

There is no man in the troubled strike region who has been so bitterly denounced or so often threatened. But of this he takes not the slightest heed. In his own exemption from violent death he has the faith of a fanatic.

"God will not let me be killed while one of Nathan's murderers is above ground," he says.

That is the one tenet of his creed; otherwise he is not a religious man.

"There will be no survivors of the band in a few years," said a friend to him recently. "What will you do then, Dan?"

"I'll go back to my garden, perhaps," said he. "Raising fancy fruits is my hobby, you know."

But those who know Cunningham best do not believe that he will ever go back to his garden. He has been bred to too long a service of the law. His hatred of the clan has broadened and calmed to an implacable enmity against all those who condemn the law which he serves. Whether it is to break up a counterfeiters' plant, to quell a riot, or to stop a lynching, his strength is at call. At forty-eight he is the embodiment of the man of action: long, lean, and powerful; keen-eyed, quiet, gentle, and reserved; a personality to inspire confidence; a man such as those were who established civilization at the muzzle of the gun when the merchant Coleman saved San Francisco from anarchy in the wild fifties.

## EDITORIAL

### WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE ON MR. STEFFENS'S BOOK, "THE SHAME OF THE CITIES"

*The articles by Lincoln Steffens on the actual government of certain typical American cities—St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York—which appeared last year in this magazine, have been published in book form. The purpose of those articles was understood more generally and more readily than the editors had hoped, and the book also is finding approval and a use. But it is a gratification to be able to print the following review by Mr. William Allen White. Mr. White is known to our readers as a writer on political subjects, but he is more than that; he is an active citizen and he knows our government and our politics with all the fullness of actual experience in town, county, state, and nation. That he sees this thing as we see it, gives to our facts the light of understanding and to our interpretation of them the seal of authority.*

Men have studied the constitution, and its history and its limitations; scholars have set down theories about the tariff and about

the currency and what-not of economic lore, which lore is wise and good. But, until very recently, no one thought it worth while to go out into the wards and precincts of the towns and townships of this land and bring in specimens of actual government under actual conditions. Classes in civil government in the schools and colleges are studying a theoretical government; they are classifying the dodo. The government which is set down in books does not exist in fact and in truth, and America is to-day operating under a new government entirely outside the constitution, save that empty constitutional forms are used. There has been a revolution, or an evolution, or whatever one chooses to call it. But there has been many a change. Where in the constitution are the functions of the boss described? Where in the constitution are the relations between the local corporation attorney and the people described? Where in the constitution does the chairman of the State Central Committee of the dominant party get his authority to sell legislative indulgences to corporations that contribute to his campaign fund? Where in the constitution may one find how the thing we call capital gets into the government at all? Yet it is here; its charter rights do not give it the ballot; nor do they give it legislative rights, nor special judicial privileges; yet by controlling party

nominations, and by recruiting judges from its own law offices, the thing we call capital has become a part of this government. So has vice. That class of persons who desire to break the law, whether by running saloons, or gambling places, or evil resorts, or committing highway robberies, or conducting swindling schemes, forms a distinct political body, which is really recognized by all persons practically engaged in governing the people, and the rights of vice are guarded as sacredly as those of law-abiding persons.

These are plain facts of the American government. The man who finds these facts and puts them down in black and white, as Mr. Steffens has done, has made an important step in the scientific study of government in America. "The Shame of the Cities" is a pioneer book in its way. And the best thing about it is that, being a pioneer book, it merely presents facts, without trying to form theories about them. Many other such books must be written and read, much wider study of the subject of actual American government must be made before the theorist has any business coming into the work. The problem must be adequately and exactly stated before it may be solved. Mr. Steffens's book deals with only one phase of the problem—phase of the great cities—but what he has done he has done well. The facts are set down baldly, but they are set down fully, for the places which his book covers. There is no shrinking and, what is better, there is no padding, no attempting to prove a theory, and thereby twisting and concealing the facts.

