

and if the present tariff bill should make provision for some such body it would meet my views exactly. Sincerely yours, WM. H. TART, Mr. Henry Rosenberg, Indianapolis, Ind.

Rosenberg, to whom this letter from the president elect was addressed, was one of the moving spirits of the scheme to create a tariff commission, and afterward became the secretary of the convention held at Indianapolis on Feb. 17 and 18, 1909.

Interview with Cannon.

Reporting to Schwedman under date of Jan. 6 of that year, regarding the feeling among members of congress, Col. Mulhall described an interview he had with Speaker Cannon in the latter's room in the capitol. He said that the speaker characterized the proposed convention as "all damned nonsense," but, after he saw that the board of trade of Chicago and several other Illinois organizations were actively interested in this convention, he seemed to change the tone of his conversation considerably.

In the same report the colonel described an interview with Sen. E. B. Payne, the chairman of the ways and means committee. He wrote that Mr. Payne treated his visit as "a kind of a joke," but finally agreed, according to the colonel, to attend the tariff commission convention if he could find time to do so.

Their Indiana District Friend.

Eight reports from Col. Mulhall to the home office during January conveyed the details of his interviews with members of congress concerning the tariff commission idea. He frequently mentioned in these reports Congressman Watson as "our Indiana district friend," and under date of Jan. 12 the colonel described a meeting with Speaker Cannon's room along with Emery, chief lobbyist of the National Manufacturers' association. Incidentally the colonel says that Watson told him that he was a candidate for a place in Mr. Taft's cabinet, preferring the secretaryship of commerce and labor.

Favor the Tariff Commission.

In all the colonel reported that a majority of the Republican members of congress seems to favor the tariff commission idea. In a report of Jan. 16 the colonel wrote to Schwedman:

I did not call on the senate on account of Senator Beveridge advising me to do so. I shall continue with the members of the house until I am told to stop. Besides I have given me an opportunity of seeing the splendid work that has been done by our organization in a political way during the last six years and particularly the last two years.

In a report to Schwedman of Jan. 20, 1909, Col. Mulhall said that several members of congress expressed the fear that the tariff commission convention was to be turned into a "Beveridge convention." Two days later Schwedman wrote from the home office at St. Louis:

I note especially what you say about making this a "Beveridge convention." Please do not abuse the minds of our good friends of this idea. That will not be permitted and there is no man big enough to swing this convention from the clearly defined line on which it is organized.

Activities of Miles.

In daily reports for more than two weeks Col. Mulhall detailed the activities of Miles, E. B. Payne, and himself in promoting the tariff commission convention idea.

Instructions to him from Schwedman on Jan. 23 advised that he discuss the tariff matter with Emery and to proceed with the "greatest caution." He added:

When I say to you that you know more of the secrets of this game than I do, I mean that you will feel satisfied as well as I in Indiana on conditions beyond my control.

This admonition was called forth by a protest from Col. Mulhall that Miles and E. B. Payne were interfering with his own diplomatic mission as the congressional lobbyist of the N. A. M.

"I note," wrote Schwedman, "what you say about Mr. Rosenberg seeing 100 congressmen in three days. That is not all; he saw fifty senators in addition, all of which will tend to show you what poor mortals you and I are compared with this wonderful genius."

Members Could Do a Lot of Good.

In a report to "My dear Ferdinand" (Schwedman) Col. Mulhall especially called attention to the names of "a few members of congress that I feel will do a lot of good in Washington as well as in Indiana. If they are handled right at the present time. One of the gentlemen I wish to mention is the Hon. George W. Fairchild, of the Twenty-fourth New York district. I have frequently called on Mr. Fairchild, and he is always enthusiastic and doing good work continually for our organization and for the bill, and is anxious for the success of the convention."

The colonel also described Congressman Edwin J. Webb of the Ninth North Carolina district, and said:

Of course, if Mr. Webb is taken care of or his expenses looked after it would do us a lot of good here in other ways, for I am under the impression that Mr. Webb is not very well fixed financially and he would greatly appreciate his transportation or hotel bills, if they were extended to him, for when the colonel spoke a kind word in the same letter was Sidney E. Mudd of the Fifth Maryland district, of whom he said:

Mr. Mudd has been the hardest fighter we have had in congress for the last six years. He has not only been outspoken in the committee room and upon the floor of congress, but has been just as outspoken in his own district against Gompers and of the Gompers ring. I know of no assistance that has been given to Mr. Mudd in his district outside of what little has been given to him by the Workingmen's Protective association of Baltimore (organized by Mulhall as a secret agent of the National Manufacturers' association).

