

Interesting Charges Concerning Corporation Lobby Work at the National Capital

Martin M. Mulhall, a lobbyist at the national capital, has made a statement in which he makes a general confession as to his work as a lobbyist. He makes accusations involving a large number of well known men. The men accused have issued general denials and have denounced Mulhall as a common liar. His story is, however, so explicit that it will be thoroughly investigated by both houses of congress.

The New York World and the Chicago Tribune for which the Mulhall story was originally written have summarized his confession in the following way:

"Revealing the hidden secrets of the lobby at the capitol of the nation and throwing instructive illumination upon the methods of 'invisible government,' Colonel Martin M. Mulhall, for ten years a lobbyist, field worker and strike breaker for the National Association of Manufacturers, herewith makes public through the World an amazing story of his experiences while carrying out the orders of the organization by which he was employed.

"Colonel Mulhall was subpoenaed in Washington yesterday to appear on July 7 before the Overman lobby investigating committee of the United States senate to repeat his statements and answer any questions that may be asked of him.

"In presenting to the World his own story, backed up by more than 20,000 letters, telegrams, reports, expense accounts and corroborative memoranda, the colonel is actuated by a twofold purpose. The first is to render a service to the public by disclosing the identities and undertakings of the men at the head of the most powerful business organization in the United States and their allies among officials of the United States government.

"The second and, to his mind, the most important purpose of his determination to make public the disclosures that follow, is to compel reform through legislation of the evils revealed by him.

"This man, who was constantly active, though deliberately inconspicuous, in the daily undertakings and achievements of the lobby, has given the World his personal narrative of these activities and has turned over to it his voluminous correspondence. His narrative and correspondence establish the following facts:

"One—That the National Association of Manufacturers has a membership of 225 organizations, embracing 4,000 individual members, employing more than 5,000,000 of persons, and representing an approximate capital of \$10,000,000,000, and claims to be a non-political business and trade organization.

"Two—That, in reality, this association has for more than ten years secretly played an important and frequently decisive part in promoting tariff, labor and general business legislation favorable to its own interests.

"Three—That, together with a 'paper organization' called the national council for industrial defense, it has also maintained a lobby at Washington for the purpose of defeating all legislation hostile to its own interests.

"Four—That for these purposes it has always sought, and often managed to secure, control of the committee on labor and the committee on the judiciary of both the senate and the house of representatives.

"Five—That the National Association of Manufacturers was solely responsible for the creation of the tariff commission during the Taft administration, the object of the association being to forestall revision of the then existing tariff.

"Six—That the officials who received financial reward for services rendered or for political purposes from the National Association of Manufacturers while in office were:

"(A)—Former Congressman James E. Watson (republican); 'whip' of the house of representatives from 1902 to 1908; republican candidate for governor of Indiana in 1908; floor leader of the republican national convention in Chicago in 1912 and a favorite with the 'stand-pat' republicans for the nomination for president in 1916; most important ally of the N. A. M. while in congress and served as its principal lobbyist after his retirement.

"(B)—Congressman James T. McDermott (democrat) of the Fourth Illinois district; avowed champion of labor in the house of rep-

resentatives but secretly in the employ of the lobby of the National Association of Manufacturers at Washington; accused of forging the name of Colonel Mulhall to a check drawn by order of Harold McCormick, a son-in-law of John D. Rockefeller and an official of the harvester trust.

"(C)—Former Congressman John J. 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.

"(D)—Former Congressman Kittredge Haskins (republican) of the First Vermont district; member of the labor committee; sent written acknowledgement of money transmitted to him by wire during his campaign for re-election in 1908.

"(E)—Former Congressman Charles E. 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.

"(F)—Former Congressman Henry M. Bannan 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.

"(G)—Former Congressman Henry M. 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 bail after being sentenced to four years and six months in prison; now in New York city conducting an exchange business.

"(H)—Former Congressman J. J. Gardiner (republican) of New Jersey, chairman of the committee on labor in 1903-1911; started in to antagonize N. A. M. interests until threatened with defeat through the use of money and other influence in his district; afterward surrendered and become one of its most subservient allies; last campaign almost entirely financed by the N. A. M.

"(I)—J. H. McMichaels, chief of pages in the house of representatives and principal spy of the N. A. M. 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.

"(J)—Former Congressman Ralph B. Cole (republican) of the Eighth Ohio district, acted as adviser and emissary of the N. A. M. 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.

