In the October number Claude H. Wetmore and Lincoln Steffens had an article on "Tweed Days in St. Louis". It dealt with Joseph W. Folk's exposures in Missouri, and was a thoroughly muck-raking article. It was the beginning of McClure's and Mr. Steffens' brilliant career of exposures of municipal corruption.

The same number of McClure's contained a four-page announcement of Ida M. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company", which was to begin to appear as a serial in the next issue. The publication of this

important work marks a mile-stone in the history of muck-raking, and will receive consideration in a later connection.

Muck-raking may be said to have become militant in 1903, and sensational in 1904, and 1905. McClure's was the first to assume an aggressive attitude, aside from the Arena, and it developed into a great national magazine. In 1904 Everybody's plunged into the fray, and the Cosmopolitan and a number of other periodicals followed one by one. Instead of tracing the movement in a chronological order it seems wiser to deal with it topically. The period covered is roughly the decade after 1902. In a later chapter some of the chief muck-raking magazines will be considered as agencies in the movement for reform.

30. See Chapter VIII.
Chapter VII.

MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION
Chapter VII.

Many of the evils which the muck-rakers exposed were to be found in the cities. About the same time that Miss Tarbell began to expose the corrupt and criminal methods of big business in McClure's, Lincoln J. Steffens started his exposure of corruption in municipal government in the same periodical. Mention has already been made of his article on "Tweed Days in St. Louis" in the October number for 1902. In the January number for 1903 he had one on "The Shame of Minneapolis". He showed what ideals and methods dominated the Ames administration of that city, which began on January 7, 1901. This was the fourth term of Dr. Albert A. Ames as mayor. Twice he had been elected by the Democrats and twice by the Republicans. Immediately after his last election, Steffens asserted, he began to gather about him a group of plunderers and planned to "open" the city to outlaws and criminals of all kinds. That was done. He nominated his brother, Colonel Fred W. Ames, chief-of-police, and made an ex-gambler, Norman W. King, chief of detectives. This officer's chief function was to invite to Minneapolis thieves, gamblers, pickpockets, confidence men, and other criminals, and arrange with them the division of the
spoils of their trades. Prisoners from the city jails were let loose to assist in collecting revenues for the gang. Irwin A. Gardner, a medical student, was made special policeman for the sole purpose of collecting money from prostitutes. One hundred seven of the more decent among two hundred twenty-five policemen were dismissed. "Coffee John" Fitchette was made captain, and his sole duty was to sell places on the police force. Ames was a poor organizer, and soon there was friction in his machine. In April 1902 the grand jury met with Hovey C. Clarke as foreman. He did much to break up the gang. He hired detectives at his own expense to collect evidence against the Ames clique. He was offered $28,000 to drop his proceedings, and when he refused plans were made to murder him. But he would not stop. One member after another was indicted and convicted. Fred W. Ames was sentenced to six and a half years in the penitentiary, Norbeck to three, King to three and a half. Mayor Ames fled to Indiana after having been indicted for extortion, conspiracy, and bribe-offering. On November 4, 1902, a straight Republican ticket was elected with the exception of the mayor. The Republican candidate for that office was
suspected of being too intimate with the gang.

Two months later appeared "The Shamelessness of St. Louis" by the same writer. Here conditions were said to be even worse than in Minneapolis for the corruptionists preyed on the whole community and trafficked in franchises and municipal rights and property. Colonel Edward R. Butler, an Irishman by birth and a horseshoer by trade, became the political boss of both parties and controlled the city council. For any sort of municipal service he charged money. If a neighborhood needed new street lamps it had to pay Butler before the lamps were supplied. Franchises could be obtained only through him, - until the councilmen began to deal directly with the capitalists.

The Central Traction deal in 1898 was one of the worst cases of bribery on record. Robert M. Snyder asked for a franchise to lay tracks all over the city, regardless of existing street-car lines. The street railway company offered Butler $175,000 to defeat the measure in the city council. Snyder spent $250,000 in bribing individual councilmen, and he secured the franchise.

Then he sold the franchise to his opponents, the street railway company for $1,250,000.

The next year the Suburban Traction deal was made, Steffens went on to say. Butler demanded $145,000 for the job. This seemed like an exorbitant price to the St. Louis Suburban Railway Company, so they carried it through the council themselves, at the cost of $144,000. Before this money was paid over to the councilmen, however, and before the company was in possession of the franchise, an injunction was served which prevented the granting of the franchise. The money - the $145,000 - was in safe deposit vaults, and a long fight for it followed. The company refused to pay it over because it had not received the franchise; the boodlers clamored for it because they had delivered their votes. In the attempt of the latter to invoke legal aid to collect the bribe money they were undone. When Joseph W. Folk, circuit attorney for the fourth district, heard about this fund to bribe assemblymen to pass a street railway franchise, he immediately subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury nearly a hundred persons, including councilmen, delegates, officers and directors of the Suburban Railway, bank presidents
and cashiers, and began a vigorous investigation.
A few of them turned state's evidence and told the
whole story. When Folk secured the conviction of the
first boodler who came up for trial, the ring broke,
and some prominent politicians and millionaires suddenly left the state. With additional evidence Folk
indicted sixteen more of the gang at one stroke.

The February grand jury characterized the members of the St. Louis house of delegates thus: "We found a
number of these utterly illiterate and lacking in ordinary intelligence, unable to give a better reason for
favoring or opposing a measure than a desire to act with
the majority. In some no trace of mentality or morality could be found; in others a low order of training
appeared united with a base cunning, groveling instincts,
and sordid desires. Unqualified to respond to the ordinary requirements of life, they are utterly incapable
of comprehending the significance of an ordinance, and
are incapacitated, both by nature and training, to be
the makers of laws. The choosing of such men to be
legislators makes a travesty of justice, sets a premium on incompetency, and deliberately poisons the
very source of the laws."

During this and the next year Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Chicago, and a number of other cities were similarly treated by Steffens. Then the articles were collected and published in book form under the title, "The Shame of the Cities." They dealt largely with materials that had been brought out in the courts or by grand jury, and were instrumental in first awakening the American people to municipal mal-administration. Steffens was careful to state the facts fairly and not to let his theories go beyond them. He showed that back of political corruption there was usually (if not always) business, and not the "ignorant foreign element."

The corruption of California, and especially of San Francisco was often exposed by the muck-rakers. George Kerman and Mrs. Fremont Older reported it for McClure's; Lincoln Steffens to the American Magazine in a series entitled, "The Mote and the Beam"; and

Charles Edward Russell showed the connection between the Southern Pacific Railroad and California politics in a series of articles in Hampton's Magazine in 1910.

In 1896 James D. Phelan, a rich Irish gentleman, was elected mayor of San Francisco. He gave the city a good administration but he was accused of being favorable to the employers and hostile to the workmen. Labor regarded the whole city government as a business government. Abraham Ruef organized this sentiment into a labor party. He had Eugene E. Schmitz, orchestra leader and a member of the Musicians' Union, nominated for mayor on the labor ticket. Labor won the election and gave San Francisco as bad a government as any business government had been. They used the same means and methods to the very same end, - "The betrayal of the common interest of all the people to the special interest of some of the people; the conversion of a representative democracy into a government representative of a privileged class, and the class preferred was Business", - not Labor. And the source of their corruption was business.

It was against this government that the reformers worked. Abraham Ruef was the political boss. He controlled a ring which was in control of the city council and officials. Anybody who wanted favors from the municipality had to deal with him. The result was untold bribery and corruption. To expose this ring and to break it up was the aim of such men as Fremont Older, managing editor of the San Francisco Bulletin, Rudolph Sprekels, the young progressive capitalist, and ex-mayor James D. Phelan. They enlisted the services of Francis J. Hen^y, the attorney who did so much to prosecute the ring leaders, and William J. Burns, the noted detective.

The election of 1905 resulted in another large victory for Mayor Schmitz and Abram Ruef. Burns arrived in San Francisco in September, 1906, and quietly set about collecting evidence. Hen^y was appointed assistant by District Attorney Langdon. For that act Langdon was removed by the assistant Mayor - Gallagher - (Mayor Schmitz was in Europe at the time), and Abram Ruef was appointed in his place. This aroused the public wrath, and judge Graham ruled that the mayor could not remove the District Attorney. So Langdon remained
and Henky helped in prosecuting the investigation.

For a little while the reformers were popular, but when the bribe-givers were endangered by the prosecution as well as the bribe-takers, then sentiment changed, and the prosecutors became decidedly unpopular. Fremont Older was lured into a car, wrote Mrs. Older, taken to a train and sent toward a southern part of the state, where the Southern Pacific Railroad was in complete control. (He was rescued before he had been carried very far). James Gallaher, the former paymaster of Ruef, who had agreed to testify against other ring members, narrowly escaped death when his house was dynamited. Francis J. Hen^y was shot in court but recovered. This act, however, stirred the city, and public sentiment came over to the prosecution, except among the fashionable. The Irish and German Americans did the best work for the city in this crisis, while the grafters were for the most part from New England and the South.

The San Francisco ring was finally broken up and Abram Ruef sent to the penitentiary.

S. S. McClure noticed that homicide and criminality were in the increase in America, so he made a study of many newspapers from all parts of the country, and published an account of it in his magazine under the title "The Increase of Lawlessness in the United States". He quoted sixteen newspapers to show the trend, and he cited statistics which had been collected by the Chicago Tribune on murders and homicides, from 1881 to 1903. In the former year there were 24.7 murders and homicides for every million people in this country, in 1903 there were 112 for the same number of people. The increase had been steady, although the worst period was during the great social unrest of 1894 to 1896. In 1895 the number went up to 152.3.

McClure was led to this study by Lincoln Steffens' investigations of governmental corruption. How could legislators, mayors, aldermen, policemen, or even police judges, who were elected by the methods which Steffens described in his articles, protect life and property? Could a body of policemen who engaged in blackmail, persecution, and criminal practices make a community law-abiding? Could a body of aldermen who combined to loot a city govern it well? His figures gave the answer.
The "American oligarchy" consisted of three classes: the saloon keepers, gamblers, and others who were in business that was degrading; contractors, capitalists, bankers and others who could make more money by bribery than by paying for franchises and other property of the community; and politicians who sought and accepted office with the aid of the above clauses. These three classes combined and formed the party machine. They made the laws and institutions, and they polluted free government at the source. They were "the murderers of a civilization".

The same editor was disappointed with the effects that Steffens' papers on municipal corruption produced on the American people. Steffens confined himself largely to the money waste and the wretchedly poor public service that resulted from this kind of government. But he did not say much about the increase of crime and lawlessness, and the traffic in vice, etc. So in the winter of 1906 to 1907 McClure made clippings from the Chicago papers to show the criminality and the insecurity of that city from her own papers. Before publishing that article he sent George Kibbe Turner to Chicago.

to study conditions there and to write an introductory article for McClure's, which was to be based solely on newspapers. Turner's investigations were of importance and his account of them appeared in an article in the April number for 1907, entitled "The City of Chicago". It was a study of the great immoralities of that city, and led to the activities that subsequently produced the Vice Commission Report in Chicago, which went far beyond Turner's article. He classified the business of dissipation into three classes. The first was the liquor trade. The receipts of the retail liquor trade for 1906 amounted to $115,000,000. The second was that of prostitution, with a gross revenue for the same year of $20,000,000. And the third was gambling, which brought in about $15,000,000 in 1906. He showed a first-hand familiarity with all these business organizations. There were at least 10,000 professional prostitutes, whose average annual receipts were $2000. Much of this, however, never reached them. Four large institutions exploited them, - the criminal hotels, the houses of ill-fame, the cheap dance halls

and saloons, and the men who deal in women for trade.
A prostitute's career lasted from five to ten years, and they kept themselves continually under the influence of alcoholic stimulants. After a while that was often not sufficient and then they acquired the drug habit.
Of about 5000 people in Chicago who used drugs a large proportion were prostitutes. The whole business was organized from the supplying of young girls to the drugging of the older and less salable women out of existence.

To carry on these businesses of dissipation it was necessary to go into politics and to buy protection. At least $200,000 a year had to be paid to the police, claimed Turner. One chief of police put away $187,000 during his few years in office.

An Englishman who made an investigation of American magazines said McClure's method was perhaps best shown in Mr. Turner's study of Chicago. "It condensed into a few fascinating pages, without rhetoric or emphasis of any kind, the most amazing picture of organized, police-protected vice and crime - a picture every line of which was evidently the result of patient, penetrating investigation, and intimate personal knowledge". Archer, William, "The American Cheap Magazine", Fortnightly Review, Vol. 87 (May, 1910), pp. 921-932.
McClure's article, "Chicago as Seen by Herself", appeared the next month, showing the wave of crime and murder that was passing over the city as reported by her own press. These were the results, said the writer, of vicious political influences in the administration of justice.

These articles made a much stronger impression in the public mind than the financial ones. Before the end of the following year Miss Tarbell could write her account of "How Chicago Is Finding Herself". It was an inspiring and hopeful story.

A few years later much was written about the bad conditions in New York. Turner wrote on "Tammany's Control of New York by Professional Criminals." From 1894 to 1909 the Democrats had control of New York two-thirds of the time, and with one doubtful exception they had never had a majority of the popular votes at

a city election. They got their majorities, he said, from trained bands of "reporters", who were largely composed of professional criminals. The East Side Gang, under criminal leaders, furnished many "repeaters". One of these leaders, "Kid" Twist, could furnish about a thousand of them, each good for five to ten votes at the general elections, and for ten to twenty at the primaries. In 1908 one-fourth of the names in some election districts were entirely fictitious, and four-fifths of these faked names voted. Perhaps 20,000 entirely fictitious names were voted in 1908, - to say nothing of names of dead people and of men who had moved away.

General Theodore A. Bingham, ex-Commissioner of Police of New York, wrote about the organized criminals whom he had been fighting step by step until he was suddenly removed in July, 1909. He could not even trust the men in his own department to carry out his orders, for they knew that a police commissioner or a mayor was in office only a few years, while the politicians remained. So they were more bent on pleasing

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them than their temporary officers. Bingham found that spies were everywhere, especially on the telephones. Mayor George B. McClellan gave him no help, but made many police transfers to please Tammany politicians. After Bingham had created a force on which he could at least partially depend, he began war on the criminal district south of Fourteenth Street. "In this lower section of New York, the practice of law is as distinct from any ordinary practice as the customs of the criminal class are from those of ordinary society," he wrote, "It is formed for some chief purpose - the defense of the criminal. The principal factors in this practice are not legal at all. They consist in destroying or manufacturing evidence and postponing cases until they can be brought before a politically favorable judge. A tribe of criminal lawyers exactly suited for this practice has developed out of the slums. They might be divided into two classes, according to their use, as 'fixers' or 'bellowers' - the use of the first being silently to pervert justice, and of the other to cover this up by bawling a few inches away from the judge's nose a diatribe concerning the rights of man and the oppression of the poor - the stock cry
of the professional criminal class and the politicians who defend them."

In the New York legislature strong attempts were made to deprive the police detectives of firearms, and to prevent the photographing of criminals. Many of the minor Tammany workers were engaged in running the markets of prostitution.

In the same month S. S. McClure wrote on "The Tammanyizing of a Civilization." He considered the evils of the New York government and its dangers to the rest of the country. The degradation of the previous fifty years was in a way natural; ignorant foreigners and American negroes had all received the ballot. The way to exploit and degrade this kind of people was to saturate them with alcoholic liquor and to give them sexual license. The oldest and most infamous organization in America for exploiting this population was Tammany Hall. "Its political saloon keepers have killed unnumbered multitudes of these people through excessive drinking; its political procurers have sold the bodies of their daughters; its contractors and

street-railway magnates have crowded them into the deadly tenement districts by defrauding them of their rights of cheap and decent transportation; and its sanitary officials have continuously murdered a high percentage of the poor by their sale of the right to continue fatal and filthy conditions in these tenement districts, contrary to law.\textsuperscript{17}

The social evil was repeatedly discussed in connection with New York. Mr. Turner touched on it in his article on Chicago; he gave a whole paper to an account of the business in New York. It was entitled "The Daughters of the Poor", and appeared in McClure's in November, 1909. New York was the leading center of the white slave trade. It developed there under Tammany Hall rule. After the red-light district was broken up in 1901 the politicians who were engaged in this business - known as cadets - reorganized and reported that the cadets were entirely abolished. This was a lie. The Independent Benevolent Association of New York was the chief agent and operator in this business. It was a corporation which was both in the business.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{17} McClure, S. S., "The Tammanyizing of a Civilization", McClure's, Vol. 24 (November, 1909), pp. 117-128.}
ness and in politics. The supply of girls was gotten at the dance-halls. The cadets, usually handsome, young American-Jews (or Italians), seduced the poor ignorant girls in various ways, but often by promise of marriage and wealth. Turner mentions three classes of girls from which the supply was obtained: the "greenhorn" Jewish girls, the Polish girls, and the "smart" Jewish girls who made purely commercial contracts with the cadets. Liquor and drugs played a very small part in the procuring of girls. New York furnished about half of the "women" in this business for the entire country, and most of them came from domestic service. Lincoln Steffens wrote about the hardships of these women in Pittsburgh in 1903. "Disorderly houses are managed by ward syndicates. Permission is had from the syndicate real-estate agent, who alone can rent them. The syndicate hires the houses from the owners at, say, $35 a month, and he lets it to a woman at from $35 to $50 a week. For furniture the tenant must go to the 'official furniture man', who delivers $1000's worth of 'fixings' for a note for $3000, on which high

interest must be paid. For beer its tenant must go to the 'official bottler', and pay $2 for a $1 case of beer; for wines and liquors to the 'official liquor commissioner', who charges $10 for $5's worth; for clothes to the 'official wrapper-maker'. These women may not buy shoes, hats, jewelry, or any other luxury or necessity except from the official concessionaires, and then only at the official, monopoly prices. If the victims have anything left, a police or some other city official is said to call and get it (there are 19 rich ex-police officials in Pittsburg).