Plans for a Commission.

At the Indianapolis convention a committee of 100 was appointed to formulate plans for tariff commission legislation. An executive committee of fifteen, headed by Miles, took active charge of the work and established headquarters at Washington.

Following the Indianapolis convention Col. Mulhall, in a letter from Washington under date of March 17, 1909, reported to Schwedman "a great rush of manufacturers to attend the hearing here" on the bill that afterward became known as the Payne-Aldrich bill. The colonel also reported that Watson was rendering valuable service in promoting the scheme for a tariff commission.

In a letter to D. M. Parry, former president of the National Manufacturers' association and written on the same date by Col. Mulhall, he said:

There have been warm times here for the last week and we have all been busy. I and my friends here in this (tariff commission) fight and I feel by so doing we have strengthened our organization with the leaders in congress very materially.

Some Inside Information.

Under date of April 6, 1909, Col. Mulhall sent to Schwedman "some inside information" regarding the tariff commission project. He described an interview that had been arranged between Watson and the members of the executive committee of 100 appointed at Indianapolis, headed by Miles, Kirby, Maize, Towne, Tompkins and Watson. The Indiana congressman he said, gave the committee some valuable advice and plotted them in their efforts to secure recruits to the tariff commission scheme.

The colonel described an interview between Miles, Towne, and Tompkins with President

This Class in Political Economy Will Study in Washington Instead of Australia.

Messrs. Parry, Bird, and Kirby were about to sail from San Francisco to investigate relations between capital, labor and the state in the Antipodes, when they were served with notice to return.



Taft at the White House on Wednesday, March 25:

He (the president) gave them a very pleasant interview, stating that he was for a tariff commission proposition and at least state the situation as it is today. We have most intimate ways of finding out.

Each member of the committee individually signed numbers of the "thousand letters" sent out.

Thought It a Vital Feature.

On July 21 another circular, marked "Personal and Confidential," and signed by Miles as chairman of the executive committee, reported that the president is—absolutely bent upon his program and wonderfully unyielding. I am sure he will consider the tariff commission provision in the senate bill one of the most vital features of the present revision. And the entire opposition, so far as it resists him, is in Speaker Cannon as the one opposing unit and behind him a majority of the house conferees. I am perfectly satisfied that if Speaker Cannon could name the personnel of the proposed commission he would grant it instantly, and he would undoubtedly name the sort of men he packed the conference committee with.

I am writing organizations to telegraph Taft, Aldrich, and Cannon, insisting on the senate proviso. The whole matter will be decided possibly within a couple of days, possibly three or four days, so that telegrams rather than letters should be used. If 5,000 telegrams could come quickly to Aldrich and Cannon, you may be sure that it would get the administration very much moved. The good Lord moves slowly, but this is certainly about everything else. This country is on the way more rapidly than most of us realize to a just and more helpful tariff.

Bent on Tariff Adjustment.

A letter from Miles to Mulhall, written at Racine on July 11, expressed surprise that the Iowa manufacturers not only passed the resolutions we wanted them to but another resolution expressing the desire that the president veto the tariff bill unless it has a very substantial revision downward.

On July 24 Col. Mulhall reported to Schwedman that "at a long interview I just had with Mr. Watson he has informed me that the tariff commission measure has gone through as drawn by Mr. Aldrich and himself, and submitted to Mr. Van Cleave, with the exception of the words 'and to gather information for congress'."

After the passage of the Payne-Aldrich bill containing the proviso for the commission Col. Mulhall was directed by Secretary Boudinot on July 30 to send "as quickly as possible" a memorandum showing how your salary and expenses should be divided between your regular legislative work and the work you have been doing for the tariff committee of one hundred."

Protest Against Miles.

Immediately after the passage of the tariff bill the officials of the National Association of Manufacturers began to urge the appointment of Miles and Schwedman as members of the tariff commission. Several protests against the appointment of Miles were made, including one from J. G. Battelle, president of the Columbus Iron & Steel company.

In reply to this protest Col. Mulhall wrote Mr. Battelle that in his opinion Mr. Miles "has done great injury to our organization with the leaders of both parties on the tariff question."

