

incriminate themselves."

The repeated refusal of both Driscoll and Spain were brought to the attention of the court in the form of citations for contempt. The same questions were repeated to the men in open court and brought the same reply: "I refuse to answer on the ground that anything I might say will tend to incriminate me."

They were sentenced to the county jail for what this court construed to be contempt, and in consequence denied stays of sentence pending appeal. Orders granting them "immunity" from prosecution for bribery that might have been justified by the testimony they were asked to give were entered, but these men of family, leaders of an organization whose members had every claim to respectability and responsibility as citizens, still refused to answer

on the ground that they would incriminate themselves by testifying to anything connected with "The Silver Teapot."

Why? And what was the influence so powerful as to prevent one of the men from following his own inherent desire to avoid disgrace by telling the truth about this and the other thing he had learned of the crime against the school children?

It is difficult for me to say at this time and in so many words without divulging the things that only the grand jurors and the public prosecutor Cook county know of the working of that "influence." However, there remains much to be told of things that are not grand jury "secrets" and shall tell them in the hope that an intelligent public will read between the lines.

The Business of Boodling.

ARTICLE XI.

Out from under the lash of Lundinism—an eight-year regime that recognized illicit enterprises as "patronage" and "The Business of Boodling" as an infant industry to be nursed along and protected against "persecution"—have only recently come the thousands of Chicago business men who realize that any return to a civic condition that grew from the greed of grafting politicians would be intolerable.

Driven to dishonesty by the demands of corruptionists who held public office only these thousands of commercial interests that were made to pay for the "privilege" of bidding for public business can calculate the damage to legitimate industries done by those who were "at the feed-box."

It is an astounding state of affairs that ended last May—astounding even to one on the "inside" of a special grand jury investigation which revealed to what lengths the alliance between loot and license had gone.

Old established businesses which dealt in coal, construction materials, printing for public offices, stationery, furniture, fire department apparatus, paving, insurance on public projects and buildings, street lighting equipment and school supplies had a "Hobson's choice" presented to them if they intended to remain in business. They had either to be starved out of business

by the camouflaged "competitive bidding" by which crooked contractors who had "seen somebody" got the "fat" contracts or "see somebody" themselves.

The result of this condition, revealed in the first instance by the school-graduate phase of the special grand jury inquiry of more than a year, was to stagnate legitimate lines of business in some cases and to enforce compliance with the conditions of a crooked "game" on others.

Particularly was this true of the parceling out of contracts for millions of dollars' worth of school supplies and construction contracts annually. Firms and individuals with businesses built on integrity and experience, found themselves "competing" with the dozens of "dummy" concerns organized by the friends and relatives of members of the board of education headed by Edwin Davis, as president, and Albert H. Severinghaus as first mate—or vice-president.

Concerns in Davis' Office.

It was developed during the school scandal inquiry precedent to the return of numerous indictments against David Severinghaus, et al., that in the downtown office occupied by the president of the board of education were at least three and possibly more of the contracting and supply "concerns" which did tremendous business with the manag-

ment of the school system—though they were not listed in the telephone directory, were not incorporated and were unknown to legitimate business men who bid against them.

Consider the case of Davis, the suave, smiling "little fellow" who gently gavelled through the proceedings of the board of education an official approval for the awarding of many millions of dollars' worth of contracts to "the right fellows" who had the "O. K. of 72 West Randolph street."

Consider the case and character of Mortimer B. Flynn, politician, promoter and proprietor of the Pottinger-Flynn Coal company. "Old King Coal of the city hall," he was called after an accommodating city council finance committee had created a monopoly for his concern in the furnishing of fuel to the municipality through the passage of an ordinance wherein he was awarded sole and exclusive rights to the "city hall business," including the profitable business at the pumping stations of the water works.

That "Old King Coal" Flynn had his "fiddlers three" among city officials and council members, his pied pipers among understrappers of the rat-ridden city administration and the "paid pipers" among politicians in my own party who endeavored to save him from going before the grand jury with all his books, records, account books and receipts for "campaign contributions" may be stated with certitude and without divulging a single jury secret.

Operates Through the Titzels.

Edwin S. Davis may be disposed of in a paragraph or two, although the record of proceedings of the special graft grand jury wasted a great deal of white paper on the petty "promotions" and pursuits of this most insignificant figure in that iniquitous board of education, through his nephews, the Titzels.

