The Commoner.

# "A Prince Must Understand the Art of Feigning"

Nicolo Machiavelli was a politician who, born in Florence, Italy, in 1469 had a tempestuous career. He distinguished himself as a diplomat and in literature. In his view a statesman should subordinate right to expediency, and so thoroughly did he imprint his views upon the pages of history that "Machiavellian" serves as a synonym for duplicity or bad faith.

Among the books written by Machiavelli was one entitled "The Prince." From the eighteenth chapter of "The Prince," said chapter being entitled "Whether Princes Ought to be Faithful to Their Engagements," a writer in the New York World culls the following interesting paragraphs:

"It is unquestionably very praiseworthy in princes to be faithful to their engagements, but among those of the present day who have been distinguished for great exploits few indeed have been remarkable for this virtue or have scrupled to deceive others who may have relied on their good faith. \* \* \* In other words, a prudent prince can not and ought not to keep his word except when he can do so without injury to himself or when the circumstances under which he contracted the engagement still exist.

"I should be cautious in inculcating such a precept if all men were good, but as the generality of mankind are wicked and ever ready to break their words, a prince should not pique himself in keeping his more scrupulously, especially as it is always easy to justify a breach of faith on his part. I could give numerous proofs of this and show numberless engagements and treaties which have been violated by the treachery of princes, and that those who enacted the part of the fox have always succeeded best in their affairs. It is necessary, however, to disguise the appearance of craft and thoroughly to understand the art of feigning and dissembling, for men are generally so simple and so weak that he who wishes to deceive easily finds dupes. \*\*\*

"It is not necessary, however, for a prince to possess all the good qualities I have enumerated, but it is indispensable that he should appear to have them. I will venture to affirm that it is sometimes dangerous to use, though it is always useful to seem to possess them. A prince should earnestly endeavor to gain the reputation of kindness, clemency, piety, justice and fidelity to his engagements. He ought to possess all these good qualities, but still retain such power over himself as to display their opposites whenever it may be expedient. I maintain that a prince, and especially a new prince, can not with impunity exercise all the virtues, because his own self-preservation will often compel him to violate the laws of charity, religion and humanity. He should habituate himself to bend easily to the various circumstances which may from time to time surround him. In a word, it will be as useful to him to persevere in the path

of rectitude while he feels no inconvenience in doing so as to know how to deviate from it when circumstances dictate such a course.

"He should make it a rule, above all things, never to utter anything which does not breathe of kindness, justice, good faith and piety. This last quality is most important for him to appear to possess, as men in general judge more from appearances than from reality. All men have eyes, but few have the gift of penetration. Every one sees your exterior, but few can discern what you have in your heart, and those few dare not oppose the voice of the multitude, who have the majesty of their prince on their side.

"Now, in forming a judgment of the minds of men, and more especially of princes, as we can not recur to any tribunal, we must attend only to results. Let it then be the prince's chief care to maintain his authority. The means he employs, be what they may, will for this purpose always appear honorable and meet applause, for the vulgar are ever caught by appearances and judge only by the event. And as the world is chiefly composed of such as are called vulgar, the voice of the few is seldom heard or regarded.

"There is a prince now alive (whose name it may not be proper to mention) who ever preaches the doctrine of peace and good faith, but if he had observed either the one or the other he would long ago have lost both his reputation and his dominions."

# **One Day's Revelations**

Revelations come thick and fast these days. They are, indeed, almost too numerous for mention. Take, for instance, a New York daily newspaper for May 24. Here are some of the headlines from that issue:

#### CASSATT'S MAN GOT A

#### FORTUNE FOR NOTHING

W. A. Patton, Assistant to Pennsylvania Railroad's President, Forced to Tell that He Acquired \$307,000 of Coal Company Securities Without Paying a Penny

OTHER BIG TRAFFIC MEN ON GOVERNMENT GRILL

High Officials Knew that Their Associates Received Gifts of Stocks from Corporations That Another dispatch refers to a letter written by former Chief Engineer Wallace of the Isthmian canal, in which he charges the governor of the Panama canal zone with breach of confidence, in having advised him to take a certain course of action and then anticipating it by secretly writing to Secretary Taft; also that William Nelson Cromwell, who seems to be something of a general manager of the whole Panama canal affair, tried to secure the payment by the United States of an improper claim, which claim, however, was afterwards disallowed by the president.

Another dispatch refers to the suit brought against a republican leader in Delaware to compel him to account for \$890,000 of money which it is alleged he improperly applied to his own use.

Another article tells of the revelations made before the federal court at Kansas City, showing where enormous sums in rebates were paid through a "freight broker." at the request of the president of the insurance company, the latter "openly and avowedly" repaying Perkins.