Mr. Steffens has taken fairly good types of the larger American cities. He has not taken extremes of good or extremes of bad. The sporadic case has not interested him. The fact that after he had written the story of a town's disgrace, public sentiment rose in revolt—as it rose in Minneapolis—merely proves that if other cities knew what corruption is hidden beneath their unruffled fronts, other cities might also rise in virtuous indignation. But certain cities did not rise; St. Louis did not; Philadelphia did not, and New York deliberately sat down in her former filth. Facts did not interest her. She was satisfied with the conditions as they were set forth. In the long run, probably most American cities will do as New York has done; turn away from radical reform to gradual—almost imperceptible reform.

Reform—the return to the normal written governments of charters and constitutions is the sporadic; the facts of actual conditions of government as set down in Mr. Steffens's book are the regular conditions.

The book has done for American cities what De Tocqueville did for the country over a hundred years ago. But though this book of Mr. Steffens's should be in every social and economic library, for it is a work of real scientific importance—still the reader must feel in the literary currents of the day, that "The Shame of the Cities" will not be so lonesome in its field as was De Tocqueville's "Democracy" in its day. For others will follow in the trail that Mr. Steffens has blazed. The people are anxious to know the facts about their political and economic environments. There is a demand for men who will tell the facts, and this is the most hopeful feature of the situation. For the Americans are at bottom a moral people, even though they are a busy people, and when they know what is good and true and worthy in government they will have it, though they may not hasten to it. The difficulty heretofore has been that the people—the great mass of the people—have not known the real facts about real government. They have seen many unpleasant things in the papers, but as each side of the political contest was abusing the other side in telling these unpleasant things, the people have paid little attention to the clamor. But now, when a man comes as Mr. Steffens has come, with no party to advocate, with no reforms to promise or suggest, but with the plain facts—the people will eventually give heed, and sooner or later they will act upon the judgments which the facts force upon them.)

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE.



## DO WE CARE?

The exposures of political, industrial and economic corruption in McCLURE's have received the moral support of the readers of the magazine in a striking manner. Many personal letters to the editor express this widespread sympathy with and appreciation of such efforts to present before the American people the condition of their

government. These must convince one that there is a large element in our country which does care for better things and is at least willing to lend its endorsement, and perhaps coöperation, to any sincere effort that makes for good.

Out of these letters at hand, commenting on the purposes of this magazine, here is one typical of all that is most significant in many. It passed from friend to friend, and so to us, and we produce an extract from it, unchanged :

"Did not the April Steffens make you sit up at night and think and think? And what are you and I doing about this matter? We have voices and hands—and we sit silent and moveless while the whole fabric slides down the roof. Do we not? And we are not of those that do not care. We do care: we care a great deal, for the republic means something to us—means everything. And while we have been sitting still without a protest there is no more republic, but just absolutism with greed for monarch. Is it not so? And until McClure took it up, what did we think about it? And now that he has taken it up, what are we to do about it? Sit still as before? Tell me that, my son; for if we do, what kind of sons of the republic are we? And what kind of men?"

There have been many more such letters from readers whose perceptions and consciences have been quickened by the uncovering of American lawlessness in this magazine, and they are so significant of sincere desire for a return to sanity that we print a few excerpts from those which are fairly representative of all. These letters have come from citizens in all walks of life, united in a common hope and love for their country and institutions. They state their own case.

#### FROM AN EDITOR

"You do not believe in the triumph of evil, and you know in your heart that there must be a way out of it and the way will be found. I go back to the anti-slavery agitation for my hope. Read the letters of Phillips and Garrison; you will see that the sky looked to them as black as to us it seems now. When Garrison was a prisoner in Boston, when Phillips was a social outcast, when Charles Sumner was struck down in the Senate by Preston Brooks, what hope could any man see for abolition? And yet all these men lived to see the end of that form of slavery among us. We shall be free, also, of this other thing, though it is harder. It is not quite clear to you yet just how to do it, but it will be clear some day. It was never quite clear to the abolitionists how negro slavery was to be abolished. They only knew that it was a hideous evil and they belted it day and night for twenty-six years. This is another evil of the same sort. The people are not naturally

vicious: they don't naturally relish crime. But we have all helped to establish for the time being a false ideal of success, and we are paying for it now.