In 1910 Rheta Childe Dorr wrote several articles for Hampton's that dealt with "The Prodigal Daughter", the girls that had gone wrong, and with the work that was being done to rescue those who could be rescued. She also considered the employments that furnished the "prodigals".

Alfred Henry Lewis had a series of eleven articles in Pearson's Magazine in 1911 and 1912 under the heading, "The Apaches of New York". These were accounts

of organized gangs of thugs and assassins who operated in New York. Their operations were known to the police, but for want of legal proof the gangs were not broken up, and they continued their operations.

The *Cosmopolitan* published the "Confessions of a New York Detective" in 1905 in three articles. They revealed the corrupt relations that existed between the politicians and the policemen. This particular "Captain" made his "bundle" while in the service. He always was a Tammany man. One reason for retiring from service was the fact that the Albany politicians frequently instituted investigations, and although he had succeeded in "side-stepping" three such commissions, he feared he might not always succeed.

Josiah Flynt exposed the evils of the poolrooms in a serial which appeared in the *Cosmopolitan* in 1907. He described the far-reaching system of gambling at the race-tracks and in the pool-rooms. This business was organized into a trust, and the directors of it were multimillionaires, who preyed upon the uninformed people all over the country. They got police protection

and were on good terms with the politicians and the men "higher-up". They had definite business agreements with the Western Union Telegraph Company and the New York and New Jersey Telephone companies. The New York Telephone Company kept a huge book which contained some 3000 names which were withheld from the public. Of these about 2000 belonged to pool-room keepers and persons "higher-up", who did not give their real names. It was estimated that this telephone company made a million dollars in this way every year.

In the same year Jack London published "My Life in the Underworld, A Reminiscence and a Confession" in the same periodical. It consisted of six articles and related his experiences as a tramp and in underworld life at the age of eighteen. He touched upon the political corruption in cities and upon conditions in prisons, etc.

There were accounts of gambling and betting on horse races not only in the Cosmopolitan, but also

It is of interest to note that these investigations of cities by muck-rakers did much to arouse interest in scientific sociological surveys. The Pittsburg Survey of 1909 to 1914 was to some extent an outgrowth of these earlier surveys by muck-rakers. And many other surveys have been made since.


Chapter VIII.

STATE AND NATIONAL POLITICS
Chapter VIII.

That the bad conditions of the country were not confined to cities the muck-rakers discovered early. State and national politics were mercilessly exposed. There were articles on the Folk exposures in Missouri in the Cosmopolitan and in the Independent in 1903. The latter considered the subject of bribery at least three or four times during the year, concluding that the greatest sinners in this respect were the corporations which sought special municipal privileges whereby they might enrich themselves at public expense, and supported Mr. Choate in this statement: "The only way in which this legislative corruption can be stopped is by holding up such men publicly to opprobrium; they must be driven from the churches; they must be branded in society as men dishonest and unworthy for honest men to associate with. Not until the attack is made directly upon the directors of corporations who are responsible for this sort of corruption will it be possible to cure the evil."

In 1904 Lincoln Steffens, who had written about municipal corruption in the previous year, dealt with political corruption in some of the states, - Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin; and in the year following, with Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Ohio.

In opening this series - "Enemies of the Republic" - he stated that every time he attempted to trace to its sources the political corruption of a city ring, the stream of pollution branched off in the most unexpected directions and spread out in a network of veins and arteries so complex that hardly any part of the body politic seemed clear of it. Corruption was not confined to politics, but extended into finance and industry. Miss Tarbell had shown it in the trust, Mr. Baker in the labor union; and his investigations of municipal government had always drawn him out of politics into business and out into the state. The source and sustenance of our bad government was not the politician, the bribe-taker, but the bribe-giver, the captain of

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industry. "The Highway of corruption is the 'road to success'". The article on Rhode Island he entitled "A State for Sale", and New Jersey was called "A Traitor State". In the latter state the Pennsylvania Railroad seized the government, and under the leadership of James B. Dill the Corporation Trust Company of New Jersey was formed for the purpose of making money from incorporating trusts and other business organizations. New Jersey's treason consisted in doing the will of the corporations, and thereby defeating and betraying the will of the whole nation, which was up in arms against the trusts.

This series was published in book form in 1906 under the title The Struggle for Self Government. An introductory chapter was added as a dedication of the book to the Czar of Russia. This dedication was humorous and satirical. He told the Czar this book had been written for the encouragement of American citizens, but they found little in it that was encouraging. On the other hand, it contained much that ought to encourage him, the Czar. "There is proof in it that the horrid conflict that has been waging between your Majesty and your Majesty's subjects is entirely unnecessary", he
wrote. "Incredible? Let us consider together a movement; you on the edge of your uneasy throne, I on mine, you a falling sovereign, I a falling sovereign citizen — let us peer into the darkness of your land with the light from mine". Then he told him that we had czars in America, although we called them bosses. They were not entirely absolute in power, but neither was he, the czar of Russia. He was dependent to some extent upon his Grand Dukes and others, and so were our bosses. But we were rapidly developing a national boss system. We already had a "steering committee" in the Senate with a certain Senator Aldrich for "leader", and this system might easily develop to such an extent that the national boss would make and unmake governors and presidents and decide upon laws and policies. Since the Czar's subjects demanded a constitution Steffenberg urged him to grant them one in order to save himself. Nothing was to be feared from a constitution as long as the proper reservations were made in it. "Sire, a constitution is not only an innocent gratification to a people; shrewdly interpreted by corporation lawyers; or, as you might say, by King's counsel, a con-
stitution may become a bulwark of the rulers of a people". He ended with this paragraph: "Your Majesty may grant all that your people ask, and more, - a representative government and a constitution, free speech and a free press, education and the suffrage, - and yet you may rule them as you rule them now, absolutely and with little more heed to their best interest. For have I not shown, Sire, that we, the great American people, have all that we want of all of these things, and that, nevertheless, our government differs from yours - in essentials - and not so much as you thought, not so much as your people think, and not nearly so much as my people think?"

At the same time that Steffens' articles on state government appeared in McClure's a series of eight articles on the government of Pennsylvania by Rudolph Blankenburg appeared in the Arena, entitled "Forty Years in the Wilderness". Mr. Blankenburg was a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia who took a keen interest in good government. One of the lamentable evils of the

6. Ibid., p. XXII.
hour, he said in his first article, was the indifference of the average citizen toward his public duties. In Philadelphia the "political czars" controlled the mayor, 40 per cent of the city council, the directors of Public Safety and Public Works, the investigators, the police, the school board, and they determined the taxes.

He traced the history of Pennsylvania politics from the Civil War on. Simon Cameron was the man who originated the political debauchery of that state. Senator Quay refined it.

While Blankenburg was engaged in writing these articles things were beginning to happen in "the city of brotherly love". The political ring overreached itself, the public became excited, and Mayor John Weaver boldly championed the rights of the people. The last statement in the series sounds like a prayer of thanksgiving...."My heart was heavy and almost despaired when I undertook the task of writing these articles. The day of deliverance seemed far off, but, thanks to the abnormal voracity, and unheard of arrogance and

utter defiance of the laws of God and man on the part of the 'Organization', and thanks to an awakened public conscience the day has come, let us hope to stay! 8

Not long after this deliverance revelations were made of the extravagance and graft that had characterized the previous government. The most notorious swindle of the commonwealth was the "Keystone Crime", as Owen Wister called it, or Pennsylvania's graft-cankered capital. Much was written about it in 1907.

The old state capital was destroyed by fire, and on April 14, 1897, the legislature provided for the erection of a new capital. The building was completed at a cost of $4,000,000. The furnishings and the decorations of it cost the state an additional $9,000,000, stated Louis Seaber in his article on "Pennsylvania's Palace of Graft" in the Independent for May 30, 1907. The Board of Public Grounds and Buildings was to buy supplies for the state from the lowest bidder. In advertising for stationery, coal and other supplies for the year ending June 1905 they requested also sealed

proposals for furnishings of the new capital. Nothing was said about the quantities that would be required. The Board secretly decided that the proposals must cover "the entire furnishings" of the capital. This provision was not known to any bidder, with the probable exception of John H. Sanderson, the successful competitor. He at once organized a company, supplied all the money—$39,000—and capitalized it at $100,000. This company manufactured 2000 fixtures for the capital and sold it to Sanderson for $550,000, who collected $1,612,573.56 from the state for it. He received $4.85 "per pound" for chandelierS, so he made them solid, and placed one wherever a convenient place for one could be found.

In the House of Representatives are four candleabra, each weighing 7500 pounds! In some cases the material used was of a cheap kind, but the state paid for high class goods. For painting and decorating, Mr. Seaber stated, Sanderson received $789,473.16, while the sub-contractor who actually furnished the goods, got only $174,962.

The same kind of grafting went on in other lines. Yet, the state officials insisted that the money had been spent according to law.10

One of the most spectacular accounts of misgovernment and legislative bribing to be found anywhere is C. P. Connolly's "The Story of Montana". It appeared in McClure's in 1906. Connolly, who had been an attorney in Montana for twenty years, told of the early history of the state; of its rough character, its vigilantes, and especially of the personal, industrial, and political rivalry between Marcus Daly and William A. Clark. Legislatures and officers were used by the captains of industry to promote their interests. In 1890 Clark, who was a Democrat, had an ambition to become United States senator, but he failed. In 1898 the prospects were brighter. The legislature that was elected in that year was favorable to him. It met on January 2, 1899. On January 3 the Clark leaders announced that they were sure of 54 votes on the first ballot, which was more than a majority of all votes. Balloting was to begin on the 10th. Just before it began Senator Whiteside obtained the floor. He held in his hands four envelopes, containing $30,000 in new $500 and $1000 bills, and explained to the representatives and senators of Montana that this money had been given to him by the Clark ring for the purpose of bribing several members of the legislature.
his own services. His purpose in posing as a strong Clark man was to obtain all the evidence he could of bribery and then to expose it. The effect of this revelation on the members of the legislature was profound. When the balloting began only seven voted for Clark. He himself was disheartened and threatened with a collapse. His lieutenants, however, came to him at the hotel and cheered him up and induced him to try to make money do all it was capable of doing. It was determined that the grand jury which had been called to investigate the bribery charges should be bribed.

On January 28 William A. Clark was elected United States senator from Montana with 54 votes. In the 18 days that intervened between January 10 and January 28 Clark spent $431,000 in buying votes. Connolly named the 47 men who were procured by bribery and stated the price for each. They ranged from $4000 to $50,000. All imaginable pressure was brought to bear upon the legislators. Every member was studied with care. Their history, their indiscretions in conduct, their debts, their best sentiments were all noted and turned into effective weapons against them. Most members succumbed to this kind of pressure, but some could not
be bought. One of these was Edward H. Cooney, a repre-
sentative from Cascade County, and connected with the
Great Falls office of the Anaconda Standard. He went
to a friend early in the morning of the day on which
Clark was elected and said, "My God, this is awful.
They have been on my track all night. They've shoved
$20,000 in bills under my nose; they've told me Conrad
(Clark's opponent) would have no use for me after this
thing was over - that I might as well take the money."

Two days before the final vote the grand jury
reported there was not sufficient evidence of bribery
to warrant a conviction by a trial jury. And the case
was dismissed. Public rumor had it that each member
of the grand jury received $10,000. On the same day
Senator Whiteside, the man who had thrown the monkey
wrench into the machine, was unseated and a "safe" man
put into his place. Of the fifteen Republicans in the
legislature eleven had gone over to Clark.

Helena, the state capital, was strongly in favor
of Clark. After his election there were great pro-
cessions and celebrations. All during that Saturday

11. Cohnolly, C. P., "The Story of Montana", McClure's,
Vol. 28 (November, 1906), pp. 27-43.
afternoon and night most of the bars of Helena were open to the populace, and no one was allowed to order anything but champagne. Clark's champagne bill alone for the night was said to be $30,000.

Neither Clark nor his supporters believed that the fight would be carried to Washington. And it might never have come up there if it were not for the unfortunate circumstance (unfortunate for Clark) that Clark made the statement, when Whiteside exhibited the $30,000 bribe money, that this money came from Marcus Daly. The old enemy could not let such a charge pass by unnoticed. He said this would come up in Washington.

In the mean time Whiteside brought suit against John B. Wellcome, Clark's chief lieutenant and the man who did most of the actual bribing. It was taken to the Supreme Court of the state, which was composed of three men. Two of these men were approached with an offer of $100,000 to drop the case, but none of the judges could be reached in that way, and Wellcome was disbarred from practicing law.

On January 5, 1900, the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate began its
investigations on the Clark case. It lasted till April 6, 1900. On May 10 the Committee unanimously decided to recommend to the Senate the adoption of a resolution declaring void the title of William A. Clark to a seat in the Senate. On May 15, before the Committee reported to the Senate, Clark resigned his seat.

This, however, does not end the story. If the Senate should adopt the Committee's report - which it certainly would - then according to law, there had been an election in Montana and there could, therefore, be no vacancy; and Montana would have but one Senator until another was elected by the next legislature. If, on the other hand, Clark resigned, that would create a vacancy which the Governor could fill by appointment, and he might appoint Clark to succeed himself. However, Governor Robert B. Smith was not a Clark man and he could not be bought. The Lieutenant-Governor, A. E. Spriggs, was at the service of the Clark faction. The problem was how to get rid of the Governor so that the Lieutenant Governor might be in authority. That was accomplished by a clever and bold stratagem. A day or two before Clark's resignation Spriggs left Montana...
to attend the Populist National Convention at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, where he would likely remain for a week, as he was a delegate to the convention. Tom Hinds, an adroit and good-natured politician, induced Governor Smith to go to California to look into the title to some mining claims at about the same time. An hour after the Governor left for California Spriggs was notified at Sioux Falls. He left for Helena at once. As soon as he reached the state capital Clark was notified at Washington, and he then made his resignation speech in the Senate. Thereafter Spriggs, in the absence of Governor Smith, appointed Clark to succeed himself as Senator from Montana. Smith naturally was indignant at the turn affairs had taken. On his return to Helena he announced that the appointment of Clark by Lieutenant-Governor Spriggs was unfair and fraudulent and that he would disregard it. To this effect he also wired the leaders of the United States Senate.  

In his next series, "The Fight of the Copper Kings", Mr. Connolly concluded his account of Clark's

contest for the senatorship. It was already 1900 when Clark resigned his seat in the Senate. That was an election year. He made an alliance with P. Augustus Heinze who had large copper interests in Montana and who was fighting the Standard Oil Company, which was interested in the Amalgamated Copper Company. Clark wanted political vindication and reelection to the United States Senate, and Heinze wanted economic advantages, which he expected to obtain from the election of "safe" judges in the Butte district. They swept the state under Heinze's spectacular management, but the campaign cost Clark a million dollars. On January 16, 1901, William A. Clark was reelected United States senator by 57 votes, and Helena had its champagne and cigars again.

It is doubtful whether any book or series of articles shows more clearly and more convincingly the influence of corporate wealth over government than Judge Benjamin B. Lindsey's autobiography, The Beast. A series about him and his work in Denver appeared in McClure's in 1906, written by Lincoln Steffens; another

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series appeared in Everybody's three years later, entitled "The Beast and the Jungle". This was Judge Lindsey's autobiography as rewritten by Harvey J. O'Higgins. In 1910 these articles together with some additional ones, were published in book form.

Judge Lindsey is primarily known for his work in connection with the juvenile court, but his significance is vastly broader than that. The corporations and trusts were nowhere more ruthless and domineering than they were in the new state of Colorado with its immense mineral resources. There they apparently controlled the whole government, local and state; legislative, executive and judicial. And in the capital of that state Lindsay has stood for clean government all through the most "sordid" period of American History. Not only has he himself remained uncontaminated by corruption but he has served the part of a muck-raker by taking the people into his confidence and by airing the corruption that confronted him in his work for the juvenile court. When he became judge of the county court in 1902, he found all sorts of graft. The county had been paying $36 a thousand sheets for papers that were not worth over $4. For letter files $6 had been paid when
they were worth but 40 cents. During the 16 months before April, 1902, the county had paid one supply company $40,000 more than the material was worth.

The corporations were everywhere in control. In 1905 the public utility corporations of Denver, the railroads, and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company appointed a committee which nominated the candidates for the Supreme Court of Colorado. This committee had to be satisfied that a candidate would decide "right" some important matters that would come up. The most important of these was the right of the Governor to declare martial law in case of labor disturbances. In the Cripple Creek labor trouble the Governor and the Supreme Court decided against the laborers in plain violation of constitutional rights. The result was anger and assassination. In 1904 the Supreme Court supervised and controlled the state elections and later investigated the ballot boxes and threw out thousands of votes in order to carry the state for the Republicans. In 1906 the district court granted similar writ to prevent election frauds, but this time it was against the interest of the

14. Lindsay, Benjamin B., "The Beast" (New York, 1910), p. 117.
15. Ibid., p. 209.
corporations, and the Supreme Court promptly reversed itself in the interest of the corporations.

When forced to trial the rich corporation magnates would appear before the court with a smile and refuse to testify. If taken to jail, by some hook or crook the higher courts always got them out quickly. After the great election conspiracy of 1904 "The citizen of Colorado had no more right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' than a yellow dog on the streets of Denver, unless he wore the corporation collar and tag, came to the whistle of his master and ate scraps from his hand." By the use of the legislature, the courts and public officials, the corporations were establishing a power trust with "incredible rights" in all the watersheds and power streams surrounding Denver, without any reservations to the state in these natural resources. Coal companies obtained hundreds of acres of land from the State Land Board at a very small price when they were worth at least $2000 an acre. Millions of dollars worth of franchises were obtained by the corporations in Denver at very small cost to them.

