

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.

Public Sometimes Sensed Hand.

Blinded by the glare of a glittering "Pageant of Progress" on the \$5,000,000 municipal pier, the public sometimes sensed but seldom saw the hand behind the "gun," that was held to the heads of legitimate business in Chicago for the two terms that "a big-hearted, big-bred, broad-visioned mayor" of the second city of the nation broadcast an invitation to: "ALL AMERICA—Come to Chicago!"

"Boost Chicago!" How? By attracting the thousands through the setting-up of 2d Ward "syndicates" to which were parceled out such sinister "privileges" as open gambling and commercialized vice? Or by making it a mecca for most of the vice-lords, prostitutes, "procurers," criminals and ex-convicts of the country who came to scoff at "an open town"—and remained to prey on a public still under the anæsthetic of apathy?

"Boost Chicago!" How? Why, by borrowing the brain-child of the late D. H. Burnham and of Charles H. Wacker, the successor to the determined dream-maker who envisaged "the Chicago Plan." By the building of the Boulevard-link bridge, keystone of "the city beautiful" arch of triumph and—by far the biggest "blind" for hoodling in the history of predatory politics.

Shades of Burnham—and of Barnum! Consider the contrast between the original estimate of the cost to Chicago taxpayers, the \$3,800,000 quoted by the Chicago Plan commission, engineers, with the confidence of honest men, and the actual cost of the completed span and approaches—\$16,000,000. Any "boost" to be found there—outside the "boost" to tax-assessments?

Scandal of "Expert" Fees.

"Boost Chicago" with big signboards bearing an invitation to come to a city of soaring taxes, high rents and a housing shortage—the reaction to a "spreading of the sugar," \$5,000,000 worth of it in "fees" for the "Big Five Experts," Frank Mesce, Ernest Lyons, E. C. Waller, Arthur S. Merigold and the late Austin J. Lynch, for "appraisals" on a percentage basis of the property evaluated.

With "the expert fee" scandals that followed in the wake of the street widening projects of 12th street, Ogden avenue, Western avenue, Robey and South Water streets, the public is probably most familiar because a persistent Chicago press has kept the light on its ramifications.

Ramifications of the grafters' grip on government that reached even into the revenue collector's office at Washington through that Chicago congressman who had been the wheelhorse of Lundin in the city council—M. A. Michaelson.

The public has heard broad hints that the "Big Five Experts" who were once granted exemption from income-tax assessment on their swollen "fees" for the reason that "Mike" Faherty had certified them as "municipal employees," actually retained for themselves only a paltry "percentage" of the \$5,000,000. It may now be assuredly and authoritatively stated that thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars paid to the "real estate" experts and invested by them in nontaxable securities such as liberty bonds actually went to others in high places who "called for their quota" of bonds purchased by "the big five" armed with assignments of the securities purchased "by the experts."

Many Shared in "Sugar."

Among the men who shared in the "sugar" refined from public projects and which swallowed up bond issues for practically every project in their entirety long before the construction work was half finished were aldermen, city officials high in the councils of the mayor's cabinet—and a Chicago congressman who once was an alderman. And those receipts for bonds and securities, bought at banks and brokerage houses, were brought before the grand jury. "Expert" Lyons has recently confessed paying about \$60,000 to Percy B. Coffin, chairman of Governor Small's state tax commission.

With the commercialized vice phase of the cancer Chicago has also become intimately and indignantly acquainted—thanks to two grand jury investigations last winter, the same strong "radium treatments" by the major portion of the press and through the magnificent moral leadership of such agencies as the Chicago Church Federation, the Juvenile Protective association and the All-Chicago Council. Through those businessmen who banded together at the instance of William R. Moss, Edward E. Gore and Kneeland Ball to tell to the mothers and fathers of Chicago in their churches those terrible truths about "the shame of Chicago's" open vice is gone.

The city has learned through a persistent and consistent majority of its newspapers on occasions, and at all times from The Daily News, how huge gambling syndicates have been licensed

to operate in every corner of Chicago and at every crossroad in Cook county where automobiles have made the "roadhouses" profitable. It is fairly well-informed of the "protection" parceled out to these resorts in the county by politicians in public offices where law-enforcement is the last consideration—politics and plunder the first!

Police Not Only Beneficiaries.

The beneficiaries of the "boodle" and "graft" system that grew from "protected" gambling under the last administration were not only policemen. A spectacular "gambling war" between the chief of police and the public prosecutor in the fall of 1921, in the course of which the latter challenged the chief "to close" a long list of places he named in downtown Chicago—and was answered by a hot retort that reviewed the activities of the state's attorney's staff of "investigators" and detectives in the country towns of Cook county, was illuminating.

For a time it threatened to expose the exact state of affairs that has obtained in Chicago and Cook county, but after the chief had threatened to file charges against every policeman assigned to the office of the public prosecutor—forty "picked men"—the lid clanged down again. The public prosecutor kept his police detail—yet announced his defection from the Thompson-Lundin "camp" soon after, and began the work of rebuilding his political fences in a new association. That work has been his chief occupation for the two years that since have elapsed.

To any observer of Chicago conditions—either from the bench or the street—that clash between the two most important law-enforcing officers in Chicago, the chief of police and the public prosecutor, with its charges and counter charges, direct and implied, that either or both were "protecting," permitting or tolerating professional gambling in this city and county proved the strength of the grafters' grip on government.

