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On a Labor Faker's Trail

**The Shady Record
of Frank Farrington**

By

T. J. O'FLAHERTY

Price 5 Cents

Published by
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
District No. 8
166 W. Washington St., Room 303
Chicago, Illinois

 125

**THE FOLLOWING IS THE PROGRESSIVE SLATE
FOR INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS**

FOR INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

GEORGE VOYZEY, Verona, Illinois

FOR INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT

ARLEY STAPLES, Christopher, Illinois

FOR INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY TREASURER

JOE NEARING, Nova Scotia, Canada

THE FOLLOWING IS THE PROGRESSIVE SLATE

FOR OFFICERS OF DISTRICT NO. 12 U. M. W. of A.

INTERNATIONAL BOARD MEMBER

THOS. F. SCOTT, Eldorado, Ill., L. U. No. 1865

FOR PRESIDENT

JOHN W. HINDMARSH, Riverton, Ill., L. U. No. 754

FOR VICE PRESIDENT

E. B. HEWLETT, Orient, Ill., L. U. No. 303

FOR SECRETARY TREASURER

LOUIS J. CONTURIUX, West Frankfort, Ill., L. U. No. 303

FOR ARBITRATOR

WILLIAM E. WALL, Divernon, Ill., L. U. No. 146

This is not the one eared (Bill Wall) who has been on the Farrington pay roll for years and who is running for legal investigator from the Peoria district.

FOR SPECIAL ACCOUNTANTS

DAN MCGILL, Springfield, Ill., L. U. No. 731

JOE ANGELO, Springfield, Ill., L. U. No. 413

FOR LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEEMEN

OSCAR DUNNIGAN, Springfield, Ill., L. U. No. 3495

TONY SCHRAGEL, Johnson City, Ill.

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WILLIAM MCAULAY, Springfield, Ill., L. U. No. 448

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ANDY YOUNG, O'Fallon, Ill., L. U. No. 705

CHARLES R. HARRIS, Herrin, Ill., L. U. No. 1000

ON A LABOR FAKER'S TRAIL



VETERAN member of the Illinois Miners Union once informed the writer that "all the coal Frank Farrington ever dug would not keep a gas heater from freezing to death." The speaker may have used poetic license in order to emphasize that Farrington's relations with the miners of Illinois have mostly been as a bleeder of union funds and a willing ally of the coal operators in extracting as much profit as he possibly could out of the bone and sinew of the coal diggers, but it is true that his life as a coal digger was very short.

Frank Farrington is today president of the biggest single district in the United Mine Workers of America. As such he wields considerable power, which, unfortunately he uses for his own personal advantage rather than in the interests of the miners who enabled him to rise to wealth and affluence.

Under Farrington's leadership the condition of the Illinois miners have gone from bad to worse until today whether the union can outlive his wrecking regime is a question that gives rise to serious thought among the progressive elements who are trying to take control out of the hands of the boss' lackeys and make of the union a fighting instrument to serve the interests of the miners.

The purpose of the following sketch of Farrington's career is to expose him to the members of the Illinois Miners Union in his true colors so that they may have the necessary evidence at their disposal for forming an opinion as to his real character when they cast their ballots in the approaching election for the officers of District 12, for the next two years. So long as Farrington and his gang remain at the head of District 12, just so long will it be impossible for the union to make any progress or function in the interests of its members. The following brief sketch will show that Farrington started in to feather his own nest since he first joined the union and that he grew wealthy by forming a united front with the coal operators against the coal diggers.

Farrington first made his acquaintance with coal mining in Streator, Illinois. After considerable "ups and downs" he got to be secretary of Local Union 800, but in a very short time he had trouble with the union over his carelessness in handling the funds. This incident did not stagger his ambition, and shortly afterwards we find him at a sub-district convention at LaSalle, where he figured in the

proceedings by attacking the sub-district president for squandering the funds, because the official in question charged one dollar a day for hotel expense. Today, Farrington charges from four to six dollars a day while staying at home.