In many matters that came before the jury and in several quizzings of this queer little character—described in a quotation from Fred Lundin by School Trustee Hart Hanson as "a nice little fellow who'll do what he's told"—there was only one or maybe two major misdeeds credited to him. True, he was indicted four or five times on charges of accepting a "rakeoff" of 50 cents a ton for coal purchased from the Chest Creek Coal company and the Charles Coal company and for conspiracy to defraud the school system of which he was the head by engineering the deal whereby "The Fitzgerald Boiler Works"

obtained \$244,000 for surplus shipping board boilers, yet his was a petty part in the whole rotten affair, notwithstanding his prominence as president.

Some of the Concerns.

In the City Hall Square building of offices occupied by Davis were his kinsmen, Vance and Walter R. Titzel, "Andy" Metzger, south side ward committeeman for Lundin and head of "the Acme Steam Heating and Ventilating company," monopolists of school plumbing and heating contracts. There too was "the Fitzgerald Boiler Works," composed of "Charley" Ward, attorney and a main cog in the Thompson-Lundin machine for "making politics pay," and Thomas Fitzgerald, former school trustee and head of the firm that "never had a bank account" until it sold to the school board at a fancy figure boilers discarded by the shipping board. The boilers were bought on the recommendation of Edwin S. Davis, "the nice little fellow who did what he was told."

From there "the Inter-state Electric," the "Apex Supply company," the "Acme S. H. & V. Co."—the "Aetna company" and presumably others, operated as channels through which thousands of dollars were diverted from responsible bidders for board of education business who complied with scrupulous care to every condition of the school business manager's "specifications." To such "dummy" concerns that could not be found on any tax-assessor's list—or anywhere else except in the desk room of an obscure downtown office—went "the business," often without even the formality of submitting bids.

There are many instances of the manner in which "favored" bidders were permitted to bag the business in stationery, office supplies, insurance, construction and repairs, furniture, electrical equipment, phonographs, fuel, food and the myriad money-producing requirements of the school system.

Too Big for Concise Description.

It would be impossible to cover even the outstanding examples of the relation of the business of boodling to the business management of the board of education in any such concise form as is required in an article of this kind. As well attempt to confine "the charge of the light brigade" within the width of a kodak focus.

A broad canvas is required to represent in the proper perspective the things that have truthfully been

charged to "the boodle brigade" of that board of education dominated by the Davis-Severinghaus "solid six." There was a rule of ruin and rottenness—the results of which within the educational system we have already remarked upon and which received the only rebuke the grand jury had any power to administer—the return of forty or more indictments charging conspiracies to defraud the public and the school funds in various ways.

To particularize as to any and not at the same time as to all is to be unfair to the public and perhaps to individuals thus singled out from their seats among the conscienceless crew who collectively deserve no consideration even from one who wishes to be as impersonal as possible.

Some Revelations of Inquiry.

Incidents that this inquiry revealed to the court and the public were the sale of the surplus shipping-board boilers, "the phonograph deal" of the Hiawatha company headed by State Commerce Commissioner P. H. Moynihan; "the six skinny cows" sent to the parental school, as milk producers for the 300 little truants confined there; the stationery and school supply contracts between the board and Davis' nephews; the tearing out of expensive plumbing in school buildings to "make work" for Metzger's "steam heating and ventilating company"; the sale of coal in certain districts to the schools by certain firms who made contributions of 50 cents a ton to board officials; the "sale" of buildings on school property by Bither, the attorney for that board, and the "splitting" of the rents collected from tenants who continued to live in them for two years after they had sold them as additions to the Forrestville and Wendell Phillips schools.

These are a few of the things that recall themselves without reference to any record and they are things that impressed themselves so strongly as to arouse the public to turn those responsible out of the schools—yet they are all incidental and symptomatic of the general condition in civic affairs—that is cancer.

Flynn Sold Without Bidding.

The case of Mortimer B. Flynn, the millionaire coal merchant who on one occasion sold 100,000 tons of fuel to the school system without any bid being asked or given, is more important and more illuminative of the business of boodling because of the magnitude of his operations in schools and city hall

and because, for his benefit, competitive bidding as a basis for awarding public fuel contracts was made not merely difficult and distasteful but impossible under the Thompson-Lundin administration.

In Flynn's case also there were things revealed in open court that would have been difficult to divulge had he not stood out so long in defiance of the grand jury and the court's orders to testify to the payments of money made by him to "Doc" William H. Reid, to the "campaign funds" of the Lundin organization and its representatives in office—pre-eminently the public prosecutor of Cook county who was even then represented before the jury.