17. Ibid., p. 247.
18. Ibid., p. 221.
And special acts were passed in favor of railroads and other corporations, while laws to protect the public were usually defeated by a combination of the corporation element of both parties.

Charles Edward Russell wrote, in Colorado there was "government by the Interests, of the Interests, for the Interests."

As early as 1905 and 1906 J. Warner Mills published ten articles on "The Economic Struggle In Colorado", in the Arena. It was a careful and, apparently, truthful account of the bad conditions existing in that state at the time.

The Outlook had a series of six articles on the Jerome campaign in New York in 1901, and another series by George Kennan on "Holding Up A State." The latter dealt with the corrupting influence of J. Edward Addicks in Delaware politics. In 1902 some $30,000 in new crisp five and ten dollar notes were distributed in Kent County alone between November first and election.

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19. Ibid., p. 335.
day. This was to bribe voters. Sometimes as much as $30 was paid for a single vote. Kennan estimated that Addicks spent not less than $80,000 in Kent and Sussex Counties in 1902, and bought between 7000 and 8000 of the 13,000 votes that were polled for his legislative candidates. He had 21 supporters in the Delaware legislature in 1903, and there held up the state. Senator Hanna told the anti-Addicks men not to combine with the Democrats, for the Union Republicans (the Addicks men) were entitled to the fruits of their victory.

How completely the Southern Pacific Railroad was in control of California politics may be seen from the fact that when Mr. E. H. Harriman became boss of the Southern Pacific he also became boss of California politics. He announced in Washington at a dinner that James N. Gillet, a Congressman from California, would be the next Governor of his state. And he was.

Mr. Russell, in an important series on the Southern Pacific in Hampton in 1910, put it more strongly. He said this railroad did not only dominate the govern-

ment of California. "It was the government and all the branches thereof, not merely directing but performing". It defeated the plans of the reformers in the previous legislatures, it stopped the graft prosecution in San Francisco, it enabled Ruef, Calhoun, and Schmitz to escape, it defeated Francis J. Henity at the polls. In the fight against the Southern Pacific Hiram Johnson made his reputation.

New York received its share of criticism. Burton J. Hendricks wrote about Governor Hughes and the Albany "gang", which was a study of the degradation of the Republican party in New York state. Russell contributed a notable series dealing with the crimes against the suffrage, entitled, "At the Throat of the Republic". The first article exposed pre-election frauds, such as letting non-residents vote, padding registration lists, etc. The second dealt with corruption at the election, - casting fraudulent votes, repeating, mutilating ballots, bribing, and intimidating. The last revealed post-election frauds. Among these were

miscounting votes, certifying falsely to returns, and preventing investigations of elections. Other articles appeared which attacked New York politics.

Two years later another important series by Russell appeared. The first dealt with graft and scandal in Albany, New York. The second, with graft in Pittsburg, the next two, with corruption in Illinois, especially the bribing in the Larimer case; the fifth, with the misgovernment in Colorado; and the last, with cheating the Indians out of their lands. The general title for the series was, "What Are You Going to Do About It?"

Some articles dwelt upon the inefficiency and corruption in the Post Office department. William Allen White wrote about "Roosevelt and the Postal Frauds", in which he described the work of Joseph L. Bristow in running down the postal thieves and bringing them to justice.

The United States Senate was frequently attacked. One of the most sensational series of the whole campaign was directed against the group of statesmen who composed this branch of the government at the time.

This was David Graham Phillips' *The Treason of the Senate*. It began to appear in the March number and continued for nine issues. Every article was prefixed with the treason clause of the Constitution, "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort". He opened the series with these words: "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 servitude". Then he went on to say that a person could not serve two masters. "The senators are not
elected by the people; they are elected by the 'interests'. A servant obeys him who can punish and dismiss. Except in extreme and rare and negligible instances can the people either elect or dismiss a senator? The senator, in the dilemma which the careless ignorance of the people thrusts upon him, chooses to be comfortable, placed and honored, and a traitor to oath and people rather than to be true to his oath and poor and ejected into private life."

The senator who was exposed first was Chauncey Mitchell Depew of New York. There was only one place, said the author, where Senator Depew was secure from the finger of scorn, and that was the Senate Chamber when the galleries had been cleared and he was alone with his colleagues. His "senatorial duties" were like the duties of more than two-thirds of his fellow senators - to serve his master, the plutocracy. He was a member of some seventy directories which brought him upward of $50,000 a year in attendance fees alone.

30. Ibid.
Next came Senator Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich of Rhode Island, who was especially attached for his connection with the Rockefellers and for his tariff legislation, which, it was alleged, favored the oil and tobacco trusts. He was called the right arm of the interests and Senator Arthur Pue Gorman of Maryland was the left arm. Aldrich was a Republican and Gorman was a Democrat, but both sides served the interests. This common interest in business and financial affairs on the part of Republicans and Democrats alike was referred to as the Senate "merger". Not all senators belonged to the "merger" but a goodly number did. They prevented laws from being passed that would benefit the people. The "roaring eloquence" and the "sham battles" of the Senate were intended to befog and blind the public. Both Aldrich and Gorman were multi-millionaires.

Other members of the "merger" were John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, - the "chief spokesman" of the organization; Joseph Weldon Bailey of Texas, - "chief spokesman of the Democratic branch of the "merger"; 31

Stephens Benton Elkins of West Virginia, "a powerful second lieutenant of the 'merger'" who had amassed a fortune of $30,000,000; Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania, a man of "immense wealth"; Joseph Benson Foraker of Ohio, whose "record shows no act of friendship or even neutrality toward the people in their struggle with 'The Interests'"; Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, "the familiar coarse type of machine politician, disguised by the robe of the 'Gentleman Scholar'"; William B. Allison of Iowa, one of the "craftiest agents" of the "Merged" Senate and "credited with being the richest man in Iowa"; Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois, whose great achievement, the Cullom Act, was deliberately written to make the Interstate Commerce Committee powerless to act; William J. Stone of Missouri, one of the Democrats of the "merger" who deceived the public by making cheap political capital whenever that could be done without exposing "The Interests" to specific criticism; Eugene Hale of Maine, one of the twenty-five millionaires of the Senate; William P. Frye of Maine, and Vice-President Charles Warren Fairbanks of Indiana. The records of these men were reviewed and many questionable transactions
stated and interpreted. The treason of which they were accused consisted of working for and legislating in favor of the industrial and financial interests of the wealthy classes of the country rather than for the common good.

"Such is the stealthy and treacherous Senate as at present constituted," the writer concluded. "And such it will continue to be until the people think, instead of shout, about politics; until they judge public men by what they do and are, not by what they say and pretend. However, the fact that the people are themselves responsible for their own betrayal does not mitigate contempt for their hypocritical and cowardly betrayers. A corrupt system explains a corrupt man; it does not excuse him. The stupidity or negligence of the householder in leaving the door unlocked does not lessen the crime of the thief."

In May, 1906, the Cosmopolitan asserted that this series was stirring the whole country as no articles of exposure ever had stirred it before. During the same time other writers attacked the Senate.

Ernest Crosby wrote about our senatorial "grand dukes" who blocked all progress, and Alfred Henry Lewis subjected Senator Thomas Collier Platt of New York to a merciless attack, ending his article thus: "What is he? Nothing. What has he done? Nothing. Who will remember him? No one. . . . He is a weak, vain, troubled, unhappy, unrespected man. . . . The country owes him nothing, for he has given it nothing; in no wise has he left his favoring mark upon the times. One day he will die; and his epitaph might truthfully be, 'He publicly came to nothing, and privately came to grief'."  


It has been claimed that these attacks on the Senate drove from public life within the next few years, nearly every Senator who was exposed in them; but of the sixteen senators who have been named above, ten were still in the Senate in 1910, four years after the exposures.  

Mr. Phillips was savagely denounced for these articles, and he became so much depressed by these attacks (especially from Collier's Weekly) that he would not write any more articles. In two years, however, it was a common remark that he had purified the Senate. Russell, Charles Edward, In a personal letter to the author, May 21, 1922.
Ernest Crosby made the statement that a United States senator said in the Senate that if public men were unworthy the fact should be concealed. And Crosby went on to say that such would be the only way to preserve the "fair fame" of the Senate. "Let the people elect their Senate!" A few months later he asserted our Wall-Street-controlled Senate prevented any change in the status of business. It was the servant of the monopolies, and not of the people.

This charge of constituting a rich man's club was never relished by the senators themselves. As early as 1894 Senator George F. Edmunds wrote for the Forum that the proportion of rich men in the Senate was no larger than it was in the states or communities where the rich and the poor shared in the responsibilities of office. Now Senator George C. Perkins, multimillionaire and three times senator from California, came to the defense of his colleagues with the claim that there were not more than ten senators who owned a million

dollars, and leaving out of consideration one senator, the average possessions of 89 members of the Senate would not exceed the "average accumulation of the business man, manufacturer, farmer or professional man of the New England or Middle States". He did not believe there was a single senator who aspired to a seat in the Senate for any other purpose than to have the honor of belonging to the most distinguished legislative body in the world. The Senate stood like a barrier against tendencies which threatened the very existence of the Republic, and the then existing Senate would stand forth in history as one which had exhibited in the highest degree the qualities of fairness and impartiality and a determination to arrive at the truth.


In the same month that Phillips' first article on the *Treason of the Senate* appeared, the English edition of *Pearson's Magazine* (a muckraking journal) had an article on "The American House of Lords", criticizing our senators for their personal extravagance. The Senate as a whole, the writer said, was not a millionaires' club. Most of the senators were poor men, and not a score of them were millionaires. Nor did the rich men exert an undue influence, that was left for the men with brains. But the personal conveniences of the senators, - such as travelling expenses, baths, barbers, secretaries, stenographers, etc. - mounted into hundreds of thousands of dollars during a session.

Some of the muck-rakers tried to teach the people practical lessons from history by using terms and expressions that the people could understand and appreciate. The real situations and problems were not always very accurately translated. A good example of this is Alfred Henry Lewis' *Life of Andrew Jackson*, which appeared in the *Cosmopolitan* in 1906 and 1907. Clay is "Machiavelli", Biddle the "Banker", Van Buren the "Cabinet", Lewis the "Wizard", and Calhoun the "Statesman". The campaign of 1832 presented this alternative: "the general or the Bank - humanity in a death-hug with money! Machiavelli Clay and Banker Biddle have no fears; for they are gold-blind, and see nothing beyond themselves". But they got a rude awakening, and "Machiavelli Clay and Banker Biddle and the Bank go down, while the general - ever the conqueror and never once the conquered - goes back to the presidency". He set to work in his own way. "He kills out what few sparks of life still animate the Biddle Bank. He removes the Creeks and Cherokees from Florida and Georgia, and thereby guarantees the scalp on many an innocent head". His foremost work for the American people was to save it
from the jaws of conspiracy and treason. "The con-
spiracy has its birth in the ambition-crazed bosom of
Statesman Calhoun; and its shibboleth is 'nullification'."

Chapter IX
"Big Business"
Chapter IX

Business afforded the muck-rakers much material for articles, serials, novels, plays, poems, and stories. Much of this literary outpouring was in the form of general charges against "big business" - Wall Street - but much of it attacked particular corporations or trusts or business transactions. Among the charges that were often advanced against big business men were those of bribing public officials, grafting upon the corporations which they controlled, disregarding or evading the laws and the rights and interests of the public, overcapitalization, and, during the later years of the movement, inefficiency.

The remedies that were most generally suggested - if any were suggested at all - were publicity, and aroused public spirit, stricter government control, or government ownership.

Attacks upon, and exposures of, and warnings against Wall Street were so common that no enumeration of them can be attempted here. But it is of interest to note that all this muck-raking did not stop the trust movement. John Moody, an authority on finance, estimated in 1905 that the trusts embraced more than $20,000,000,000, and said the movement went serenly
onward. The trusts, he wrote, "have grown in scope and purpose; they have grown in strength and method, and where, even as late as three years ago, many of the large industrial trusts were regarded, from the Wall Street point-of-view, as uncertain experiments, ... are today being pointed to in the financial community as good examples of increasingly staple institutions, with thoroughly assured futures." Business men regarded the situation as stable and sound. They were not blind to the popular unrest, but the so-called anti-trust movement was proving to be "nothing more or less than a tremendous engine for the conserving of monopoly, and not for the extinction or elimination of it. Regulation does not mean elimination. Regulation implies preservation. 1

The most effective exposure of "big business" practices occurred when the writers made specific charges and named the individuals involved. Perhaps no piece of muck-raking was more successful at the time,

1. The writer wanted the people to get control of the government by means of the initiative and referendum and then to repeal the laws that conserved the monopolies and tax them to death. Moody, John, "The Conservation of Monopoly," Arena, Vol. 34 (October, 1905), pp. 337-343.
or has stood the test of time better, than Ida Tarbell's expose of the Standard Oil Company.

During the World's Fair in Chicago, Arthur Warren had been sent there to write an article on Mr. Armour and the Armour Institute of Technology for _McClure's Magazine_. This gave Mr. McClure the idea of writing up the great American business achievements. The plan was to deal with particular trusts, as the people were much interested in trusts at the time without understanding them. The Standard Oil Company logically suggested itself, for it was the mother trust, and the model and inspirer of them all. Miss Tarbell was the logical person to make the investigation. She had already shown her ability as an historian and as a fluent writer, and she had lived in the heart of the oil region of Pennsylvania.  

The work was undertaken purely for the purpose of showing how a trust could come about under our institutions; that only a "primary privilege" could produce a trust.  

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tigations, testimony given by the officers of the Standard Oil Company in lawsuits brought against it, collections of materials by men who had fought the Company, polemic pamphlets, newspapers, and information possessed by the Company itself. Since its organization in 1870 the Company had been under almost constant investigation, and the lawsuits against it have been numerous. This made it possible to write its history fully from documents. It took five years to collect and arrange the materials. Three years had been spent at this work before the first article appeared, November, 1902. The last of the eighteen appeared in December, 1904.

The History of the Standard Oil Company tells the story of the oil industry in the country from its early beginnings to the time of its publication. In 1854 George H. Bissell, a graduate of Dartmouth College, became impressed with the commercial possibilities of the oils from western Pennsylvania that were being used for medical purposes. Hundreds of thousands of bottles were sold all over America and Europe under such names as "Seneca Oil," "American Medical Oil," etc.


Bissell had it analysed, and found that it was a good fuel. In this manner the oil business began. Many wells were sunk and people flocked to the oil regions. For a few years teamsters made good money hauling the oil to the stations. Then the railroads came in, the Erie, the New York Central and the Pennsylvania. Competition, rate-wars and rebates followed. In 1864 Samuel Van Syckel opened the first pipe-line with relay pumping stations. In 1865 oil refining and the utilization of the by-products of petroleum was well under way. By 1872 nearly 40,000,000 barrels of oil had been produced and sold in nearly every country of the world. This was done before a monopoly was organized.

The South Improvement Company - which was a forerunner of the Standard Oil Trust - was a large, secret body of refiners of which John D. Rockefeller was the guiding spirit. He was quiet, thoughtful, industrious, taciturn, scheming, and had the patience to wait. He didn’t reveal his plans except to close partners, and then only as much as he thought necessary at the time. The broad ethical effect of his works did not concern him. In order to secure a monopoly of the oil business it was necessary to first obtain a monopoly at Cleveland. To get this it was necessary to have
secret rebates from the railroads. Not only did the South Improvement Company receive rebates for her own freight, but also for that of her competitors. These were given the choice to sell out to the South Improvement Company at a low figure or to be crushed. "The open rate from Cleveland to New York was $2.00, and 50 cents of this was turned over to the South Improvement Company, which at the same time received a rebate enabling it to ship for $1.50. Again, an independent refiner in Cleveland paid 80 cents a barrel to get his crude from the Oil Regions to his works, and the railroads sent 40 cents of this money to the South Improvement Company. At the same time it cost the Cleveland refiner in the combination but 40 cents to get his crude oil. Like drawbacks and rebates were given for all points." This company had access to all the books of the railroads, and these sent to the company full waybills of all petroleum shipped each day by the various shippers. Of these stealthy methods not even the Cleveland newspaper men knew. The reason for agreeing to such an arrangement on the part of the railroads was that the rate wars were ruining them. There was no federal law regulating the relation between railroads, and they themselves were not able to come to any satisfac-

tory agreement. So when this combination offered them a scheme by which to stabilize freight rates they accepted it, dishonest and criminal though it was. The rebate was the price that the railroads paid to the peacemaker and harmonizer.

In 1878 the Pennsylvania Railroad paid the Standard Oil Company from forty-nine and one half to sixty-nine and one half cents rebate per barrel on their own oil shipped over the Pennsylvania, and twenty-two and one half cents per barrel on all oil shipments over their lines, whether this was Standard Oil oil or the oil of their competitors. During the year this railroad company paid to the Standard Oil Company, in rebates and drawbacks, $4,456,000. The other railroads did likewise.

