

people and his opposition to the foreign rule. He says:

And fatherless I leave you all—all fatherless.

Stauffacher.

Cheer, cheer thee, noble sir; God hath not left us
All desolate, all lost, without redemption.

Attinghausen.

Who will deliver you?

Walter Furst.

Even we ourselves—

Pledged are our cantons to expel the tyrants.
The league is formed; a sacred oath hath bound us.

Attinghausen.

The league concluded!

Meichtal.

Ay, sir!—Until now

The secret has been kept, though shared by hundreds;
On the same day will the three cantons rise.

Attinghausen.

And are our nobles sharers in the league?

Stauffacher.

I doubt not their assistance, when 'tis needed;
As yet the only actors are the people.

Attinghausen (in great astonishment).

They have done this! And done it all alone!
They have done this! And without aid of nobles!
Then all's not lost! Through other arms than ours,
The dignity of man will be asserted.

(Lays his hand on the head of young Walter Tell,
who is kneeling before him.)

Yes, on this head, where late the apple lay,
Soon shall a new and better freedom rise;
Time changes; good or bad, the old hath fallen,
And a new life is blooming from its ruins.

Writing, in 1804, Schiller read a deep meaning into such lines as these, and there is no doubt that he made use of the Swiss uprising in the early part of the fourteenth century in order to give expression to certain opinions that might be useful in the early part of the nineteenth. It is no wonder that the Swiss hold him in high honor for having made the ancient assertion of their rights the subject of his masterpiece.

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It may be that Switzerland has, in these modern days, a more dangerous enemy to contend with than the ancient house of Hapsburg. But it is to be hoped that the modern enemy touches only such places as Lucerne, and it is well always that the Lucernes are not the whole country. Lucerne, Interlaken, and such centers of attractive beauty, live and batten on the riches of the enemy. At the same time they must necessarily imbibe something of his poison, and there may be doubt whether Switzerland in the long run stands to win or lose by these wealthy idlers, who flock to her doors with their millions. But, as I have said, the probability is that this sort of thing touches only certain points of hardy Switzerland, and that the rugged mountaineers will save the land as they have done in the past.

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The eastern Swiss peasant looks rugged and independent enough, and he speaks a rugged speech, no language of his own, but in most parts a barbarous German dialect. His manners, too, are over-rugged, especially in comparison with the "grace" of Italy, of which Mr. Howells speaks.

Looking back to Italy, through Como and Milan to Florence, you feel that something has been lost, and you wish that you could combine what you have with what you have lost—sturdiness with something more of graciousness. While the good nature at bottom may be nearly the same, you are compelled to acknowledge the charm of the outward manner which characterizes the Italians of every class.

There are, in fact, no disagreeable people in Italy except the guides, and, according to a lady whom I met in Florence, Italy is not responsible for these. "They are educated in America," she said with an Italian smile; "they go to New York, get their English and a living by blacking boots, and then come back to guide Americans through our galleries."

But leaving out the guides, whom all travelers should carefully avoid, we cannot but feel that the Italians of all degrees owe a duty to the world to preserve and spread their beautiful art of courtesy. Any one who has seen it will agree with Mr. Howells. "It is not yet," he says, "valued aright in the world; but the time must come when it will not be shouldered aside by physical and intellectual brutality. I hope," he adds, "it may come so soon that the Italians will not have learned bad manners from the rest of us." In the readiness to be pleasant, to give information and to render the little services which make life go more smoothly, especially for a traveler, it is impossible not to observe the difference in passing from Italy up to Switzerland.

J. H. DILLARD.

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THE HEARST CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK.

New York, August 5.—Conservative students of politics in New York are now disposed to predict the easy election of William Randolph Hearst to the Governorship. This result seems assured, irrespective of his nomination by the official Democracy of the State, although it seems certain that a vociferous, if not predominant, demand for his leadership will be the feature of the Democratic State convention.

But shrewd observers do not hesitate to affirm that Hearst's election to the Governorship will ensue, no matter what the action of the Democratic State convention. His personal party, the Independence League, is well organized and seemingly well financed, in all the well populated counties of the State, and it seems to win recruits with equal facility from each of the old parties. In this city he has attached to himself a vast support from the poorer citizenship, attracted by the widely circulated incitements to radicalism in his daily newspapers.

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The devotion of this multitude is not less faithful now that it was last November, when, as is now generally conceded, Hearst was elected Mayor of the city. That he was literally counted out by the agents of a shameless political machine, and in the interest chiefly of the public service monopolies, is a conclusion naturally deduced from the developments since McClellan's election was announced to have been won by a plurality of about 3,000 in a total poll of more than half a million votes. Evidence of gross fraud in the count was presented by Hearst watchers within a week after the election, and a recount of the

ballots was demanded—Mr. Hearst's lawyers in the meantime having procured an order for the preservation of the ballot-boxes.