In 1909 Farrington ran for president of the Illinois Miners Union and was defeated. His friend, John H. Walker, ran for International President against T. L. Lewis and met the same fate. The two defeated candidates did the next best thing under the circumstances. Walker got a job for Farrington on the payroll of the Illinois State Federation of Labor while Walker was placed at the pap of the Illinois Miners Union.

It was about this time that Farrington first blossomed out as a capitalist politician. A certain Judge Hadley was placed on the unfair list by the organized workers of Collinsville, Illinois, because he issued an injunction against the miners in that region.

Farrington Defends Injunction

The injunction was issued at the request of the Lumaghi Coal Company. But Farrington issued a circular, which was published in full in The Daily Worker of October 13, defending Judge Hadley by explaining that the injunction was not against the miners who were on strike but **against the officers of other locals, restraining them from calling their men out in sympathy with their fellow workers.** Farrington had not a word of criticism of the injunction. This was his first known public appearance in the political field on behalf of his masters. But it was not his last.

In view of the attack made by Farrington on the sub-district president who charged one dollar a day for hotel expense, his own expense accounts while member of the International Executive Board will prove interesting reading.

During the year 1913 his expense account reached the grand total of \$4,018.25 while the expenses of John P. White and Frank J. Hayes combined were only \$3,953.63, or \$64.63 less than that of Farrington.

Farrington's first essay in the role of strikebreaker was in the year 1913, when he was sent to Vancouver, B. C. to take charge of a strike in that district. His headquarters were in Seattle, and it is reported that most of the money contributed by the International Union for the support of the strike never got nearer the strikers than Farrington's suite of rooms in a Seattle hotel.

There is a record of a speech delivered by this strikebreaker before a meeting of the Trades and Labor Council of Nanimo, B. C. in which he denounces the strikers for getting arrested, calling them fools for not keeping their mouths shut. His handling of the Vancouver strike, no doubt put him in the good graces of the Illinois coal operators as we find the coal barons quietly pushing Farrington on his return from Vancouver and grooming him for the position which he occupies today.

Farrington's next move in selling the miners' vote for cash was made in the year 1916, when he backed Col. Frank L. Smith, Republican banker against Frank L. Lowden, in the republican state primaries

for the gubernatorial nomination. Lowden won but Farrington was not out any, admitting before a trial committee of the miners union that he received \$1,000 in cash for endorsing the Colonel. The endorsement was made in the form of a circular which praised Smith for acquiring wealth, and also denounced his opponents, chief among them being the Thompson-Lundin-Deneen-West crowd that Farrington and his political pal John H. Walker were lined up with in the recent election.

Having violated the laws of the union in endorsing Col. Smith, Republican politician, Farrington was placed on trial at a special district convention called for that purpose. At the trial the circular letter endorsing Smith was made part of the record and also the following telegram which compelled Farrington to confess that he got the money:

"Colonel Frank L. Smith,
"LaSalle Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

"July 10, 1916"

"Ames has not yet returned report of committee on industrial relations. Need it for letter I am writing you. Nor have you fulfilled your promise made me while in Chicago week before last. It is necessary that I have remainder of amount agreed to at once so that I may go on with the work of organization.

"Frank Farrington"

Under pressure, Farrington admitted having received the money but with the aid of John H. Walker who then enjoyed the confidence of the miners of Illinois, and thru the secret manipulation of the coal operators who spent money to see that Farrington was acquitted, the master faker got away with his graft.

Proof that money was used to secure the exoneration of Farrington at the special convention, is in the testimony of one Peter Smith of Panama. The following is part of that testimony:

Purchased Support.

"They told me that Farrington's honesty had been questioned and that Farrington was to be tried in a special convention. They told me that there was money to be distributed to clear Farrington. They asked me if I was willing to make friends with Farrington. I said if a man wanted to shake hands with me I was willing to meet him half way. Then they presented a ten dollar bill to me and told me that was Farrington's money. I told them I didn't want to accept no such stuff as that but that but they said unless I would take it that I could not prove where I would be a friend of Farrington.