"I don't agree for a moment with any one that thinks these things can be cured by going backward; that we should be better off with less democracy. We'll get a cure when the natural moral sense of the people is convalescent. They may not care much about it now, because they don't think of it; but when they do think of it they will kick the whole villainy into the sea. And McClure's is the magazine to make them think of it. More power to its pages."

Editor, Chicago, Ill.

#### FROM PUBLIC OFFICIALS

"I have thought of writing you before to tell you how much I appreciate the splendid work you are doing. I have read your article on 'Enemies of the Republic' in the April McClure's throughout twice, and portions other times, and I don't believe there is a statement in it, from end to end, the truth of which any candid man will not endorse and, after reading it, not feel compelled to say, 'that's so.'"—Mayor Ohio City.

"Your April article ('Enemies of the Republic') is fine. With its array of dates, names, and details it is unanswerable. In literary merit it is of the highest order, arresting and riveting attention and compelling credence. Morally, it is strong and brave; a monument and a lighthouse."—Former Alderman, Chicago.

"You are doing a most important and valuable work for our nation in bringing to the attention of our people the dangers lurking in our body politic. The public conscience needs to be aroused, and your clean-cut, virile way of doing it is worthy of the highest commendation."

Government Official, Washington, D. C.

#### FROM EDUCATORS

"I congratulate you upon the excellence of McClure's, and hope its fearlessness in discussion of national and municipal questions will render it most successful in the effort to set in their true light the arch 'Enemies of the Republic.'"

University President, Indiana.

"In my opinion McClure's is unquestionably the most valuable of the great illustrated periodicals, all of which I see. The papers of Miss Tarbell and Mr. Steffens alone, to mention nothing else, render a great public service, and their effect upon the national conscience cannot fail to be salutary in the highest degree."

Professor, University of Chicago.

"I find all the articles contained in the different issues to be the ideal literature of a free republic, of a free people. The writers are fearless men, possessing a high sense of duty, and write from conviction and not for effect. They lash hard, cut deep—every blow drawing blood. It is by constant exposures of public evils that such evils are minimized. Yours is the first country that has adopted universal franchises on a grand scale, and if you fail, no attempt at popular government will be attempted for the next hundred years. The question is, are you really free in the

true sense of the word? I am a foreigner and my opinion doesn't count. But in studying into your political and social conditions I can still discern manacles and fetters here and there. Do you rule yourselves? Or do the 'Machines' rule you? How about race, creed or color? Your constitution tells you not to differentiate. For that constitution your forefathers—great men of glorious memory—fought and bled; it is read every Fourth of July, but is it being carried out? Another point, remarkable and inexplicable, is that employees have the right to dictate to employers, whose bread they eat. What is suffered in this country is considered in another as anarchy. Every man at twenty-one years of age can vote, and it is presumed that he knows what he is voting for, but does he?"

European University Professor.

"I consider that your magazine is doing some of the best work anywhere known in this age of decay. If corruption ruins the republic, it will not be your fault."

Superintendent of Schools, Minnesota.

"I want you to know how thoroughly I enter into your efforts to bring before the people a realizing sense of some of the darker problems that confront us. Your words encourage me to try and develop in my pupils a devotion to those ideals that shall make them the preservers of our republic in the twentieth century."

High School Principal, Rochester, N. Y.

#### FROM PROFESSIONAL MEN

"It is to me a refreshing novelty to see a magazine which is not scared stiff at the possibility of offending some one, which dares have a real individuality, which does not care how high it goes in following the trail of graft or trickery. I believe you are doing a grand work and you will have the sympathy and support of the truly patriotic."—R. W. C., Chicago, Ill.

"As average citizens who love our country and believe in her boundless possibilities for good among the nations of the earth, we think that you deserve the best thanks of every honest citizen for your fearless and fair and frank efforts to point out to us our civic shortcomings, and to stir us up to a sense of our duty and responsibility under the conditions at present existing in many of our big cities, and in the government of many of our states as well. Keep up the good work you have so well begun, for the sympathies of all good citizens are with you, and may your efforts meet with the moral and financial success they so well deserve."—W. J. G., Denver, Col.

