

That malice and revenge would play a prominent part in the campaign to capture the Circuit court became evident early, for Lundin in lordly fashion delivered to Judge Kichham Scanlan the dictum: "Go and rent a law office; we're going to drive you off the bench!" This in reprisal for the action of Judge Scanlan in sentencing six members of the Lundin school board to jail for violating his famous injunction against the removal of Superintendent of Schools Chadsey. It will be recalled that the sentences were sustained and the school trustees served them in spite of Gov. Len Small's attempt to nullify the court's power to punish for contempt by abuse of the pardon power of the executive.

Every Coalition Judge Elected.

The result of the remarkable "coalition" campaign conducted by the Chicago Bar association behind the democratic judicial ticket on which Judge Scanlan and the seven other "refugees" from the republican ticket had been given places is too well known to call forth comment from me at this time. The public—half a million strong—arose to repudiate "the ring" and triumphantly elected every coalition judge.

The immediate result of the crushing defeat of this raid on the judiciary by a "ring" of spoils politicians was the desertion of Lundin and Thompson within a few months by their principal prop—the state's attorney.

Then—and only after a new alliance had been made between the state's attorney and the political machine headed by the attorney-general of Illinois—was it revealed through the grand-jury investigation—forced by a newspaper expose of school-board scandals—to what depths had conditions in public office and affairs declined.

Rule of the "ring"—the vast, vicious spoils system that was the Thompson-Lundin "organization"—has left an indelible impress on civic affairs in Chicago. It will not be eradicated if a fair-minded but uninformed public opin-

ion is to be fooled by freebooters who betray their trust and brazenly begin the fight to restore "the ring" under cover of the cry of "political persecution."

"Thompson of To-Day a Tragedy."

Until now I have purposely refrained throughout twelve months of my term as chief justice of the Criminal court from mentioning the man who shares responsibility for the decline of decency in public affairs in Chicago—ex-Mayor William Hale Thompson. To those who knew the boyish "big Bill" of yachting fame before he fell under the sinister spell of the Svengali of Chicago politics, the Thompson of to-day is a tragedy.

Bewildered by the fall of his house of cards, he fled from the fool's paradise in which as mayor of the second city of the nation he had sat for seven years of his two terms in office, unsuspecting the things that were being done in his name, parroting the pet phrases which he proudly put forth as "my platform," lending a name once honored in Chicago to the most shameless set of spoliemen the city has ever known.

And now he is back sounding the same old shopworn claptrap of his former companions: "Five-cent fares," "the trust press," "political persecution," "the plain people," ad infinitum. His discredited machine—which was never really his—has been broken up and all the elements of discontent, the racial groups on whose hatreds and prejudices Lundin depended to win elections, have lost their faith in his leadership.

Does the fatuous friendship of the few followers who remain unassimilated by the other factions of his party suffice to convince him that he can "come back" despite the disgrace his administration brought upon him and his public record?

It is to aid in averting any such calamity that I have undertaken to tell the truth to the public about these things.

The Partnership Between Politics and Crime.

ARTICLE IV.

There is nothing of the nonpartisan in my nature. The name implies an

indifference to positive principles either in politics or in some one of the other actualities of life.

Your true nonpartisan is the professional politician interested only in the realities of "the game"—and the greatest of these is: "Get 'em where you can—a vote is a vote." Also to "the organization" it is "the people who always vote—early and often"—who count in the civic scheme.

That is dictum which has come out of the development of "the organization" in politics to a degree that ceases a vast, unorganized majority of the public, divided between two parties, when an attempt is made to wrest control of the machinery of government from a mobile minority well organized, energetic and efficient.

Therein lies the reason why the red reign of murder, robbery and burglary in Chicago each winter recurs with the regularity of the first frost. The genesis of the crime wave goes back of generic causes, such as poverty and unemployment, and is to be found in the dangerously tolerant attitude of the public toward an open alliance with organized criminality by professional politicians.

Nothing Puzzling in Phenomena.

There is nothing to puzzle one in the phenomena of politics which makers and breakers of the law have brought about through partnership in the processes by which public officials are chosen.

We have been brewing a bad mess of moral conditions in Chicago during the last decade and the body of the brew was to be found in the shameless state of affairs in both branches of the political superstructure which government in the state, county and city has had to carry.