Innuendo, I have said elsewhere, is the weapon of weaklings, and it will not be employed by the writer where "straight talk" is supported by the facts and warranted by what these officials at a time when the "collectors" of gambling graft were reaping their richest harvest, said of each other.

Why Not Go to Grand Jury?

If, as was said, in statements from his Criminal court building office and before the police committee of the city

council, the public prosecutor had evidence of "information" tending to show the chief of police was in league with professional gamblers, whom he named, why did he not take such "information" before the grand jury? Or, in the other alternative, close those places known to him with the weapon of a grand jury at hand?

Or, on the other hand, if the chief of police, smarting under the state's attorney's raids on certain alleged gambling places with the chief's own detectives, had any knowledge or information concerning the prosecutor's recurrent raiding "in the country towns," and the activities of his investigators, why did he not call upon the chief justice of the Criminal court with such evidence?

So much for gambling, potent as it was under a political administration that permitted school children to purchase "paddles" at Riverview park picnics, advertised as "the mayor's outings for the school kids of Chicago." It was and is a persuasive and pervasive influence in the politics of this city and county—but the worst fright it ever had came with the spectacular fight between the two leading "law-enforcers" of a community that ended in a "dog-fall!"

And in due time the gamblers went back to their handbooks, their wheels and dice and cards, the slot machines reappeared and have been with us since.

Glimpses of Fire Inquiry.

For the reason that the Chicago fire department is still a subject of inquiry before the special graft grand jury we shall give at this time only glimpses of a general condition already public property, which again shows the strength of the grafters' grip on government.

Everywhere, according to the devious and disquieting things told to the special grand jury under oath and in open charges made to me as chief justice of the Criminal court, in that department upon which depends the safety of Chicago's homes and business property, has been cancer. Graft, greed, the purchase of promotions by fire lieutenants who could scarcely read or write, according to one grand juror who had opportunity to hear and observe them on the witness stand under oath; the sale of expensive fire-fighting apparatus in an enormous volume to a department of public service that ranks—or should rank—equally with the police as protectors of life and property.

Discarding for the purposes of this article those devious and disquieting

things—to a city once destroyed by a great conflagration—told to me and to the public by insurgent elements within the department itself, it has been impressed on my mind by an intelligent and alarmed grand juror that there is a real and constant peril resultant from the rule of a ring in the fire department.

Slush Charge Sustained, He Says.

The general charge that "slush funds" for the obtaining of promotion and wage increases in the city council, the grand juror declares to have been fully sustained by the testimony of the contributors thereto; that civil service lists have been "juggled" to effect promotion of ignorant and incompetent firemen is also unquestioned, he declares. That veteran fire fighters of the rank of captain and upward have been "jobbed" in order to make places for more graft-producing "promotional" and "efficiency" lists has been established in general; that relatives of aldermen and other politicians were "favored" in the purchase of paraphernalia and supplies in huge quantities and at prices that permitted several "splits"—and finally that grafters, big and little, in and out of the department, have so destroyed its efficiency that the fire hazard has increased to a point that imperils everything in the city.

An alarmist view, perhaps, but that grand juror is an insurance man whose interest and experience with "political" fire departments is not confined to Chi-

cago and he has listened to testimony wrung from reluctant members of the fire department over many months.

Recommendation "Pigeon Holed."

Somewhere a complaisant public prosecutor has "pigeon holed" a report from William A. Rittenhouse, one of his assistants, wherein, it was reported, the deputy prosecutor recommended a sweeping grand-jury investigation into the fire department based on the charges made to me as chief justice of the Criminal court by Chief McDonnell, Assistant Chief McAuliffe and Arthur F. Albert, alderman of the 33d ward. That was in January, 1923.

These rebels against a rule of rottenness in the fire department were sent to the state's attorney to make formal charges for the grand jury in affidavit form after I became convinced the condition they charged warranted a sweeping investigation. Nothing was ever done by the public prosecutor, either with the report of Rittenhouse or the charges themselves—so far as I ever learned officially or unofficially, looking toward a full inquiry.

There was an inquiry which is still pending, begun by the special grand jury after the scope of its activities had been broadened to include all angles of municipal graft. Should that jury succeed in completing its inquiry notwithstanding the evil geni of this city there will be made clear the full extent of the grafters' grip on government that has throttled it thus far.

The Fate of a Fighting Grand Jury.

ARTICLE XIII.

High in the history of the community's struggle for good government the twenty-two men of the special grand jury have written their names—names that now should be made known to the citizenry of Chicago and Cook county as those of civic soldiers who have "fought the good fight"—and won!

To have kept their courage and faith with a community sorely stricken with the paralysis of predatory politics and to have broken through all barriers to an honest inquiry into shameful school-graft scandals would have been a noteworthy accomplishment under the best of auspices. It was magnificent to have carried on to and beyond the barred doors of "the boodlers" and betrayers

of public trust who protected them, undaunted by discouragements seldom equaled in a grand jury inquiry and unfaltering in the face of disgraceful defaults by public officials who attempted to evade their duty to enforce the law.

That is the record of these twenty-two self-sacrificing citizens who have worked for more than a year as the special grand jury inquiring into municipal malfeasance and misfeasance in all their rotten ramifications. Better by far to have fought their wonderful war against the menace of the civic cancer and to have failed "than never to have fought at all." But the fight to expose extravagance, waste, graft and corruption in public office has been won—and in the winning these men have quick-