MULHALL'S STORY

"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 oppo-

He tells how Van Cleave and his as-

week from the association as 'ex-penses' in working for the tariff com-

Another illuminating paragraph is that relating to how the association "went after" John J. Gardner, Repubthe Second New Jersey district, and telling 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, Colo-nel Mulhell had a meeting with Gard-list" included the following:

that he was too honest with the work.

"About three days later Gardner sent for me again and admitted that Goyerner Fort, ex-Governor Murphy, Judge Speer and Lewis and such men as they could beat him out, and wanted the

"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-committees of the House labor committee and to pigeonhole the labor bills and measures through these sub-commit-tees that had been offered before 1968 and all that came up at the regular ses-sion 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. The fol-lowing paragraph by Colonel Mulhall

"I have been reluctant all through this story to bring into it any of the so-called friends of labor, but there is a gentleman in Congress who beasts of being a great labor unionist. He has a union card in his pocket. He by the labor vote, as he tells it, but there has never been a lobbyist or a tool in Washington who is more sub-

tool in Washington who is more sub-servient to the trusts than Mr. James T. McDermott, Congressman from the Fourth Illinois District (the stock-yards district of Chicago). "McDermott also suggested to me the advisability of having the chief page of the House, Mr. J. H. McMichaels, his confidential secretary, use the 75 odd pages upon the payroll of the House to pick up any information of 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 re-ceived fnancial reward for services rendered or for political purposes from the National Association of Manufacturers, according to the World story were: Ex-Representative Jenkins (Repub-Ex-Representative Jenkins (Republican), of the Eleventh Wisconsin District, chairman of the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, 1994-8; 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 (Re-

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

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

Association.)

Representative Haugen, of the Fourth low District. (Opposed with all the low District. (Opposed with all t

his two last campaigns for Congress until he withdrew in the face of cer-tain defeat; permitted the N. A. M. to pay his hotel and traveling expenses

Ex-Representative Coudry, 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 ball after being sentenced to four years and six months in prison; now in New York City conducting an exchange

J. H. McMichaels, chief of pages in the House of Representatives and prin-cipal 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 op-

tives and now serving as elevator op-erator in the Capitol. Ex-Representative Cole (Republi-can), of the Eighth Ohio District, act-ed as adviser and emissary of the Na-tional Association of Manufacturers' lobby, which financed his campaign in 1998 at the request of James S. Sher-man; rebuked by Lobbyist Emery for joining movement against Cannonism in 1909 and promised to be good in the future.

sition 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 falled 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 Mulhail, who says he arranged for a meeting bitween Van Cleave and Gompers, now swears that it is true.

One of the Mardest struggles ever made by the association, according to the Mulhail testimony, was the attempt to elect James E. Watson Governor of Indiana. This was in the Fail of 1908. Watson, he says, had been useful as a Representative in Congress. There are many manufacturing industries in Indiana, and the supposition is that he cauld have been useful as Governor of that state. He was close to the Taff Administration—an ardent standpatter—and until this exposure a probability as a candidate 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 complains a candidate for President on the old Republican ticket in 1916.

After his defeat Watson went back to Congress, the story of New York; ex-Representative Health of New York; ex-Re After his defeat Watson went back to Congress, the story goes, and there became active in having the Taft 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 completely. District.

Opponents on "Blacklist." Besides these long lists of "friendly" maintained a "blacklist" of officials eral.) 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 "black-

Representative Burnett, of the Sevintimated to Gardner," he says, enth Alabama District (beaten in 1908 because he was too active on the floor ing people and not honest enough with the manufacturing interests. the National Association of Manufac-turers, which organized an effective propaganda against him in his dis-Ex-Representative Maynard, of the

Second West Virginia District (beaten for the same reason in 1908), Speaker Clark, of Missouri (unsuc-cessfully opposed by every influence at the command of the National Associaion of Manufacturers both in 1908 and

John Kirby Jr.

wise friendly to the National Association of Manufacturers.)
Ex-Representative Nichols, of the Tenth Pennsylvania District. (Beaten in 1910 because of his persistent opposition to the interests of the National Association of Manufacturers and for his championship of labor interests; elected in 1910 by a diminished majority.)

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.



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-have sold at

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work with Mr. Cushing in Washington, and all through the Winter of 1906 I had frequent meetings with Charles E. Littlefield, of the Second Maine District, who became the active champion

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mous makes-in the pre-

of Maryland. (Opposed for every office he ran for because of his authorship of the general eight-hour bill and his r "useful" officials the association also championship of labor interests in gen-

President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor. (Made the target of many forms of attack to discredit him after repeated fasiliures to bribe him by agents of the National Associa-tion of Manufacturers.) by every influence at the command of the the National Association of Manufac-

Ex-Representative Pearre, of Mary-and. (Beaten because of his author-hip of the Pearre National injunction

Jersey. (Beaten for Congress in 1904 and opposed at all times and barely es-caped defeat in 1910 because of his ac-tivities in behalf of labor reforms.)

00 J.M. Van Cleave

Representative Chos. E. Littlefield

John Mitchell, ex-president of the United Mine Workers of America, mem-ber of the Civic Federation. (Opposed Representative Cooper, of the National Association of Manufac-First Wisconsin District. (Unsuccess-fully opposed because of his radical opposition to Cannon, though other-

Besides maintaining an active lobby at the National capital and in a good many state capitals the National Asso-ciation of Manufacturers, it seems, car-

1809, and of 4000 shoemakers at Portsmouth, O., in 1907.