It will occur to a great many people that this decision is far fetched.

In this case the people were forced to depend upon the efforts of District Attorney Jerome, who was already on record against the cause he pleaded, and plainly showed an indisposition to proceed against Perkins and his associates. Justice Greenbaum of the lower court held Perkins for trial, but his ruling is superseded by that of Justice McLaughlin.

District Attorney Jerome says that he will take the case to the court of appeals and obtain a final decision. The people have not much to expect when District Attorney Jerome is to plead their cause. The packers escaped after the "immunity bath" and now Perkins goes free largely because he made contributions out of his own funds, even though he was reimbursed out of the stolen funds.

Some people have grown indignant when it

Had Cars in Plenty While Rival Operators Pleaded in Vain for Chance to Move Coal

Here are other headlines:

## STANDARD OIL GETS STOLEN TELEGRAMS

#### That Independents' Every Move is Known in Trust Camp is Charged in Ohio

Federal Judge Wallace awarded a judgment of \$137,833 to Robert H. Westcott against the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western railroad for breach of contract. The headlines referring to this decision, printed in the New York newspaper above referred to relating to Judge Wallace's criticism of William H. Truesdale who while being president of the railroad is also chairman of the committee appointed to investigate one of the insurance companies, follow:

#### TRUESDALE'S ACT LIKENED TO THEFT

"Morally No Better than Larceny," Says Judge, Denouncing Railroad President

#### WESTCOTT'S CONTRACT

DISHONESTLY REPUDIATED

Sordid, Arrogant Conduct Like Truesdale's Arrouses Public Resentment, Court Adds

The same issue prints a dispatch stating that a United States senator (Burton of Kansas) protests against his threatened expulsion from the senate because of dishonest acts.

#### PERKINS GOES FREE

The appelate division of the New York supreme court, Judge McLaughlin presiding, has discharged from custody George W. Perkins, insurance magnate and member of the firm of J. **P.** Morgan & Co. Perkins was arrested on the Another relates to the charge made against an agent of the American Tobacco company who attempted the bribery of Indiana legislators in connection with the anti-cigarette bill.

Another refers to the revelations made before the interstate commerce commission with respect to the Standard Oil trust, and it is said that the commission expects to present against the oil trust, proof of the following points: Judicial decisions were influenced; ministers were corrupted to act as spies; politicians in dominant parties were used as tools; rivals' telegraph messages were submitted to it; railway traffic managers took its orders on rates or suffered dismissal; fought independents with illegal rebates, "fixed" lawsuits and force of arms.

Another says that the sanitary conditions in the packing houses are so bad that the Roosevelt administration has determined to begin proceedings for relief.

Another dispatch relates to the threat of Robert S. Waddell, president of the Buckeye Powder company, to the effect that if Delaware elects Addicks United States senator, he, Waddell, will go before a federal grand jury and give evidence which will send Addicks to the penitentiary.

Another dispatch is to the effect that the bill seeking to do away with the immunity privilege which the packers took advantage of, is slowly but surely dying in a senatorial pigeon hole.

charge of misappropriating money by contributing \$50,000 of New York Life Insurance company funds to the republican national committee. It was held that Perkins was not guilty of a crime because the payment to the republican committee was actually made out of Perkins' own funds, and that the contribution was made has been charged that criminal laws were made for the poor and helpless rather than for the rich and influential, but nearly every day we are obtaining demonstrations of the difficulty of holding rich and powerful men to account for their crimes.

In the revelations in the Northern Securities merger case, in the rebate cases, in the beef trust case, and in the insurance investigations many men were shown to be guilty of serious crimes but not one has been placed behind the bars. Of all the men exposed in these disclosures, Burton, alone, poverty stricken and helpless, stands at the prison's threshold.

This is a deplorable condition, yet when a republican convention in Kansas recently adopted the resolution: "We are in favor of letting well enough alone," many republican newspapers pointed to that declaration as at once the shortest and best platform of the season.

### 111

#### DOES NOT RING TRUE

It is difficult to believe that the energetic business men of San Francisco seriously contemplate asking congress for a loan of \$100,000,000, more or less, at a low rate of interest, to enable them to rebuild their city. Such a request would show a regrettable decadence in the "Spirit of 'Forty-nine." What Chicago, Johnstown, Boston, Baltimore and Galveston have done under circumstances just as trying as those surrounding San Francisco, certainly San Francisco can do as well, or even better. To accept such aid from congress, even if it could be constitutionally granted, would be about 'the poorest advertisement San Francisco could secure. For the sake of the reputation San Francisco has acquired for push and enterprise and pluck, it is to be hoped that her leading citizens will immediately make it known that they have no sympathy with the plan of a congressional loan.