"The conversation had dropped for half an hour or more. Then they said that if I did not take the money, I would certainly have to fight both of them and the officers of the organization, so I accepted the ten dollars. I have the bill printed and in my record book, the number of the bill and just what the bill looked like.

"Q. It was a ten dollar bill and not a check?

"A. It was a bill."

The distribution of funds saved Farrington's neck at the special convention. But the truth is bound to leak out in the end and the miners of Illinois are now learning things about their president which should convince them that Farrington must be sent into retirement from official position in the union before the coal diggers can use their collective power effectively to better their conditions.

During the trial the information was brought out that Farrington owned much property in Alabama. The land was suitable for the growing of pecans and oranges and was located in Mobile, County. It was contracted for in 1915 but the deed was not recorded until 1916. The purchase price of the land was \$2,600, but the president of District 12, U. M. W. of A. spent \$11,900.00 more on it during the years 1916-17-18. Where did he get all the money? The miners could not understand how he could spend so much out of his salary on orange groves, besides his other expenses for automobiles and his handsome home in Springfield.

Among those who purchased orange groves from Farrington's Alabama real estate agents were several big coal operators.

How lacking in moral courage Farrington is was proved in 1910 when T. L. Lewis then International President forced him to retract certain charges made against Lewis. Farrington afterwards declared that his allegations against Lewis were true but that he retracted them at the request of John H. Walker.

Friendly With Coal Barons

That the coal operators and Farrington are on friendly terms can be seen from the action of the Peabody Coal Company on the occasion of Farrington's marriage in 1918 when the above company presented the newly married couple with a big mahogany chest of solid silver, in the name of the coal company, thru Francis S. Peabody, president. The latter was also a member of the war industries board at Washington.

Farrington is believed to be a member of the Peabody Coal Company. The above shows that he is on very friendly terms with that mammoth coal producing and selling corporation. There are other reasons which should prove to anybody's satisfaction that Farrington, if not an actual member of the concern is at least a very useful agent of the company.

During the nation-wide strike in 1922, Frank Farrington tried to make a separate agreement between District 12 and the coal operators. This action, had it been successful would have destroyed the solidarity of the strike and enabled the operators to hold out until the coal miners of Illinois had driven the miners throught the rest of the country back to work. Not only would this contemplated action of Farrington's break the strike but it would practically destroy the United Mine Workers of America.

This piece of treachery on the part of Farrington was frustrated by the progressive elements in District 12, led by the Trade Union Educational League which issued a sharp warning to the miners to fight with all their might against a separate agreement. The progressive elements made it quite clear to Farrington that they would not stand for a separate agreement and he backed down.

Farrington's main function in the Miners Union seems to be dragooning the members into agreements that give the boss the best side of the bargain. In 1917 when ballots were sent out from the secretary-treasurer's office calling a special convention to consider the Northern Illinois machine agreement, Farrington was very angry.

One day he walked into the board room of the district offices in Springfield and inquired if it was true that ballots calling for a special convention were sent out. He was answered in the affirmative. He then made the following remark: "If every God damn son of a b — — — in the organization votes for a special convention there is not going to be any called. If these God damn bastards are trying to break up the organization, I'll break it up for them myself."

There were present when this statement was made: John L. Lewis, Springfield; James Pitman, Carrier Mills, James Box, Virden; G. J. Frick, Marion and C. S. Stohlberg, Springfield.

When the miners who were tricked into this machine agreement went on strike Farrington again played the role of strikebreaker and brutally informed them that he would resort to any method to force them back into the mines.

In a letter dated Feb. 14, 1917 written to Peter Grubich, secretary of Local Union, 620, LaSalle, Illinois, Farrington threatened to revoke the charters of those locals who were on strike and that in the event of any members of the local dying inside of thirty days after the local charters were restored, their heirs would not be entitled to the \$250.00 death indemnity provided for in the district constitution.