Schwedman in a letter to the colonel on Sept. 15 expressed his appreciation for the colonel's efforts to "secure my appointment on the tariff commission."

"At the same time," wrote Schwedman, "if I had to do it, it is likely that I would concentrate my efforts on half a dozen men of national power, such as Uncle Joe, Congressman McKinley, our friend Watson, and, above all, Senator Aldrich."

They Favored Schwedman.

The National Association of Manufacturers did not appear from the correspondence relating to the subject to be particularly concerned with the ambition of Miles to become a member of the tariff commission, but Mulhall was instructed by President Kirby to do all that he could to promote the appointment of Schwedman, who, as already stated, was secretary to the president. Kirby wrote to Col. Mulhall on Sept. 13, 1909, urging him to be more active in Schwedman's interest and inclosing a letter he (Kirby) had written to Secretary of Commerce and Labor Nagel.

Among other things Kirby described Schwedman as a "man of strong and practical common sense, a conservative protectionist, and has no 'isms' or preconceived theories to exploit. He is familiar with correct methods of making up costs and an indefatigable worker in everything he undertakes."

He urged Secretary Nagel to use his influence with the president to secure the appointment of Schwedman. This house is above all it is apparent that thousands of letters and telegrams endorsing Schwedman for a place on the tariff commission were forwarded to Washington under the accelerating influences of the National Association of Manufacturers. Schwedman personally wrote many letters to the colonel urging his appointment and portraying his capability for the place he sought. But he was not appointed a member of the tariff commission; neither was Miles.

A Confidential Circular.

On July 14 the "executive committee of the general committee of 100 for a tariff commission, representing 234 organizations," sent out a confidential circular to members of the National Association of Manufacturers. At the head of the circular appear the names of the executive committee as follows: H. E. Miles, Racine, Wis., chairman. Henry R. Towne, New York, city treasurer. Albas B. Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa. D. M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind. John Kirby, Jr., Dayton, Ohio. Charles M. Jarvis, New Britain, Conn. D. A. Tompkins, Charlotte, N. C. W. A. Harris, Lawrence, Kas. Curtis Guild Jr., Boston. James W. Van Cleave, St. Louis, Mo. (ex-officio). A. L. Goetzmann, secretary. Henry Harrison Lewis, executive secretary.

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INQUIRY ON LOBBY DELAYED IN HOUSE

(Continued from first page.)

and the clerk attest subpoenas during the recess of congress. The expenses of said inquiry shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the house upon vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee, to be immediately available."

Made "Broad as Possible."

When the resolution was presented Levy threatened to block its consideration, but was induced to desist. Chairman Henry then explained that the resolution had been "made as broad as the English language could make it" in order that there might be no failure to elicit the full truth concerning the Mulhall charges.

"I believe this resolution covers the phase of special privilege that we have been talking about in more or less nebulous form," said Representative Kelly, the Progressive member of the rules committee. The Mulhall charges, as originally published, had two principal phases that came to my mind in reading them. One is that members of congress and employees were intimidated or purchased and that committees were manipulated, either to prevent or effect the passage of legislation, and that to produce the influence certain money was spent corruptly for the nomination or election of members of congress, or their defeat for nomination or election.

Fears "Big Business" Rule.

"The second one is more important still. It is that there has been a conspiracy, a concerted attempt on the part of dishonest 'big business' in this country, to affect legislation and by spies and corruption to enter into labor organizations, and to impede any attempts they might make to pass remedial legislation, or to benefit their condition by industrial strikes."

"It seems to me that is the most important phase of it, and it is covered by this resolution. The people of the country will not be satisfied to know simply whether this National Association of Manufacturers should be classed as a not-for-profit association of manufacturers, or as a nefarious association of manufacturers. It is not so much concerned as to whether or not certain members of this congress are models of purity or monuments of putrefaction."

"It seems to me that the country at the present time desires to know whether or not there is a systematic attempt in this country to change the government which was intended to be a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, into a government of dishonest business, for dishonest business, and by dishonest business, or whether it is a government of grafters, by grafters, and for grafters. That is what the people of this country want to know at the present time, and they will rest satisfied with nothing else."

Justice Causes Social Unrest.

"The social unrest about which we hear so much in this nation and which exists in this year 1913 is due solely to injustice. It is not, due in any large degree to anarchists or disturbers without reason. It is due to the well grounded idea in the minds of the people that there has been an effort to stop progress toward social and industrial justice."