By 1884 the Oil Trust had several thousand miles of pipe-lines, carrying half a million barrels of oil to the sea every day, and was independent of the railroads. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 said nothing about pipe-lines. From these the Standard Oil Company was charging 400 per cent profit. In 1904 this trust had 35,000 miles of pipe-lines, controlled 90 per cent of the eastern oil production, and made about $45,000,000

dividends annually, or nearly 50 per cent on the investment. 9

Miss Tarbell's History of the Standard Oil Company was a scholarly piece of work, a great contribution to the study of the transportation problem, a "fearless unmasking of moral criminality masquerading under the robes of respectability and Christianity." 10

Much was written about this "mother of trusts" after her first series was ended. Miss Tarbell herself wrote two articles on John D. Rockefeller in which she analysed his character and measured it by Machiavellian standards. 11 She wrote two articles on Kansas and the Standard Oil Company, 12 and a few years later, three on "Roosevelt vs. Rockefeller," which dealt with the later history and methods of this corporation. 13

9. Commissioner James R. Garfield of the Bureau of Corporations, in his report of May 2, 1906, on the Standard Oil Company, made the emphatic statement that this corporation had habitually received rebates from the railroads and was at that time receiving secret rates and other unjust and illegal discriminations. Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 1920 edition, p. 459.
C. M. Keys wrote on the same general subject for the *World's Work*, and single articles appeared in other periodicals.

Not all the literature on the Standard Oil Company of these years was hostile. The president of Syracuse University, James Roscoe Day, wrote a book in 1908 which he called "The Raid on Prosperity." This was a defense of the existing economic order and of the Standard Oil Company in particular. It was so sweeping in its justification of corporations that it lost much of its force.

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15. President Day believed the claim that there was a downtrodden and oppressed class in this country who were held in subjection by the rich was "an impertinence and an insult to our intelligent working people and mechanics." — Day, James Roscoe, "The Raid on Prosperity," (New York 1908), Preface. "The people are not oppressed by the corporations, but the corporations by the people." (p. 154). The Standard Oil Company, he claimed, had been one of the greatest benefactors our country had ever known, both for the laboring man and as a world wide civilizing force. It had been at least as honest as the independent companies which had been fighting it. All had taken rebates. The untruths in regard to this company had been refuted over and over again. The steady growth of the Standard Oil business was the best answer to all who calumniated it. A business which is not conducted on the highest level of commercial morality never survives long. Its directors were "high-minded" and as "incapable of dishonest practices" as their critics thought themselves to be. (p. 174) The federal government brought the Company to court for political purposes, and the courts rendered unjust decisions against it on account of the long campaign of slander that had gone on and on account of the refusal of the company to reply to them. (p. 192).
John D. Rockefeller himself published some articles in the World's Work in 1908-1909, which he entitled "Some Random Reminiscences of Men and Events." He was convinced that the happenings in the history of the Standard Oil Company had not been understood, and he hoped to set them forth in a new light. In regard to his associates he said, "Speaking of Mr. Archbold leads me to say again that I have received much more credit than I deserve in connection with the Standard Oil Company. It was my good fortune to help to bring together the efficient men who are the controlling forces in the organization and to work hand in hand with them for many years, but it is they who have done the hard tasks." In succeeding articles he philosophized about philanthropy and cooperative giving, about the difficult art of getting, etc. Of a sensitive social conscience he showed little evidence when he discussed business. There were seven articles in the series.

In this connection an article on "Commercial Machiavellianism" by Miss Tarbell deserves notice. It appeared in McClure's in 1906. Machiavelli's famous prin-

ciples briefly amounted to the doctrine that the end justified the means. At present one could easily reconstruct a modern edition of the Prince out of the mouths of our captains of industry. The aim was to get power. Four centuries ago it was for the purpose of making the state rich and glorious; now it was to make one's self rich and glorious. This power can only be attained by means of war. The commercial war-fare of our day has been developed into a science as perfect as the military systems of the nations. Force, cruelty, lying, deceit, pretending that these things work out for the common good, are as generally accepted in our industrial world as they were in the political world 400 years ago. The Machiavellian creed, as constructed from the words and deeds of our successful captains of industry, would be like this: "Success is the paramount duty. It can be attained in the highest degree only by force. At times it requires, violence, cruelty, falsehood, perjury, treachery. Do not hesitate at these practices, only be sure they are necessary for the good of the business and be very careful to insist upon them always as wise and kind and that they work together for the greatest good of the greatest number." If put into these words scarcely anybody would sign the creed, but it has been constructed substantially from their own
There was much in the history of the Standard Oil Company to substantiate Miss Tarbell's claims, and there was much in other "big business" of these years that would point to the same conclusion.

In July, 1904, the first installment of Frenzied Finance, or "The Crime of Amalgamated" appeared in Everybody's, by Thomas W. Lawson, the noted millionaire and stock-exchange manipulator from Boston. It was a long series, ending November, 1906. In a dashing picturesque style, sparkling with sensational statements, Lawson told of important financial transactions for which no better adjective than "frenzied" could have been found. He dealt with various subjects - the Standard Oil Company, the formation of the Amalgamated Copper Company, the New York insurance companies, the bribing of the Massachusetts legislature, etc.; but always he was harping on the "System". "Through its workings during the last twenty years," he wrote, "there has grown up in this country a set of colossal corporations in which unmeasured success and continued immunity from punishment have bred an insolent disregard of law, of common moral-

ity, and of public and private right, together with a 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 our 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.\(^{19}\)

At no time in American history was the dollar so powerful, he said. Freedom and equity are controlled by it. The laws which should preserve and enforce all rights are made and enforced by dollars. Money can "steer" either of the great political parties for the presidency or for any office in city, state or nation. To-day the Standard Oil Company is the greatest power in the land. The reason for this fact is that this company knows how to "make" dollars out of nothing in unlimited quantities. By "making" money Lawson meant the practice of arbitrarily setting the value of stocks at so and so much, even if the actual investment was far less. This fictitious (inflated) value the "System" sells to the public for good money: but the public, in turn, is not able to get anything more from it than its actual

\(^{19}\) Lawson, Thomas W., "Forward," Frenzied Finance, (New York, 1905), p. VII.
worth.20

His purpose in writing these articles, he said, was to show the people exactly what the machinery of the "System" was and to show that it was an artifice which tricksters had imposed upon the people. "All financial institutions which in any way are engaged in taking from the people the money that is their surplus earnings or their capital, for the ostensible purpose of safeguarding it, or putting it in use for them, or exchanging it for stocks, bonds, policies, or other paper evidences of worth, are a part of the machinery for the plundering of the people." 21

He declared that in only a few more years some ten men will be as absolute legal owners of the entire United States with everything there is of value in it as John D. Rockefeller is the absolute legal owner of the large section which he possesses. The people will be the legal slaves of these ten men.22 Into nearly every big financial transaction of the United States of the last twenty years "double-dealing, sharp practice, and jobbery" have entered, and eight out of every ten big reorganizations and trustifications since 1885 have been illegal.23

21. Ibid., pp. 197-200.
22. Ibid., p. 205.
His account of the bold, large-scale and business-like way of bribing the Massachusetts legislature in 1896 by the Whitney machine is almost unbelievable. Many of the legislators were financially interested in Bay State Gas or Dominion Coal and at this session a bill for a new charter that was favorable to these enterprises was before the legislature. The session was drawing to a close and the governor refused to sign the bill in its original form. This caused fearful excitement among those legislators who had gambled on stock or had been bribed. It was finally signed after it had been changed to meet the public demands. This sent the stock down, and great losses were sustained. Lawson himself lost over a million dollars. Toyle and Patch, the lawyers who had managed the actual bribing, fled to Jamaica and ended their lives a few days later.

Legislators who have "inside" information about laws that are to be passed that will affect the value of certain industries "often buy thousands of shares" in order to reap the profit from an advance in price; or, if some stock will be affected adversely, they dispose of it in time if they hold any such at the time.  

24. Ibid., Ch. 21.
Frenzied Finance created a sensation. That it produced results may be gathered from one of Lawson's own advertisements, (thought it may be well to remember that modesty was not one of his outstanding virtues.). Sixty days after the people had Frenzied Finance in their hands, the Standard Oil 'monster' was compelled to break its old custom of silence. Three months after its appearance the people elected their champion for President with the greatest majority ever given a Chief Executive. Four months later three leading insurance companies discharged their agents in large numbers and their aggregate business fell off at the rate of $4,500,000 a week. After five months $200,000,000 of what people thought was real value ran into the gutter in the form of dirty water. In six months the President of the United States was able to shake the biggest trusts and combinations "until their teeth chattered and their backbones rattled like hung dried corn in a fireplace when the wind gets at it." In seven months the City Bank of New York was hung up so that people could see it in its most contemptible transactions. 26

One New York banker sent a list of eighteen questions to Lawson to be answered in the July (1908) number of Everybody's on pain of being exposed for dis-

honesty. He claimed that in all sections of the country small holders of stocks were selling their holdings and were withdrawing their deposits. This had already caused many small banks to fail. In Wall Street legitimate business was practically dead; the large life-insurance companies were doing but little business. For all this he blamed Lawson. In answering these questions Lawson said the time might come when he would ask the American people to withdraw their deposits from the banks; but this he would only ask when he was sure that the people would follow his suggestion, and when there was no other way of crushing the "System". He made the unqualified assertion that he had a new and sure remedy against the prevailing financial evils. It was a simple scheme which could not possibly benefit anybody moneywise except in so far as it would benefit the whole country. 27

What this remedy was he never made known. In March, 1906, the publishers of Everybody's announced it would begin in the April number, 28 but it didn't. Instead, there appeared an article on the insurance companies. In May, under "Fools and Their Money," Lawson told his readers the time had not arrived for the remedy. The "System" was still playing its game and the people rushed

as madly as ever to be fleeced by it. In November he repeated that the time for the remedy was not yet, and stated that he would start to write fiction in order to afford his imagination an opportunity to do some work and to keep the people interested in the subject of finance. His first story, he said, would make a real sensation in the New York and Boston Exchanges, and would blow out seven-eighths of all their windows, and make it impossible for the "System" and the stock gamblers to do business in exactly the same old way again.

Only one of his fiction stories appeared - "Friday, the Thirteenth." It was a highly dramatic story of high finance in four installments.

In January, 1905, Public Opinion announced a series of articles on "The Truth About Frenzied Finance" by Denis Donohoe, financial editor of the New York Commercial. Thirteen articles on the general subject appeared in the series, the last one on August 15, 1905. Donohoe tried hard to damage the credibility of Mr. Lawson as a witness of high finance. For that purpose his whole record was uncovered.

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30. Lawson, "To My Readers," Everybody's, Vol. 15 (November 1905), pp. 714-718. A number of his articles appear either entirely or partially in the advertising section, because he sent them in so late.
Before Frenzied Finance had advanced very far Everybody's started another important series. Charles Edward Russell finished eight articles on the Beef Trust, entitled, "The Greatest Trust In the World." He began his series with this statement: "In the free republic of the United States of America is a power greater than the government, greater than the courts or judges, greater than legislatures, superior to and independent of all authority of state or nation." No king or emperor or irresponsible oligarch has ever wielded such power. It exists and proceeds in defiance of law. It does not differ essentially from the rule of the feudal tyrant of the Middle Ages. Yet the men who wield this despotism are personally good and kindly men. They are themselves the victims of economic conditions and movements which are beyond their knowledge and control. 33

The Beef Trust, like the Standard Oil Trust, rested solely and squarely upon railroad rebates. These had been received in spite of the Interstate Commerce Act from all the railroads of the United States from the beginning: and for 1905 Mr. Russell estimated that this trust would receive $25,000,000 in the form of rebates. It was not called rebates in this case, but "private car charges,"

which amounted to the same thing in its effects. By threatening the railroads to divert their freight to other lines the packers have always been able to get mileage—from three-quarters of a cent to one cent per car-mile—for all their refrigerator cars. The big packers who owned their own cars, therefore, had the advantage over all lesser competitors.

Perfection in organization, Russell claimed did not mean cheaper food for the public. Whereas the value of beef cattle in the United States had declined $163,000,000 in the three years ending with January 1, 1905, the prices for retail meat had gradually increased. But the work in this field that caused an international sensation was Upton Sinclair's novel, *The Jungle*. It was the best selling book in the United States for a year; also in Great Britain and its colonies. It was translated into seventeen languages, and up to date about 150,000 copies of it have been sold. It portrayed the actual life and conditions in Packingtown. Sinclair lived among the laboring people there for seven weeks, and took careful notes of everything he saw and heard.


He talked with workingmen, bosses, superintendents, night-watchmen, saloon-keepers, politicians, clergymen and settlement workers. "I spared no pains to get every detail exact," he wrote, "and I know that in this respect The Jungle will stand the severest test." He described how diseased cattle were butchered, marked by the government inspectors, thrown into dumps, loaded on carts and wheeled back again and mingled with other carcasses and treated and sold as clean meat. Animals that had died on the trains in transit were unloaded in the stock-yards at night and treated as pure meat. Some of the descriptions were utterly revolting. No wonder many people lost their appetite for meat temporarily after reading the novel. The author said he had aimed at the public's heart, and by accident he hit it in the stomach.

Almost immediately after the publication of this novel President Roosevelt appointed a commission to investigate the packers' methods as charged by Mr. Sinclair, and found the conditions nearly as bad as indicated in The Jungle, and this in spite of the fact that it was known by the packers - and the employees - that

an investigation was being made. The Pure Food Act of 1906 was a result of this exposure.

A year after The Jungle was published and the Roosevelt investigation made, so Sinclair stated, the editor of the Sunday magazine section of the New York Herald - W. W. Harris - wanted him to make another secret investigation of Packingtown and write it up for publication in his paper. James Gordon Bennett, the Proprietor of the Herald was in Bermuda at the time. He was cabled to give his consent to the plan, which he did. As Sinclair was too busy to make the investigations himself a Mrs. Bloor and a Herald reporter worked in Packingtown for two months in disguise. They found conditions there to be worse than ever. They wrote a long article and Sinclair wrote the introduction to it. Before publishing the article it was sent to Mr. Bennett. He kept it and made no reply. Then Sinclair tried to find some other New York paper to take it, but none would have it. Nor would President Roosevelt do anything about it. A big meeting was arranged for Sinclair in the stockyards district of Chicago. There he told his story to five or six thousand enthusiastic people. They wanted the public to know the facts. A group of reporters were present and they admitted it was a good story, but they also knew that their papers would not accept it.
Sinclair urged them to turn in the story as he had told it and see what would happen. They agreed: but only the Chicago Socialist published it. On a similar occasion in San Francisco he told the same story, and only the Bulletin, edited by Fremont Older, published it. Nor would the English papers publish it.37

In reply to Russell's The Greatest Trust in the World and Sinclair's The Jungle J. Ogden Armour had an article written and published in the Saturday Evening Post in which he claimed that the charges brought against his company of selling diseased meat were absolutely false. Mr. Russell was not in America at the time, so Everybody's requested Sinclair to write a reply to Armour. It appeared in Everybody's in May, 1906, under the title, "The Condemned-Meat Industry." It is perhaps one of the most scathing and withering articles in controversial literature. It was written in a few hours, he claimed, at a white heat of indignation. Sinclair not only indicted Mr. Armour's personal and business veracity but he bolstered up with affidavits and other evidence the most unbelievable and disgusting charges against the meat industry which he mentioned in The Jungle.38

37. Sinclair, Upton, The Brass Check, Chapter VIII.
38. Sinclair, Upton, "The Condemned-Meat Industry," Everybody's, Vol. 14 (May, 1906), pp. 608-616. As a result of this article, if Sinclair reports correctly, many pages of advertising were withdrawn from Everybody's Magazine; not merely of hams and lard, but (Continued on next page.)
Much interest was shown in the organization of the Steel Trust. A series of fourteen articles on "The Romance of Steel and Iron in America" appeared in Munsey's Magazine between April, 1906 and May, 1907, by Herbert N. Casson. This was not a severe criticism, however, Upton Sinclair claimed that he had observed in twenty years of watching that few magazines dared to attack the Steel Trust, and "no" politicians dared it, adding that a muck-raker might attack a million dollar concern, but not a billion dollar trust.39 He himself, after publishing The Jungle, proposed to Everybody's to investigate and write a series of articles dealing with the glass industry, the steel industry, the coal-mines, the cotton-mills, and the lumber-camps. His proposition was accepted and he set to work. He sent in articles on the glass industry and the steel mills of Allegheny County. But these were never published. In his investigations he met a Hungarian widow who told of the misfortunes of her husband who used to work in the steel mills of Allegheny County. His legs were caught under the wheels of one of the gigantic travelling cranes. To save his legs it would be necessary to take the crane to pieces, which would cost several thousand dollars. So they ran

of fertilizers, soaps, and railways. Lawson wished to publish the names of these boycotters, but the proprietors of the magazine would not. Later the advertisements came back again. == Sinclair, Upton, The Brass Check, p.291.

over his legs and cut them off and paid him $200 damages. The same author charged the Steel Trust with cheating its customers, including the federal government and the railroad companies, by giving them defective goods. The United States battleship Oregon had 400 tons of defective armor plate built into it, and railroad companies received bad rails.

The railroads came in for their share of criticism and attack. Only a few of the more important serials on this subject will be referred to here. In 1905 Ellery Sedgwick made a determined effort through the American Magazine to induce Congress to pass a bill which should compel the railroads to install the block system to insure public safety. People were urged to send in true accounts of railroad accidents, so that the public might be aroused. And many responded. The letters came streaming in, said Mr. Sedgwick, as they had on no other subject the magazine had ever advocated. Every congressman was sounded on the subject.

The same year Ray Stannard Baker started to expose the railroads in a serious way, in a series that was known as "The Railroad on Trial". His first article concerned itself with the railroad rate. By manipulating the

40. Ibid., p. 56.
41. Ibid., pp. 84-85.
rate properly railroads could show favoritism to trusts and discriminate against individuals and localities. He showed how the railroads charged more for a short haul than for a long haul in many cases, all over the country. All rates that were made in this country were made in deliberate disregard, if not in open violation, of law, the law which forbids illegal association and combination. The next article explained railroad rebates, what they are, how they are paid, who pays them, and how they affect industry. Others dealt with the private car problem in connection with the Beef Trust and the fruit industry, and with creating public opinion.