Uses The Blacklist

The labor lieutenants of capitalism, are always willing to see the boss's side of an argument, when the latter violate wage and working agreements. But with the union members the case is different. Any technical infraction of the rules is severely punished, unless the rules are violated by the henchmen of the labor fakers. The blacklist, which is the most deadly weapon at the disposal of the employing class for use against workers who have spunk and the rebel spirit, was used by Farrington on many occasions to get rid of progressives in the ranks of the union. But never did this arch faker prove himself a greater Judas, than in 1919 during the period of the so-called outlaw strike.

When the late world war broke out in Europe in 1914, the coal industry was at a very low ebb. The war created a market for coal and production went up quickly. In 1916 the miners secured a slight wage increase. Another increase, very small, was granted in 1917. In the meantime the bosses were making millions on war contracts. The cost of everything that the miners had to buy went up. But the only commodity, they had to sell, their labor power, remained practically stationary.

When Woodrow Wilson placed his friend Dr. Henry A. Garfield in charge of the coal industry, this agent of the coal barons tied up the miners in a new contract, which introduced the "penalty clause" providing for the fining of miners who stopped work, the fines to be collected by the coal operators under threat of discipline. The agreement stipulated that if any miner entered suit against any operator.

in a civil court for the recovery of any fine collected by the operator the miners' union shall be obliged to reimburse the operator for the expenses of the litigation.

The operators were protected in every way from the coal diggers. The January, 1918, convention of the United Mine Workers meeting in Indianapolis, accepted the Washington Agreement. Dr. Garfield in the meantime secured an advance of 45 cents per ton in the price of coal.

The living costs of the year 1917 were made the basis for the 1918 wage increase and tho the living costs mounted rapidly no further increases were made until 1920.

The miners were told that it was unpatriotic to ask for higher wages while soldiers were killing Germans at the rate of thirty dollars a month. Many capitalists were working in Washington for one dollar a year! It was afterwards shown that they were really "working Washington." Charley Schwab, the millionaire steel manufacturer who worked for one dollar a year, was spending \$250,000 a month. The fat war contracts paid well.

The year 1919 witnessed a slump in the coal industry. The war was over. The coal barons had made their millions and were out for a good time. The coal diggers were left sucking their thumbs. The labor leaders looked quite prosperous. Only those who went down in the mines and dug the black diamonds had the dirty end of the deal.

President Farrington, instead of helping the miners to secure better working conditions actually took steps to prevent them drawing bonuses above the stipulated wage scale. Tho the war was ended the coal diggers found themselves tied up in a decision which said that tho the war in Europe was officially over, as far as the miners were concerned it would not be over until two years after April 1918.

The miners were unable to put up with this state of affairs any longer and the action of the coal operators and the union officials over the Mooney strike brought the rebellion of 1919 to a head.

The Mooney Strike

The story of the infamous conduct of Frank Farrington cannot be fully told in the meager space at my disposal, but if this were his only crime against the miners of Illinois and against the labor movement in general it would be enough to damn him in the eyes of all honest trade unionists.

The miners who went on strike in an effort to save Mooney from the gallows were fined by the operators and this action was sanctioned by Farrington. When the miners struck against this wrong, Farrington got his thugs busy and miners were slugged, arrested and black-listed for the crime of sticking up for their rights as workers and for a member of their class whose life was threatened by the gallows.

Farrington declared the Mooney fines were penalties for "their defiance to their accredited leaders." He authorized his official henchmen to hire scabs to break the strike.

A miners committee went to Springfield to interview Farrington. The members of the committee were slugged on Farrington's orders by

the notorious Jack Brown, a boss in the employ of the Peabody Coal Company, aided by Edward (Red) Maher and William Wall, also known as "One-Eared Wall." The latter two are candidates for the position of investigator in this election.