These agents, says the story, planted spies in the labor unions with which the strikers were connected, corrupted minor labor leaders, personally paid them sums of money which are set forth in the correspondence turned over to the World by Colonel Mulhall; enlisted the support of clergymen to break the strike at Danbury and even sought to influence Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore, to compel a settlement favorable more, to compel a settlement favorable to the hatmakers through local clergymen. In carrying out this campaign Colonel Mulhall enlisted the assistance of Rev. H. C. Meserve, of the First Con-TWO EX-PRESIDENTS OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACgregational Church of Danbury, and of the Rev. Fathers Shanley and Ken-nedy. In its strike-breaking undertak-TURERS ACCUSED OF CONDUCTING SYSTEMATIC LOBBY.

came to be engaged in his extraordinary occupation is full of interest. It follows:

"My first active work for the National Association of Manufacturers was the result of an interview I had with Marshall Cushing, its secretary, in the writing room of the Arlington Hotel in Vermont avenue, Weshington, in the middle of November, 1902.

"Cushing outlined to me in a brief way at this meeting his work with the National Association of Manufacturers, and he stated that he would-like to have me aid them in the lobby work they were undertaking in Washington and Albany, N. Y. I made no regular contract with Cushing at this time. I informed him that I was manufacturing brushes, but I agreed to assist him as he wished me to do, provided that I was to give him my spare time when not otherwise engaged.

"Cushing at all times was very sective and for the mork for the work in thousands of members to the brought thousands of members to the National Association of Manufacturers, and he was very jubliant over the success of the work in the State of Maryland.

"From November, 1904, to February, 1905, I did but very little lobby work in Washington. During work in Washington. During brushes, but I agreed to assist him as he wished me to do, provided that I was to give him my spare time when not otherwise engaged.

"Cushing at all times was very secretive and for the next four of ity.

"Cushing at all times was very sec-retive, and for the next four or five meetings I had with him between No-vember and the 1st of January, 1903, vember and the 1st of January, 1903, he did not thoroughly inform me of the nature of his lobby work outside of saying that he was building up an organization to oppose McComas' eighthour bill and labor measures of that stripe. About the 1st of January I had a long interview with Mr. Cushing at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, and he mapped out for me a programme of work which he wished me to help him with.

"I informed Mr. Cushing at this

"I informed Mr. Cushing at this meeting that I had built a very effective association in Maryland, called the Workingmen's Protective Association, Workingmen's Protective Association, and had done very effective work for the Republican party in the campaigns of 1900 and 1902 and 1902 in Maryland. Cushing suggested to me that he would meet the expenses of continuing this organization and to do everything I possibly could to increase its membership for the purpose of defeating Senator McComas for renomination and election in 1904. With Cushing's aid I built up a splendid organization in Maryland under his instructions.

"For the period of time I was with Cushing I learned that he did most of his lobby work at night, getting a cab and calling at the homes of members of the House and Senate. He at all times informed me that his principal advisers, outside of several secretaries or members he did business with, were Senator Proctor, of Vermont; Mr. Jos-

che 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 a good many state capitals the National Association of Manufacturers, it seems, carciation of Manufacturers, it seems, car-

dles of letters sealed, stamped and addressed to manufacturers throughout the State, and would have me mail these letters in Baltimore.

Maryland Campaign Successful, "All through the Summer of 1904 I was actively engaged in campaign work in Maryland and in helping to defeat Senator McComas and to elect ney E. Mudd and Charles Shearn whom Cushing wanted returned to Congress. This campaign in Maryland was completely successful, defeating nedy. In its strike-breaking undertaking the association had the co-operation of many men high in the councils of the Republican party and a few in the Democratic party, either by reason of political affiliation, friendly sentiment, business prejudice or personal gain.

Mulhali Tells of Beginning.

Colonel Mulhall's story of how he came to be engaged in his extraordinary occupation is full of interest. It follows:

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land. (Beaten because of his authorship of the Pearre National injunction of Manufacturers, it is seems, carried on its work against those who were opposed to it by means even more subjected on its work against those who were opposed to it by means even more subjects. (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 Coinnelly, of Massachusetts. (Beaten in 1910 for the same reason. Ex-Representative Connolly, of Massachusetts. (Beaten in 1910 for the same reason.) President Gompers, of the American Pederation of Labor. (Made the target of many forms of attack to discredit him after repeated fasiliures to bribe him by agents of the National Association, or mouth, O., in 1907. These agents, says the story, planted spin of the strikers were connected, corrupted him by agents of the National Association of Manufacturers, and force of defeating McComas the politics and impressed upon me the importance of defeating McComas (diet.) of the Seventh and Eighth New Jersey of the National Association of Manufacturers, and impressed upon me the importance of defeating McComas (diet.) of the Seventh and Eighth New Jersey of the National Association of Manufacturers, and impressed upon me the importance of defeating McComas (diet.) of the Seventh and Eighth New Jersey of the National Association of Manufacturers, and impressed upon me the importance of defeating McComas (diet.) of the Seventh and Eighth New Jersey of the National Association of Manufacturers, and impressed upon me the importance of defeating McComas (diet.) of the Seventh and Eighth New Jersey of the National Association of Manufacturers, and impressed upon me the importance of defeating McComas (diet.) of the Seventh and Eighth New Jersey of the National Association of Manufacturers, and impressed upon me the importance of defeating McComas (diet.) of the National Association of the National Association of Manufacturers and impressed upon me the

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