

MULHALL'S STORY OF LOBBYING TOLD

"Field Worker" Gives Names and Dates Involved in Nation-Wide Scandal.

CONGRESS ALLIES LISTED

Activities of National Association of Manufacturers Extended Into Many Fields — Ministers Enlisted in Work.

(Continued From First Page.)

nel Mulhall's whole remarkable story is the summary of names, dates and places of actual happenings in connection with his long service in the interests of the manufacturers and in opposition to the labor unions.

He tells how Van Cleave and his associates tried to bribe Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and how the plot failed because Gompers, suspecting trickery, had arranged to catch Van Cleave in a trap. The story of the attempted bribe was printed at the time but the manufacturers always denied it. Colonel Mulhall, who says he arranged for a meeting between Van Cleave and Gompers, now swears that it is true.

One of the hardest struggles ever made by the association, according to the Mulhall testimony, was the attempt to elect James E. Watson, Governor of Indiana. This was in the fall of 1908. Watson, he says, had been useful as a Representative in Congress. There are many manufacturing industries in Indiana, and the association is that he could have been useful as Governor of that state. He was close to the Taft administration—an ardent supporter—and his exposure as a lobbyist was a probability for President on the old Republican ticket in 1916.

Watson lost the election on account of his temperance attitude. Although he played to the temperance people, Watson, Colonel Mulhall says, never intended to carry out his temperance pledges. Then he relates the story of how, after one of his campaign speeches, Watson complained of being "dry," and of how he consumed six Manhattan cocktails within an hour, declaring afterward that he "tasted better than anything he had had for a long while."

Tariff Commission Wanted. After his defeat Watson went back to Congress, the story goes, and there became active in having the tariff commission appointed. This was something that the manufacturers' association wanted, as they knew it would delay a tariff revision. While serving as a member of Congress, Colonel Mulhall declares, Watson received \$250 a week from the association as "expenses" in working for the tariff commission.

Another illuminating paragraph is the relating to how the association "went after" John J. Gardner, Republican Representative in Congress from the Second New Jersey district, and "went after" how Gardner "fell into line" when he knew that the combined influences of the association and the political bosses of his state were likely to beat him. About the time that he has things going against Gardner, Colonel Mulhall had a meeting with Gardner.

"I intimidated Gardner," he says, "that he was too honest with the working people and not honest enough with the manufacturing interests."

About three days after Gardner sent for me again and admitted that Governor Fort, ex-Governor Murphy, Judge Spear and Lewis and such men as they could beat him out, and wanted the fight stopped.

"From that time on Mr. Gardner did not press his labor measure to the front. In the fall after the election was over he allowed the lobby of the National Association of Manufacturers to suggest to him the gentlemen they wished to have serve on his sub-committee of his bill. He was completely won over by the lobby of the manufacturers and to pigeonhole the labor bill and measures through these sub-committees that had been offered before 1908 and all that day after the session of Congress in 1908 and 1909."

Spying on Congress Suggested. The association was not inimical to all labor representatives, or at least to all those who called themselves labor representatives in Congress. He follows paragraph by Colonel Mulhall explains this:

"I have been reluctant all through this story to bring into it any of my so-called friends of labor, but there is a gentleman in Congress who boasts of being a great labor unionist. He has a union card in his pocket. He has been elected to Congress four terms by the labor vote, as he tells it, but there has never been a lobbyist or a tool in Washington who is more subservient to the trusts than Mr. James T. McDermott, Congressman from the Fourth Illinois District (the stockyards district of Chicago).

"McDermott also suggested to me the advisability of having the chief page of the House, Mr. J. H. McMichael, his confidential secretary, use the 75 odd pages upon the payroll of the House to pick up any information of value on the floor of the House which would be of any benefit to the interests of the manufacturers. He said these boys who were pages on the floor of the House would not be suspected if they were seen hanging around where the Congressmen met in private conversation, and that they could make themselves useful in the cloakroom of the House picking up information which would be useful and which could not be got in any other way."

Many Members Accused. Among the other officials who received financial reward for services rendered or for political purposes from the National Association of Manufacturers according to the World story were:

Ex-Representative Jenkins (Republican), of the Eleventh Wisconsin District, chairman of the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, 1904-8; defeated for renomination in the latter year, when his campaign was openly financed by the lobby of the National Association of Manufacturers, and who received money through Colonel Mulhall, its agent, and Edward Hines, of Lorimer fame, during that campaign.

Ex-Representative Haskins (Republican), of the First Vermont District, member of the labor committee, sent written acknowledgment of money transmitted to him by wire during his campaign for re-election in 1908.

Ex-Representative Littlefield, of Maine (Republican), chosen by President Roosevelt to frame legislation to regulate the trusts; was in intimate touch with the officials and chief lobbyists of the N. A. M.; accepted aid through his campaign managers during

his two last campaigns for Congress until he withdrew in the face of certain defeat; permitted the N. A. M. to pay his hotel and traveling expenses when keeping appointments with its officials and lobbyists.

Ex-Representatives Bannon, of Ohio (Republican); acted as adviser of the N. A. M. lobby in the House of Representatives and as secret agent; handled money passing between the shoe manufacturers and disloyal strike leaders in the shoe strike at Portsmouth, O., in 1907; sought employment as lobbyist for the N. A. M. upon retirement.

One Under Indictment. Ex-Representative Condy of Missouri (Republican); acted as secret agent of the National Association of Manufacturers in the House of Representatives and accepted aid in campaign for re-election; accused of passing bad checks at Washington; indicted at St. Louis for fraudulent use of the mails; released on \$10,000 bail after being sentenced to four years and six months in prison; now in New York City conducting an exchange business.