44. "How Railroads Make Public Opinion," McClure's, Vol. 26 (March, 1906), pp. 534-549. contained an interesting account of railway publicity. In 1905 the railroads became much frightened at the public clamor for railway legislation. The House passed the Esch-Townsend bill which was stopped by the Senate. Then they started the most sweeping campaign for reaching and changing public thought that had ever been undertaken in this country. To reach the newspapers a firm of publicity agents with headquarters in Boston was established. Offices were opened in New York, Washington, St. Louis and Topeka. In each of these branch offices a large corps of employees was engaged, under experienced newspaper men. In Chicago alone there were 43 employees. Clippings relating to railroads were filed from all papers, and every town had (Continued on next page.)
In another article - "The Way of a Railroad with a Town" - Mr. Baker showed how railway consolidation and rate discrimination had almost ruined certain industries in Danville, Virginia, and made others prosperous.45

Carl S. Vrooman tried to show in the Twentieth Century Magazine that there was no more corruption in government-owned railroads than there was in privately owned railroads, and he showed that there was considerable corruption in the American system.46

been visited, and every editor interviewed. All information was carefully filed and catalogued, including the views of the various editors on economic and political questions. Then the editors were carefully supplied with literature which would put the railroads in a favorable light. Often, perhaps usually, the editors did not know themselves from where the material came. The results of the campaign were remarkable. In the week ending June 5, 1905, the newspapers of Nebraska published 212 columns of matter that was unfavorable to and only two columns that was favorable. Eleven weeks later, after a careful campaign in the course of a week Nebraska published 203 columns that were favorable to railroads and only four columns that were unfavorable.


In a series entitled, "Masters of Capital", John Moody and George Kibbe Turner discussed the inevitability of railway monopoly, together with other capitalistic enterprises.  

A very interesting series on railway inefficiency appeared late in the muck-raking period (1913) in Pearson's Magazine, by Charles Edward Russell. His contention was that the motion of the railroad service that we received in this country was all wrong. We thought we got the best service in the world, whereas we get the worst railway service in the world. Our trains were no faster than those on the government-owned roads of Europe, and they were infinitely more dangerous. Greed, the desire for dividends, caused the railway companies to refrain from keeping the roads up to a safe and efficient point. Most of our railroad accidents, he claimed, were due to the dilapidated condition of the railroads. There were nine articles in the series.  

The street-railway business was attacked more than once. Ray Stannard Baker wrote about the "Subway Deal" in 1905. He warned the people of New York that

August Belmont was on the way to create the greatest and most piratical transit monopoly that their city had yet experienced. Henry Kitchell Webster, in the same year, compared two opposing types of traction magnates, typified in Thomas F. Ryan of New York and Thomas Lowry of Minneapolis. And Burton J. Hendrick discussed New York street-railway financing in a series entitled, "Great Fortunes and their Making," a few years later. Peter A.B. Widener, William L. Elkins, William H. Kemble, William C. Whitney and Thomas F. Ryan were some of the financiers whose works and fortunes were exposed. Much of the discussion centered about street railway franchises.

The scandal in the great life-insurance companies during these years gave ample occasion for exposures. The World's Work published a series of six articles on insurance in 1905 and 1906, that was signed "Q. P." It exposed the machinery of insurance, its methods, aims, corruption, and leaders.

Louis D. Brandeis criticized the prevailing industrial insurance system. In the fifteen years which ended with December 31, 1905, he wrote, the workingmen of Massachusetts paid to the so-called industrial life

insurance companies an aggregate of $61,294,887 in premiums, and received back in death benefits, endowments or surrender values only $31,819,606. The insurance reserve arising from these premiums—which was still held by the companies—did not exceed $9,338,000. Thus it appeared that in addition to interest on invested funds, about one-half of the amount paid by the working men in premiums had been absorbed in the expense of conducting the business and in dividends to the stockholders of the insurance companies. He favored savings banks to provide for the insurance of the workingmen.52

Perhaps the most complete account of life-insurance of this period was given by Burton J. Hendrick in a series in McClure's in 1906 and 1907. He called it "The Story of Life-Insurance."

The insurance business had progressively degenerated for 35 years, he assured the readers. This could be noticed from the different emphasis of insurance people. Formerly they appealed to a person's responsibility toward his family and dependents, but later they tried to convince people that they would reap the financial advantages themselves. As a result only twenty per cent

of the policies that were written remained in force so that they really insured life. In the article on "The Race for Bigness" he makes the statement that policy holders have suffered most from the recklessness and extravagance of the trustees rather than from their dishonesty. In the preceding 30 years the Mutual, the Equitable, and the New York Life had been in a mad race for size, and to that fact most of the evils that beset them were due. To get the largest annual amount of new business they made extravagant payments to their agents in the shape of commissions, prizes, bonuses, and entertainments; they advertised recklessly, and solicited business in foreign countries. When Hyde started the Equitable, the first year's commissions did not exceed 10 per cent, but he gradually raised them to 90 per cent.

In summary of his six articles Hendrick said the personalities of Henry B. Hyde and Mr. Alexander, the control of an enormous property by a reckless spendthrift, the struggle for control over the Equitable, the Mutual, and the New York Life by different financial cliques: were not the real causes of the recent life-insurance upheaval.

The chief point was "whether a 30 year's Saturnalia, in which the very life-insurance idea itself had been prostituted, should end." Life-insurance started in an honest efficient way in the United States, but Henry B. Hyde added a gambling device to it which was known as Tontine or deferred dividend. Instead of paying dividends annually, he accumulated such over-payments, with the values of lapsing members, into a huge fund which he called surplus. This was to be divided after twenty years among all members who had paid their premiums regularly and were still alive. No contract to this effect had been made with any policy-holder, however. The company had full control over this fund and used it as Mr. Hyde and his trustees saw fit. Much of it was distributed among his agents in the form of commissions and between himself and his favored trustees in the form of plunder. He and the heads of other insurance companies who had adopted his scheme used this fund to pay themselves huge salaries, to corrupt legislatures and the press, to build large financial institutions for their own advantage and at the expense of the policy-holders, and to engage in Wall-Street speculation. At the end of the dividend period they paid such portion of the Tontine as had not been wasted or stolen.
As a result of the New York investigations deferred dividend policies were absolutely prohibited. Nor were insurance companies to own subsidiary banks and trust companies, or to invest in stocks. And trustees and directors of insurance companies were not to participate in speculative syndicates. Publicity in regard to salaries and other matters was demanded, and agents' commissions and cost of new business were limited.  

"The Money-Kings" was the title of four articles in the *World's Work* for 1907 that dealt with banking. C.M. Keys, the author, had formerly been one of the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*. He attempted to simplify the mysteries of finance, currency and banking; to expose the ambitious schemes that were then being put into effect under the National Bank Act; to discuss and weight the state bank and trust companies; and to lay bare the good and bad things about the savings banks.  

He showed how some of the large Wall Street banks gambled on a gigantic scale. Six days after the "panic" of 1907 (March 14, 1907) one of them owned $57,000,00 worth of stocks and bonds. Perhaps nearly $50,000,000 of this con-


sisted of active, listed stocks, bought mostly at the time of the panic, to be sold again as soon as the market would take it without trouble.

Thomas W. Lawson exposed certain banking practices in his *Frenzied Finance*, and others attacked the same institution.

The sugar trust did not escape the muck-rakers, although it was not until late in the period that it was seriously challenged. Charles P. Norcross had a series of articles on it in the *Cosmopolitan* in 1909. He exposed its practice of rebating, its conspiracy to throttle competition, its practice of using false weights, its defiance of law and its influence on legislation.56

Next year Judson C. Welliver had several articles on the sugar trust in *Hampton's*. In one of them he claimed there was a close relation between the sugar trust and the Mormon church. The two, he wrote, controlled somewhere from two-thirds to four-fifths of the beet sugar of the country. The combination absolutely dominates beet sugar. It makes the market prices of sugar, distributes the territory, and completely controls tariff legislation.57 The next article was entitled "The Annexation

of Cuba by the Sugar Trust." It showed that the trust was still after big game in the old way. But in an editorial note, preceding the article, the editors claimed that Mr. Welliver's January exposure had already produced important results. It had given direct evidence upon which the government could base a suit against the trust. The department of justice had secured complete official evidence supporting the charges of Hampton's. This expose furnished the means of freeing the beet sugar industry and of fixing a new hold on the refining monopoly itself. "Never before in the history of journalistic enterprise have such big and prompt results been secured from an exposure of this kind."58 Two months later the same writer told of the shameful operations of the sugar trust in the United States during the late Payne-Aldrich tariff fight, in which it was alleged that Democrats and Republicans alike fell victims to the vicious influence of the sugar trust.59

In 1909 some powerful articles were written against a threatened national water power trust. Judson

C. Welliver wrote on this subject for McClure's. He said at the present increase of coal consumption our coal supply would be exhausted in 125 years. A substitute must be found, and that was water. With water power electricity could be produced. There already was in skeleton a trust to control the water supply of the country, which, if developed, would be bigger than any ever dreamed of. President Roosevelt referred to it in his recent James River Dam veto message. He said, "The people of the country are threatened by a monopoly far more powerful because in far closer touch with their domestic and individual life, than anything known to our experience. A single generation will see the exhaustion of our natural recourses of oil and gas and such rise in the price of coal as will make the prices of electrically transmitted water power a controlling factor in transportation, in manufacturing, and in household lighting and heating." He told Congress that thirteen corporations or interests, centering in the General Electric and the Westinghouse Electric companies controlled one-third of the developed water power of the country. The movement was only five years old, and if it would not be controlled we should have the history of the oil industry all over again. The water sites which the combinations controlled were those which offered the greatest advantages, and
held, therefore, strategic positions. He would not sign
any more bills to give away water power unless they con-
tained reservations to the government of full authority
to protect public interests. Mr. Welliver went on to
say that the General Electric Company had a capital of
$65,000,000 and was commonly regarded as being closely
affiliated with "Standard Oil." He named a long list
of companies that were classified as of General Electric
or Westinghouse affiliation. The details, he said, could
as yet only be filled in incompletely. 60

John L. Mathews wrote a number of articles on
the water trust for Hampton's, that, according to Charles
Edward Russell, "blocked an audacious scheme to corral the
water powers of the nation." 61 In opening his article
on "Water Power and the Price of Bread," he advised that
alongside the word Liberty we chisel the word Apathy, for
no people outside the Orient was as careless as the Amer-
ican people. "Will The Average Man in the United States
Ever Wake Up?" Will he wake up to the stupendous graft
and loot that his apathy permits?

The American Cyanamid Company boasted in its
prospectus that "every loaf of bread, ever pound of beef,

60. Welliver, Judson C., "The National Water Power Trust,"
61. Ruzzell, Charles Edward, In a personal letter to the
author, May 31, 1922.
every manger of oats, will necessarily pay its tribute" to the company.

Two German scientists discovered a method for making nitrogen from the air. These chemists worked for the Cyanamid Gesellschafter. The patents were syndicated, and a great parent company formed in Italy. This controlled the patents, and it sold its rights in France, Bavaria, and other countries. In the United States they have been sold to the American Cyanamid Company. This monopoly has also bought up the right to "sell, use or distribute" its products. Its control is complete, and the American people will have to pay, in the form of higher prices for their food-stuffs. The new material, known as cyanamid of lime, was to be made exclusively by the use of electricity. Of every dollar that the people will pay to this monopoly for fertilizer, 80 cents will have been taken from the people in the form of water power, which is used in the creation of electricity. Air and water are to be used in making this fertilizer. It might be manufactured for $20 a ton but the Company was going to charge $75 per ton. The time is coming when the soil will have to have this fertilizer.  

In "The Trust that Will Control all other Trusts" he

claimed that whosoever controlled the running water of
the country controlled farming, manufacturing, transpor-
tation, and human life itself. Such a grabbing combi-
nation, he claimed, there was, and it was backed by John
Pierpont Morgan. In a later article he showed what
"pork-barrel" politics had done for our water power.
Already Congress had given away 1,500,000 horse-power of
water to the mighty water-power monopoly, and wasted
$500,000,000 on rivers and harbors appropriations.

Alfred Lewis exposed the International Harvester
Company. He asserted that this trust with its rail-
roads, its steamships and its bank allies, was managing
an annual export trade of $21,000,000; was doing a year-
ly domestic business of $90,000,000; was borrowing money
at three and four per cent to loan at six to ten per
cent; was killing competition; was stifling invention
because as threatening expense; was pressing toward a
monopoly, and was paying a little more than forty per
cent dividends on its capital stock of $180,000,000.
"The whole presents a condition of fiscal bloodsucking,
permitted by the people, who are as sheep."

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63. Mathews, "The Trust that Will Control All Other
64. Mathews, "Water Power and the Pork Barrel,
   Hampton's, Vol. 23 (October, 1909).
65. Lewis, Alfred Henry, "A Trust in Agricultural Im-
David Graham Phillips told a pathetic story of a widow who invested the money which she got from the insurance company after her husband's death in common stock of a consolidated manufacturing company in New York. The stock was worthless, the children had to quit college and go to work, and a 17 year old daughter became hard up and left for Cincinnati and was lost.  

In 1907 an important series, of seven articles, appeared by Russell, on some great American fortunes. It was entitled, "Where Did You Get It, Gentlemen?" In it he contended that the great fortunes do not indicate America's prosperity. They have been made in illegal and corrupt ways by robbing the public of untold wealth, and in return they give the public poor service. In connection with the account of the American Tobacco Company he said, "The bonds are issued, the stock is floated, the syndicate is enriched, the palace arises. And every cent thus represented we furnish: we that consume the tobacco, ship the freight, grow the crops, eat the beef, hang on the straps of the Subway, we upon whose backs is piled the whole vast mass of watered stocks, fictitious bonds, fraudulent scrip, gambling securities. And the

only profit obtained by society in all these operations is the spectacle of five or six men accumulating vast fortunes, fortunes beyond computation, fortunes for a few comprising the sum of available wealth that should be for all. And he ended his series with this passage: "Where did the gentlemen get it? They got it from us and by means of our own witless connivance, brethren, for do you not suppose we can take those filching fingers from our pockets if we try?"

The central figure of the whole series was Thomas Fortune Ryan.

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69. These articles on the Ryan fortune and its connection with the New York Metropolitan Street-Railway Company were to Mr. Russell personally the most expensive he ever wrote. He was a magazine writer, and his contributions went into a large number of periodicals. After this attack he was "blacklisted in every magazine office in New York," except the three that were then indulging in muck-raiding. If Russell may be believed, that blacklist still holds good. Later Everybody's was also silenced, and notified Russell that it could use no more of his matter, frankly admitting that the refusal was based solely on his name, which it could not allow to appear again in its pages. And this in spite of the fact that he had travelled around the world for it and had been a member of its staff. Even while this series was running the editor of Everybody's decided to omit the one on the American Tobacco Company. Mr. Russell was in Minneapolis at the time where he got a friendly tip from someone in the office. He hurried back to New York only to find that the main part of the magazine had gone to press without his article. But he succeeded in getting it printed in the advertising section. --- Russell, Charles Edward, in a personal letter to the author, June 20, 1922.
A series of ten articles on "Owners of America" by Alfred Henry Lewis, appeared in the *Cosmopolitan*, beginning with June, 1908. A half score men might be named, claimed the author, who held practically the whole wealth of America "in the controlling hollows of their hands." An article was devoted to each of the following in the order named: Andrew Carnegie, Thomas F. Ryan, J. Pierpont Morgan, the Vanderbilts, Charles M. Schwab, John D. Rockefeller, the Armours, the Swifts, E. H. Harriman, and the Astors. These rich men were described and characterized in a cool dispassionate fashion, but there were warnings against the expediency of permitting such accumulations of wealth. About Ryan, the New York gas and traction lord, he wrote, "Mayors are his office-boys, governors come and go at his call. He possesses himself of a party and selects a candidate for the presidency. Tammany Hall is as a dog for his hunting, and he breaks city councils to his money-will as folk break horses to harness. Borough presidents and city boards are among his chattels; comptrollers and corporation counsels become the ornaments on his watch-guard." John D. Rockefeller had no vices, and

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his only pleasure consisted in "seeing his dividends come in." Social intercourse he had none, and "lying" was his only luxury. 71 The Vanderbilts were easy-going people who did as they pleased and let the world take care of itself. 72 About Schwab he wrote, "For myself, I hope I may never find worse company than Mr. Schwab. Suave, plausible, of friendly atmosphere. He built churches and played the piano and the fiddle." 73

Burton J. Hendrick published articles on great American fortunes at different times and in different magazines, but mostly in McClure's. There appeared accounts of the Astor fortune, 74 the Vanderbilt fortune, 75 and the Harriman fortune. 76 The Gould fortune, he claimed was a product of national decay. It was built up by speculation alone. 77

The prevailing American tariff system was attacked by Miss Tarbell in a series of seven articles in the American Magazine in 1906 and 1907, and in three additional articles in 1909. The general title was *The Tariff In Our Times*. That was also the title of the book in which they were collected. It was a survey of tariff legislation in this country since the Civil War, together with some careful investigations as to the effects of high protection on some particular communities and on labor. She showed the close connection between big business and tariff legislation. "Ever since 1888", she claimed, "it has been the settled and openly expressed principle in political circles that your protection shall be in proportion to your campaign contribution." The trouble with the Payne-Aldrich tariff was that it left out the human element. High protection does not protect the laborer. Wages were no higher in highly protected industries than in unprotected industries. Rhode Island was a state in which the industries were protected, but the wages in its textile industries in 1907 were only from $7 to $15 per week. The laboring conditions were very poor, infant mortality was high, and the factory

79. Ibid., p. 328.
owners cared little for their working people. "This, then is high protection's most perfect work - a state of half a million people turning out an annual product worth $279,438,000, the laborers in the chief industry underpaid, unstable, and bent with disease, the average employers rich, self-satisfied, and as indifferent to social obligations as so many robber barons." Duties were not fixed scientifically but as a result of bargaining. "Dip into the story of the tariff at any point since the Civil War and you will find wholesale proofs of this bargaining in duties; rates fixed with no more relation to the doctrine of protection than they have to the law of precession of the equinoxes." 