"That has been the idea for years past when people came to the halls of congress and the state legislatures and demanded something of improvement. That is the idea now, and here we have an opportunity to change the conduct of government and in the transaction of legislative business."

"I want to support this resolution with the amendments which may be necessary to carry out its intent and purpose, because it reaches that phase of it and because it will give the country the information which the country has the right to have and will at the same time give an opportunity to find a remedy which will result in the bettering of such conditions."

"It rests with the committee after it is appointed as to whether or not this investigation shall be of effective use and benefit. The committee certainly is given power in this resolution to go into these matters, to discuss them thoroughly, and present some remedy for the conditions."

Protest Made by Levy.

Representative Levy, who is opposed to any investigations at any time, then got into action.

"I am opposed to any further investigation," he said. "The honor and integrity of the membership of this house is above reproach, and we should not take any notice of the unscrupulous and designing class of men who seek to defame the members."

"The investigations of the United States Steel corporation and the money trust have been the cause of distress in the financial and business world. They have depreciated the value of securities over \$1,000,000,000. The investigations have proved conclusively that there was no just cause for the claim that a money trust existed and that the United States Steel corporation purchased the Tennessee Coal and Iron company for

no other purpose than staying the panic of 1907. Not alone have the investigations proved disastrous to the public, but they were the indirect cause of the death of the greatest banker and philanthropist in the world."

"We have an investigating committee proceeding in the senate. Why should the country be put to further expense by having the house duplicate the work?"

Fowler Wants All Included.

Representative Fowler of Illinois had an amendment adopted making certain the inclusion of former members of congress in the scope of the inquiry. He said that all the men found guilty "should be cited for contempt or for treason."

Representative Dies of Texas belittled the anxiety of members in regard to the charges. "I believe this is an honest and incorruptible body," he said. "I hope that if any member is found who has been sold by the taking of money you will ride him out of this chamber on the top of a boot. I do not doubt that members have eaten breakfast dinners given by lobbyists and that the lobbyists have immediately reported to their employers that they control such members, but I see no reason for panic every time a liar breaks into the muckraking press."

"In my talks with members I have failed to find a single one who knows this man Mulhall, and yet he reported that he had fixed members," said Representative Kahn of California.

Representative Cooper of Wisconsin made a plea for a provision against any secret hearings and Representative Ferris of Oklahoma proposed an investigation by the joint committee of house and senate.

Plea Made by Murdock.

"When President Wilson challenged the attention of the country to the existence of a lobby around the halls of a congress there was a disposition on the part of many to believe nothing would result from the charges," said Representative Murdock of Kansas, the Progressive leader. "Immediately important papers were seized showing the existence of an extensive lobby and of pernicious practices. On top of that came the Mulhall charges, purporting to show that the National Association of Manufacturers had been buying and corrupting representatives of organized labor and employing men on this floor to spy upon members."

"There also is the charge that the titular head of this house (referring to former Speaker Cannon) and the Republican whip (referring to Watson) prepared a list of members to be defeated because they would not do the bidding of the manufacturers' association. I believed long ago that this committee of this house were being manipulated against remedial legislation. I and others made a fight against it and we had to bear the consequences."

Mann Gives His Views.

Then Representative Mann obtained the floor and gave his ideas of the investigation as follows:

"I have not taken these charges so seriously as many members of the house apparently have. I do not believe there is corruption in the house. If I were to make a charge against the house of representatives, I should say that there were no corrupt men in the house, but that there was a plentiful supply of cowards."

"I do not believe that many men on the floor of the house are influenced in their votes or their action by the active lobbyists who appear in Washington, but that they are often influenced in their position and their votes by fear of what may happen to them in their districts is undoubtedly true."

"Since I have been a member of the house, I have learned to pay respect and give admiration to that member of either side who experience has taught me, did what he believed was right, regardless of what some organization or some other interest might think of it, or regardless of threats made."

Denies He Ever Met Lobby.

"I do not see any more objection to the National Manufacturers' association or the labor organization, or the anti-saloon leagues or the liquor interests, or the Christian Scientists, or the American Medical association, or the American Association for Medical Freedom, or any other association endeavoring to influence votes, for or against a member of congress in his district, and perhaps spending money for that purpose, than I do to any other political campaign, and not half as much objection to it as for a member of congress on the Chautauqua platform in another man's district to denounce that other man as unfit to be a representative in congress. I think that is rather taking an unfair advantage. I do not know how extensively that may have been done."