After the brutal slugging of the Collinsville delegation the movement for calling a special convention to kill the automatic fine clauses grew rapidly. The state policy committee issued a call for a special district convention to be held in Springfield, Illinois, Tuesday, August 19, 1919.

While the miners thruout the state had many grievances, they wanted redressed, the action of Farrington's sluggers fired their anger.

Deputy sheriffs were appointed from the ranks of the miners who remained loyal to Farrington. Gunmen and criminals of all descriptions were organized to terrorize the strikers, charters were revoked and the coal operators on Farrington's suggestion issued orders to the strikers that unless they returned to work their pobs would be forfeited. Here were the bosses and the government working hand in hand with strikebreaker Farrington.

Union Strikebreakers

It is not surprising that Farrington would consistently sell the miners votes to the government of the state of Illinois. During the stormy days of 1919, hundreds of special deputy sheriffs similar to those appointed at the request of Gary in the steel strike were appointed by the state and county officials at Farrington's request. These deputies were union strikebreakers and not paid by the county which appointed them. These deputies were paid out of the \$27,000 fund of which Farrington refused to give an itemized report until compelled to do so by the International convention.

Here was the edifying spectacle of Farrington, president of a great labor organization paying officers of a capitalist government to put the members of his own union in jail. Wives of miners were thrown in jail, some of them with babies at their breasts. The coal operators got busy and hundreds were indicted and held on heavy bail.

Then John L. Lewis came to the assistance of Farrington. According to the International Constitution of the United Mine Workers of America the International President only has the right to revoke the charters of districts, sub-districts and locals, but Lewis delegated this right to Farrington in the state of Illinois with the result that the latter revoked the charters of 24 locals and made an agreement with the coal operators that none of these who took leading part in the insurgent movement should be employed in the mines. To use Farrington's own words: "It is our understanding that the operators will not pick the ringleaders in the strike, which has crippled the mines . . . If any do get positions and are admitted to a local we intend to file charges against them and oust them from the union."

What does Farrington mean by the paragraph: "It is our understanding that the operators will not pick the ringleaders in the strike, which has crippled the mines . . ." It simply means the application of the dreaded blacklist, not only at the instigation of the boss but by

the president of the miners union acting in harmony with the coal operators. Farrington and the operators had a common ground for action against the militants in the union. The bosses know that the latter would interfere with their ability to violate contracts at will and Farrington saw in them a standing menace to his position as head of the union which enabled him to graft and sell the miners to the enemy.

The breaking of the 1919 strike cost the District treasury the sum of \$27,000 for which Farrington refused to give an account until forced to do so by the International convention. At this time Lewis and Farrington were enemies, so the International Executive Board appointed a committee to inquire into the spending of the \$27,000 and this committee recommended, after making an investigation that Farrington be compelled to show what he did with the money.

Tho Farrington denied having added a single man to the payroll on account of the 1919 strike, secretary treasurer Nesbit admitted to the Executive Board in Indianapolis, that, "I think we had on the payroll at the time between four and six hundred men who were going around denying statements those other men were making and persuading men to stay at work."

When the itemized report was finally dragged from Farrington, it was shown that the Peabody Coal Company boss, Jack Brown, now employed at Andrews, Illinois, received \$320.50, in payment for slugging the Collinsville committee on the streets of Springfield, in front of Farrington's hotel.

That slugger Jack Brown continued on intimate terms with Farrington and Fishwick, vice-president of District 12, is shown by a letter and note for \$150.00, dated Sept. 1, 1922 which coincides with the time district officers were nominated for the ensuing two year term.

Is it surprising that the funds of District 12, should be rapidly drained out while the man who is paid to look after the interests of the miners squander their money on gunmen, and agents of the coal operators?