Manifestations are many that there are licensed lawbreakers in either party whose contempt for the courts, the police and public opinion is the most natural of reactions to the ring-rule of spoilsmen. "Patronage" is an elastic term and in the lexicon of the lawless it means much more than mere "jobs," juicy morsels from the "pie counter" where public contracts are "cut" and inside information as to "sugar"—the legitimate little brother to boodle among predatory politicians.

In certain sections of Chicago there are captains of corrupt politics, stalwarts of the ward organizations, who hold no "jobs" and want none, seek no contracts, nurse no ambitions to hold public office, yet continue to deliver the

votes of vicious elements which always pack the polls. These are no altruistic gentry interested in the success of "the party," but the seekers of "privileges" for which police "protection" must be provided.

Who is there in a police department persistently prostituted to the purposes of bad black and worse white politicians, bold enough to dispute the demands of gunmen, gangsters and grafters whose grip on government is so strong that criminals are the companions of county central committeemen and the confidants of party chieftains close to high police officials, prosecutors and other law enforcers?

The partnership between politics and crime begins with the seizure of a city such as Chicago by bosses who have risen to power in their party on the backs of "the boys" in the bad lands of a town that has been the dumping ground for criminals of all classes from all over the country. In a police department at the mercy of these bosses what is the result?

Profits Defy Calculating Powers.

The profits from "privileges" in protected gambling houses and bookmaking, bootlegging and beer-running, slot machines and sporting houses, dope peddling and degeneracy are so enormous as to defy the calculating powers of any one but a downtown politician. Police "protection"—that other elastic euphemism—is parceled out to syndicates which contract to deliver a percentage of the profits of each illicit enterprise to the designated "coin box" in each district, and all of their "influence" to the organization whose political partners they are so long as the status quo continues.

Sold into slavery to those sinister influences that determine elections in doubtful territory, the police are in a state of semiparalysis from which they never completely recover, even during the "drives" that public decency compels at periods when the vice lords get too greedy, the booze and beer runners too bold or belligerent and the crime camorras too contemptuous of both police and public opinion. It is a great and pervasive power that has given a pernicious partnership its grip on government.

Scandals shake the city with such regularity that the readers of newspapers are apathetic as to the current cause—indifferent as to the basic bond beneath it all, an alliance between predatory politics and professional crime that reaches into every quarter of com-

munity life. The police department is the perennial "goat" for what goes on behind the back-room doors of the bosses at whose beck and call is the commander in every district where the partners of crime prey on the public.

Prohibition Not Primary Cause.

Prohibition is not a primary crime cause—scarcely a secondary one. Although it has been said that the Volstead law has put a premium on official corruption, provided occupations for the most vicious kind of citizens and made us a nation of law evaders, bootlegging, beer running, moonshining and other minor manifestations are merely phases of a contributing condition.

Beer-running, for instance, as one keen editorial writer puts it, "is the froth—the body of the brew is crime and criminal politics." But behind the beer-running, the bootlegging, the bookmaking and other enterprises of the licensed lawbreakers whose insolence and contempt for even so powerful a personage and so determined a character as the present mayor of Chicago recently drove the Dever administration into a death grapple with them, is that nonpartisan partnership which perpetuates itself from election to election.

A town turned over to the gunmen as a hunting preserve when there is an armed truce among rival gangsters and as a battleground for bloody vendettas when the bad brew of brothels and bootleg, beer-running and banditry boils over! "Big money" flows from "privileges" parceled out to combinations which cinch their claim to monopoly in their particular police precinct or district behind the sawed-off shotguns of their home-guard gunmen.

An army of policemen patrols the city of Chicago—but an army in which the rank and file have no more hope of surviving a system that was "here before I came and'll be here when I go" than the last draft of German soldiers had of coming out of the trenches. The trenches of protected privilege have been dug throughout a department in which the personnel is the most "political" of any branch of public service.

90 Per Cent of Police Helpless.

No one who remembers my record as the minority member of the civil-service commission in the Busse administration or the two grand-jury investiga-

tions of commercialized vice last winter will assign to me an apologist's role with relation to the Chicago police department. Neither have my two terms in the Criminal court made me the favorite speaker at social affairs of policemen's organizations. But I say in all seriousness that 90 per cent of the plain policemen of Chicago are as helpless as the public itself in any case where professional crime and corrupt politics have "interests" and the upper hand.

It is a short step from police headquarters to political headquarters in any administration, but an even shorter one for the gangster in a protected "racket" to turn bandit, burglar and kindred killer when his political "boss" and patron goes out of power and "protection" by the police for his sanctioned activities is withdrawn.