"Mr. Speaker, I have been a member of this house now more than sixteen years. I believe I have written more laws on the statute book than any other member of congress in this or the other house. I have had the honor to have charge of more important bills in this house than any other member of the house, and I never have met with this insidious lobby. It may be that I am too innocent, or it may be that I am too severe. It has never come in contact with me."

Biggest Lobby at Home.

"I heard talk about a great lobby when the pure food bill was under consideration. I never met the lobby in Washington. I met the cowardice of men on the floor of

this house, who, temporarily, at least, were afraid of influences in their own districts which they were led to believe through correspondence existed at home."

"I have seen this house and its members receive letters and postal cards by the thousands, perhaps the hundreds of thousands, from the most powerful lobby I ever saw in connection with the house, when the oleomargarine bill was under discussion, but that lobby was not here. The lobby was at home, and it was not an unlawful lobby, and probably not an improper lobby and not an improper influence, but men on the floor of the house when that bill was under consideration, as when many others are under consideration, told you and will tell you privately that they believed one way and proposed to vote the other way. That is only human nature. I do not undertake to criticize them."

"Mr. Speaker, I hope that this investigation will show that the American congress and its members are incorruptible and honest, filled with honor and a desire to promote the best interests of the country."

Fight Over Levy Proposal.

Representative Bryan sought to amend the resolution to provide that the committee should investigate nothing else till it had reported on the Mulhall charges. He failed, Mann asserting that the "committee would be gagged before it is born."

Then came the fight on Levy's motion to eliminate the provision for counsel.

"I am not surprised by the amendment of the gentleman from New York," said Representative Henry. "He stated at the outset that he opposed the investigation."

"Only because these investigations have run riot here," Levy rejoined. "How these lawyers are permitted to manipulate inquiries in a one-sided way was shown by Undermyer in the money trust investigation."

"Didn't that investigation show that a money trust existed?" demanded Henry. "No, it didn't," rejoined Levy. "It showed there was no money trust because the men of finance were too honorable and patriotic to use the power they possessed."

This statement was greeted by laughter throughout the chamber.

Henry Holds Counsel Vital.

"It is absolutely vital that the investigation committee should have the right to retain counsel," said Chairman Henry. "I have no man in mind for such counsel, but I do know that one is necessary. It is impossible for the members of the committee with their numerous other duties here to give all their time to such an inquiry."

"We have been hearing much about the 'invisible government' of this country and about its insidious lobbies, and the revelations concerning these matters have been published by great newspapers. There is a vast mass of material relating to the alleged operations of the National Association of Manufacturers."

"You should give this committee power to retain as counsel an expert who will take these 20,000 documents, study them closely, and search all the avenues of information opening therefrom. Only in this way will you be able to tell the people all about this 'invisible government.' And I will say to the gentleman from New York that the investigation of the money trust directed by that great lawyer, Samuel Undermyer, did more than any other agency to disclose what is known of the 'invisible government' up to date."

Representative Cox of Indiana opposed the retention of counsel on the ground of economy and because it would be a confession of the house's inability to handle the matter sufficiently competent to conduct the inquiry.

On the division Representative Mann was the only Illinois member who voted against counsel, while Stone, Tamm, Fitz Henry, and Stringer voted for counsel.

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INDIANA CHANGE POLITICAL LINE

Mulhall Exposure to Bring End to Watson's Chances as Party Leader.

YOUNG MEN IN CHARGE

Discredited Forces May Be Retained in Purely Advisory Position.

Indianapolis, Ind., July 5.—[Special.]—Mulhall exposed and the Indiana men were brought into the lobby investigation in Washington by it have been the chief topic of conversation among politicians in Indianapolis this week.

It is well understood in those days of the Watson's activities at Washington and they had understood pretty well the influences that were on his side when he made the race for governor and was defeated by Thomas R. Marshall. But the Mulhall letters furnished the vehicle for opening up the whole subject and spreading it broadcast over the court and were delightful reading to some of the political workers.

Mulhall's statement that Watson was greatly assisted in the campaign by the National Association of Manufacturers and that Watson made his campaign on a temperance platform, but that he never intended to carry out the pledges he made on the stump reveals vividly some of the incidents of the Watson campaign.

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