Farrington's Machine

One of the disreputable characters appointed deputy sheriff at Farrington's request during the 1919 strike, is a person by the name of William Lee, a notorious crook and embezzler. Lee and a gentleman named Bogue another one of Farrington's henchman stole \$2,500 from the union for burying men who are still living. At that time the district paid a burial fee of \$250.00. This man Lee was one of the sluggers and gatmen of the Farrington machine during the "outlaw" strike. He was arrested in Bellville and searched. Among the interesting articles found on his person, were a gun, a sheriff's badge, and a fake death claim from the district for \$250.00, which he had just collected in Farrington's office before he went out slugging the strikers.

Lee and Bogue were arrested for embezzlement but they were released by Farrington's flunkey, Steve Sullivan, who was Farrington's board member from Springfield. Bogue threatened to tell who made it possible for him to collect on men, who were not dead, unless he was released. He is in Springfield yet and was never compelled to cough up a nickel.

Another henchman of Farrington's, one Dominick Tenesky, collected \$1,400 thru the same method and when exposed by Freeman Thompson and John Watt of the Springfield sub-district, he blew into Farrington's office and then took to his heels. He is now in Chicago.

These are only a few instances of the manner in which Farrington holds his power by the use of money, the support of the coal operators and of the lower order of crooks, like Jack Brown, Lee and the rest of that fraternity.

Farrington's about-face in the case of Alexander Howat is one of the most disgraceful incidents in his career. The Howat case is well known to the coal miners in general and to the Illinois miners in particular. While Howat was in jail for defying the notorious Kansas Industrial Court Law, the most useful ally of the Kansas coal operators who were fighting Howat was John L. Lewis who had Howat and his district committee expelled for fighting Governor Allen. Farrington was fighting Lewis at this time and took advantage of the Howat case to make things harder for his foe. He afterwards proved that he never had any interest in the Howat fight for the sake of principle.

It is interesting in view of the relations between Farrington and John L. Lewis today, to read what the former had to say of the latter as recently as the year 1922. At a special convention of District 2, Oklahoma, held in Muskogee, on May 15, 1922, Farrington defended Howat and made a most bitter attack on John L. Lewis. Space prohibits more than a few choice excerpts from this speech. President Wilkinson of the Oklahoma district, charged Farrington with being a disrupter, a charge so frequently levelled today by the labor fakers against the progressives in all the unions. Here is Farrington's reply: "My friends I confess here now, before you that if John L. Lewis is the International Union, of the United Mine Workers of America, then the charge made by Wilkinson is true!"

Again Farrington said: "I am not trying to destroy the International Union, but am trying to destroy John L. Lewis, the man who is doing more to destroy the United Mine Workers of America, than any other man I know of. . . and he will not have my support as long as he is using the power of his position to crucify men who won't jump thru the hoop every time he snaps his fingers and tells them to do it."

Forgot His Pledge

Farrington no doubt had forgotten this pledge when he aided Lewis at the last convention in Indianapolis in crucifying Howat even tho every delegrate from District 12, except the payroll brigade were solidly behind the Kansas miner. Farrington was appointed by Lewis, chairman of the scale committee. Even at that Howat thought he could not sink so low as to go back on him after his many promises, but he did.

The retraction made by Farrington of statements he made against J. L. Lewis in 1910, was used by John L. Lewis to show that Farrington's word did not mean anything. Referring to this, Farrington said that he knew the retraction was not true, but that his original statements were true, and that he signed the retraction for particular reasons.

Later in the same speech Farrington admitted making a retraction of his charges against T. L. Lewis on the request of John H. Walker.

"I could say that you should support the Kansas Mine Workers," said Farrington, "because I proved that three of John L. Lewis' brothers were nothing but petty larceny thieves; I did that. They were all members of the Panama local union and for years they were engaged in the profitable, but unwholesome pastime of systematically looting the Panama local union, and it became my duty as president of that district to send auditors into that local union to find out what was going on, and they made their investigation and their audit, and their audit developed the fact that three of John's brothers had been systematically looting the local treasury for a number of years, and that they and others that were employed in it had succeeded in doing so to the extent of something over \$3,000.