"It is in the highest degree encouraging to find in a periodical with an avowedly secular purpose such frank and really reverent recognition of the saner side of life. My citizenship, too, is a stronger, more virile possession, my hope for America's opportunity, for the consummation of its highest ideals, more firmly established because of the revelation given of the heaven which makes for righteousness working so vigorously amid the mass of selfishness and greed which, by its persistent and insolent presence, seems too often the dominant and only characteristic of modern politics and business. That day of better things, for which some of us are looking, seems more near

when we may read such frank and fearless words. Let me thank you, and from my heart wish you God-speed."—C. C. F., New York.

#### FROM BUSINESS MEN

"Every man capable of thinking for himself should read your magazine and try to draw some conclusion from the Tarbell, Steffens and Baker articles."—F. M., Rutherford, N. J.

"Just a word of homage for the courageous, patriotic, superb energy which has been put into editorial selection and management of McClure's MAGAZINE this past year."

W. S. McC., Media, Penn.

"The efforts of Ray Stannard Baker, Lincoln Steffens, and Miss Ida M. Tarbell, to stem the tide of corruption which is undermining our political and industrial institutions and to lift the American ideal to a loftier plane, are truly patriotic. May the American people give you and them your deserts, and your names shall be immortal."

I. L. C., Madison, Wis.

"I have just finished reading your editorial announcement on Miss Tarbell's History of the Standard Oil Company, and wish to express my appreciation and grateful thanks for the courage and justice that breathe forth therefrom. Not only Miss Tarbell's articles, but those of Lincoln Steffens also, have appealed directly to my heart, for I know them to ring true. I have marveled at the courage of your position, and feared that the people would not stand behind you; but this, if what I hear on all sides does not mislead, is not so, and you have apparently succeeded where many have tried but to fail."—F. B., Philadelphia, Pa.

"McClure's is the best magazine published. The Steffens, Baker and Tarbell articles are very pertinent to our present social system. We are all permeated with dishonesty and graft, and we do not want 'Good Government,' as Mr. Steffens truly says. The other articles plainly show why. Wherever you find a great concentration of capital, uncover it and you will find the graft bacillus. It is about time to uncover the cause of the existence of this growth and also the remedy. It can be done, but most people are groping in the darkness of ignorance concerning it. You know how, and you know where to look for the way."—W. P. M., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

#### FROM MINISTERS

"I rub my eyes in amazement and say, can it be possible that one of the leading magazines is beginning to recognize the fact that it owes something to the reading public in the way of bolstering up our decaying industrial ethics by hitting out straight from the shoulder? McClure's has taken the bull by the horns in publishing paper after paper dealing uncompromisingly with certain lewd fellows of the baser sort in business and politics whose reputations, however redolent of sanctity in church life, will not suffer by comparison with that of Attila, Scourge of God. You are preaching a gospel of such downright fearlessness in these matters that I am personally grateful beyond words, and such ventilation of corporate and political abuses cannot fail to fan afresh the feeble flame of a quickened public conscience."

Minister, New Haven, Conn.



"The History of the Standard Oil Company, revealing its nefarious practices, and the unmasking of the corruption in municipal governments are worth much to me. You have entered a very important field and are deserving of the highest commendation. I often call the attention of my congregation to these facts in McCURE's, which all people ought to know."

Minister, Unionville, Mich.