In 1913 Miss Tarbell wrote three articles on "The Hunt for a Money Trust" in the American. It dealt with the investigations of the Pugo Committee. 

This great wealth tended to create a new society. It was described by Upton Sinclair in a book, called The Metropolis. The Jungle dealt with the very poor peo-

80. Ibid., p. 349.
81. Ibid., p. 363.
ple and this with the very rich. Some scenes from this novel appeared in the American in 1907 and 1908. In introducing the first scene of this series the editor said New York society had developed into something "strange, unreal, almost uncouth; gorgeous in outward appearance, whimsical and wanton in display, unprecedented in extravagance of every conceivable form. And with this grotesque luxury has developed a social temperament just as fantastic, in which, to say the least, culture, gentleness and right-mindedness are not conspicuous elements. This new and barbaric element in Society has pushed aside the older and gentler past." 83

The attacks of the muck-rakers on unscrupulous business undoubtedly assisted greatly in removing the Machiavellian characteristics from American business and placing it on a higher social and ethical plane.

Chapter X

Labor
Chapter X.

The conditions and methods of labor during these years were neither free from corruption nor immune from the assaults of the muck-rakers. Ray Stannard Baker wrote some notable articles on labor conditions and problems early in the period. In the January number for 1903 he had one entitled, "The Right to Work," which dealt with the coal strike, and showed how the labor unions prevented the "scabs," or non-union miners, from working.\(^1\) Another, "Capital and Labor Hunt Together," illustrated how some labor unions and some capitalists in Chicago combined for common purposes. The team owners and teamsters cooperated to crush out all independent dray-men. As a result the price for their services rose between 40 and 100 per cent. Together with the coal dealers they forced natural gas out of downtown Chicago.\(^2\) In others his purpose was to show that labor unions were hard and tyrannical on employers and on the public when they had the power to be so,\(^3\) and that labor leaders were sometimes more corrupt than capitalists;

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that they betrayed the confidence of their fellows and served as the tools of the trusts. 4

Much of the discussion of labor was closely related to big business. The industrial warfare in Colorado was again and again considered. J. Warner Mills' articles on "The Economic Struggle In Colorado" have already been mentioned. 5 Mr. Baker wrote on the subject for McClure's in 1904, dealing in particular with the employer's association 6 and the reign of lawlessness in Colorado. 7 In 1907 "The Confession and Autobiography of Harry Orchard" appeared as a serial in McClure's. This was a vivid account of the industrial warfare as it was waged up till 1905 in Colorado and Idaho. Orchard was a member of the Western Federation of Miners and was in close touch with the "inner circle" of that organization. At his trial he appeared as the chief witness for the state against the leaders of his union. He confessed to eighteen murders, including that of ex-Governor Frank Steunenburg of Idaho, who had handled the miners' strike in a way to arouse the fierce hatred of the miners. It was an intimate account of the workings of the labor

5. Chapter VIII.
unions which were engaged in murder and crime. Such activities on the part of the unions were, of course, largely a result of the prevailing political and business corruption. George Kibbe Turner wrote introductions to several of Orchard's articles in which he supplied the historical background for the stories. He also wrote an article on "The Actors and Victims in the Tragedies." This dealt with the bomb-throwers in Colorado during the time of misgovernment.  

A scholarly article on the subject appeared in the Political Science Quarterly for March 1908. The writer claimed that practically everybody in the regions of labor disputes - Colorado and Idaho - was lined up on one side or the other of the controversy. The Republican Party staunchly supported the capitalists; while the Democrats, Populists, and Socialists stood for the real or alleged interests of labor and unionism, - at least during election periods.  

George Creel had two articles on "Poisoners of Public Opinion" in Harper's Weekly in 1914, in which he discussed the treatment which the laborers in Colorado received at the hands of the capitalistic press. Every=

thing was done by newspapers and pamphlets and even the Congressional Record to destroy people's confidence in the labor leaders. Mother Jones, an 82 year old friend of the miners, was branded a prostitute and the keeper of a house of prostitution. Tikas, the "peacemaker", was brained by a militia lieutenant while a helpless prisoner, and was stigmatized as a brothel hanger-on. The grossest infamies were circulated about Judge Ben B. Lindsey and the committee of miners' wives who went to Washington to plead their cause. The laborers were often treated brutally and in utter disregard of the laws and the rights of society, and then falsehoods about them were spread broadcast over the country. Ivy L. Lee was, according to Upton Sinclair, the thousand-dol-

lars-a-month press-agent for the Rockefellers in the Col-

orado coal strike who did much of the lying about the la-

bor conditions there. The miners called him "Poison Ivy."

Upton Sinclair claimed the greatest atrocity of this coal strike was the fact that the strike-breakers were en-

listed in the state militia. In Company A of the state guard all but three of a total of 122 had been employees

of the coal companies, "receiving the pay of the coal companies while they wore the uniform and carried the flag of the state." 12

The same writer gave a whole chapter to the coal strike in West Virginia. At Calumet the strikers received outrageous treatment at the hands of the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency. Then, it was alleged, the Associated Press lied about the tragic affair. The Masses published a cartoon with the title, "Poisoned at the Source," illustrating the falsification of the news. For this the Associated Press indicted the editors of the Masses for libel, 13 and later dropped the case.

The labor conditions for women were investigated repeatedly and exposed in the magazines. McClure's published "The Diary of an Amateur Waitress" in 1906, 14 "The Depth and Breadth of the Servant Problem" in 1910, 15 and "Working-Girls' Budgets" in the same year. The last

12. Ibid., p. 184.
13. Ibid., Chapter 58, pp. 362-376.
was a series of five articles, based upon the accounts of self-supporting girls in different industries. Wages were found to be very low, even for girls who had been working for years.\textsuperscript{18}

A serial on "The Woman's Invasion" in Everybody's in 1909 showed the dehumanizing effects of industrialism on women and children.\textsuperscript{17}

Closely related to labor are the conditions of childhood. The evils of child-labor were brought to light by various writers, but especially by Edwin Markham and John Spargo. The former contributed a series of articles on this subject to the Cosmopolitan in 1906 and 1907, under the title, "The Hoe-Man in the Making." The bad effects on the children of work in the mills, the glass factories, the sweat-shops, the coal-mines, and in preparation for holidays - candy-making, box-making, flower-making, etc. - were brought out in a way to arrest attention and to appeal to the readers' sympathy and sense of fair play.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{itemize}
  \item William Hard wrote about "De Kid
  \end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{17} Hard, William and Dorr, Rheta Childe, "The Woman's Invasion," Everybody's, Vol. 20 (1909).
Wot Works at Night."

The underfeeding of children was investigated and proclaimed by such men as Robert Hunter and John Spargo. The former caused a sensation by claiming that New York City had from sixty thousand to seventy thousand under-fed school children. Spargo said the same conditions prevailed in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Jersey City, and scores of other cities. He estimated that there were 3,000,000 underfed school children in this country. He spent two months in collecting all sorts of data on the subject. Nurses, physicians, and social workers found that a large proportion of the children, especially those who were sick, needed food, rather than medicine. One social worker of wide experience estimated that two-thirds of the tenement children of New York were underfed.20

In 1907 Spargo published a book, The Bitter Cry of the Children, which aroused much interest. It dealt not only with underfed children but also with the woeful conditions of babies whose mothers worked away from home, with child-labor, and with remedial measures. The purpose of the book was to state the problem of poverty as

it affected childhood. Robert Hunter wrote the introduction, in which he called it a "powerful" book, which was destined "to become a mighty factor in awakening all classes of our people to the necessity of undertaking measures to remedy the conditions which exist." 

In some parts of the South, it was claimed, conditions prevailed that bordered on slavery. "The Standard Oil clique, H. M. Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway Company, the turpentine trust, the lumber trust, and other trusts have put in force a system of peonage which is actual slavery," said a writer for the *Cosmopolitan*, "and it is done under the legal sanction of state laws—not by direct laws, but by subterfuges and circumventions which nevertheless attain the end in view." This system took in whites and blacks alike. Negroes might be sold for debt and held to labor. Of the cruel injustice to which this system led one writer cited numerous examples. 


Thomas Nelson Page and Ray Stannard Baker wrote much on the negro problem. The former had a series of articles on "The Negro: The Southerner's Problem" in *McClure's* in 1904, and the latter wrote two articles on lynching for the same periodical, the following year, and an extensive series for the *American* (Continued on next page)
The Chinese in America constituted one phase of the labor problem, and sensational articles under such titles as "The Yellow Pariahs," and "The Dragon In America" appeared in various periodicals. The author of the latter gave an account of the activities of the Chinese Six Companies in America, including its efforts to populate the United States with Chinese. The so-called Chinese Six Companies was a Chinese trust which secured Chinese labor, brought it to America, controlled it while here, bribed Americans when necessary, and constituted an element which defied the United States government. The official head of the organization, said the writer, was the Chinese Emperor. The movement started as early as 1848. Labor was badly needed in California at the time, so it was the purpose to ship coolies to America and to control them. An American tried to effect an organization to supply this kind of labor, but he met with no encouragement in China. Then some Chinese did it. They got control of labor agencies in China and organized the Six Companies, which were virtually a single company.

in 1907 and 1908, entitled, "Following the Color Line." This was a careful study of the race problem. It dealt with the social, political, economic and educational aspects of the negro question, both in the North and in the South.

Between 1850 and 1853 they sent 15,000 coolies to America. They agreed to pay for the transportation, to obtain work for the coolies, pay the doctor's bills, give legal protection, and in case of death to send their remains back to China. The coolies in turn became practically the slaves of the companies. They agreed to pay two and a half per cent of their income to the companies for a number of years, and to make no moves without the consent of the companies to which they belonged. Each of the Six Companies had its name and organization and headquarters. In a few years the Chinese began to go into the laundry and truck-farming business, and in a short time controlled these fields. They could live on six cents a day. Their truck-farmers undersold the American producers by 75 per cent, and still made money. They sent millions of dollars in gold to China, and the writer suggested that the mysterious and little understood depletion of gold during this period was perhaps to be explained by this fact. These coolies stayed here until they had earned a thousand or two thousand dollars and then went home to live in ease. After Congress passed the first act of restriction in 1882 the Chinese evaded the law in various ways and kept on coming in. Later acts were much stricter, but the Six Companies
were still hopeful of carrying on a propaganda to create sentiment favorable to the Chinese. The writer considered these activities of the Chinese "a menace not only to America but to civilization." 26

Perhaps all magazines gave some attention to the appalling number of industrial accidents in the United States. Under the title "Our Industrial Juggernaut," a writer for Everybody's estimated that half a million people were killed or maimed in our industries every year. And this was due largely to indifference on the part of employers, and laborers and the public. 27 Another writer estimated that 68,000 fatal accidents and 2,000,000 injuries occurred each year. 28 For railroads alone the estimate was placed at 10,000 deaths and 75,000 injuries. A great many of these could be prevented by making use of safety appliances. But the railroad companies, claimed the author, had done very little in this respect.

The only way to reduce railroad fatalities was to force them by law to adopt measures that would insure safety. It was also claimed that there were more mine disasters and a higher death-rate in this country than in any other. William Hard wrote about "Making Steel and Killing Men," which was an exposure of industrial accidents in steel factories. In connection with the Newark factory fire it was shown that the doors and fireescapes of the factory were out of order when the fire took place, and that this fact contributed to the disaster; but the company was not held responsible.

On the whole it can probably be said that the muck-rakers were friendly toward labor, and that they sought to protect the American workman against cheap competition from abroad and against corrupt conditions at home.

Chapter XI
Religion
Chapter XI

In dealing with religious subjects the muck-rakers did not attack religion itself, but what they regarded as abuses of religion or the inefficiency of the Church. Very little was written by them on the subject at all until quite late in the period.

Beginning with December, 1908, Ray Stannard Baker contributed a series of six articles on "The Spiritual Unrest" to the American. He investigated such subjects as healing by preachers - psychic healing, church attendance, city missions, and the religion of those who do not belong to any church. He showed that there was an estrangement between the Church and large classes of the population. In the missions of the slums, he said, was "demonstrated again and again the power of a living religion to reconstruct the individual human life," and it made little difference whether the person were of low origin and culture or whether he were a university graduate. But only about five per cent of those who came "forward" remained permanently saved.

In the same year Charles Edward Russell exposed the very bad condition in tenements that were owned by


Trinity Church of New York. For 94 years none of the owners - the communicants - had known the extent of the property, nor the amount of the revenue therefrom, nor what was done with the money. Every attempt to learn even the simplest facts about these matters have been baffled. The management was a self-perpetuating body, without responsibility and without supervision. But the strangest thing about it was, wrote Mr. Russell, that a Christian church should be willing to take money from such tenements as Trinity owned in the old Eighth Ward. "I have tramped the Eighth Ward day after day, with a list of Trinity properties in my hand," he claimed, "and of all the tenement houses that stand there on Trinity land, I have not found one that is not a disgrace to civilization and to the City of New York." Mr. Baker devoted one of


As a result of Russells' articles and Hampton's attacks the Trinity Church Corporation tore down 157 of the worst tenement houses of New York and reformed the policy which it had followed for 120 years. Russell, In a personal letter to the author, May 21, 1922; Editorial Notes, "Trinity Church," Hampton's, Vol. 24 (April, 1910), p. 594.
his articles on "The Spiritual Unrest" to Trinity, and said that the indictment of the richest church in America did not mean an indictment of religion.4

Christian Science was repeatedly attacked. A dozen articles on "Mary Baker G. Eddy: The Story of Her Life and the History of Christian Science" in McClure's by Georgine Milmine in 1907 was perhaps the most detailed investigation of the founder of the sect and of her church. The editor of the Arena protested against the "persistent campaign of falsehood, slander and calumny" that was carried on by certain American publishers and personages against the founder of Christian Science and the governing board of that church.5

One of the most interesting series on religion and on university teaching, and one which stirred up a vast amount of discussion, started with an article entitled, "Blasting at the Rock of Ages," by Harold Holbe in the Cosmopolitan for 1909. The writer claimed to have visited or enrolled as a special student in many of the leading colleges and universities of the country,

including Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Wisconsin, Northwestern, Nebraska, and Leland Stanford. In the course of his studies he heard problems of morality, economics, marriage, divorce, the home, religion, and democracy discussed as if they were fossils, equations, chemical elements, or chimeras. "There is scholarly repudiation of all solemn authority. The decalogue is no more sacred than a syllabus." He quoted leading scholars, especially in the field of religion and social philosophy, and discussed their teachings. Among them were Edwin L. Earp of Syracuse University, Simon N. Patten of Pennsylvania, Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia, Edward A. Ross of Wisconsin, Frank A. Fetter of Cornell, Shailer Matthews of Chicago, William Graham Sumner of Yale, and Woodrow Wilson of Princeton. These men were said to teach young men and women plainly that an immoral act was merely one contrary to the prevailing conceptions of society, and that the person who defied the code did not offend any Deity, but simply aroused the venom of the majority. The writer was surprised to find academic warrant for "departure from conjugal restraint," to hear that the home was too narrow a channel for the transmission of progress to the race to come, to hear that conscience is not a safe guide for conduct, that standards of morality change, and "that society, by its approval, can make

any kind of conduct right." The American college professor was free to express his opinions, and what one professor in a university believed and taught might be accepted by others in the same institution. Professor Earp of Syracuse did not believe that the decalogue was handed down in the Scriptural way. From the University of Pennsylvania one would expect conservatism, but what it taught was "radical and suggestive of startling changes of society." 7

The second article - "Polyglots in Temples of Babel" - dealt with politics and economics. Professors Wilson of Princeton, Sumner of Yale, and others taught that the fathers of our government had been mistaken in a good many things; that men were not equal, that advancement was not to be secured through the triumph of majorities, and that democracy had failed to bring about what the people expected of it. The Declaration of Independence was labelled as "a work in spectacular rhetoric."

The same article mentions the teachings of Professors Edwin A. Seligman, E. L. Bogart, Robert F. Hoxie, and others. These men did not wish to be sensational or to have their doctrines detached from their proper context. "If any student comes thoughtless out of an American

college it is not the fault of the faculty."  8

The third article gave a sort of college forecast of what was in store for America. Despite the unemotional tone of much of the scholarly teaching, most of it was unequivocally optimistic. The professors were startling in their iconoclasm, but even more so in the scope and significance of their faith. Religious revivalism to them was worse than drunkenness. Man is God made manifest. 9

In his fourth article Mr. Bolce declared his accounts of the colleges and universities had profoundly stirred America. Clergymen everywhere declared that the colleges were destroying everything that humanity held sacred. To this the professors made the "astounding" reply that the church was the leading obstacle in the way of man's spiritual unfolding. The church kept men in intellectual bondage, and was the last to come into possession of the truth. She had been forced to recede in every field of science, and she would be forced to recede still farther, in order to make way for progress in spiritual matters. The psychologists claimed that a large part of the ills of mankind were the result of

false and fearful thinking. Dogma and disease were companions. College men were not blind to the services of the Church, and they hoped it would give up its discredited beliefs and help humanity spiritually. Materialism was a thing of the past. The issue was not between science and religion but between scholastic faith and antiquated creeds. Eternal life was the divine life which was realized in every movement in its completeness, and was not partitioned into a vanishing past, a momentary present, and an unrealized future.  