The leaning tower of loot and license that toppled under the last administration was too vast an edifice of corruption and too firmly based on an unchanging bottom bed of politics to remain a complete ruin longer than it takes to pacify public opinion and rebuild on a damaged but not entirely destroyed foundation. No contracts need be let and no lawyers are necessary to a new alliance between potential partners among the powers that be and Crime, Ltd.

Limited—it must be remembered only by the power of the partnership in each case and the pressure of public opinion which should at last be sufficiently awakened and aroused to the scent of those that have for years kept alive conditions that made Chicago "the crime capital" of the country. It is entirely true that a community in which law-abiding citizens are an overwhelming majority gets the government of kind and character that it desires—or deserves.

Change Line Rather than Quit.

Breaking up beer-running or bootlegging will not curb crime in Chicago if there are other illicit enterprises to which criminals can turn their talents with assurance of protection from political partners.

Behind the blazing automatics of the beer-runners and through a maze of murder, bomb planting, blackmail of business, bribery of public officials, juries and witnesses, robbery of the mail and race riots runs the red thread of the partnership between politics and crime back beyond the labor wars to the days of the old "red light" district.

Gray ghosts of the pioneers in a partnership that at present imperils anything good in government haunt the half-world in which a "Big Jim" Colosimo once was king. Life is cheap—even their own lives—to the gunmen who fight their foolish vendettas out on crowded streets and enshroud their motives in silence as sinister as the shadows in which death always lurks.

Seen in Dever Administration.

With hardly four months of a four-year administration gone by Mayor Dever has found the reptiles raising their heads in his administration and already the rallying cry that he will "ruin the party" is resounding through the rank and file of the democracy which was to be "delivered" by the powerful few who rule by fear and "patronage." Numerically they are a minority discredited and distrusted by the decent element of the party which escaped the corrupting influences of eight years, but come to power by combinations and conspiracies that cannot stand the light of day.

Fortunate it is for Chicago that a man is at the head of the house who has determined to destroy a paralyzing partnership between politics and crime

and realizes there must be no turn back in a war once begun which must win! And if he fights the fight for decency and fails, what then?

Gunmen will play their grim game blindman's buff with the police, robbers will roam the streets of the city with whip of winter driving them on to desperate deeds, boy bandits will car about Cook county in stolen automobiles carrying potential murder in their hands and hearts, and the crime wave will be on again with fearsome fury. Unless the calendars of the Criminal Code can be kept cleared, the police pushed into enforcement of all law and protected by the mayor and a public opinion that is not permitted to die down against reprisals.

Criminals, curiously enough, are more sensitive to an aroused public sentiment than are either police or politicians. They are quickest to fly to cover when "the town's on a riot." Shrewd students of psychology, they have "the feel things" that tells them that no professional politician or set of them can come out into the sunlight and admit alliances with the very men they have "fronted" for in court. "The boys" whom they provide alibis, habeas corpus writs, character witnesses, prepare for probation, pardons and paroles.

Incubators of Crime.

ARTICLE V.

The system of spoils politics, subsidized by professional crime, could never outlive its infancy were it not for those incubators of infamy in which we have been breeding the boy bandit, the baby burglar, the youthful embezzler, bootlegger, gunman, gangster, blackmailer and bawd. With it goes the damnable doctrine that the city must not be "defamed" by crying out against the businesses that break hearts, minds and bodies and are the cradles of crimes against public health, morals and decency.

Conceivably one could keep cool and judicial even though confronted by civic sores that have festered for the last few years, if he were certain that there is only one opinion in the community as to the necessity of cleaning out the city cesspools. But when we find that commercialized vice, open gambling and conditions contributing to juvenile delinquency have their public defenders as well as political protectors a public official

who could keep calmly quiet and craven.

In the consideration of crime causes and effects it is difficult to shock whose daily diet for several years has been the destructive and degenerate fruits to be found in the results of recruiting to ranks of crime and scarlet sisterhood. It has been more difficult to shock the complacency of a community into a realization underneath the surface of a prudish policy of "The less-said-the-better" there were "rats at the foundation" and revolting rottenness.

Any analysis of the cause of crime which ignores the shielding of the public against unpleasant subjects such as protected prostitution, the dens of the worst elements of white and black race mingle, degraded dance halls, law-breaking saloons is as stupid as a policy of law enforcement indifference to these things. Yet where there has been impatience there was indifference to things that make criminals faster than they can be caught.