"And, as president of that district, it became my duty to force them to make restitution to that local union. And I did it and from that day to this John has not liked me very well.

"I don't mind telling you this, too, that there are lots of men in the Panama local union who believe that John's brothers were simply operating under the scheme that John himself established when he was the power in that local union, and before he became your president. . . . I might say this, too, that there seems to be some evidence that the trait runs in the family, because just as soon as John became president of our International he appropriated for himself 30 per cent more salary than he was entitled to under the law.

". . . I am telling you these things in order that you may know that there cannot be any peace or harmony between John L. Lewis and myself, because John L. Lewis has an undying hatred in his heart for the president of the Illinois miners, because it became my duty to expose and to bring to account his three brothers who were systematically looting the Panama local and he has never forgiven me for it and I don't suppose he ever will."

Those were harsh words indeed for one official of the U. M. W. of A. to say of another. No charge made by the progressive miners against John L. Lewis are more serious than those made against Lewis by Farrington. Yet these two labor agents of the coal operators and the Republican Party have found it possible to bury the hatchet in the body of the United Mine Workers of America, which is now bleeding to death over the wounds inflicted on it by these two capitalists' executioners.

Farrington and Lester

During the 1922 strike, several strikebreakers lost their lives in Williamson County. These scabs were employed by William J. Lester who secured a permit from Farrington to remove dirt off his strip mine. Lester was not satisfied with digging dirt; he began digging coal and the scabs armed to the teeth defied the miners and went around the county insulting people. What happened to them is history.

John L. Lewis, president of the U. M. W. of A., charged Farrington with having received a round sum of money from Lester for the permit. He made other charges against Farrington according to a

statement by board member Dobbins to Farrington. The result of these charges was an interesting correspondence between Lewis and Farrington. Only the substance of this correspondence can be given here.

Under date of Nov. 2, 1922, Farrington wrote to Lewis, stating that he was informed by board member Dobbins, that Lewis informed the executive board that things in Illinois were corrupt and that a compact had been entered into between Farrington and Fishwick and William J. Lester for the operation of the latter's strip mine during the strike. Lewis also charged according to Farrington's letter that the go-between in the deal was Robert M. Medill, Director of the Department of Mines and Minerals in Illinois, and that the money was split three ways.

In reply Lewis states "that Mr. Dobbins' memory is somewhat inaccurate" and expressed his willingness to discuss the matter at issue personally with Farrington.

Serious Charges

This evasive reply nettled the latter who replied at great length, winding up by saying that Lewis "had descended to the level of a louse." Among the charges made by Farrington against Lewis, which he qualified to protect himself are:

First: That Lewis got money from the Kansas operators for his fight against Alexander Howat.

Second: That Lewis had agreed with the coal operators for a reduction in wages and that in order to escape responsibility, he decided to call a strike, which should continue until the members of the union called for a settlement even at a reduction in wages.

Third: That Lewis and others collected \$100,000 from the operators in Kentucky for permission to operate during the strike.

Fourth: That instead of borrowing \$100,000 from the Harriman Bank of New York Lewis got \$750,000 and that three members of the directorate of that bank are operating non-union mines in the Pennsylvania fields and that the \$650,000 which the public never heard of was kept by Lewis and his associates on the understanding that the support of the union would be withdrawn from the striking mine-workers in the non-union coal fields of Pennsylvania.

Farrington concludes:

"Furthermore, considering the fact that you waited until October before levying a special assessment, which could not be collected until the month of November, and this in face of the fact that the striking mine workers in Pennsylvania had been sending out pitiable nation wide appeals for financial assistance even since the general strike was settled during the month of August, and taking into account the fact that Wall Street Banks are not noted for their union sympathies, the average individual would conclude, (taking circumstantial evidence into consideration,) that there must be some truth in the story and that you were deliberately conspiring to starve these men in submission."

The two labor fakers realized that they were not in a position to continue this game of exposing each other any longer so they decided to bury the hatchet.

