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PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

EIGHTEENTH AND H STREETS

E. C. OWEN,
MANAGER.

Washington, D.C.

October 22, 1919.

Dear Mr. Phillips:

I think I can get permission from Mr. Endicott to publish the letter, though if it were done I think he would want to go over it carefully. As soon as I get the time, surely before the end of the week, I will go over it carefully, (I have a copy of it here,) and submit my suggestions to him, or you might do the same. I would like to use it in the article, I think, although I don't know but it would be better just as it is. You certainly are at liberty to include the personal story. Perhaps this is the best plan : you go over the letter carefully and please see if there is anything in it that if you yourself were writing you would not think was quite good taste - you see my point. I don't want Mr. Endicott, who dictated the letter in my presence and under my questions, to be allowed to express himself in any way that might make him a little ashamed later. You see what I mean. I should say that what you ought to do is to make the best story possible out of the material you havenow and let me grub later for my article.

The Conference didn't "bust" yesterday. It is now 9 (a.m.) o'clock, and whether there is to be a funeral at 9:30 or not I don't know.* I rather think not. Don't be mislead by the newspaper accounts of the conference into thinking that the Public Group deserted Labor. The Public Group, Gary and one or two others aside, has steadily fought for the full desires of the Labor Group, but they wanted to go a little farther. They wanted an expression which would give full ~~force~~ freedom without interference from labor as at present~~ly~~ organized, to all of the fine experiments that are now going on in cooperative management. Mr. Gompers was determined that this should not be, but he lead us up until Saturday morning into supposing that our interpretation of the resolution that we had before us did include the shop council and other related experiments. We had never put any other interpretation upon the resolution. It slipped out, under questioning, that they meant to use the resolution as backing for ~~the list of~~ NO 12 of their list grievances in their fight against the Steel industry, that

*The funeral didn't come off until 5.30 p.m. It was worth waiting for! The most dramatic thing I ever saw - and disparing. Gompers is a tactician and he has overplayed his hand unless

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I am pretty mistaken, I don't know what will happen

broad

grievance, as you know, is the shop council. I, for one, would not for a moment support that contention. We did everything we could to make the resolution ~~pliable~~ enough to support it and so stand with Labor. It was the limitation which Gompers ~~caused to~~ put on the right to organization that separated us. I was quite heartbroken at the demonstration of trickiness that Gompers gave. He did just the kind of thing that I have known of being done in Standard Oil examinations. The power at the head practically forcing lesser men to lie. He made a statement before our committee yesterday afternoon that was a lie. That is, that the American Federation had never in any way antagonized the ~~public~~ shop council, and he called upon one man after another, nice, splendid men, and they all obediently lied, but everyone of them did it hesitatingly and shamed. It sickened me to the heart.

Now, this, of course is for you and because I am feeling so badly that I must get it out. It was not a fair deal. I am not concerned with how it puts us before the public, but what disheartens me is that when we tried so hard to get a liberal interpretation of collective bargaining; when we fought so hard to get them the right to bargain through representatives of their own choosing, that they should have been the ones to have tried to block the new spirit in industry. It only makes me feel that the Labor Group is just about on a par with the Employers, that they don't see what is brewing. If I come out of this thing a Bolshevist it will be Labor and not Capital that has done it. I had it out with the spirit in Capital that is represented here, long ago.

"I apologize for taking so much of your time."

I think I will try to get at the Lincoln piece at once. Callaway has not come back.

Sincerely yours,

Ida Tarbell

Mr. J. S. Phillips,
The Red Cross Magazine.

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