J. H. McMichael, chief of pages in the House of Representatives and principal spy of the National Association of Manufacturers on the undertakings and movements of members; afterward transferred to attend door at the press gallery of the House of Representatives and now serving as elevator operator in the Capitol.

Ex-Representative Cole (Republican), of the Eighth Ohio District, acted as adviser and emissary of the National Association of Manufacturers' lobby, which financed his campaign in 1908 at the request of James S. Sherman, rebuked by Lobbyist Emery for joining movement against Cannonism in 1909 and promised to be good in the future.

There are many men in National official life, says Colonel Mulhall, whom the association had no difficulty in approaching, but who may have acted in perfect good faith in doing the bidding of the lobbyists. In this class he places the following: President Taft, Senator Lodge, the late Vice-President Sherman, ex-Senator Foraker, Senator Nelson, ex-Senator Hemenway, ex-Speaker Cannon, ex-Representative Dwight, Republican "whip" of the House from 1909 to 1911; ex-Representative Tawney, of Minnesota; ex-Representative Bede, of Minnesota; Senator Stephen, of Wisconsin; ex-Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island; Senator Townsend, of Michigan; Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire; Representative Webb, of North Carolina; ex-Representative Fassett, of New York; ex-Representative McKinley, of Illinois; ex-Representative Vreeland, of New York; ex-Representative Daisell, of Pennsylvania; ex-Senator Scott, of West Virginia; ex-Representative Bennett, of New York; ex-Postmaster-General Gary, of Baltimore; the late Representative Southwick, of New York; Representative Calder, of New York; Representative Burke, of Pennsylvania; ex-Representative Ryan, of New York; ex-Representative Wilson, of Illinois; ex-Representative Denby, of Michigan; ex-Representative Henshaw, of Nebraska; ex-Representative Overstreet, of Indiana; ex-Representative Beale, of Pennsylvania; ex-Representative Calderhead, of Nebraska; ex-Representative Dickema, of Michigan; ex-Representative Driscoll, of New York; ex-Representative Foster, of Vermont; ex-Representative Swager, of New Jersey; Representative Swager Shirley, of Kentucky; ex-Representative Sterling, of Illinois; ex-Representative Sweeney, of Maine; ex-Representative Littlefield, of Maine; Governor Haines, of Maine; Ambassador Herrick, of Ohio; Ambassador Guild, of Massachusetts; Representative Barthold, of Missouri; ex-Representative Mudd, of Maryland; and Representative Fairchild, of the Thirty-fourth New York District.

Opponents on "Blacklist." Besides these long lists of "friendly" or "useful" officials the association also maintained a "blacklist" of officials who were opposed to its interests. It conducted a relentless warfare against those officials and against labor leaders. It financed the campaigns of candidates against them and sought to retire them from office. This "blacklist" included the following:

Representative Burnett, of the Seventh Alabama District (elected in 1908 because he was too active on the floor of Congress against bills favored by the National Association of Manufacturers, which organized an effective propaganda against him in his district).

Ex-Representative Maynard, of the Second West Virginia District (elected for the same reason in 1908).

Speaker Clark, of Missouri (unsuccessfully opposed by every influence at the command of the National Association of Manufacturers both in 1908 and 1910).

Representative Cooper, of the First Wisconsin District. (Unsuccessfully opposed because of his radical opposition to Cannon, though other-

wise friendly to the National Association of Manufacturers.)

Ex-Representative Nichols, of the Tenth Pennsylvania District. (Elected in 1910 because of his persistent opposition to the interests of the National Association of Manufacturers and for his championship of labor.)

Ex-Representative Parsons, of the Thirteenth New York District. (Defeated in 1910 because of his opposition to Cannonism.)

Representative Green, of the Fifteenth Massachusetts District. (Unsuccessfully opposed in 1908 because of his opposition to Cannon and the other interests of the Manufacturers' Association.)

Representative Haugen, of the Fourth Iowa District. (Opposed with all the influence at the command of the National Association of Manufacturers in 1908, but re-elected by a very small majority.)

Representative Wilson, of the Fifteenth Pennsylvania District. (Elected in 1912 because of his opposition to the plans of the National Association of Manufacturers and his championship of labor; appointed by President Wilson Secretary of Labor.)

Ex-United States Senator McComas, of Maryland. (Opposed for every office he ran for because of his authorship of the general eight-hour bill and his championship of labor interests in general.)

Ex-Representative Pearre, of Maryland. (Beaten because of his authorship of the Pearre National Injunction bill.)

United States Senator Hughes, of New Jersey. (Beaten for Congress in 1904 and opposed at all times and barely escaped defeat in 1910 because of his activities in behalf of labor reforms.)

Ex-Representative Connolly, of Massachusetts. (Beaten in 1910 for the same reason.)

President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor. (Made the target of many forms of attack to discredit him after repeated failures to bribe him by agents of the National Association of Manufacturers.)

John Mitchell, ex-president of the United Mine Workers of America, member of the Civic Federation. (Opposed by every influence at the command of the National Association of Manufacturers.)

Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor. (Made

the object of attacks by agents of the National Association of Manufacturers.)

Strike-Breaking Part of Work. Besides maintaining an active lobby at the National capital and in many state capitals the National Association of Manufacturers, it seems, carried on its work against those who were opposed to it by means even more subtle.

According to the New York World's information the association, through its agents—Mulhall and others—successfully conducted the campaign to break the strikes of the job printers in 1906-8; 25,000 shoemakers at St. Louis in 1907; 10,000 hatmakers at Danbury, Conn., and New Jersey points in 1909, and of 4000 shoemakers at Portsmouth, O., in 1907.

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