McClellan's attitude at first was that of a dignified and honest man, who would spurn a tainted title to office. But in court his personal attorney, ex-Judge Alton B. Parker, strenuously opposed a recount upon the technical ground that the report of the inspectors of election was conclusive, as a matter of law. A Supreme Court Justice who favored the Hearst contention for a general recount, was reversed by a majority of the judges in the Appellate Division of the court, and later the Court of Appeals, after elaborate argument, sustained the contention of Judge Parker, which, in effect, was that consideration of the element of fraud in the election was inadmissible in the absence of any express statutory provision that would permit a recount and correction of the work of the election inspectors.

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Two avenues, it was pointed out, were still open to the Hearst people through which the true result of the election might still be ascertained and declared. One was to obtain from the legislature, then in session, a special act, which would permit an opening of the ballot-boxes and a recount of the votes cast.

The legislature was Republican in both branches, and in view of the fact that Mr. Ivins, the late Republican candidate for the mayoralty, as well as the Republican and independent newspapers generally, repeatedly expressed belief that wholesale frauds had been committed in the interest of the Tammany candidate, it was thought that the legislature would quickly pass the "recount bill" which had been introduced in both houses by Hearst supporters. This belief was strengthened by a published announcement from the Republican leader in the Assembly, substantially to the effect that the bill would be put through.

For a time it was believed that the manipulators of the Republican organization and the business interests which stand behind both parties in New York, had been reconciled to the seating of Hearst as Mayor, on the theory that he could not do much damage anyhow, in the presence of a hostile Board of Estimate and Apportionment, whose chief members had been elected with McClellan, but with pluralities so large as to be in no danger from the threatened recount. In the meantime, however, a committee of the Assembly had been taking testimony both in Manhattan and in Brooklyn, in connection with local contests between candidates for the Assembly, and in these cases the ballot-boxes had been opened to determine the correct vote cast for the Assembly in the disputed districts. Incidentally, and privately, a recount of the vote cast upon the city ticket in these districts was made, with results that have never been made public, but which, according to well-informed persons, were startling in their revelations of fraud in the count. The ratio of gain for Hearst in these districts, it is said, if maintained throughout the city, would not only have elected Hearst, but his entire ticket, by large pluralities—including John Ford, the radical Republican who was the Hearst candidate for Controller, and Phelps Stokes, the millionaire Socialist, who was the candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen. This forecast of the probable

result of a recount was made by the New York Press, the most widely circulated Republican newspaper of the metropolis, and its publication was followed by rapid back-action developments at Albany, where a sudden change came over the spirit of the legislative leaders, who had been promising the passage of the "recount bill."

The election of Ford and Stokes, as well as that of Hearst, was evidently more than they had bargained for, for this result would have given to the Hearst people a voting control of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, the powerful body which, under New York's charter, controls all the vast appropriations of the city, but—more important—controls the terms upon which public-service franchises of all kinds may be granted. The impending fight before this board against the atrocious telephone monopoly was alone sufficient to raise up reasons of the satisfactory Albany kind, why no chances should be taken by passing the "recount bill." Therefore, the bill was killed, though some independent Republican members broke away from the leaders and joined with the Municipal Ownership Assemblymen in voting for it. The Democrats, with few exceptions, followed the Tammany leadership in killing the bill.

There can be no doubt that Hearst gained immensely in public sympathy by this flagrant evidence of the essential solidarity of both political parties in their denial of what seemed a simple demand for fair play and in their seeming devotion to the welfare of the predatory interests, denominated by Arthur McEwen as the "Plunderbund."

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There remained to Hearst just one resort, and to this the unabashed leaders of the legislature publicly directed him. This was to take his case to the Republican Attorney-General and petition that official to undertake proceedings in the nature of quo warranto to test McClellan's title to his office. Such an action under the law may be maintained only by consent of the Attorney-General. Before him, therefore, appeared lawyers for both sides and a protracted series of arguments ensued, followed by the filing of briefs by both parties. The attitude of Mr. Mayer, the Attorney-General, throughout the proceedings was plainly unfriendly to the Hearst interests, and people were not surprised when he finally handed down a decision denying the Hearst petition. An astounding thing about this decision was that despite the fact that Mayer is credited with being a lawyer of some capacity, he adopted in the wording of his decision the identical technical reasoning of McClellan's corporation counsel, evincing his devotion to that cause to such an extent as to make identical use of figures that were the result of simple errors in addition made by McClellan's lawyers. In effect, the Attorney-General's decision was written by McClellan's lawyers, as any careful analysis of it would show.