"I have read with great interest the first series of articles on the Standard Oil Trust, by Miss Tarbell. Many times while reading them I felt prompted to write you for an expression of your opinion as to the real character of the foundation of Mr. Rockefeller's millions, provided the statements of Miss Tarbell are true. Of their truth it was difficult to question, because, as you intimate in your recent editorial, they were backed with sworn statements and court documents. I write to thank you for the plain words you have used in describing the acts of Mr. Rockefeller: 'As outrageous a piece of brigandage as was ever organized by Cartouche himself,' 'keeping alive for his own advantage a wicked and unjust policy,' 'ethically it was quite as unrighteous,' 'the abuses of justice on which it fastened,' etc. Certainly it is only just and right to say, from all that has thus far been written in these articles, that the corner-stone of these millions is *unrighteousness*. I am pleased that you have held up this course of plain lawlessness as a sort of a warning to the young men of the country, so many of whom are swayed from their very youth by the commercial spirit of our time. Another question came to me while reading these articles, with their revelations of the doings of men in high station. 'How can we expect our people in the humble walks of life, how can we expect the thousands of foreigners coming annually to our shores, to become law-abiding when such men are piling up their wealth by constantly violating the statutes which are the safeguards of our liberty?' I hope the articles in question will prove a National benefit, and that they may hasten the time when unrighteousness and lawlessness will be frowned upon and punished, whether it be found in the business career of a Rockefeller, Cassatt, or in the unlettered Italian that tamps the railroad tie."

Minister, Evans City, Pa.

"I have been exceedingly interested in the articles by Miss Tarbell on the Standard Oil Company, and also the articles on St. Louis and Minneapolis. These articles will do great good, and I only hope that wherever corruption is making its vicious inroads upon the body politic you will let in the light upon it."—Ralph Connor.

"I personally want to thank you for the articles that have appeared in McCURE's during the past year on financial and political problems. One of the first necessities for advancement is information. The articles certainly ought to arouse patriotism—patriotism of the true sort, as you described it in one of your recent editorials. I am glad the articles are to be continued. I should judge you might meet with some opposition; I want you to know that one more of your patrons sympathizes with your efforts and looks upon it

as one of the agencies that will bring about a better future."—Pastor Phillips Memorial Church.

#### FROM OTHER READERS

"The articles by Miss Tarbell and Mr. Steffens's papers bring to light vast schemes of iniquity that the world ought to know."

E. B. R., Southport, N. C.

"I wish every citizen of this United States could read Miss Tarbell's papers on the Standard Oil Company. You are doing a good work; keep it up."—H. E. G., Bradford, Pa.

"I want to thank you for the articles you have published, exposing the frauds of St. Louis, Minneapolis, etc., and also the Standard Oil Company, which perhaps is the worst of all, since it makes pretensions to justification upon business principles. I think you have done a patriotic service in publishing those articles. I hope we, as a nation, will profit by them."—S. C. H., Selma, O.