The last of this series was entitled, "Rallying Round the Cross." It consisted of replies to the university professors, mostly from orthodox clergymen. Some of these utterly failed to understand the university viewpoint.  

During 1910 three more articles appeared by the same author, dealing with similar subjects; called, "The Crusade Invincible," "Away from Ancient Altars," and "Contemporary Salvation."  

In 1910 and 1911 much was written against the Mormon Church. Criticism of this sect was not directed primarily against its religious teachings, but against  

its political and economic power. We have already men-
tioned Judson C. Welliver's article on the Mormon church
and the Sugar Trust. 12 Alfred Henry Lewis had three ar-
ticles in the Cosmopolitan, in which he stigmatized Mor-
monism as the "viper". The pages were elaborately dec-
orated with illustrations of snakes and money-bags. He
tried to show that Mormonism had already influenced, polit-
ically, nine of the western states, and that by its meth-
od of tithing it had become a powerful financial insti-
tution that could even defy Wall Street. 13 Richard Barry
had three articles in Pearson's on the subject. He
showed that the relation between the Mormon Church and
the state were very close, that polygamy was still prac-
ticed in Utah, and that business was closely associated
with religion and politics in that state. 14 And Burton
J. Hendrick had two articles in McClure's on "The Mor-

12. Welliver, Judeon C., "The Mormon Church and the Sugar
Trust," Hampton's, Vol. 24 (January, 1910), pp. 82-
93; Chapter IX.

13. Lewis, Alfred Henry, "The Viper on the Hearth,"
Cosmopolitan, Vol. 50 (March, 1910), pp. 439-450;
"The Trail of the Viper," pp. 693-703; "The Viper's

Church," Pearson's, Vol. 24 (September, 1910),
pp. 318-330; "The Mormon Evasion of Anti-Polygamy
pp. 571-578.
mon Revival of Polygamy." "It [the Mormon Church] is simply a great secret society existing very largely for criminal purposes," - the practicing of polygamy.15

In 1913 Winston Churchill's novel, "The Inside of the Cup," appeared. It told the story of an Episcopal clergyman who was compelled by conditions in a mid-western city to study social problems. The more he studied, the more he realized that the old theology did not square with modern conditions. He became modern in his religious thinking and at the same time he became a social force in the community. The whole novel was a treatise on religion16 and created much interest.

Some years after the period which we have under consideration a real muck-raking attack on religion was made that was so vital and sensational that an account of it seems in place here. This was Upton Sinclair's book of 1918, The Profits of Religion. It was a study of supernaturalism as a source of income and a shield to privilege.17 The Church was a tool in the hands of the capitalistic classes to retain control of the government and the economic and social order. It taught the poor that God had allotted to them humble positions,

and that it was their duty to be satisfied.\(^{18}\) The Roman Catholics, he said, had engaged in charity time without end and never questioned or investigated the causes of misery, such as drunkenness, or accidents, or poverty.\(^{19}\) The Catholic church was one of the main pillars of capitalism.\(^{20}\) The thesis of this book was the effect of fixed dogma in producing mental paralysis, and the use of that mental paralysis "by Economic Exploitation."\(^{21}\) From that standpoint the Protestants were held to be bad enough, but not quite as bad as the Catholics. He insisted that many preachers fell in completely with modern commercialism. It seemed that Billy Sunday was used by the capitalists to quiet industrial unrest, as in Paterson, New Jersey. After he had preached in New York for a season John D. Rockefeller, Jr. took him along to speak to 50,000 laborers. This he did in 187 meetings. It cost Rockefeller $200,000, but he expected good dividends in the long run.\(^{22}\) Preachers will eulogize in the highest terms the rich and the powerful, such as Senator Quay or Mark Hanna.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 88.
\(^{19}\) Ibid., p. 107.
\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 146.
\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 181.
\(^{22}\) Ibid., pp. 209-211.
"Beyond all question, the supreme irony of history is the use which has been made of Jesus of Nazareth as the Head God of this blood-thirsty system; it is a cruelty beyond all language, a blasphemy beyond the power of art to express."23

We still have old Hebrew laws on our statute books in regard to the Sabbath. Games are forbidden in the open libraries, pool-rooms, moving picture shows, etc. are closed in many cities. We are not governed by science but by traditions.24

The new morality which is coming, he claimed, is one of freedom, joy, reason, and development. Its weapons are reason and love. The conflict between the old, sordid, materialistic, traditional, sacerdotal morality and the new morality is at its height right now.25

The leading muck-rakers were not theologians in the technical sense, but they were concerned about, and worked for the welfare of humanity as best they knew how. What they wanted was practical, honest, socialized religion. In that direction they, no doubt, exerted much influence.

23. Ibid., p. 197.
24. Ibid., pp. 231-232.
25. Ibid., p. 309.
Chapter XII.

MISCELLANEOUS
Chapter XII.

The muck-rakers were not content with exposing corruption at home, but they frequently criticized conditions in other lands. Russia was often attacked. Its system of exile, and solitary confinement for political offences; its vast system of secret police; its methods of terrorism; the bigotry and tyranny of the state church; the extreme reactionism of the government; the poverty and discontent among the people: were all exposed to view. Paul Milyukov delivered an address in New York on January 14, 1908 in which he said the social composition of future centuries was being determined in Russia at that time; "but," said he, "wherever we turn or look, we meet only with new trouble to come, nowhere with any hope for conciliation or social peace". The poverty was

steadily increasing. Whereas the annual income per capita as calculated in 1907 was $173 for the United States, and $92 for Germany, it was only $31.50 for Russia.

In August, 1908, McClure's announced in large type the publication of General Kuropatkin's History of the Russo-Japanese War. Kuropatkin was the commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the late war with Japan. After the war he became a target for abuse in his country. He went to St. Petersburg (Petrograd) and constructed from the official documents accessible to him an elaborate history of the war, and a detailed statement of the conditions, purposes, and development of the Russian Empire. It contained some 600,000 words, in four volumes; but it was confiscated by the government as soon as it was completed. This was early in 1908. McClure's did not consider it wise to say just how it came into possession of a copy of the work. It was translated by George Kennan and was said to com-

tain information of great importance for the world. It revealed the conditions in Russia and the plans of the Empire. The most confidential correspondence of the Czar and the ministers were here published in detail. "These will contain astonishing revelations concerning matters of great international importance," stated the announcement, "and accusations that are audacious to the point of recklessness." Five articles followed. The first one was by George Kennan on "The Military and Political Memoirs of General Kuropatkin". The other four were taken from the work itself, and dealt with the secret causes of the war with Japan. Japan's strength in war, causes of Russia's defeat, and the Treaty of Portsmouth. These stirred the whole world. Hundreds of letters came to McClure's from foreign countries. People had suspected sordid causes back of the war, and here they were plainly stated.


King Leopold II of Belgium was severely criticized for his misgovernment of the Congo Free State. W. M. Morrison, a returned Presbyterian missionary from the Congo wrote two articles for the Independent in 1903 in which he exposed some of the practices of Belgian officials in Africa. He had been there more than six years and had seen much of slave hunting and mistreating and killing of natives. He could buy slaves nearly any day for ten to fifteen dollars a head. At one place 81 human hands were slowly dried over a fire, so that they might be sent to the white officers. The dead bodies lay piled up. Some were stripped of meat which the cannibal conquerors had eaten. The officers were not responsible for their cruelties, for they all acted under orders from King Leopold. The laws gave them the right to force natives to be soldiers or laborers, and the courts could do nothing about it.

In 1906 Robert E. Park wrote three articles for Everybody's, entitled respectively, "A King in Business,

Leopold II of Belgium, Autocrat of the Congo and International Broker", "The Terrible Story of the Congo", and "The Blood-Money of the Congo". He explained how King Leopold got into control of the Congo in 1877; how he secretly extended his authority until by 1906 he had crowded out or absorbed all private trade in 800,000 of the 900,000 square miles of territory; how trade was supplemented by taxation; and how the territory was parcelled out among stock companies who paid fifty per cent of their profits to the state for the privilege of assessing and collecting these taxes. The men who were employed in collecting the taxes were mostly armed savages. By 1892 Leopold had invested some 30,000 francs in the Congo; by 1906 he derived a yearly income from it of perhaps $5,000,000. He capitalized the enterprise and sold the stocks on the Antwerp market, making enormous dividends. He was a captain of industry and a political boss combined, the General Manager for Belgium. The Congo was de-

populated of 15,000,000 people in twenty years and looted of $14,000,000 a year. Mutilation, outrage and degradation were practiced. Some were shot, others hanged or starved, when their only crime was their inability to gratify promptly enough the lust and rapacity of their masters. The enormous profits which the King derived from this business were spent in public buildings, on courtesans and favorites. It did not benefit Belgium.

Charles Edward Russell wrote four articles for the *Cosmopolitan* on the caste systems in India, England, and America and other countries. In India he found the ancient and hideous social system still to retard progress, destroy ambition, and discourage education; while the British rulers remained indifferent. In England he found a system of snobbery which grew out of social distinctions and prejudices, and

in America a similar spirit was developing in pri-
vate and official life. His purpose was to study
the influence of caste upon society, and its result-
ing effect upon the happiness of mankind the world
over. He found it to be democracy's bitterest foe.

He also asserted that the American diplomat
was an "inert, inefficient, useless, and, to his country
a most expensive appendage". Peculiar dress, customs,
and traditions made the diplomat's life artificial and
unreal.

England was also criticized for her brutal hand-
ling of the suffragettes, and Spain for her method of
getting rid of Francisco Ferrer, the radical and revo-
lutionist.

The American published a number of articles
on "Barbarous Mexico" in 1909 and 1910. Three of them
were written by John Kenneth Turner, a business man
who had spent a year and a half in Mexico, visiting
nearly every part of that country and collecting

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materials for a series of articles. He claimed Mexico was a republic in name only. President Diaz ruled like a Czar, - with a strong hand, but only for the few privileged ones. He kept order by means of large standing armies and strong police and spy systems. Political offences were punished, and there were terrible prisons. The few at the top grew richer, while the millions were near the starvation line. Of the bad conditions in Mexico outsiders heard little because Diaz controlled all the sources of news and the means of transmitting it. Slavery existed on a large scale and was of the worst kind. The word picture he painted of the condition of the Yucatan slaves (laborers they called them) is almost incredible.

The "Barbarous Mexico" series was continued by the American, although it refused to accept any more of Turner's articles. Turner, then, finished his series in the Socialistic Weekly The Appeal to

19. The exposure of Germany usually related to her military preparedness. An article by Naberly-Oppler in the November number of McClure's for 1909 gave a vivid account of this. It dealt with the great efficiency of the German military machine. A large war treasury was at hand, mobilization could be effected in a very short time, and new instruments of war were continually tried out. At Jüterbog, the famous artillery experiment camp near Berlin, machine-guns had been exhaustively tested under conditions most nearly approaching the grim realities of war. Many cadavers of men and horses had been transported to that field on the military railroad in the secrecy of the night. There they were erected in long rows, in positions as

19. Mr. John S. Phillips, editor of the American Magazine during the time under discussion, and Ida M. Tarbell, an associate editor of the same magazine, assure the present writer that the discontinuance of Turner's articles did not indicate any change of policy on the part of the American. The remaining articles seemed to the editors to be "poor"; and the statements contained therein could not be substantiated from documents.
nearly lifelike as possible - and used to ascertain the actual penetrative power of the weapons. The sight of these shooting grounds after a trial was ghastly. The experiments were conducted in great secrecy. In airships Germany was far ahead of all other nations. But the most characteristic feature of the German fighting machine was its organization. This had been reduced to a science. The secret service department was busy all over the world, and German ordnance maps were being used by Japanese and Russians in Asia, and by the British and Boers in Africa. "Not a single company of soldiers is moved from one foreign town to another, that the men at the helm in the General Staff building at the Königs Platz are not cognizant of the fact."

Some articles dealt with the military situation of Europe in a more general way, like H. R. Chamberlain's "The Ominous Hush in Europe". This was a serious discussion of armaments, navies, international

suspicions, and of the apparent absence of any real causes for war. The arming in Germany, Great Britain, and other countries went on so fast that it must inevitably lead to bankruptcy unless arrested. Men like Lord Rosebery, Sir Edward Grey and Arthur Balfour recognized the grave dangers that lurked in great armaments. War might become cheaper than peace.

Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson wrote three sensational articles on the subject "If War Should Come!" for the *Cosmopolitan* in 1907. He tried to arouse America to a sense of insecurity, especially in the face of Japan's recent victory over Russia. "The Supreme duty of America at this moment is to gauge accurately the possibilities of Japan's military power", he wrote, "and to make that power ineffectual by the provision of an unquestionably superior force." He showed how well Japan was prepared for war on land and on sea, and how she was improving her war equipment. It was absolutely necessary that the United States be supreme on the

Pacific ocean. He wanted a world organization to be perfected as fast as possible, so that the white races might not ruin each other and thereby give the yellow race her chance at domination.

Goldwin Smith wrote about the "World-Menace of Japan" in the same year.

As early as 1904 Ernest Crosby wrote about a "well defined plan" to build up a powerful military center at Washington, not only with a view to foreign possibilities, but also for the purpose of controlling labor disturbances.

A severe criticism of our army was written by Bailey Millard for the Cosmopolitan in 1910. He claimed that 50,000 desertions took place during the preceding twelve years, and 5000 during the year ending with July 1910.

Our navy was probably more often criticized than the army. Henry Reuterdahl tried to show in 1908 that it was unprepared to fight. George Kibbe Turner arraigned the existing naval system. Politicians were playing at it. Everybody who had any chance was apparently trying to get navy yards, deep harbors and rivers, etc. The ships were too small and not correctly constructed. An editorial in McClure's entitled "Naval Incredibilities" asserted that it would seem unbelievable that no one in the navy should be allowed to practice with the big guns on the ships; that the armor of the war vessels should be below the water line; that the guns should be so low as to be unusable in case of wind; that it should cost more to maintain the repair stations than to maintain the ships, etc. Yet, all these charges had been proved to be absolutely true. Ambrose Bierce stated we had ships, officers and men, but were lacking in

coaling stations and a merchant marine.

Lewis Nixon contributed a series to the Cosmopolitan in 1910 in which he made a pathetic appeal for a large merchant marine. The United States had a great career on the seas before the Civil War, but by 1910 she had become a "serf-nation", paying millions of "tribute" to other nations and being afraid to assert her rights, - because we hadn't the merchant marine which we should have.

The reactionary administration that followed the progressive Roosevelt regime invited criticism. William H. Taft was under the suspicion of the reformers from the time of his nomination. The American stated in October, 1908, that all the prominent financiers of the country, including Rockefeller, Morgan, Harriman, Stillman and Hill, were very anxious to have Taft nominated in 1908. They said nothing in favor of him, however, for fear that Roosevelt would throw him over and seize the nomination himself if he noticed that big business

30. Bierce, Ambrose, "Have We a Navy?" Everybody's, Vol. 21 (1909), pp. 517-520.
was friendly to Taft. They believed the latter, if elected, would nullify the Roosevelt policies.

The day after his election there was a boom in the stock market of Wall Street.

Within a year after the inauguration of the Taft administration the controversy between Gifford Pinchot of the forestry bureau and Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, was well under way.

Pinchot was the leader of the movement in favor of the conservation of natural resources. Ballinger took a more conservative attitude. Collier's Weekly, Hampton's, Pearson's and others strongly supported Pinchot. Collier's Weekly was perhaps the leading vehicle for most of the propaganda in favor of the conservation movement. Norman Hapgood and C. P. Connolly did most of the writing. John L. Mathews

34. Upton Sinclair said Collier's Weekly broke the Taft administration on the Ballinger land fraud scandals; and for this the National Association of Manufacturers broke Collier's Weekly. They took the control away from Robert Collier and put it into the hands of a banking committee, "where it stayed." The Brass Check, p. 291.
wrote a series on "The Pinchot-Ballinger Controversy" for Hampton's. He started his investigations before the controversy became acute. His purpose was to find out what were the economic causes back of the controversy, especially in so far as the water resources of the country were concerned. The control of the water supply was of tremendous importance to the West, for on it depended the irrigation of millions of acres of land. The first article of the series appeared in November, 1909. Alfred Henry Lewis wrote a series on "The Betrayal of a Nation" for Pearson's in 1910, which was another attack on the Taft administration.

Closely related to the problem of conservation was that of Alaska. John E. Lathrop and George Kibbe Turner wrote an article under the title "Billions of Treasure" for McClure's. The question was whether the mineral wealth of that large territory should enrich the Guggenheim trust and other combinations or the United States Treasury. English and American concerns were trying to acquire the rich coal fields and mineral deposits which were worth hundreds of
millions of dollars. Hampton's was especially eager to prevent the great financial interests from gobbling up Alaska. A carefully prepared article on "The Vast Riches of Alaska" and signed by Benjamin B. Hampton himself appeared in the April number for 1910. The total wealth of the territory was calculated at above \(\$17,000,000,000\). The great danger that threatened this wealth was that it might be turned over to the Guggenheims. All readers of Hampton's were urged to write to their Senators or to Senator Beveridge of Indiana - recommending that the government itself build a railroad in Alaska, and that it lease the mineral lands, subject to an honest royalty. In the next number of Hampton's it was stated that the previous article had produced the desired effect. It had encouraged newspaper editors and the people to assert themselves, and the scheme to exploit Alaska had been at least temporarily blocked. Before the

Congressional committee, however, Morgan and Guggenheim agents had testified that the Morgan-Guggenheim grip on Alaska's treasures was so nearly perfect as human beings could make it.

A year later the same magazine stated that the "big interests" had been cleverly trying to convince the public that the figures which Hampton's cited in its articles in regard to Alaska's wealth were over-stated. This the editor definitely denied, claiming that all the figures had been obtained from government sources. As soon as those articles were published instructions were given which closed every official source of information in Washington to the public.