Thus was the last door closed in the face of the Hearst people contending simply for a fair count and no favors. The fight had cost Hearst, it is said, more than fifty thousand dollars in attorneys' fees alone.

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"It is up to the people now," was the text and the tone of the editorials in the Hearst newspapers that

accompanied the news of the failure of the long fight for a recount of the ballots in the city election. And it is certain that tens of thousands of voters, nominally attached to the old parties and taking no account of Hearst's principles or lack of them, will vote to put him in the Governor's chair as the best available method of rebuking election grand larceny and the cowardly or purchased political leaders of both parties, who have condoned or confirmed it.

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Wednesday, August 8.

The Russian Autocracy Still in Control.

The mutiny at Sveaborg (p. 419) was put down after several days of desperate fighting. A related mutiny at Kronstadt, feared at the time of writing our news article of last week, was more quickly brought to a close. The third of the sea fortresses which were believed to be ready for simultaneous mutiny—that at Sevastopol—seems to be in the balance. Telegraphic communication has been cut off, and on the 6th it was reported that 20,000 persons had left the city in panic.

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On the 4th an effort to establish a general strike throughout Russia in fulfilment of the revolutionary program, was inaugurated, but it was incomplete, probably partly from being premature, and it has therefore proved inadequate for its purpose. St. Petersburg and Moscow were the crucial points, and it was estimated that by the evening of the 4th 100,000 men were on strike in St. Petersburg. But on the 5th, feeling a lack of cohesion and co-operation, and affected by coercion on the part of the government, and by a heavy downpour of rain which prevented open-air meetings, the printers and then other workers, returned to their trades. On the following day the Moscow strikers began to follow their example, and the strike was broken.

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With autocracy once more in the saddle, but facing danger on every hand, it is natural that the administration should try to lay down a program, on the one hand sufficiently attractive to some of the revolutionary elements to lead them to break ranks, and on the other preservative of the autocracy and vested interests. And this is just what has happened—even down into details. Evidently there are clear-sighted men in the administration. The Associated Press dispatches of the 7th report an inter-

view with a member of the cabinet which is so enlightening that we quote it in full:

The official said that Premier Stolypin at least intends to pursue and hold an affirmative policy amounting virtually to a determination on the part of the administration to settle the agrarian question according to its own lights, and irrespective of parliament, and then go to the country upon this issue. The government expects to rally not only all the landed interests, but the mass of the peasantry to its side, by actually giving the latter some immediate relief, instead of merely holding out hopes of a more advantageous settlement in the indefinite future, which has been the stock in trade of many reformers. Politically this move may prove strong. The actual bestowal of land, even if in smaller quantities than expected, and the division of communistic holdings, will, it is believed, make the peasantry disinclined to vote for candidates to the lower house who might propose a totally different solution of the question.

But, above all, individual possession, the government calculates, will inculcate that respect for property the lack of which, under the system of communistic holdings, has made many peasants such easy converts to the theory of the nationalization of land.

The crux of the question is its financial aspect. It will be a herculean operation to find the funds required to purchase the private holdings, which the project of the minister of agriculture contemplates acquiring through the land banks, even though the owners, under the spell of the agrarian disorders, are ready to sell at moderate prices.

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Great Britain.

The education bill which had passed its third reading in the House of Commons (p. 418), passed its second reading in the House of Lords on the 3d. On the same day the trades' disputes bill (vol. viii, 874; vol. ix, 9) passed the committee stage in the Commons, and was reported amid ministerial cheering. This bill is a result of the Taff Vale decision that a trades union's funds are liable for the illegal acts of individual members of the union. During the debate several amendments opposed by the government were only defeated by narrow majorities. The reports state that—

in place of the clause in the original bill exempting the funds of a union from damages when illegal acts have been committed without the authority of the union, a clause was adopted giving a trade union, whether of workmen or employers, complete immunity from claims for damages for illegal acts committed during a strike.

A spectacular situation was created when Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Opposition, accused the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, of bad faith in allowing the debate on the bill to continue beyond a certain hour, and then, amid ironical cheers, withdrew from the House, followed by some sixty members of the Opposition, a few of whom afterward returned.

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On the 4th Parliament adjourned until Oct. 23. The session has a good record. The dispatches thus summarize the work done:

The Irish laborers' cottages bill, the colonial marriages bill, T. P. O'Connor's musical copyright bill and a large number of minor bills were passed, and the trades' disputes bill, the workmen's compensation bill, and the merchant shipping bill are all in an advanced condition.

The education bill is the expected feature of the