"Seven—That among the men whom the lobbyists of this association had no difficulty in reaching and influencing for business, political or sympathetic reasons during recent years were: President Taft, Senator Lodge, the late Vice President Sherman, ex-Senator Foraker, Senator Nelson, ex-Senator Hemenway, ex-Speaker Cannon, ex-Congressman Dwight, republican 'whip' of the house from 1909 to 1911; former Congressman James E. Tawney of Minnesota, former Congressman J. Adam Bede of Minnesota, Senator Isaac Stephenson of Wisconsin, former Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, Senator Townsend of Michigan, Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire, Congressman Webb of North Carolina, former Congressman J. Sloat Fassett of New York, former Congressman W. B. McKinley of Illinois, former Congressman Vreeland of New York, former Congressman Dalzell of Pennsylvania, former Senator N. B. Scott of West Virginia, former Congressman W. S. Bennet of New York, former Postmaster

General James A. Gary of Baltimore, the late Congressman George A. Southwick of New York, Congressman W. M. Calder of New York, Congressman James F. Burke of Pennsylvania, former Congressman W. H. Ryan of New York, former Congressman W. M. Wilson of Illinois, former Congressman Denby of Michigan, former Congressman Edward H. Hinshaw of Nebraska, former Congressman Jesse Overstreet of Indiana, former Congressman J. G. Bealle of Pennsylvania, former Congressman W. A. Caulderhead of Nebraska, former Congressman Diekema of Michigan, former Congressman M. A. Driscoll of New York, former Congressman G. J. Foster of Vermont, former Congressman P. M. Fowler of New Jersey, Congressman Swager Shirley of Kentucky, former Congressman J. A. Sterling of Illinois, former Congressman J. P. Swasey of Maine, former Congressman Charles E. Littlefield of Maine, Governor W. T. Haines of Maine, Ambassador Myron T. Herrick of Ohio, Ambassador Curtis Guild of Massachusetts, Congressman Richard Barthold of Missouri, former Congressman Sidney Mudd of Maryland and Congressman George W. Fairchild of the Thirty-fourth New York district.

"Eight—That the professional lobby staff of the National Association of Manufacturers during the last ten years was composed of the following persons:

"(A)—J. W. Van Cleave, president of the N. A. M. from 1907 to 1909 and afterward president of the national council for industrial defense, an auxiliary organization with pronounced political purposes, since deceased.

"(B)—John W. Kirby, jr., president from 1909 to May 24, 1913, when he was succeeded by Colonel George Pope.

"(C)—J. Philip Bird, general manager and personal director of the operations of the lobby and strike-breaking; also disburser of funds collected for political and labor campaigns.

"(D)—James A. Emery, general counsel and chief of lobby at Washington; formerly active in San Francisco as the promoter of business enterprises; very secretive in method, but now prominent in Washington as an entertainer of influential members of the senate and house of representatives.

"(E)—Ferdinand C. Schwedtman, assistant to President Van Cleave and Kirby and author of letters and telegrams directing the work of the lobby, the efforts of the N. A. M. to re-elect "its friends" in congress, to defeat "its enemies" and strike-breaking.

"(F)—George S. Boudinot, secretary of the N. A. M., author of letters and telegrams giving orders to its 'field agents' similar to those issued by Bird.

"(G)—Marshall Cushing, former secretary of the N. A. M. and in active charge of its secret lobby, legislative and strike-breaking undertakings.

"(H)—Martin M. Mulhall, chief of N. A. M. lobby forces at Washington (residence, Baltimore), succeeding Cushing and afterward 'field agent' in charge of strike-breaking and political campaigns from 1903 to 1912; political manager for the late President McKinley in his congressional campaigns; colonel on the staff of Governor McKinley and for four years an operative in the secret service; also author of the narrative that is to follow detailing his experiences as lobbyist and strike-breaker and the holder of more than 20,000 letters, telegrams and reports from and to officers of the N. A. M., United States senators, members of congress, political bosses and labor leaders.

"(I)—Mr. X., a publicity agent of the N. A. M., intrusted with the task of attempting to bribe Sampel Gompers, for which \$40,000 was appropriated by the N. A. M.

"(J)—Mr. Y., former newspaper reporter and publicity agent, employed by the N. A. M. to trail Gompers through the south and attempt to bribe him; failing in this sought to entrap Gompers into a compromising conference with President Van Cleave at the Victoria hotel in New York, which was afterward abandoned because of the precautions taken by Gompers for his own protection.

"(K)—Thomas Littlepage, former secretary of Senator Hemenway of Indiana, with offices on the sixth floor of the Union Trust building, at Washington, adjoining those maintained by Emery, chief of the N. A. M. lobby; engaged in the practice of law and regarded as the right-hand man of Emery in lobby undertakings.

"(L)—Frank Nunemaker, formerly a publisher at Louisville; active in the lobby work of the N. A. M. at Washington.

"(M)—John McIntyre, former secretary of the National Typothetae of America; managed campaign against striking job printers several years