Reid, the commissioner of public service in Mayor Thompson's cabinet, an office necessarily influential in its relation to the utility companies, at first denied—then reluctantly admitted—the receipt of \$23,000 from Flynn. He it was who appeared for "Old King Coal" before the city council finance committee, of which former Ald. John A. Richert had been chairman for many years, and recommended the ordinance under which all coal contracts for the city be awarded to Flynn and that in the event of the latter's inability to fill any portion of the city's fuel requirements—then was Flynn himself to designate to whom "the business" should be given.

Plan Put Through Council.

Under the terms of that ordinance as drafted in committee complete control of the city's coal business was given Flynn—and it was enacted by the city council which always "went along with the mayor" or his friends when public clamor was silent.

It was this and other things that "Old King Coal" and his fiddlers there fought for months to keep from the grand jury and the public and which made him a fugitive from process servers while every ounce of political pressure was brought to bear to keep the lid on "city hall coal."

Coal as a subject of inquiry by the special grand jury has by no means been exhausted as this is written—and for that reason I shall leave unsaid for the present the other things that should be said about the "influence" that made "Mort" Flynn the blustering, bragging "bad boy" of the coal business in Chicago—at best a business in which there are too many of his type. There is a challenge to be con yed in what has been said and a warning to those who think they fooled the public, the court

and the grand jury as to the reasons behind the reign of "Old King Coal" in the city hall.

The business men who have been "driven to dishonesty" in the "seeing-somebody" manner, which was the only method of "breaking in" at all, will understand what is meant when I say without fear of contradiction that Flynn "saw everybody" who had business to give—and later, when the long arm of a grand jury was reaching out, everybody else, who was to be "seen," in an effort to stop investigation.

The important thing is that he finally did "see" the special graft grand jury and in three hours of "talking" told something.

Many Corporations Had "In."

There were many "Mort" Flynn's and "Mike" White's and corpulent corporations, such as "Adams-Beatty-Francois" and each had his Reid, his Rohm, his Lundin or his Faherty to furnish the "in" by which other business-man competitors were barred from such competition as existed at all for public business. There is a "boodle" indictment now pending against officials of the White Paving company, and the ex-president of the board of local improvements charging "double-payment" to the former on orders of the latter for work on the boulevard link bridge.

There is an indictment pending against officials of the "Adams-Beatty-Francois Corporation" charging conspiracy to defraud the city of \$30,000

by obtaining that sum or more for "expert services" in appraisal of the surface and elevated lines—which the "corporation's" chief engineer truthfully testified "had never been done."

Fraud Trial Now Under Way.

Former Commissioner of Gas and Electricity George E. Carlson, and a favored contractor-friend, A. E. Henderson, are now being tried on charges that the city was defrauded to the extent of some \$175,000 of \$250,000 paid for electrical equipment for the street-lighting system that was never delivered.

These things I shall not extend any remarks upon while the indictments remain to be tried. Frankly it is not a spirit of fairness that moves me entirely, but the knowledge that the men who made the business of boodling the most damaging influence to the commercial life of Chicago would welcome anything to strengthen that public credence to the cry of "political persecution." For many months they have been busily at work to build up sentiment behind the strange and sinister theory that there must be no prosecution or punishment—even exposure—of politicians whose prerogative is to "boodle."

Should that theory succeed and become settled public policy—Chicago industry and business on which these parasites feed will once more be driven to dishonesty and to dealing "in the dark."

The Grafters' Grip on Government.

ARTICLE XII.

In any and every American community afflicted with the civic cancer those evil geni—"the grafters"—are to be found, feeding in locust-legions at the public crib, prostituting their party organizations to the great god of greed and paralyzing all branches of public service, particularly those closest to the home—the schools, fire and police departments.

The cancerous condition and the parasites that produce it are no more peculiar to Chicago than jazz music, "synthetic gin" or divorce—but the growth of a gangrenous civic sore has been more malignant here, where eight years of "Boost Chicago" campaigns covered a multitude of municipal sins.

Past masters in the art of confusing issues, combining the disciples of discordant race and religious prejudices as well as amalgamating all the unpatriotic and un-assimiliable elements of discontent against a given enemy, the Thompson-Lundin organization, with a grip on government reaching into every corner of Cook county officialdom, was "an administration of builders."

Builders of what? Babel—and a leaning tower of loot and license. A vast edifice of graft with corruption in public office its cornerstone, "patronage" and special privileges its substructure and the "Boost Chicago" bunkum with its "hammers" and "horns" furnishing the facade for a background of bewildering darkness.