The progress made by the progressive elements in the trade union movement, under the leadership of William Z. Foster and the Trade Union Educational League was responsible for a tightening of their lines by the reactionaries thruout the country. This was done systematically. Central labor councils that were in the habit of passing progressive resolutions were called to account and warned to stop such activities on pain of having their charters lifted.

The personal feud between Frank Farrington and John L. Lewis was a source of danger to the reign of the reactionaries in the United Mine Workers of America. Thru intermediaries, both agreed to fight the radicals and conveniently forget the nasty things they had been saying about each other.

Farrington suddenly discovered that the progressives were enemies of the union despite a letter he wrote under date of May 5, 1923, complimenting the progressives on the work they were doing in cleaning up the corruption in the union. In that letter he also praised Alexander Howat as a loyal union man, saying that his association with the Progressive Miners Committee was because he saw in that effort "the only way he can secure justice for himself and the Kansas mine workers."

Yet sixteen days after Farrington wrote this letter we find him writing to John L. Lewis proposing a conference to smooth out the differences between them so that both could put up a united front against the so-called enemies of the union. Farrington's long letter brought a reply from Lewis and the two got together. When thieves fall out it's "not so bad" for honest people, but when crooks get together those who have watches had better keep a tight hold on them.

The result of the deal between the two fakers was, that both stopped calling each other fancy names and settled down to cleaning upon the progressive movement inside the union. Farrington was willing that Lewis should have Howat's head, and Lewis lost all interest in compelling Farrington to account for the \$2,000,000 Herrin assessment and his many gross violations of the union law.

On June second of the same year Farrington wrote a letter to a member of the union in which he washed his hands off Howat and declared that Alex had "joined forces with the enemies of the union," and at the Indianapolis convention of the U. M. W. of A. in January 1924, Farrington joined with Lewis in refusing Howat a hearing, tho the convention by a two thirds vote went on record for the Kansas mine leader.

Ousting of MacDonald

Farrington's latest act in his campaign of disruption was to compel local 448 of Springfield to drop Duncan MacDonald from membership. MacDonald was formerly secretary-treasurer of the Illinois Miners Union and his loyalty to the interests of the coal diggers won for him the bitter enmity of the operators. With the aid of Sam Gompers and John P. White, former president of the United Mine Workers of America, Farrington succeeded in getting rid of MacDonald and putting his rubber stamp Walter Nesbit in his place.

The ostensible reason for the action against MacDonald was the latter's failure to pay the Herrin assessment. As the records show,

MacDonald paid all dues and assessments required of him by the secretary of the local, who admitted it was his fault that MacDonald did not pay the Herrin assessment and offered to pay it himself. Farrington however wanted to get rid of MacDonald and he compelled the local to drop him. The full story of the arch-fakers quarrel with MacDonald is given fully in The Daily Worker of October 31.

The progressive miners of District 12, are now calling for a Special District convention to take up the matter of Duncan MacDonald's expulsion and other problems that affect their interests, which Farrington so brazenly ignores.

The deal between Farrington and the notorious governor Len Small, who has just been called on by master in chancery Briggie of Sangamon County to tell what happened to the millions he took from the treasury of the state of Illinois, while he was treasurer, is a public matter. Small made the mistake of stealing from the capitalists, instead of confining himself solely to robbing the workers as the so-called reform capitalists are doing. Small belongs to the semi-underworld of capitalism and the labor fakers are his allies. They are both the enemies of the workers and it is to be hoped that in the forthcoming election in the Illinois Miners Union, the coal diggers will get rid of the faker Farrington and his henchman.

All the power of the coal operators, the Len Small political machine and the Farrington payrollers will be used against them, but if they exert themselves there is no doubt but they can win.

The problem confronting the Illinois workers is similar to that facing the members of practically every union in America. Most of the labor leaders are now bound with a golden rope to the capitalists. The Trade Union Educational League shows the way, the progressives must follow if they are to rid the union of the labor fakers, the agents of the bosses.

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