Another phase of the Taft regime which the muckrakers attacked was "Cannonism", or the autocratic power of Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of the House of Representatives. Collier's Weekly, the American, the Cosmopolitan, Success Magazine and other supported

the "insurgents" of the House in their fight against the "stand-patters". Mark Sullivan wrote articles and editorials — some of them unsigned — on the subject for Collier's Weekly. Alfred Henry Lewis had articles on "Cannonism" and on the "insurgent" movement in the Cosmopolitan in 1910.

On March 19, 1910 a House resolution was passed which greatly limited the power of the Speaker by enlarging the Committee on Rules and taking its appointment from the Speaker and giving it to the House.

Frequent protests were made in 1910 and 1911 to the proposed increase of postal rates on magazines. Hampton's claimed it was no business measure at all, but purely a punitive measure to put out of business...

38: A little later he was looked upon as a kind of official journalist of the "insurgent" movement, and from 1912 to 1914 he was regarded in the same light with respect to the Progressive movement.

Sullivan, Mark, In a personal letter to the author, June 13, 1922.

the magazines that had not supported the Taft administration and were engaged in muck-raking. Why spoil this great and beneficial industry for the purpose of punishing six publications? Why not name the muck-raking journals, with Hampton's at the head, and deprive them of the mailing privilege?

The Cosmopolitan exposed Panama Canal conditions several times. In 1906 Foulton Bigelow wrote three articles about the human side of the canal, claiming that the living conditions were extremely unsanitary and filthy, and that there was much graft practiced. In 1910 the attempt was made to show that the Panama Canal would be of little value to the public as far as freight-rates were concerned, for the same company which owned the Panama Railroad also owned the ships. Prices therefore would be kept up.

Merrill A. Teague wrote about the bucket-shop system in a series of four articles, showing that these thieves went to the small cities and towns and pretended to operate stock exchanges, whereas they did nothing but gamble on the probable rise or fall of stocks without making any real transfers of property. He named many companies which were engaged in this kind of fraudulent business. If the public ever guessed right, so that the operators of the bucket-shop would have to pay, nine cases out of ten they would close up and leave, and the people would have lost both profit and principal.

One article on "Bucket-Shops of the Book World" appeared in Public Opinion in 1905. The writer said in the previous year 8291 books had been published in the United States. Of these 1320 were new editions of old books, leaving 6971 new books. Of these 6000 were probably written for remunerative sale.

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large proportion of these books were published by so-called "cooperative publishers" or "author's publishers". These published the books at the author's expense and reaped all the profits. They would tell a discouraged author who could not find a publisher that his book was good and would sell well. Their proposition was that the author pay half the expenses and reap half the profits. They would tell the writer that his share of the expenses would be from five hundred to six hundred dollars. Hard as this condition might be for the impoverished author, usually he agreed to it and paid over the money. To publish from 500 to 1000 copies on inexpensive paper cost about $400. The difference between this and the amount which the author had already paid constituted the profit of the grafters. Nine-tenths of the discouraged authors accepted such offers.

One of the most interesting business enterprises of the period was that of the Franklin Syndicate, which was described by Arthur Trains in the American.

Early in 1899 William F. Miller, who was 21 years old and had a sick wife and a baby and who was himself unfit by training or ability to work hard, started a fraudulent business to support himself and family. He solicited funds for investment, promising enormous interest, ten per cent per week! He claimed to have "inside information" of large "deals". Some of his friends loaned him small sums of money at first, and he paid them ten per cent interest every Monday. The report spread and his business increased. He paid the interest out of the principal that was entrusted to him. He began to advertise boldly and the money began to stream in to 144 Floyd Street, Brooklyn, from Canada and all parts of the United States. He soon had 50 helpers working for him, "The Franklin Syndicate". The weekly income at high tide of the business amounted to nearly $3,000,000. Miller began to feel uneasy about his business, so he took a man by the name of Schlessinger into partnership and later consulted a lawyer, Colonel Robert A. Ammon. After that he was

completely under the thumb of his lawyer. When the public became suspicious of the Franklin Syndicate Miller fled to Canada, leaving all his affairs in the hands of Ammon; and his partner fled to Europe with $175,000. Miller came back from Canada and was tried, convicted, and sent to Sing Sing for ten years. Ammon received five years in the same prison.

In exposing the adulteration of foods, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry in the United States Department of Agriculture, holds perhaps the first place. He wrote several books and numerous reports and magazine articles dealing with the subject of adulteration of foods. Upton Sinclair's work on the meat industry - The Jungle - has already been noted. It created a great sensation and led to an investigation of the packing business and to the passage of the Pure Food Act of 1906.

48. Wiley, Harvey W., Lard and Lard Adulterations, (Washington, 1889); Chemical Examination of Canned Meats, (Washington, 1899); Drugs and their Adulteration and the Laws Relating Thereto, (Washington, 1903).
49. Chapter IX.
Another man who worked in the same line was Professor E. F. Ladd, Food Commissioner for the State of North Dakota. He read a paper before the National Pure Food Congress and the Convention of Dairy and Food Departments at St. Louis in the summer of 1904 in which he described the food conditions that prevailed in his state and which he supposed prevailed in all states. Potted chicken and potted turkey, he said, were common products, but he had never yet found a can in his state which really contained chicken or turkey in a determinable quantity. Of the local meat markets of his state 90 per cent used chemical preservatives, and in nearly every butcher shop could be found a bottle of Freezem, or preservaline or iceine as well as Bull Meat Flour. The amount of borax or boracic acid employed in their meats varied greatly, but expressed in terms of boracic acid in sausages and Hamburger steak it probably ranged from 20 to 45 grains per pound, while the medical dose was from 5 to 9 grains per day. The use of these chemicals was not confined to the local butchers, for nearly every ham contained borax. Boracic acid or borates were common
ingredients of dried beef, smoked meats, canned bacon, and canned chipped beef. Ninety per cent of the so-called French peas were found to contain copper salts, and some contained aluminum salts in addition. About 80 per cent of the canned mushrooms in North Dakota were found to be bleached by the use of sulphites. Before the food law went into effect there was only one brand of catsup that was pure, free from chemical preservatives and coal tar coloring matters. Many of the catsups offered for sale were made from the waste products from cannners: "pulp, skins, ripe tomatoes, green tomatoes, starch paste in considerable quantity, coal tar colors, chemical preservatives, usually benzoate of soda or salicylic acid, the whole highly spiced and not always free from saccharin. In other instances the basis for the catsup was largely pumpkin".

About 70 per cent of cocoas and chocolates were adulterated, and glucose served a great variety of purposes. More than ten times the amount of Vermont maple syrup was sold every year than that state could produce. A large proportion of ground spices were
imitations. Jellies, wines, and other liquors were made from cheap substances and then doctored up. Butter was a mixture of butter and deodorized lard. Ice cream contained no cream but condensed milk and neutral lard. Cider vinegars usually contained no apple juice.

Drugs were adulterated in the same way, said Mr. Ladd, with the result that people suffered bad consequences, - in some cases lost their eye-sight.

If the muck-rakers work on adulteration of foods were vividly described it would reveal revolting conditions, said Walter Lippmann. "Milk would curdle the blood, bread and butter would raise a scandal, candy, - the volume would have to be suppressed. If photographs could convey odors the study of restaurants might be done without words."

The Ladies Home Journal started a determined fight against patent medicines, and Collier's Weekly soon joined the campaign. Mark Sullivan won his spurs as a muck-raker in this war.

51. Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 7
The United States Food and Drug Act was passed in 1906.

In 1911 Hampton's stated that the Department of Agriculture had sent out 860 cases of judgment against violaters of the pure food law. Fines were imposed in 490 cases, the heaviest being of $500, and the general average $43.44. This was against poisoners, dopers, or misbranders of foods and drugs. Many dealers gave short weights. The average shortage in hundreds of cases was 20 per cent. The defects of the law, according to Hampton's were that the violaters were not publicly exposed, and that the fines were so light as to amount to hardly anything.

Frequent articles were written on various phases of the convict problem. Dr. G. W. Galvin of the Emergency Hospital of Boston exposed the inhuman treatment of prisoners in Massachusetts. Charles E. Russell attacked Georgia's convict camp system. He showed what widespread evils came from hiring out the convicts for

53. Editorial, "Profitable Food Poisoning", Hampton's Vol. 27 (September, 1911).
Some years later a series of six articles appeared in *Pearson's* on "Convict Labor vs. Free Labor". It was a severe indictment against convict labor as employed in some states. It created unfair competition for working people, robbed the states and enriched the capitalists, produced injustice for the convicts, and subjected the courts to undue pressure. Russell had three articles in *Hampton's*, entitled, "Beating Men to Make Them Good". It dealt with prison reform.

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55. Russell, Charles Edward, "Burglar in the Making", *Everybody's*, Vol. 18 (June, 1908), pp. 753-760. This article apparently produced speedy results, for only five months later the editors of *Everybody's* announced that Georgia had already changed her convict system as a result of Russell's article. Investigations had shown that the charges had not been overstated. One convict had received 103 lashes because his weekly allotment of coal that he was to mine had been seven pounds short.


The cruelty and inexpediency of the old system were shown. Some writers pointed out that society treated the ex-convicts unjustly after they were discharged from prison. One claimed that economic production as carried on today required an army of reserve, - the unemployed. Yet our laws forbade loitering, vagrancy, begging, and suicide. Our twentieth century civilization would not let the unemployed live nor let them kill themselves.

George Kennan discussed the problem of suicide, and showed that it was rapidly increasing. In 1881 out of every million people of this country 12 committed suicide; in 1907 out of the same number 59 of people there were 126 suicides.

Among other topics that were exposed by the muck-rakers - some of them many times - were the follow-

59. Kennan, George, "The Problems of Suicide", McClure's, Vol. 31 (June, 1908), pp. 218-229.
ing: American interests in Mexico, land grabbing
in the west, the slums, the Black Hand scourge, alcoholism, defects in our court system, diseases, college athletics, divorce laws. Socialism, the theatre, our national wastefulness, including destruction by fire.

60. The integrity of American judges was not often called into question, but Upton Sinclair quoted James B. Dill, the highest paid corporation lawyer in the country, thus: "There are twenty-two judges of the Appellate Court in New York State, and only three of them are honest. To each of the other nineteen I can say, I know whose man you are; I know who paid you and just how he paid you. And not one of them would be able to deny my statements"; The Brass Check, p. 112.
Chapter XIII.

The Press

(This chapter is to be written later)

The muck-rakers frequently complained about the lack of freedom of expression in the press. The Associated Press was charged with being a reactionary capitalistic monopoly.
Chapter XIV

Why Muck-Raking Ceased, and What It Accomplished

(An Outline)
Chapter XIV.

As has already been pointed out, muck-raking, as a campaign, or movement, began late in 1902, became militant in 1903, and sensational in 1904 and 1905. In 1906 and 1906 the "moral awakening" was felt all over the country, although there was no interstate or national organization which gave unity and harmony to the movement. It sprang up spontaneously in many parts of the Republic, worked toward the same general goal, and developed in 1912 into the Progressive Party. By 1908 the people had become tired of muck-raking, but in 1909 and 1910 it became very active again, due in part to the "insurgents'" activities in Congress and to the disappointing treatment which the tariff received in the federal legislation in 1909. After 1911 it died down rapidly, and when the War came muck-raking practically came to an end. Later some magazines indulged in this sort of journalism again, but it was of comparatively little importance.

Muck-raking came to an end for various reasons. Chief among these was probably the fact that people got tired of it. Many of the muck-rakers admit it frankly. Thomas W. Lawson was a good illustration of this. From 1904 to 1907 he had worked hard in the interest of the people. In 1908 he went back to stock gambling, call-
ing the people "gelatine-spined shrimps" and "saffron-blooded apes." "The people!" he wrote to Erman J. Ridgway of Everybody's. "The very name has so sealed itself into my being, that, healing its every appearance, of late, are myriads of fantastically appareled marionettes whose solemn praphophoning of 'Our rights, our privileges,' whose bold fronting of mirror shields and savage circling of candy swords, make me almost die laughing. Forgive me, my dear Ridgway, but the people, particularly, the American people, are a joke - a System joke. When in all history, ancient, modern, or budding, have the people done might but rail or stand shivering by, like the fearsome Gobbas they are, while their enemies crucified those who battled for their benefit? When in all history, I ask, does it appear that the people aided those who battled disinterestedly for them?"

Miss Tarbell claimed that muck-raking killed itself, by developing into pure sensationalism, and John S. Phillips wrote that public speakers like Victor Murdock and Senator Beveridge had the same experience that writers had, - they couldn't get response to the former kind of speeches. The people are changeable and they de-

mand different kinds of literature at different times. Some magazines dropped muck-raking entirely and went to fiction. Hearst began to appeal to the sex motive and thereby increase his circulation.

Among other reasons for the decline of muck-raking might be mentioned: the belief that the essential reforms had been accomplished; that the writers were beginning to trench upon practices that were characteristic of "little" business as well as "big" business; that a large number of congressional and legislative investigations were being made which to some extent took the place of this type of journalism; that the War interfered with the liberal movement; that the flush times for magazines were over; and that some of them fell into the hands of their creditors, who were usually financiers.

Another cause for the decrease of muck-raking, it has been claimed, was the deliberate attempt on the part of big business to crush the magazines that were engaged in exposing. Such a claim has been denied by writers like Miss Tarbell, William Allen White, John O'Hara O'Grave, John S. Phillips, and S. S. McClure, and it has been upheld by Benjamin B. Hampton, Charles Edward Russell and Upton Sinclair. The chief illustration in point is Hampton's Magazine. In 1911 Hampton could
not borrow $20,000 from any New York bank, to tide him over the dull summer months, on any sort of securities. Shortly previous he had been offered $500,000 for his plant; now he couldn't borrow $20,000 from any bank in spite of the fact that the bankers admitted the securities were good. Hampton's Magazine was sold and ceased to be published in less than a year thereafter.

Just what the effects of muck-raking alone were it is impossible to say, for it was itself a symptom as well as a cause. But it can be said without hesitation that together with the Progressive movement - with which it was closely related - it was productive of great results.

Criminal and ruthless business was largely the cause of muck-raking, and business methods were decidedly improved during this period. Business became to some extent socialized. The interests of labor and the public came to be at least partially recognized and the danger that the corporations might control the government was no longer as great as it had been. In January, 1914, President Wilson in a message to Congress said, "at last the masters of business on the great scale have begun to yield their preference and their purpose, and perhaps
their judgment also, in honorable surrender."3

The government was induced to attempt to relieve economic and social distress. The convict and peonage systems were destroyed in some states; prison reforms were undertaken; a federal pure food act was passed in 1906; child labor laws were passed by most of the states and a National Child Labor Committee was appointed in 1904 to propose uniform child labor laws to all states; a federal employers liability act was passed in 1906, and a second one in 1908, which was amended in 1910; forest reserves were set aside; the New-lands Act of 1902 made reclamation of millions of acres of land possible; the conservation of natural resources was greatly stimulated; eight-hour laws for women were passed in some states; race-track gambling was prohibited; twenty states passed mother's pension acts between 1908 and 1913; twenty-five states had workmen's compensation laws in 1915; a tariff commission was established in 1909, abolished in 1912, and revived in 1914; an income tax Amendment was added to the Constitution; the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Companies were dissolved; public

service commission laws were passed in New York for the purpose of checking the corporations; Niagara Falls was saved from the greed of corporations; sanitary measures were promoted; interest in labor welfare became general; Alaska was saved from the Guggenheims and other capitalists; better insurance laws and packing-house laws were put on the statute books; and George Creel's articles on Colorado strike conditions resulted in a "benevolent feudalism" which was more favorable toward non-union labor.

In the field of politics and government the results of muck-raking are the same as those mentioned in Benjamin Parke DeWitt's *The Progressive Movement*: popular election of United States senators; direct legislation through the initiative, referendum and recall; secret ballot; direct primaries; corrupt practices acts, or campaign expense laws; commission form of government for cities, and the right to draft their own charters; and woman suffrage.

Among other services of muck-raking might be mentioned the methods of popular exposition that later essayists and older magazines adopted; the sociological surveys which sociologists now carry on; innumerable congressional and legislative investigations; and a destruction of the awe and reverence in which wealth was held.
Everybody's gave a good summary in 1909. "Wall Street cannot gull the public as it once did. Insurance is on a sounder basis. Banking is adding new safeguards. Advertising is nearly honest. Rebating is unsafe. Food and drug adulteration are dangerous. Human life is more respected by common carriers. The hour of the old-time political boss is struck. States and municipalities are insisting upon clean administrators. The people are naming their own candidates. Independent voters, and that means thinking men, are legion. The children are having their day in court. Protection is offered to the weak against the gambling shark and saloon. Our public resources are being conserved. The public health is being considered. New standards of life have been raised up. The money god totters. Patriotism, manhood, brotherhood are exalted. It is a new era. A new world. Good signs, don't you think? And what has brought it about? Muckraking. Bless your heart, just plain muckraking. By magazine writers and newspapers and preachers and public men and Roosevelt." 4

As to the place of the muckraking magazines Charles Edward Russell said, with pardonable exaggeration perhaps, "Looking back, it seems to me clear that the

muck-raking magazine was the greatest single power that ever appeared in this country. The mere mention in one of those magazines of something that was wrong was usually sufficient to bring about at least an ostensible reformation. 5

5. Russell, In a personal letter to the author, May 21, 1922.
Chapter XV.

Muck-Raking Magazines

(To be written later)

Why did certain magazines go into the muck-raking business? How much influence did they exert? As indicated by their circulation and other evidences? And why did they change their policy?
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