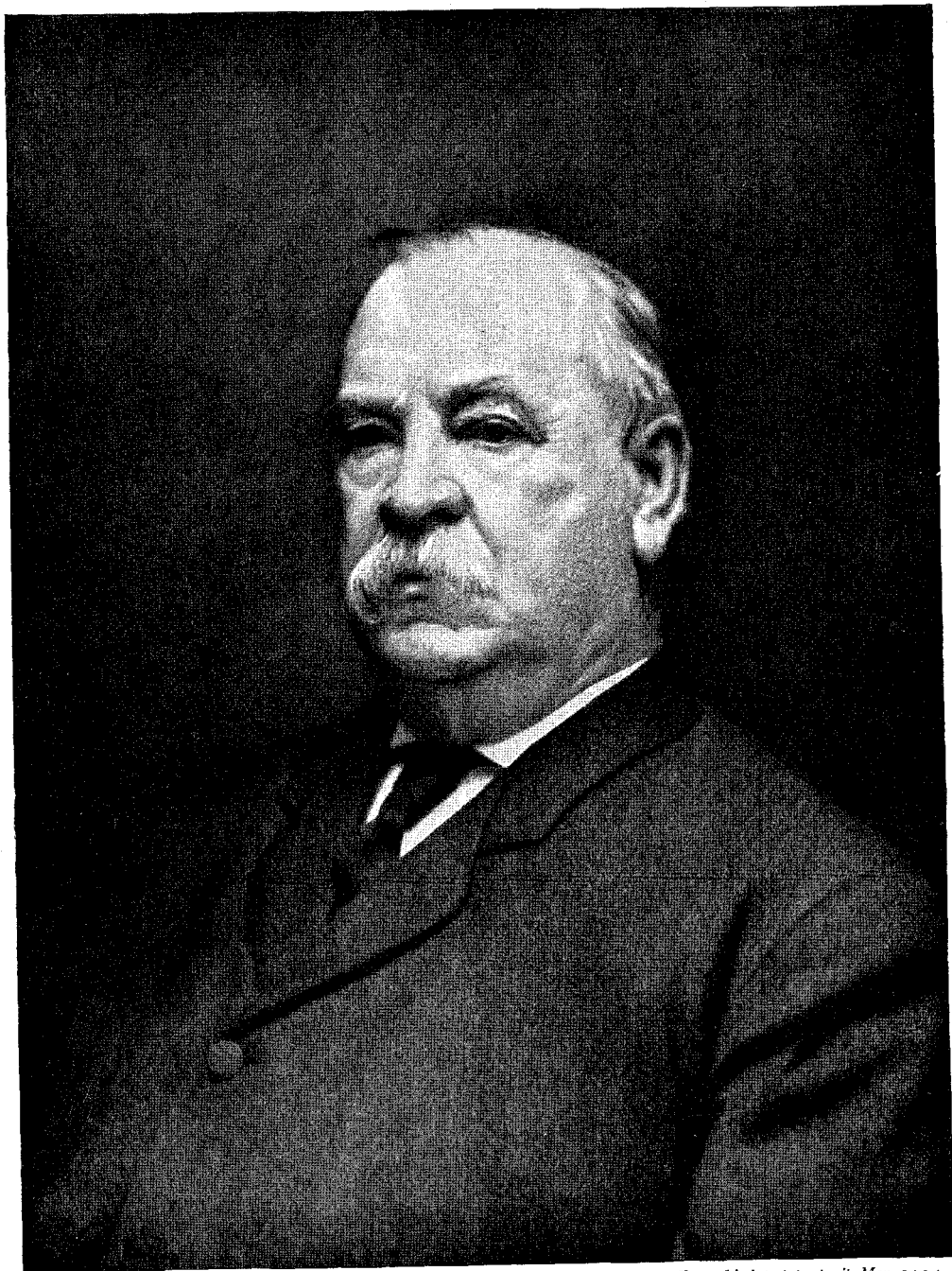
"I wish to express my appreciation of the splendid work you are doing for civic righteousness. So far as I know, McCURE's MAGAZINE is leading the war for the purification of the nation along these lines. It is comparable in some ways to the clarion notes of the old prophets of Israel, and, in the language of Isaiah, let me say to you: 'Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare unto my people their transgression, and to the nation their sins.' Accept my thanks and congratulations for your good work."

W. C. M., Tacoma, Wash.

"I desire personally to express my profound appreciation of the articles by Miss Tarbell and Mr. Steffens, which have appeared in McCURE's MAGAZINE. Having a somewhat intimate knowledge of the conditions of the country from Boston to San Francisco, and having even visited our island territories, I believe that the greatest menace to the permanency and stability of our republican institutions lies in the general corruption affecting municipal, state, and national government, as well as our courts, from the lowest to the highest, which comes immediately from corrupt and corrupting business methods. The horrible revelations made concerning the character of leading men causes one to shudder and, despite all these revelations of dishonesty and crime, not one arrest of any prominent man has as yet resulted. Poor Sam Parks is in prison, just as he ought to be, for taking a bribe, but those who were responsible for giving the bribe are at liberty and received into decent society. Publicity is the first step in the correction of organized crime. McCURE's MAGAZINE is to be commended by every patriotic citizen for taking this first step and giving publicity to the revolting crimes of some prominent men. These articles, in a way, are the Uncle Tom's Cabin of to-day, revealing the criminalities and outrages of the trust system. And ultimately the overthrow of this criminal condition will result, as it did in slavery. Every honest patriot in America rejoices in the heroism of McCURE's MAGAZINE in revealing these crimes and in giving the names of criminals."

Officer Missionary Association, N. Y.





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From his latest portrait, May, 1904

*Grover Cleveland*